

Intercultural Communication between Museum Educators and Museum Visitors

A Qualitative Study at Swedish Museums

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Abstract

This qualitative study investigates intercultural communication between museum educators and museum visitors in museums in Gothenburg City, Sweden. The study was conducted as a thematic content analysis, where the content of six transcribed interviews with museum educators from three public museums and 13 questionnaires filled in by non-Swedish, adult nationals attending guided tours hosted by Swedish museum educators where analyzed and discussed. The results show that the informants have a high level of cultural awareness and intercultural competence. Furthermore, intercultural communication between the two groups was shown to be an on-going process with overwhelming positive effects. In addition, more intercultural training for museum educators was noted as desired by the informants themselves.

The results and conclusions of the study are regarded as indicative and given the limited sample, generalizations are neither sought nor called for. Moreover, although cultural aspects were found to influence the communication behavior between museum educators and museum visitors, other traits such as gender, age, religion, and individual characteristics were also found to influence this communication. Finally, further studies were proposed, including observation studies, bigger sample groups and studies that would take into account more variables than the study of national culture.

Keywords: Intercultural communication, museum educator, museum visitor, museum, Swedish museum.

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1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to investigate how cultural differences influence communication behavior between museum educators and museum visitors. Museum visits are part of the cultural smorgasbord available to tourists and citizens alike in many countries of the world. During museum visits, communication between visitors and museum staff is inevitable. This thesis investigates the intercultural communication between museum visitors and museum educators, which are staff working at the museum, facilitating activities, tours and classes with museum visitors (Forneheim & Strömberg, 2012), at Swedish museums.

Over the years, the role of the museum, as well as the encounter between museum visitors and museum staff has changed. About fifty years ago, the encounter between museum personal and visitors was in the roles of guest and guards (Parker Chief, 1963). A lot has changed since, and today the people that come to the museum are considered visitors, not guests, and although there is security staff at museums, the role of guards has transformed into that of guides and educators. As a result, the meeting between museum visitors and museum educators is described as a dynamic encounter (Weaver, 2007).

At museums, intercultural communication, which occurs when two people from different cultures communicated with one another (Gibson, 2002), is a common occurrence between educators, researchers and other staff of the museum and different visitors and visitor groups or other people that move through the museum (Hennes, 2010). This is one of the reasons why this paper is focused on investigating the aspect of intercultural communication at museums. Another reason is that the area has not been researched much. In addition, possible benefits of conducting this study encompasses the opportunity to draw on the results for other audience-centered service areas, including eco-tourism and guided city tours. Also, there are similarities to be found between museums and other entertainment facilities, such as concert halls or opera houses. This is why it could be suggested that the structure and results of this study might be of interest to managers and staff working at these kinds of facilities with frequent intercultural interactions.

Since culture is a broad term and can include for example gender, age, work culture, and national culture (Gibson, 2002), a choice was made to focus on national culture, using the Swedish culture as a common ground, for the museum educators, to be investigated. Consequently, the communication between Swedish museum educators and museum visitors that are non-Swedish nationals at public museums in Sweden were investigated.

Museum educators were chosen as a group to study, since the nature of the activities offered to museum visitors guarantee them a longer encounter with visitors, than for example security and staff working in the reception or gift shops generally have with visitors (for more on this, see the sub-sections of Chapter 2; 2.2 The Museum). In order to investigate the intercultural communication between museum educators and museum visitors, in their faceto-face meetings, in-depth-interviews with museum educators employed at public museums in Gothenburg, Sweden, were conducted. The educator's perspective was complemented by questionnaires distributed to non-Swedish nationals visiting the museum and participating in a public activity lead by a museum educator. This was done in order to gain insight into the intercultural communication from the visitor's perspective. A literature review was made to confirm that the topic under investigation has previously only been researched to a limited extent. As such, the theories highlighted in Chapter 2 were chosen in order to provide the foundation for analyzing the gathered data from both interviews and questionnaires. The theoretical framework, as presented in the next chapter, was also used when designing the interview and questionnaire questions, providing a possibility to confirm or highlight possible gaps in previous research and theories as well as to illustrate these with an experiential view.

I.I Purpose and Research Question

The aim of this paper is to study how cultural differences influence communication behavior between museum educators and museum visitors. The context for the investigation outlined herein is Swedish public museums, and more specifically museums in Gothenburg, as described in detail in Chapter 3. Given that the topic under investigation only has been researched to a limited extent, the primary purpose of this study is to investigate what might be considered as a fairly general research question:

- How do cultural differences influence communication behavior between museum educators and museum visitors?

In addition, since communication can lead to misunderstanding, lack of understanding or even communication breakdown (Allwood, 1985), the aim of the investigation is to examine the positive and negative effects of intercultural communication in conversations between museum educators and museum visitors. Since communication is focused on creating shared meaning (Allwood, 1985), it is of interest to gain insight into effects of communication, which in the given context was decided to be gathered through a normative approach. Here, the starting point is the experiences as described by the museum educators as well as by museum visitors. Furthermore, the aim is to investigate and analyze how communication difficulties that arise due to cultural differences between museum educators and visitors can be remedied. Consequently, the possibility of the museum educator to tailor the communication, depending on cultural background of the museum visitor, is investigated. Since education in intercultural communication is proposed to provide deeper understanding and equip the trainee with new skills (Allwood, 1985), the role of awareness of cultural differences and intercultural communication training for museum educators in their interaction with visitors is given additional focus.

1.2 Outline

To answer the research question, investigate the purpose of the study, and to provide it with its context, the theoretical framework will first be identified, highlighting research in relation to intercultural behavior and communication between museum educators and museum visitors at Swedish museums. Thereafter, the methodology is covered, focusing on data collection, participants, data analysis and ethical considerations. Next, in Chapter 4, are the results of the conducted interviews and questionnaires, followed by a discussion of the results in relation to the theoretical framework. Finally, conclusions and recommendations for further studies are made. Included are also a list of references and the interview questions (Appendix 1), the questionnaire for museum visitors (Appendix 2), a table and diagram of background information of the museum educators (Appendix 3), and a general overview with background information about the museum visitors (Appendix 4).

2 BACKGROUND AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH

An initial search at the electronic database at the Gothenburg University library, which has access to a wide variety of electronic databases and academic journals, with the search word "intercultural communication" and the word "museum" in the title in any scientific material, gave six "hits". These mainly cover the visitor experience, and not the meeting with the museum staff. One exception is a study about verbal and non-verbal actions, but the focus lies on the human-robot interaction at museums (Yamazaki et al., 2010). When expanding the search criteria, research articles that were found cover the more modern ways of interacting at the museum, such as computerized guides and the use of social media (see for example Russo, 2011), but not the human-to-human communication between museum staff, such as museum educators and museum visitors. There are also different kinds of studies presented in books, such as Sandell's (2007) study about visitor's prejudice, focusing on the visitor-exhibition experience, but again not on the meeting with the museum staff.

Although this is just a limited and not exhaustive literature search, it is indicative in that there is little research available that covers intercultural communication between museum educators and visitors at museums, here in Sweden, or anywhere else in the world. The theoretical background, or rather the lack of existing studies on intercultural communication in the visitor-museum educator encounter at museums, lends support to conducting this study, which has already been noted. It is however possible that there are studies of such a character, but that the used electronic database does not have access to them. It is also possible that available research in the field was not found due to search criteria chosen, as outlined in Chapter 3. However, it is worth noting that the study is conducted as a qualitative interview study, with complementary questionnaires, and not as a literature review. The material used for the theoretical framework is to a great extent both scientific articles and books about museums and intercultural communication, that together provide the foundation for analysis of collected data as discussed later on in this paper.

The outline of this chapter is as follows: starting with a section about intercultural communication and communication aspects, such as verbal and non-verbal communication, that is relevant to the museum educator-visitor communication. Next, section 2.2 provides insight to the role and history of museums, in general in western societies and more specifically in Sweden. Section 2.3, and related sub-headings, describes the roles of museum educators and museum visitors, in addition expanding on the expectations on a museum visit and views on service.

2.1 Intercultural Communication

When analyzing intercultural communication, we first have to identify what culture and communication is, respectively. Simply put, communication can be defined as "the exchange of meaning" (Gibson, 2002, p. 9). Just like in the case of the numerous definitions of communication to choose from, there are more than 200 definitions available for defining culture. Using Rogerson-Revell's definition of culture, it can be described as a "learned system of shared beliefs and practices which guide perceptions and behavior in a group and which gives the members of the group a sense of identity and cohesion" (Rogerson-Revell, 2007, p. 8). In other words, culture can be understood as "the way we do things around here" (Gibson, 2002, p. 7). Culture, in the sense of interculturalism, pertains to a variety of aspects, including age, gender, ethnicity, religion, work culture, corporate culture, race, and so on (Gibson, 2002). Although all these, and more, aspects of culture are recognized, the research question under investigation is centered on the so-called national culture. Hence, using Allwood's (1985) definition of intercultural communication, which can be defined "as the sharing of information on different levels of awareness and control between people with

different cultural backgrounds, where different cultural backgrounds include both national cultural differences and differences which are connected with participation in the different activities that exist within a national unit." (Allwood, 1985, p. 3) According to Allwood (1985), the kinds of expressions, content and functions that are considered appropriate or even allowable in certain contexts vary in national cultures. There are also possible differences that can be noted in body movements, sound and writing, vocabulary and phraseology and grammar in the communication patterns between persons from different cultures. Why then is it interesting to give focus to and to investigate intercultural patterns of communication? Because these possible differences can potentially lead to misunderstandings and even breakdown in communication and the opposite is true for similarities in cultural and communication patterns between persons from different backgrounds; they can instead help solve potential difficulties in intercultural communication (Allwood, 1985).

Although the above states the use of national culture as the reference for analyzing intercultural communication in the museum, it should be noted, just like Bülow and Kumar (2011) reflect, that the relevance of national culture and typologies of the same on the influences on certain communication is highly questioned in research literature. The authors voice a critique directed towards a view of cultures as static. The models referred to include cultural models, focusing on national culture as a unifying aspect that influences people's behavior, such as Hofstede's and Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner's (Lustig & Koester, 2010). However, it is noted in the literature that although useful, these models can be "misleading in specific intercultural interactions because individuals are culturally complex beings, not standardized products of a national culture, so they are likely to think and behave in ways that vary from a general model" (Antal & Freidman, 2008, p. 364). Moving on, this critique is noted and incorporated in the research question; possible effects of intercultural communication are investigated; when presenting and analyzing the collected data it may show that there are or are not such influences at work in the museum educator-visitor communication.

2.1.1 Cultural Identity

As noted in the above, museums today are audience-centered, and intend to provide different services to the visitors and the surrounding community. In any field of service, the attitude of the person providing the service to the customer affects the service experience. As stated by Jameson (2007), in order to have a suitable attitude towards other people from the own and other cultures, it is important that a level of self-awareness and self-reflection is developed. Here, a strong focus is on understanding oneself. The attitude is one that is formed by the cultural identity of the communicator. One way of explaining cultural identity is "an individual's sense of self derived from formal or informal membership in groups that transmit and inculcate knowledge, beliefs, values, attitudes, traditions, and ways of life" (Jameson, 2007, p. 199). Furthermore, the importance of understanding ones own cultural identity and how it influences communication behavior with other people is a well-established component in intercultural trainings (Jameson, 2007). Since insight about how we do things is gained for many through education, education in intercultural communication is often proposed to provide deeper understanding and equip the trainee with new skills (Allwood, 1985). Other ways of increasing one's intercultural competence in encounters is, as proposed by scholars like Hammer et al. (2003), to be achieved with one's own experiences of cultural differences.

Falk (2009) states that museum visits are highly individual and strongly tied to the visitor's sense of identity. In other words, the museum experiences are rooted in the sense of self. In the broadest sense of the word, 'identity' is what is understood as 'I' or 'me'. According to Falk (2009), humans possess a set of ever-changing identities that are shaped to fit particular situations, needs and opportunities. Some of the strong identities people may act

on include gender, nationality, religious and racial/ethnical identities. Falk (2009) states these as the "big 'I' identities" that are deeply held identities and that are the foundation when researching identity among social scientist. In addition, he states that although people have these big 'I' identities, most people do not live their everyday lives with these as main drivers, including the decision to go to a museum or the way they interact and move through the museum. Falk (2009) proposes that the different kinds of identities that people have influence behaviors at different times.

2.1.2 Verbal Communication

Cultural traits are known to determine what is acceptable in encounters between people, whether it is verbal or non-verbal behavior (Rehm & Leichtenstern, 2012). As presented by Adams et al. (2008), talk and gestures in real time carry traits that are independent of the person communicating. Furthermore, they are regarded as a result of the cultural context and can hence be studied as they provide information about the person's cultural background. Next, let us start by looking closer at verbal communication: Verbal parameters include intonation in speech, intensity, pitch, and duration in speech, and even facial gestures, such as smiles that can be heard (Allwood & Ahlsén, 2009).

Every year many museum visitors that do not speak the main language(s) of the country that the museum is situated in, visit museums. This poses an extra challenge for the museum staff. Sometimes the staff knows other languages, there might be information in the museum (i.e., pamphlets, brochures and information signs at the pieces being exhibited) that is translated into a number of languages, such as if there are minority languages in the county as well as some of the major languages (i.e., English, German, French, Spanish, and Chinese). Visitors are dependent on these and other information provided by the museum to be able to participate in the museum experience. As for foreign visitors who do not speak the langua(s) that the museum staff can master, or that is included in the languages that museum information is provided in, they will have a restricted access to museum communications (Koliou, 1997). Language has been stated as the primary means of communication in museums (McManus, 1989). And this is also where the main problems in intercultural communication are known to occur (Rehm & Leichtenstern, 2012). To give one example, in a study of foreign visitors at museums in London, with a sample of 60 visitors, almost half of the foreign visitors had linguistic difficulties in the museums (Koliou, 1997).

2.1.3 Non-Verbal Communication

Now moving on to non-verbal communication and cultural differences of the same. Communication is partly verbal, but there are a number of non-verbal aspects to communication. For example, in the field of communication studies, multimodal (i.e., speaking, seeing, moving, tasting, smelling, touching) ways of communicating have been researched and are considered to make up the communication message between two agents. Hutchins and Palen (1997, p. 38) state that "space, gesture, and speech are all combined in the construction of complex multilayered representations in which no single layer is complete or coherent by itself." In a study by Yamazaki et al. (2009) the coordination of verbal and nonverbal actions in interactions between museum staff and museum visitors were analyzed in relation to the interactional environment, since the relation to the environment, according to the researchers, has previously not been studied and understood sufficiently. The focus of the study was on language, body and environment, with the aim of creating robots to interact with the museum visitors. The researchers found that museum guides coordinate verbal and nonverbal resources in specific ways. One such example is that guides were found to turn their heads and gaze towards visitors and also pointed towards the exhibit as they explained the exhibition. They further found that not only verbal actions but also non-verbal actions, such as gaze and head turns were used to encourage action in the museum and exhibitions (i.e., where to go). Similarly, a study by Goodwin (2003), where archeology classes were observed, found that multiple resources were coordinated in on-site instructions, including the environment, verbal and non-verbal actions.

Furthermore, aspects of communication management, including turn-taking, are also included in the category of non-verbal communication. Turn-taking is "the distribution of the right to speak" (Allwood, 1999, p. 92) and it together with tone of voice have been found to often follow culturally influenced communication behavior in praxis (Rehm & Leichtenstern, 2012). Cultural differences in these regards include for example that some people from some cultures are slow to interrupt or to demand their turn in the conversation. This is a rather harmless cultural difference, but a potential misreading of non-verbal cues in an intercultural context can result in a communication breakdown (Ferraro, 2009). Drawing on Ferraro (2009), there are two different categories for understanding cultural differences in non-verbal cues. These are "(1) the same non-verbal cue that carries with it very different meanings in different cultures and (2) different non-verbal cues that carry the same meaning in different cultures" (Ferraro, 2009, p. 83). Other non-verbal aspects of communication include how emotions and attitudes are communicated both about the topic that is communicated, but also about the person whom one is communicating with. In many cultures, such as many Asian cultures, this is not done verbally. Instead, and now generalizing across cultures, emotions and attitudes are primarily expressed through body movement and intonation, stress and rhythm in speech (Allwood & Ahlsén, 2009).

2.2 The Museum

Traditionally the main function of museums has been to gather, preserve and study objects (Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002). Different theories and perspectives on museums and museum education highlight museums' educational and communicative role, where the educational role of museums has been singled out as their primary function (Griffin & Abraham, 1999; Hooper-Greenhill, 2007). Still, the definition of what a museum is varies in the literature, but the definition used by the International Council of Museums (ICOM) is commonly cited in museum studies and has been said to highly influence other definitions of what a museum is or should be (Ljung, 2009). Hence it is used in this thesis: "A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment." (ICOM, 2007)

Changes in the view of the museum's role over time has also changed the internal cultural organizational factors, ranging from museum structure to the kinds of services being offered by the museum (Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002). Without going into the history of museums and the details of the various changes the museum has gone through over time, let us mention that during the 1990s a shift took place, from museums being regarded as predominantly custodial institutions, to becoming more of an audience attraction facility, where a new focus on the interactions and relationships between museum and audiences gained new attention; Focus had shifted to educating and entertaining the public (Chang, 2006; Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002). There is a variety of literature, such as collected essays and monographs, on the educational role of museums (Falk & Dierking, 2000a). Similarly, Ebitz (2005, p. 156) state that there "is an abundant literature on research and evaluation to provide insight into visitors and into the kinds of experience and learning that take place in museums".

Although the number of museums keeps growing, so does the competition from other venues that provide cultural education and entertainment (i.e., virtual museums and theme parks), which pushes museums to modernize and to cater to their publics. In addition, the new, more diverse audiences that visit museums have been reported to have different

expectations on what role museums should have in their lives. As a result, museums have shifted their focus from study of collections to serve and try to meet the expectations of their public (Weil, 2002). This shift has also led to a new emphasis being put on marketing the museum and serving the customer (Kotler & Kotler, 1998). In addition, as museums are part of the non-for-profit sector, it is important that they maintain their source of funding, i.e., governmental funding, etc., upon which the commitment to educating the public is one of the pillars. Here, establishing and maintaining a longer-term relationship with visitors is key (Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002).

2.2.1 Museums in Sweden

From 1960 and on, the educational practices at museums in Sweden began to increase significantly, parallel to a number of school reforms in Sweden and other Nordic countries, and a notion that education could be mapped, executed and controlled by the government. Later, in the 1970s and 1980s, the responsibilities of museums in Sweden expanded (Ljung, 2009) and during the 1990s an investigation into museums (i.e., SOU 1994:51, Minne och bildning, 1994) stated a joint goal, or mission, for all museums in Sweden; to be society's collective memory. From then on, the museum system should work to educate in order for knowledge and experiences to be used in society. In this governmental document (i.e., SOU 1994:51) education or learning is highlighted as the main purpose for museums in Sweden. Furthermore, museums' educational role has been stated to be diverse and complex, including visitors' physical meeting with the exhibitions and offerings (Ljung, 2009). In this regard, one of the traits in the Swedish culture, listed by Allwood (1999, p. 96), is that "the Swedish way of teaching ... is considerably less authoritarian than is the case in many other cultures." One of the reasons for this is that pupils are allowed to speak to the teacher before asking permission.

Museums in Sweden have, by the organization Riksförbundet Sveriges Museer, been classified as central museums, other governmental museums, regional museums, municipal museums and other museums. In addition there are art halls and galleries (Riksförbundet Sveriges Museer, 2011). The regional museums are financed by regional and governmental means, whereas the central museums are financed by governmental means (Myndingheten för kulturanalys, 2012). Tours at the public museums in Sweden are either on the museum's calendar (e.g., open tours) or have to be booked in advance by contacting the museum.

To get a sense of the scale of the museum visits in Sweden; During 2011, at least 18 million museum visits were made to museums in Sweden, of which at least 1,1 million visits were done by school or pre-school children. It was estimated that 34 000 public events for these groups were arranged at the various museums, with an average of 20 participants per group. The educational activities ranged from study circles, courses and program activities inside and outside (i.e., town wanderings, etc.) the museum. Besides for example the regular and temporary exhibitions at Swedish museums, more than 88 000 public activities were carried out. Of these approximately 75 percent were tours or teaching sessions (i.e., activities carried out by museum educators or staff with other titles but equivalent function and competences) (Myndingheten för kulturanalys, 2012).

2.3 Roles at the Museum

There are a number of positions needed to operate a museum. Depending on the size and kind of the museum these range from a few employees and volunteers to a more substantial staff. At Swedish museums, three out of four employees are reported to be female (Myndingheten för kulturanalys, 2012).

This paper focuses on the museum educators and the role they have at the museum, as well as the role of the visitors. Given this context it is worth noting that primarily from the 1960s and on, the museums in Sweden began to develop their public activities. Children's activities and educational formats in exhibitions were developed. The description of what

museum education is and could be also had consequences for the definition and expectations of a museum educator and of the visitor alike. At the end of the 1960s, unions and organizations for educators got established (Ljung, 2009). From then on, museum educators have been visible at museums in Sweden. However, as Ljung (2009) highlights, the professionalism surrounding the definition of what entails the occupation of a museum educator has been changed over time. Similarly, the role of the museum and thus also staff and visitors has changed over the years.

2.3.1 The Museum Educator

Museum educators are considered to be experts on visitors; Skills that are useful to a museum educator include the ability to communicate information clearly, subject matter knowledge, and interpretative skills (Silverman, 1993). The public activities hosted by the museum educators include exhibition tours, lectures and demonstrations, adult programs, programs for kids and families, and for teachers and students. In addition, the educators are responsible for web site guides and planning the activities as listed, and more (Knutson, 2002; Talboys, 2005). However, the quality of the training that museum educators receive has been criticized to be inconsistent across institutions (Adams et al., 2008). As such, museum educators have different backgrounds, commonly including an undergraduate degree in a museum subject matter, in education or in museum studies (Lord & Lord, 2009).

Furthermore, the role of the museum educator is to be knowledgeable in the ways people make meaning of objects and also to be skilled in facilitating the dialogue with the people they are in contact with during their working hours (Talboys, 2005). This role description moves away from the museum educator as the one-way expert communicator and moves towards a description where the educator participates and facilitates in shared meaning-making processes (Silverman, 1993). In other words, the educator is present to communicate, or convey, knowledge or information about the exhibits that educate the visitor (Rice, 1995). As such, the learning model has shifted from one where the visitor is seen as an "empty vessel" to a learner-centered model where the personal and social process of discovery and meaning-making takes place. The meaning is created out of the experiences at the museum, including interactions with other people (Ebitz, 2005). Theories that describe the interactions and audience and learner-centered interactions between museum visitors and museum educators, where visitors' pre-existing knowledge and skills, including emotions and the imagination, is used to make meaning of (often called constructivist) the museum experience (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). In this process, the challenge for museum educators includes to be able to help link the exhibit to the everyday life of the visitor, making them comfortable to communicate about it (Adams et al., 2008). According to the authors, there is an immediacy in the interaction between museum educators and museum visitors, where the educator has to acquire skills to read gestures, body language and other verbal cues that signal what the visitor knows about the subject, and how best to engage them.

2.3.2 The Museum Visitor

Studies of museum visitors usually cover the attributes gender, age and educational level (Sheng & Chen, 2012). Studies focusing on these aspects have been criticized to be based on a too simple approach, just using a demographic approach for defining visitors (Chang, 2006). The museum visitors today are a diverse public, both in age and other cultural traits. However, generalizing, museum visitors are well educated and have a higher income, compared to visitors at other cultural events, such as festivals, fun parks and musical activities (Kim, Cheng & O'Leary, 2007). Furthermore, visitors at art museums in Sweden are likely to have higher education and have studied more than visitors at other museums (Ambrecht, 2013). This is true for other countries as well, where higher occupational status has been established amongst frequent art museum visitors. In addition, educational level is found to clearly correlate with the attendance rate (Chang, 2006). Another influencing factor found when studying museum visitors is that the adults that go to the museum have themselves been

taken to museums by their parents, which means that socio-economic under classes, minority groups and recent immigrants often do not visit the museum as much (Kotler & Kotler, 1998). This encompasses the critique that although museums claim to serve all, they keep being inaccessible to most people (Rice, 1995). As such, there is additional evidence that feelings of exclusion for some are reinforced during a museum visit, whereas others feel that they belong (Chang, 2006). In this regard, Teather (1991) criticizes museums and museum studies and finds that they need to be confronted by, what she calls, systematic discrimination in museums, based on a Eurocentric interpretation, and instead allow for a diversity of class, race, ethnicity, etc. She promotes the museums to be representatives of all cultures and all people, with a multitude of types of visitors in the museum, of which the responsible museum staff needs to have skills and knowledge.

In a recent study by Riksförbudnet Sveriges Museer and Riksutställningar, where 1 000 persons were interviewed, 54 percent of people living in Sweden were reported to visit the museum more than once in the previous year (i.e. 2011) and 37 percent of the informants had visited two or more museums during that year. The same rapport showed that every second person in Sweden, in the ages 18-65, visited one of the country's museums during the vacation period (Riksförbundet Sveriges Museer, 2013). In addition to visitors living in Sweden, foreign tourists also visit the museums. In a report by researcher Ambrecht (2013), yearly 15 percent of foreign tourists (i.e., 2,5 million people) visit Sweden with the main intent of experiencing culture. Of these, 15-45 percent have one or several museums as their main attraction of their visit; they are so called museum tourists. In other words, between 376 000 and 1,1 million tourists visit Sweden yearly with the main intent of going to the museum (Ambrecht, 2013).

2.3.3 Expectations on the Museum Visit

The museum experience is often personal and individual, and not standard (Chang, 2006; Roppola, 2012). People have pre-determined, varying expectations for their visit to a museum. The reasons for going to museums also vary. The expectations visitors have on their museum visit have been found in leisure and tourism research to strongly influence the experiences that the individual has during a museum visit (del Bosque & Martin, 2008). According to Falk and Dierking (2000b), these motivations and expectations have a direct effect on what people learn and what they do at the museum. They emphasis that when expectations are fulfilled, then learning is facilitated; if not, then the learning suffers. Sheng and Chen (2012) have criticized Falk and Dierking for their lack of defining what the visitor's expectations includes. In an attempt to address this raised issue, the authors draw on Shaw and Ivens (2002), who describe experience as a kind of mixed feeling that includes both emotional and spiritual factors. They further state that the expectation for experiences that a person has is dynamic and is influenced by varied factors (Chiou et al., 2009; Larsen, 2007 in Sheng & Chen, 2012). Visitors decide to go to the museum, what exhibition to view and where to participate. Thus, it is in the hands of the museum visitor whether or not to learn in the museum (Rennie & Williams, 2007). Prior knowledge, interests and beliefs have however been found to play a big role in learning, not least in the learning that takes place at museums. The meaning that is then made of the experiences at the museum is framed by the prior knowledge, interests and beliefs (Falk & Dierking, 2000b). Falk and Dierking (1992) and Sheng and Chen (2012) found that visitor expectations is part of personal context and influenced by personal factors, social context and other. According to Falk (2009) the vast majority of museum visitors are satisfied with their visit, which he ascribes to visitors having a high understanding of the museum they visit. Notably, the visitors' expectations on the museum visit, their learning outcome and visitor satisfaction are amongst the most researched in museum studies that involve the museum visitor (Rennie & Williams, 2006).

As previously highlighted, the visitors' expectations on the museum visits vary; for some the primary motivation for visiting a museum is framed in terms of the content of exhibitions. Others visit museums to have fun, as they seek enjoyment (Chang, 2006). Falk

(2009) also identified another visitor group that are motivated by seeking recreation or restoration experiences; they seek an experience other than the everyday stresses and realities of the world. These visitors may find enjoyment in the exhibitions, but the motivation is the space.

Another study, where the expectations of the visitor experience was researched, found that usually younger females expected an experience at the museum of easiness and fun, whereas older and married visitors often expected historical reminiscence (Sheng & Chen, 2012). Moreover, visitors expect to learn in entertaining ways and to receive value for their investment (i.e., time and money) (Ebitz, 2005). This learning experience can be exemplified by a quote from Norberg (2000, p. 516): "All cultural experiences can contribute to a dynamic educational process where all issues are highlighted from different perspectives."

2.3.4 View on Service

The services offered by a museum are considered multi-dimensional and are offered in a physical environment, or site, and uses ways of stimulating interest and involvement of the visitor as well as space, lighting and the shape of the exhibit hall, to direct the visitor. Often a service is not specified or presented before the customer (i.e., museum visitor) decides to purchase the service (Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002). Similarly, as stated by Falk (2009, p. 232) "Most museum visitors have only the vaguest understanding of their true needs and motivations upon entering the museum. Most visitors also enter the museum with only a vague sense of what the museum has to offer." Gilmore and Rentschler (2002) define three core service dimensions or elements to museum marketing. (1) Education of the public is central to the entire museum service product. (2) Accessibility to museum services, such as proximity to exhibitions and offerings to different markets (i.e., to suit different groups of visitors such as repeat visitors, tourists and school groups). (3) Communication entails the interaction between museum visitors and staff and is an important contributor to the visitor's experience at the museum. As museums often offer a wide range of exhibitions, the help from museum staff to navigate and plan their visit at the museum is often sought. According to Gilmore and Rentschler (2002) these aspects are interlinked and together make up for the museum service offering. Finally, for the museum service to be successful, and for information to be transmitted to the museum visitors, the museum staff needs to have a twoway communication with the visitors (Rennie & Williams, 2006; Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002).

3 METHODOLOGY

The following chapter outlines the research methods used in this study. As such, the conducted interviews, questionnaires and related literature search, as well as the then following thematic content analysis of the gathered data, are described, as is the selection process of theories and participants. Finally, ethical considerations for conducting this study are narrated.

3.1 Thematic Content Analysis

The thematic or qualitative content analysis is usually used for documents of all sorts for analyzing the underlying themes of the material. The process through which this is done is not often detailed in its specification; the result however is often presented by examples from the texts (Bryman, 2012). As outlined in the below, this study consists of 13 questionnaires completed by thirteen museum visitors and six recorded and transcribed telephone interviews with museum educators, working in one of the five public museums of Gothenburg city; Göteborgs konstmuseum, Göteborgs stadsmuseum, Röhsska museet, Sjöfartsmuseet akvariet, or Göteborgs konsthall. Although there are other museums in Gothenburg, these were chosen as a list to pick from since they all are public museums. In order to open the doors for comparison between employees from the same workplace, two museum educators from each of three of the above five listed museums were interviewed. A more detailed overview of the educators and their background information is provided in Appendix 3, where both a diagram and a table is found. These are used since they are known to be helpful and common tools to illustrate and facilitate cross-case comparisons (Gibbs, 2002).

To complement the data gathered from the interviews, the museum visitors' perspectives were investigated through the use of questionnaires. The reason for why interviews were not conducted include that the responses were gathered just after a guided tour was ended, in order to ensure that the communication with the museum educator was as fresh as possible in people's experience. This made it unpractical to conduct one-on-one interviews, since only one person could have been interviewed at the time. It is not likely that people wish to cue to be interviewed. Also, the museum is a public place, and what is being said is likely to be heard by others passing by, which might have influenced the answers provided by the visitors. However, as Appendix 2 shows, the questions in the questionnaire show similarities to the questions asked in the interviews (i.e., Appendix 1).

This study has a qualitative character. Just like other qualitative studies, the aim here is to discover, interpret and describe phenomenon. Following these instructions, by Patel and Davidson (2003), of achieving high validity in qualitative research, all the interviews and questionnaires were used and exemplified in detail, as shown in Chapter 4. In addition, to strengthen the validity, which is determined by if the research is proven to be what it set out to measure (Bell, 2000; Ejlertsson, 2005), the aim is to highlight contradictions of the research in the analysis (Patel & Davidson, 2003). As stated in the previous, the theoretical background highlighted perspectives and their counter-critique, aiming for a transparent representation, which is also shown in the examples by museum educators and visitors that are not always congruent with each other, or with presented theories. As the validity of the research relates to the description and explanation of the conducted study (Backman, 2008), this chapter has been assigned to outline the methodology, ethical considerations and details concerning data collection and analysis.

Although the terms validity and reliability were initially intended for quantitative research, the terms are especially important criteria when establishing, and also assessing, the quality in quantitative research (Bryman, 2012). However, the importance of applying the assessments to quantitative research is contested. For example, these have been suggested to

be exchanged for credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability. If staying with the terms validity and reliability, the latter is concerned with the consistency as well as replicating findings (Bryman, 2012). If the research would be duplicated, would it be possible to reach the same results (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008)? In this study, the variable depends more on the answers given in the interviews and questionnaires, than on the analysis of the collected data. Since there is a certain saturation of results (see further Chapter 4), it might be suggested that the answers by other museum educators would find commonalties with the answers given by the informants in this study. As for the answers provided in the questionnaires, a bigger sample is needed to determine if the results can be replicated. However, as the answers of the questionnaires are intended for exemplification, and not for generalization, the data is discussed as such and not as a given all-encompassing truth for all museum visitors.

The selection of the content of the interviews and questionnaires to be highlighted as results, and later analyzed and discussed, are based on the questions listed in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2. The headings in Chapter 4 reflect the topics inquired into in both interviews and questionnaires, as well as the purpose of the study and the research question under investigation, as presented in section 1.1 Purpose and Research Question. When several informants or respondents provided similar answers, there was no systematic way of choosing which quote to highlight. However, quotes from all the informants and respondents have been used when presenting the results, with an attempt to not show any preferential treatment of selection.

3.1.1 Literature Review

The most common sources for knowledge is, according to Patel and Davidson (2003), books, articles published in scientific journals, reports, and the Internet. With this in mind, a literature search was conduced, to provide the foundation for the thesis, and the interview and questionnaire questions.

The literature was at large identified, following a structure presented by Patel and Davidson (2003), who suggest searching literature linked to the subject, area, or field related to the research question. Then, by either reading or looking through some handbooks and articles that cover broader aspects in the field, the researcher gets an understanding for prominent theories and scholars. From there it is easier to narrow down what sources will be useful.

Much like Andersen and Gamdrup (1994) say, it is easy to agree that the problem for today's researchers is not primarily to find literature, but rather to find the most relevant literature. How is the best and most appropriate literature found? There are different suggestions, such as starting with more broad and recent literature, moving towards more specialized and dated literature as the search continues (Andersen & Gamdrup, 1994). An attempt was made to use recently published literature when compiling the theoretical framework, as presented in Chapter 2. However, the recent publications were also complemented with more dated reference literature in museum studies. Still, no such distinction was made in the attempt to find research studies specifically related to the research question under investigation.

When conducting the literature search, some search combinations gave a too large number of results, such as "communication", or "museum", or "culture". The latter can for example mean both art and culture, such as national culture that is investigated herein. Naturally, other search words had to be used, or in combination with one another, that focus on what is investigated in a more precise manner, as per Patel and Davidson's (2003) recommendations. Using the Gothenburg University Database, Summon, which covers

numerous online and print journals with published scientific articles and books, a number of search words, such as "intercultural communication", "culture", "museum", "communication", "visitor", "museum staff", "intercultural", "museum educator", and more, were combined in various constellations to produce a list of previous research in the field under investigation, the result of which is represented in Chapter 2.

3.1.2 Data Collection

The scope of collected data is limited to six recorded and transcribed interviews and 13 questionnaires. The six conducted interviews were between the interviewer and the interviewee over the phone and the method used was calling the participants on Skype over the computer and simultaneously recording the interviews on an iPhone. The six interviews all contained the same questions in the same structure (Appendix 1), and all questions were asked in all the interviews. Moreover, the main focus of this study is to identify qualitative data, which is reflected both in the chosen research methods and the questions posed. The interviews and questionnaires were designed to give examples to the theory presented in the study, highlighting gaps in the research and give an experiential view on the theory. The interviews further allow for studying peoples' point of views and to clarify their perspective on the world they live in (Kvale, 1997). This description gives credit to the use of interviews and questionnaires in regard to the research question posed. Questions commonly used in qualitative research is "what", "how", and "why" questions (Bryman, 2012), which were used in the interviews and questionnaires (Appendix 1 and Appendix 2). Interviews that are made in order to answer these kinds of questions are often structured or standardized, with a preplanned script and a given order of when to ask the questions. For such an interview to be qualitative, the answers given by the participants have to be open ended (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008), which is the case in the interviews conducted. This is further reflected in the fact that the informants were not pushed or suggested to expand on certain topics. Although this might have lead to more extensive answers, it would have interfered with the result. In addition, in order to avoid the inflexibility that a structured interview poses (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008), a tenth question was added, where the participants were asked if they wanted to add anything. This tenth question was added to the questionnaires for the same purpose.

According to Bryman (2012), questionnaires and interviews used for social research are very similar. However, the apparent difference is that there is no one asking the questions when using questionnaires. This also does not allow the researcher to pose any follow-up questions or to ask the respondents to expand on their answers. However, a benefit is that the questions are guaranteed to be asked in the same order to all respondents (Bryman, 2012). Since questionnaires were distributed to museum visitors as they completed a guided tour, one of the biggest problems with questionnaires, which is not being able to control that the respondents are in fact who they state they are, as questionnaires are usually sent out by mail or conducted over the Internet (Bryman, 2012), was avoided.

3.1.3 Participants

Qualitative research uses people, texts, organizations, etc., as the source of information. Since pre-existing research material was not the foundation for analysis, the participants needed to be identified and contacted. The result of a study may be influenced by the participants' answers, which leads to the question of who should be selected for participation (Kvale, 1997). According to Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008), systematic sampling methods are not necessary in qualitative research projects. Following this guideline, and since the researcher did not know or had never had any kind of contact, face-to-face, in writing or over the phone, with any of the participants, a selection of two museum educators from each of the three

museums (A, B and C) was made randomly. In this regard, it is worth noting that the museums under review have a differing number of museum educators employed, ranging from two to more than five. Interviewing two museum educators at one museum gives a high percentage of participation per museum. However, since there are museums among the five listed ones that only have two museum educators employed, not more than two were chosen from one museum, in order to secure anonymity for the informants. Moreover, the sampling process of the informants falls under the term of convenience sampling (Bryman, 2012; Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008). Here, web pages of the staff at the public museums were consulted, as was phone operators in the cases that phone numbers for the museum educators were not listed on the museum web pages. At one of the museums, the snow-ball effect was used as a sampling technique. This technique is a commonly used technique to reach participants for a qualitative study, and it is a kind of convenience sampling (Bryman, 2012). Upon contact with a museum educator, names and phone numbers for colleagues at the museum were provided. The availability of the people recommended determined the choice of the next interview, again moving the technique for sampling participants towards convenience sampling (Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008).

In regards to the questionnaires, contact had been made with museum educators at the respective museums, in order to receive permission to distribute the questionnaires at the museums. The contact persons had in turn notified security, allowing this to take place in the exhibit halls. The questionnaires that were used are so called self-completion questionnaire, or self-administered questionnaire. It implies that the respondents answer the questions by themselves (Bryman, 2012). This part of the study is regarded as a complement, not as an equally big part as the interviews. Although a bigger sample would be preferable, as it always is, in order to continue until the result is saturated or the answers are reproduced by several respondents (Bryman, 2012), the questionnaires are rather used to provide examples and confirm/contest the data gathered in the interviews, from the museum educators' point of view.

Swedish museums have many non-Swedish nationals visiting the museums every year. However, when speaking with more than 20 non-Swedish speaking visitors, randomly approached, at the different museums where the study was conducted, at multiple occasions, not a single one of them had spoken with a museum educator. The same question was posed to people known to the investigator, who had also not spoken with museum educators at their visits to museums. This posed an unexpected difficulty, to get a large sample of the group. Moreover, many activities conducted by the museum educators are directed at pre-school and school classes. Many non-Swedish nationals live in Gothenburg and children attend the schools and these diverse classes attend the museums. However, ethical guidelines exclude research to be conducted on children without their parent's approval. Even if sought, the kinds of questions asked in the questionnaire are argued to be too complex for young children to reflect over. Hence, this group was excluded as a potential data sample. As for the adult Swedish language groups from SFI and ABF, the level of the Swedish language is not guaranteed to be at the level where they feel confident to express themselves and understand the questions in the questionnaires or that they know English well. As such, this group was also not focused, which resulted in drop-in visitors, without pre-booking any guided tours attending the, by the museums, scheduled guided tours. However, not many tours are offered in the English language at the five museums and the off-chance to find non-Swedish nationals attending the guided tours in Swedish are not very big. For the intended purpose, the quantity of questionnaires is, if not considered optimal, sufficient.

Initially, English was intended as the interview language. However, when first making contact with one of the museums, it was clear that many staff do not feel as comfortable speaking English as they do when speaking Swedish. Here a choice was made that the

accuracy in the collected data would be higher when the interviews were conducted in Swedish (since it is the mother tongue of the six interviewed museum educators, and the interviewer). Extracts from the interviews have been translated into English as presented in Chapter 4. Although these are translations, they are presented as quotes. As for the questionnaires, these were available both in English and Swedish. Many tourists coming to Sweden have some level of understanding of the English language. Moreover, there are non-Swedish nationals living in Sweden who are not very familiar with the English language, but are learning Swedish, which is why the alternative was provided for museum visitors to complete the form in Swedish (Appendix 2).

3.2 Data Analysis

There are different analytical styles for working with qualitative research, including for example grounded theory and narrative analysis. This study does not use these two analysis' tools. Instead, the structured analysis is used, which puts "a strong emphasis on ensuring the validity, reliability and generalizability of results so that we can be sure about the true causes of the effects we observe" (Gibbs, 2002, p. 156). Here, focus is on being aware, examining and trying to eliminate any potential threats to the validity of the study. One such threat might be changes in participants included in the study or participants dropping out of the study (Gibbs, 2002). These threats were both avoided in the study, since all the six museum educators agreed to participate in the study and did so and since the museum visitors that volunteered to fill out the questionnaires did so, taking between 15-30 minutes to fill out the guestionnaire, and not 5-10 minutes as indicated on the introductory text to the guestionnaires (Appendix 2). The rather short time span was decided upon to avoid respondent's fatigue, that would result in incomplete questionnaires (Bryman, 2012) and also providing the freedom of not giving extensive answers. However, space was given on the forms to provide more extensive examples, if wished for. Notably, all the questionnaires were completed. Another potential threat to the validity is generalizability. It might be difficult to determine if the answers given by the participants (in both groups) reflect those of a wider group (Gibbs, 2002) of museum educators and museum visitors. In this regard, generalizations are not called for, or strived for, but the aim with the study is instead to give examples and highlight the intercultural aspects of the museum educators' profession in their encounter with museum visitors, as this is a novel study in the field.

3.3 Ethical Considerations

This study is based on the experiences of human beings. Hence, ethical considerations had to be taken into account, primarily using the ethical considerations for humanistic-societal research as outlined by the Humanistic-Societal Research Council (e.g., Vetenskapsrådet, 2002) in Sweden. Since the data presented in this report was gathered in Sweden, and in the society, these guidelines were deemed the most suitable. The four main criterion of the research, in order to protect the individual, include (1) information, (2) agreement, (3) confidentiality, and (4) userability (Vetenskapsrådet, 1990).

(1) The researcher shall inform the interviewee about their role and participation in the project and (2) the interviewee must give their confirmation of voluntary participation in the study (Vetenskapsrådet, 1990). In this regard, Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008) emphasize the importance of introducing the project properly. In this study, at the beginning of the interviews, the museum educators were informed that the participation was voluntary, that the interviews were included in a study about intercultural communication and intercultural behavior in the meeting between museum educators and museum visitors at public museums in Gothenburg. Furthermore, that the material is only going to be published online, (i.e., in the

university's database for students' thesis, GUPEA). This information was also given to the museum visitors, briefly verbally before handing out the questionnaires, but more specifically in the introductory text to the questionnaires (see Appendix 2). Besides that, information was provided to the museum educators that the thesis is intended to be read and discussed by teachers and students at the Master in Communication program at Chalmers and Gothenburg University. The participants were also informed that the interview was recorded for transcription. After being given this information, and agreeing to the interview, the museum educators were asked when a good time for the interview would be. In this regard, the interviewees were given the information prior to the interview, as per the recommendations outlined by Vetenskapsrådet (1990). Two of the six conducted interviews were scheduled for the next day, whereas the other four were conducted immediately.

- (3) The information about every participant should be given highest degree of confidentiality. This is particularly important when ethically sensitive information about individuals is collected and used in the study (Vetenskapsrådet, 1990), which is not the case in the investigation outlined herein. However, since the aim of the study is to reach as high scientific validity as possible, as well as being conducted as ethically as possible, the names of the informants were changed. Other measures taken were that the museums where the museum educators work were not identified. Here, the museums have been given a letter, A, B and C. In addition, when statements are presented (Chapter 4) that may appear judgmental or that can be linked to a museum's activities, the pseudonyms were removed as well.
- (4) The last of Vetenskapsrådet's (1990) four considerations covers the area of using the collected research data. Here, it is stated that data may not be used for commercial purposes or gains, which is easily complied with since this report is solely used for academic purposes. This was also communicated to the informants and written in the introductory text to the questionnaire, informing all the participants of the strictly scientific use of the gathered data (Appendix 2).

4 RESULTS

In this chapter, the results from the interviews and questionnaires will be presented. As the interviews are the main focus for the study, the results from these will be presented first (4.1 Experiences of Intercultural Communication at the Workplace – 4.6 Intercultural Communication Training for Museum Educators), followed by results derived from the questionnaires (4.7 General Results from Questionnaires – 4.10 View on Swedish Culture). The results will then be analyzed and discussed in Chapter 5, using the theoretical background as presented in the previous (i.e., Chapter 2).

4.1 Experiences of Intercultural Communication at the Workplace

The countries of origin of the museum visitors generally visiting the museums were identified as a mixture at all the museums. However, the informants (i.e., Maria and Lisa) working at Museum B reported that the non-Swedish visitors mainly came from Northern Africa and Europe.

The experiences of intercultural communication at the workplace for the six informants are a frequent occurrence. They all reported that it is a natural part of their job, whether with visitors, colleagues or when preparing exhibitions with other persons from society. Lars said, "Intercultural communication at the workplace is continuous and returning." Four of the educators specifically mentioned the interaction with non-Swedish nationals in school classes and adult classes, such as SFI (Swedish for immigrants) and ABF (the Workers' Educational Association). The answers also included tourists, as well as non-Swedish nationals that live in Sweden that visit the museum on their own and not as part of a group. According to Lisa, "The most common intercultural communication is with classes that have pre-booked guided tours, but then there are also many adult groups that come and solo-visitors that ask things and who want to have information about exhibitions". Only one of the educators specifically mentioned the intercultural communication with tourists when describing their experiences with intercultural communication at their workplace, although tourists were mentioned by other educators when answering other questions in the interviews.

To provide another example, one of the educators explained that a group of refugee youth that came to Sweden without their families took part in an exhibition about story telling with the focus of starting daring to express themselves in Swedish.

Besides experiences of intercultural communication with museum visitors, two of the educators expanded on their meetings with people from other cultures when planning exhibitions, including persons at other museums in Sweden and abroad, and in society when contacting organizations and persons relevant for setting up an exhibition. Anna stated that, "At the current exhibition I'm working with, there are a lot of focus groups and interviews to write texts and so. I meet many from other countries in shaping the project." Similarly, Sandra said that, "I meet people from other countries when we plan exhibitions. I also meet colleagues from other countries a couple of times a year." Then she added, "Perhaps the national background is not always the most important. For example, an Italian Romani is different from another Italian."

4.2 Verbal and Non-Verbal Communication with Museum Visitors

Four out of the six museum educators reported that there could be language difficulties or hindrances in the communication with non-Swedish or non-English speaking visitors, which in turn could make it more difficult to communicate certain information to them. Anna said that, "sometimes there are language differences and difficulties in understanding each other's

language, then it can be more difficult to communicate certain information, but that does not have to do with the visitor's country of origin, it doesn't have to do with culture".

Both Nina and Maria gave examples of using non-verbal communication as a communication aid in cases where language barriers were present. Maria said that, "in classes where immigrants learn Swedish, there you have to use other techniques to reach them with the same message, because Swedish cannot always be used. Sometimes you get to use English or you can use Swedish but you have to articulate. Sometimes I have to use a lot of bodily gestures and body language. Naturally, body language gets to be an extra language when we teach SFI and ABF students. Eye contact is also very important." Similarly Nina said that, "It is easier or more difficult to communicate certain information to visitors from certain cultures dependent on what knowledge I have of a language and it also depends on if you work with your hands [practical educational activities are offered at the museum], then the language is not as important as when I have a guided tour and am trying to create a dialogue. I try to adjust the tour in Swedish by speaking slower and using more synonyms."

The aim of constructing a conversation or having a dialogue with museum visitors is mentioned at least once in each interview. Lars explains that by asking questions about what cultural heritage the countries from where the visitors come from have to offer, everyone says something and, "then people are shaken out of the protected bubble of listening."

At the end of the interview, one of the informants mentioned a drive by the museum some years back, where "different nationalities got to visit the exhibitions about Sweden and Gothenburg, with an interpreter. There was first an Arabic language group, then a Somali group and so. I found it very rewarding." … "It was a much more equal meeting. And then the group didn't have to struggle with Swedish, as the interpreter got to translate. Then I was the one excluded when the interpreter and the others started to resonate."

4.2.1 Topics of Conversation

The topics for the communication between the museum educators and the museum visitors, based on the interviews, cover questions about the exhibitions, where to find a piece being exhibited and how to navigate the exhibition hall. Lisa said that, "If it is visitors that are not part of a group that has booked a guided tour, they mainly ask about how to find their way in the building, if we have a certain piece and if I can tell them a bit about it. They sometimes ask very specific questions, but also very simple questions, such as if the art is original and how much it costs." Lars expressed that he was not available for walk-in questions and was not working in the reception. "I only have classed by appointment, for tours, and then I take care of that group and through dialogue I show them what we have agreed upon and then there are follow-up questions." Only two of the six informants commented on if there are cultural differences in what museum visitors generally speak about, and that answer was, "No".

When asked if it is easier to communicate certain information to persons from some cultures over other, four of the informants answered, "Yes", one said, "No", and one informant said, "I don't see it as a problem that you cannot use the Swedish language to communicate". Sandra, who was one of the informants who answered, "Yes", said that, "Of course there can be differences. It's possible that such differences exist because we don't have the same frame of reference." Lisa gave the example that, "when certain people from Muslim cultures walk past artworks of nude persons, they might cover their eyes as if you shouldn't look. That it is embarrassing with nudity. Then it can be a bit difficult to know how to speak about those artworks with those people." Another dimension was added by an informant; age. The educator did not notice any mentionable cultural differences. Instead the differences were explained as more personal than cultural. The informant said, "With kids you

notice bigger differences. This is bias, but Somali boys can be very disrespectful in their behavior. I've asked a social secretary about possible explanations. Often it is a family situation with a distant father. They learn very early on that they are the masters of the house in some way." ... "And when they want to test the limits with me, then I have to put them in their place immediately when they arrive."

4.3 Adapting Communication to be Culture Specific

All the informants answered that there is room for adapting the communication to be more culture specific, dependent on the museum visitors' cultural background. Two of the museum educators, Maria and Sandra (from Museum B and C, respectively), reported that they found preparation for the educational activities with visitor groups to be important, but that they would still have to improvise and meet the individuals, with whatever background they have, in the moment. Maria said that, "It is always important to find out which people are coming to an activity, and there we get the information via the booking note." ... "If you have further questions you can call the contact person." She also said that, "you always have to tailor your communication to the cultural background of the visitor". All the informants shared the opinion that this was dependent on them. Lisa, for example, said that, "I encourage children from reserved cultures to scream in the museum halls, just to demonstrate that it is okay for them to claim their space in the museum." She also said that, "When I notice that other people are more reserved, I speak more, only to show that it's okay to speak and ask questions." Ending with an interesting comment by Sandra: "I wouldn't say that it [communication] always depends on what country people are from, but rather what culture they belong to." Two of the informants expressed that the communication was about the human being, or the individual, not the cultural background.

Furthermore, four of the informants reported that they often had a rather short amount of time to get to know the group and adjusted the communication according to what their experience had taught them, and the intuition they had. In addition, Maria mentioned the role of the teachers to prepare the school classes for the museum visit, and how that supported smooth communication with the group: "Information about the kind of group you are preparing an activity for is central in order for us to do as planned. The more the school classes are prepared for what they are going to experience, and especially how to behave in a museum; if the students are prepared, then you can just do what you planned."

4.4 Effects of Intercultural Communication

All the informants reported positive effect of intercultural communication in their meetings with museum visitors. Two of the informants gave examples that visitors with other national cultural backgrounds added aspects from their cultures to the discussions. Anna, from Museum A, said, "It provides another dimension and comparison with other countries so it enriches the conversation" ... "and you can compare history from different horizons." And the other educator, Lars, said, "After introducing the exhibition to a group, I insist that everyone speaks, by letting them say where they are from and then I try to see if they can think of their country and something in its history that is the most exiting and tell about that". Other positive effects of intercultural communication in the meeting between museum educators and visitors centered on the enriching effects for the educators. From Museum B, Maria said, "a kind of an autopilot kicks in when you're going to speak about the same period or stand by a specific piece, so to have meetings with certain groups and with different cultural connections disables the autopilot and I really learn something and find that it is enriching and exiting." The other educator, Lisa, from the same museum said that, "When there is something new, like when people do not come from the Christian culture, that we still have here in Sweden,

then something inside awakens". Sandra, from Museum C said, "More visitors feel at home at the museum." ... "Increasingly many people feel that they belong." And her colleague, Nina reported that, "The cultures of people living in Gothenburg are visible in the museum. If there are many Somali people in Gothenburg, then of course that culture gets to take more space."

As for any negative effects of intercultural communication with museum visitors, all the informants answered that there were none. The answers sounded much like those given by Lisa: "I only find it's good with diversity." And Sandra: "I cannot see the negative in meeting more people." Four out of the six informants elaborated, providing examples. Anna mentioned that, "it can be practical sometimes, for example that someone insists on having a guided tour on Midsummers eve." She also said that, "there are not really any difficulties that cannot be solved in the discussion." Another example given includes the sense of lack of suitable intercultural behavior. "If anything, it is that I feel I'm not sufficient" ... "I can sometimes feel that maybe I haven't reached them all the way and then I wonder where it's gone wrong or what I could have done better." The last example is found in the interview with Nina. She explained that, "when people are not prepared, then we are not equally open towards different cultures" ... "then it is important that everyone at least is aware of why we do certain things. If people from more reserved cultures are not informed of the activity, then if some others are very open then they get scarred instead" ... "so they don't dare to try something new."

4.5 Awareness about Cultural Differences

When asked about the importance of using theories or awareness about culture when communicating with museum visitors from different cultures, four of the informants stated that they do use such theories. One informant provided an example, theorizing about cultural differences, and one answered, "No", with the explanation that, "Not from a specific nationality, but we have a detailed plan of how the educators shall communicate with the visitors." ... "We presuppose from the human being and basic knowledge, but it is not developed for a specific nationality." Lisa mentioned that, "It is always very important to have the awareness that we are different, maybe not just that we belong to different cultures, but that we also have other backgrounds that are different." Similarly, Maria highlighted an issue where language and cultural differences where not necessarily the only areas that would lead to issues in communication with the museum visitors. Instead she said that, "differences in pre-existing knowledge about art and the artistic expression sometimes leads people to feelings of being excluded, something that I find equally as important to be aware of."

4.5.1 Benefits of Increased Intercultural Awareness

When asked if there are benefits with increased intercultural awareness amongst museum educators, when communicating with museum visitors all the informants answered, "Yes". Four of the informants elaborated, including in their answers that knowledge and awareness about differences always is good, but it is not just knowledge or awareness of differences in heritage, but other differences, such as religious belief. The benefits listed can be exemplified by what Anna said: "You can end up in pitfalls in my occupation, if you are not aware of it [cultural differences]. You need to have a bit of pre-existing knowledge about it, just like you need to have some pre-knowledge about all people." Another example, this time by Lisa, highlights that there are differences but also traits that she thinks are universal: "Just knowing that there can be differences helps. But some things are also universal and then again, not only cultural differences affect the way we are." Maria mentioned that this increased awareness about intercultural differences is addressed through continuous professional education. She said that, "Just because you have learned about a nationality, you should not

think that you know it, because that is not the case. First of all, it's individuals and there are always a lot more to be leaned."

4.6 Intercultural Communication Training for Museum Educators

All the informants answered, "Yes", on the question if they thought that there were benefits in educating museum educators in intercultural communication and intercultural behavior. Two of the six informants mentioned that not only museum educators, but in fact everyone working at the museum would benefit from such a training. In this regard, Anna said that, "everyone who works with people need to have the basic knowledge about peoples' background. All information you can get here is good." Nina, on the other hand, questioned what such an initiative would look like: "you have to take into consideration" ... "a lot about how we meet people, that we often only meet a group once" ... "and how we quickly can observe different signals".

In regard to intercultural training in their formal education, three of the six informants had some kind of such training. However, one of the educators, Maria, mentioned that, "Of course there could have been more of that." Moreover, two of the six informants had undergone some kind of intercultural training at their current work place. These informants were not from the same museum. The kind of intercultural training was specifically offered in relation to an exhibition of minority groups or other national specific exhibitions. The three museums provide continued professional education, and the informants had a preference to undergo more education at the workplace related to culture and intercultural meetings. This can be exemplified by Lisa, who said that, "It is great to have, so that we can have more awareness in the meeting with the visitors".

4.7 General Results from Questionnaires

Besides the above presented results from the interviews with the museum educators, 13 questionnaires were filled in by non-Swedish museum visitors who all attended one guided tour by one of the museums' educators. The questionnaire was provided in both English and Swedish. However, the 13 respondents all completed the English questionnaire (Appendix 2). Appendix 4 shows an overview of the 13 respondents' backgrounds. Ten female and three male respondents took part in the study. Grouping the 13 respondents based on their age, five of them were in their twenties, five in their thirties, two in their forties, and one in his fifties. The four youngest respondents were students as was one of the respondents who was in her thirties; all other respondents reported that they had an occupation (e.g., economist, teacher, two managers, engineer, interpreter, musicologist, and lawyer). Other background information provided included nationality. There were one Latvian, Danish, Spanish and Ukrainian, two American, two German, two Italian, and three French respondents. More than half (e.g., seven) of the respondents listed Sweden as their country of residence, the remaining six lived in the country of their national origin.

Question 2 a) and b) were completed by all the respondents. Among the respondents who listed another country of residence than Sweden (e.g., same as their nationality) answered question 2 a) with responses such as, "First time", "First time now", "Twice a week", "Every time I visit Sweden", "Not often", whereas the answers from the respondents that listed that they resided in Sweden ranged from, "Once a month", to, "3-4 times a year". When answering question 2 b) only two respondents answered without providing a specific number of visits per year; a German teacher living in Germany said, "As often as I can", and a Ukrainian musicologist living in Sweden answered, "Often". The other 11 respondents stated that they visit museums anywhere in the world between once a month (three persons), three times per year (two persons), six times per year (three persons), and once a year (three persons).

When asked what the museum visitors usually speak with museum educators about, three respondents left the field blank, four respondents stated that they usually do not speak with them much, which can be exemplified by quotes such as, "I don't usually speak with the guides", and, "Don't speak with them often." In addition, two respondents stated that they listen to them or to a guided tour, one of whom added, "Sometimes I may ask something." Three of the respondents' answers included, "Art". For example, "Art, the museum building and collections." Or, "Art history; typical aspects of important periods in art history." One respondent provided the answer: "Information, style, feelings."

Five of the 13 respondents provided information on the tenth, open question, where anything else in regards to intercultural communication could be added. These answers all included a positive response to the activity, such as, "I'm glad I attended", or, "Very interesting and good opportunity. Yes, keep running English guided tours." The Italian interpreter wrote, "I would like to organize these kind of experiences in Italian museums."

4.7.1 Museum Visitor's Expectations

11 of the 13 respondents listed that they had expectations on the museum visit. Of the remaining two, one said, "None", and the other respondent left it blank. Seven of the responses included expectations to either "learn" (three responses), "see" (two responses) or "know" (two responses) more about art. These answers were for example, "To learn more about art history to be able to enjoy and understand art." Or, "Know more about Nordic painters." Or, "I wanted to see Picasso and Impressionism painters." Two of the remaining answers did not fit into the listed groups. These were given by a German teacher, living in Germany, who said that, "Information about backgrounds of the paintings and the artists' lives." And a Danish manager living in Sweden who's expectations on the museum visit was stated as, "Wanted to go there for some time and this is a good opportunity." Besides the above presented categories, the answers were, "Information about Swedish/Nordic art", and, "Nordic artists."

When answering what expectations the museum visitors had on the museum guide/educator, two responses were left blank, the American economist who lives in Sweden, who had no expectations on the museum visit, also listed, "None", as his expectations on the museum educator. Two responses included expectations on the educator's communication skills, namely; "Communication skills, give an overall view of the museum." And, "Clear explanations — interesting talk." Similarly to the first of these two quotes, one other respondent had the expectation to get information about the museum. This was by the male Italian lawyer, who noted: "Details in the museum." Six other respondents expected to get information about art, which can be exemplified by quotes such as; "To get more information about paintings and their meanings." And, "To tell me interesting facts about artist, paintings and history of the time." In addition, the Danish respondent living in Sweden expected the museum educator to be, "Very good, interesting and entertaining."

4.7.2 Intercultural Communication at the Museum Visit

The fifth question of the questionnaire (Appendix 2) inquired into the visitor's experiences with intercultural communication at the museum visit. 12 of the 13 respondents provided an answer. Three respondents gave a statement in the category if it was good or bad. They answered; "Very positive", "Very interesting", and, "Good, we can communicate with everyone thanks to English." Four of the answers mentioned the museum educator that provided the tour or other museum staff: "Speaking with people working here". Moreover, three other respondents mentioned communication with other museum visitors: "Well, I didn't talk so much to other visitors, but some." Another example, by a French engineer living in Sweden, was that she, "Met a Swedish friend by coincidence in the museum." The two remaining respondents provided answers unrelated to the previous examples. The Italian interpreter living in Italy wrote that, "It's interesting because you can share your

ideas/feelings with people and think about what you heard from people of different culture and tradition." And the French manager living in Sweden stated that, "Intercultural communication is permanent for me as a French man livening in Sweden. At the museum it is interesting to be informed about impact of this generation of Nordic painters capturing Nordic spirits."

4.8 Communication with Museum Educators

11 respondents gave an answer to question 6 a) (Appendix 2), which covers the experience of cultural similarities when communicating with the museum educator. One American, one French and the Spanish respondent stated that they found cultural similarities in the use of humor. To illustrate this, the American male stated: "Similar use of comedy in giving information." The other American, a female student residing in Sweden, wrote that, "I didn't notice any specific similarities between us", whereas the Latvian student living in Latvia wrote that, "Swedes are probably not very different from Latvians in general." Two of the answers given included the view on art; The Ukrainian musicologist stated, "The importance of art in life." And the Italian lawyer mentioned, "Position on art." Answers including nonverbal similarities were given by the German student, who wrote that, "The way of eye contacting, the way of interacting with the others", and the French manager, who stated that, "Speaking and using hands when speaking." The two reaming answers, by the German teacher was, "Presentation of facts", and by the Danish manager, who wrote, "The image of the neighbor people [the educator generalized what the Scandinavian nationalities are like]."

On question 6 b) (Appendix 2), about how museum visitors responded to the noted cultural similarities, more than half (e.g., seven) of the respondents did not write anything. The answers provided by the remaining six respondents were made up by a few words each, such as, "As usual", "Positive", and, "Laughing/smiling".

When asked what possible cultural differences the museum visitors experienced between them and the museum educator, two respondents decided to leave the field empty, whereas three respondents, the French manager, the Ukrainian musicologist and the Spanish student, all living in Sweden, reported that they did not notice any particular differences. The Spanish respondent reported: "No cultural differences because I have been living in Sweden for seven years." Moreover, the German student said that she experienced, "None other than the native language." Two comments were made in response to humor; The Danish teacher living in Sweden answered, "Maybe the Norwegian joke, but that's also part of Swedish culture." And the French engineer, who wrote, "Quite serious - not smiling even when joking." An additional difference noted by another responded also had to do with non-verbal behavior. The Italian interpreter wrote, "Italians use gesture and speak loud, so in museums in Sweden, here it is the opposite." Three respondents reported on the observations made of the museum educator's delivery of information. For example, the Italian lawyer stated that, "Some cultural differences about the explanation of details." Similarly, the Latvian student said that, "He was better prepared to tell things to a large group of people than I imagine Latvian guides would be." And one of the American respondents said that, "He summarized each section well – perhaps better than in the USA. Also – perhaps better organized than in the USA." The final quote was provided by the other American. She said that, "Perhaps when he talked about how Swedes are perceived and how a certain 'melancholy but depressing paining' represented Sweden. Also the tour guide at one point said; 'as I'm sure you know ...' which was made with the assumption of the audience having certain knowledge." When being asked about how they responded to these differences, the American student wrote, "With interest (to the first part) and a bit alienated (by the 2nd)." Seven of the other respondents left the field blank. Examples of the provided responses are, "Positive", "Only observing", and, "I don't think it is a problem with this, I like differences, they help you to open your minds."

4.9 Perception about Intercultural Training

There were 11 answers provided in the questionnaires (Appendix 2) in regards to the view on intercultural communication's training for museum educators. Six of the 13 respondents answered, "Yes", that they thought that there are possible benefits in training museum educators in intercultural communication. The answers were often expanded on and can be exemplified by: "Yes it can be very useful because it can help to broaden their minds and make explanations and tours more interesting and effective." Another responded answered, "Yes because visitors will be able to understand cultural differences when applied to arts." Or, "Yes, because it would help people of different cultural origins to appreciate each others' cultures." Another motivation of why there were benefits is, "Because museums are filled with foreigners eager to learn more about the culture, lack of communication skills shouldn't prevent them form getting this understanding." Furthermore, one respondent answered, "Maybe", and another respondent wrote, "No basis to judge." One of the French respondents wrote, "No idea – perhaps with non-European visitors who have greater cultural differences?" This aspect was also brought up by one of the German respondents, who gave this motivation of why there are benefits to such training: "Because there are differences between a mixed group and e.g. only Japanese group." Finally, one of the respondents who stated that there were benefits with such trainings provided the explanation: "To be more inclusive and the audience to feel welcome."

4.10 View on Swedish Culture

When being asked how the intercultural communication with the museum guide/educator influenced the respondent's view on Swedish culture, nine answers of the 13 possible were provided. Three of the answers had a positive connotation, such as, "Positive as I gained greater insight on Swedish mentality in the 1800s and more info about Gothenburg", and, "In a good way", and by the French student living in France, who said that, "Swedish people are always ready to share and very open minded, they are not afraid of making fun of themselves." In addition, the Ukrainian musicologist living in Sweden said that, "It helped to understand it more", and the Italian lawyer wrote, "The museum guide stressed some details of paintings that an Italian eye could not really see". The French manager living in Sweden noted that, "I will search more for this Swedish melancholy he was speaking about." One of the respondents, the French engineer living in Sweden, wrote: "No special influence". The remaining two answers were by the American economist: "I know Swedes like to put things into categories. That's what he did." And the Italian interpreter, who wrote, "It's my first time here in Sweden and I haven't studied/seen nothing about Swedish art. Thanks to this intercultural communication I can have a broader knowledge of Swedish art and culture."

5 DISCUSSION

The study presented herein investigates how differences between national cultures influence communication between museum educators and museum visitors at Swedish museums. The aim, as previously outlined in Chapter 1, is further to examine and gain insight into effects of intercultural communication between museum educators and museum visitors as well as to investigate and analyze how communication difficulties arising from cultural differences can be remedied. In addition, the role of awareness of cultural differences and intercultural communication training is elaborated upon. Before beginning to analyze and discuss the results as presented in the previous chapter, let us note that the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 2 covered the criticism in research literature that the influence of national culture on communication is said to have (Bülow & Kumar, 2011). Other scholars, such as Adams et al. (2008), however, state that there is communication behavior, such as talk and gestures, that is independent of the person communicating and instead carry traits of the cultural context of the person. While observing these two opposing perspectives, the discussion carried out in the following will highlight the results as presented in Chapter 4, where we have already seen both theories being confirmed and also contested. Again, emphasis is made that the aim is not to draw any generalizable conclusions based on the study conducted, as the sample is too small to make any such conclusions that can be scientifically motivated. Instead the results are used to exemplify different communication behavior, whether culturally dependent or not, at the museums where the study was conducted. The following discussion is designed to illustrate this. As such, the headings naturally correlate with the ones outlined in the previous chapter. However, the content is different as this chapter is an effort in combining the theoretical framework and the results of the conducted study through discussion and analysis, not merely a reproduction.

5.1 Museum Educators and Museum Visitors Interacting

A first given variable to be able to investigate if there are cultural differences influencing communication behavior between museum educators and museum visitors, and how these might influence the communication, is interaction between the two. This is in line with Allwood's (1985) definition of intercultural communication, that is used in this thesis when describing intercultural communication, namely: "sharing of information" ... "between people with different cultural backgrounds, where different cultural backgrounds include both national cultural differences and differences which are connected with participation in the different activities that exist within a national unit." (Allwood, 1985, p. 3) It might be argued that this is a dated, too narrow definition of intercultural communication. However, given the time and scope of a master's thesis, a distinction between cultures was considered necessary, especially when attempting to limit the scope of the study to be more precise. In addition, basing the evaluation criterion on other cultural variables, such as religion, age or gender, would have made it more difficult to determine differences between the educators and the museum visitors to draw potential conclusions from.

In Sweden diverse school classes, adult classes, single visitors, and foreign tourist visit the museums. In a study by Ambrecht (2013) it is reported that 376 000 to 1,1 million tourists visit Sweden yearly with the main intent of visiting one or several museums. Although it would be a speculation how many of these visit the museums studied herein, and how many of the visitors actually interact with museum educators, the information provided by the informants and respondents alike show that this interaction is a frequent one at educational activities that the educators host. In line with Jameson (2007), who states that museums today are highly audience-centered, the roles of the museum educators at the investigated museums confirm this. Moreover, literature on intercultural communication does not seldom focus on tourists as a field of study (see for example Martin & Nakayama, 2008). As a consequence,

when focusing on this specific museum visitor group, the results of this study can also be proposed to be of interest to other areas of tourist attractions, such as eco-tourism and city tours.

In the conducted interviews, the educators gave examples of public activities, where they meet visitors from non-Swedish origins, that they host, which include open tours, events for school classes and adult classes and practical, hands-on activities, in line with the kinds of activities commonly hosted by museum educators (see Knutson, 2002). However, if museum visitors do not attend one of the pre-booked or open activities hosted by a museum educator, the interaction between the two groups is not likely to take place at the museum. To illustrate this, and since the 13 respondents in this study can be categorized as frequent or semifrequent museum visitors, as all of them that provided a number on the frequency of their museum visits stated that they visit a museum, either in Sweden or anywhere in the world, between once a month and once a year, and as such, out of the ten respondents that answered the question on what they usually speak about with museum guides/educators, four stated that they do not speak much with them (see 4.7 General Results from Questionnaires). This can of course be due to there being less museum educators at foreign museums, however as the role of museum educators, as stated in the theoretical background (2.3.1 The Museum Educator), include educational activities such as guided tours, lectures and demonstrations, which can be offered by guides, as some museums prefer to label the role of their educators, guides are a common role at western museums, which is why the answers from the respondents might rather indicate that the communication between the two groups is not taking place at every museum visit. This finds support in the quote expressed by one of the informants, who said that he was not available for walk-in questions and was not working in the reception: "I only have classed by appointment, for tours and then I take care of that group and through dialogue I show them what we have agreed upon and then there are follow-up questions." (4.2.1 Topics of Conversation)

5.2 Culture Influencing Communication

The categorization of respondents, based on country of origin and additional information of age, occupation and gender followed common categorizations in museum studies (see Sheng & Chen, 2012). However, drawing on Chang (2006), who states that categorizing, using these demographic approaches, is a too simple approach, the results of this study confirms this. The question then is, what differing factors are better to use in order to gain more accurate or representative results? This question is left unanswered, which is one reason of why the more commonly used categorizations were used in the study.

Although researchers like Falk (2009) states that museum visits are highly individual and strongly tied to the visitor's sense of identity and that those identities include gender, nationality, religious and racial/ethnical identities, the responses by the museum visitors reflected the aspect of nationality disproportionally to the other; this might be due to the framing of the questions; it is possible and even likely that the respondents were more likely to highlight this aspect and not other based on presentation of the study and the outline of the questionnaire (Appendix 2). However, the informants, who generally provided longer answers, included other aspects such as religion, age and individual traits in their answers regarding communication differences. As such, the results are in line with Falk's (2009) statement that most people do not live their everyday lives with specific identities as main drivers, including the decision to go to a museum or the way they interact and move through the museum. Similarly, the informants did not report any cultural differences tied to what the museum visitors would speak about, which corresponded to the answers given by the respondents. Just like the informants said the topics to be questions about exhibitions, where to find a piece and how to navigate the hall, three of the respondents' answers included "Art", such as the answer, "Art, the museum building and collections." Other answers confirmed the topics to be about the museum building and current exhibits, which is in line with previous

research, as the help from museum staff to navigate and plan the visit at the museum has proven to often be sought (Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002). One answer, however, stood out and that was that communication with museum educators would commonly be about "feelings". Since the kind of topics commonly asked about by museum visitors were found to not be much culturally dependent, taxonomies such as Hofstede's, and Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner's, where communication behaviors are said to have strong cultural traits (Lustig & Koester, 2010) are not suited for analysis. However, cultural differences between museum educators and museum visitors were reported, although three of the 11 given responses in the questionnaires reflected that the respondents did not notice any particular differences between the Swedish museum educator and themselves. As the responses came from three respondents that all live in Sweden, it might be the case that they are familiar with the Swedish culture and thus do not reflect on cultural differences as much, or that they even identify with the Swedish culture. One respondent reported: "No cultural differences because I have been living in Sweden for seven years." Other respondents, however, reflected the difference in use of humor, gestures and volume of speech, as well as the Swedish museum educators being well organized and prepared. Some differences were noted because the educators highlighted these in the public activity, such as "how a certain 'melancholy but depressing paining' represented Sweden." (4.8 Communication with Museum Educators)

5.3 Verbal and Non-Verbal Communication Behavior

Cultural differences can, according to Allwood (1985) and Adams et al. (2008), be observed in communication behavior, such as talk and body movement, that are independent of the person communicating. Moreover, the theoretical framework, as presented in Chapter 2, states that cultural traits are known to determine what is acceptable in encounters between people, whether it is verbal or non-verbal behavior (Rehm & Leichtenstern, 2012). One example that could confirm this statement is taken from Lisa's interview. She said that, "I encourage children from reserved cultures to scream in the museum halls, just to demonstrate that it is okay for them to claim their space in the museum." (4.3 Adapting Communication to be Culture Specific) Here is a clear difference in the intercultural communication patterns. This is an example of one of the traits in the Swedish culture, listed by Allwood (1999, p. 96), "the Swedish way of teaching" ... "is considerably less authoritarian than is the case in many other cultures." One of the reasons for this is that pupils are allowed to speak to the teacher before asking permission (Allwood, 1999). Furthermore, the aim of constructing a conversation or having a dialogue with museum visitors is mentioned at least once in each interview. Although none of the respondents listed a problem of understanding the museum educator, there were answers that highlighted the sharing of the English language and that the English guided tours provided the possibility to communicate with the museum educator and taking part of the information (4.7 General Results from Questionnaires; 4.7.2 Intercultural Communication at the Museum Visit). Similarly the use of the English language was provided as a means to bridge communication barriers by one of the informants (4.2 Verbal and Non-Verbal Communication with Museum Visitors).

The lack of museum educators and museum visitors not sharing the language spoken is found in the literature (Koliou, 1997) and described as posing extra challenges for the museum staff. This is confirmed in the interview answers, as four of the six informants reported that language difficulties or hindrances could make it more difficult to communicate certain information to museum visitors. In this regard, the examples provided by the informants show what Adams et al. (2008) describe as there being an immediacy in the interaction that calls for developing skills of reading gestures, body language and verbal cues that signal what the visitors know about the subject, and how best to engage them. One of the museum educators mentioned that his efforts to construct a conversation or evoke a dialogue included asking questions about what cultural heritage the countries from where the visitors

come from have to offer, jumpstarted the interaction, shaking people out of the protected bubble of listening (4.2 Verbal and Non-Verbal Communication with Museum Visitors).

None of the respondents, however, mentioned language differences or difficulties to be able to understand the museum educator. This might be because they all had a good knowledge of the English language or Swedish language in cases of having lived in Sweden and being able to understand Swedish. In this case, had the sample been different, for example using SFI or ABF language classes, and museum activities given in Swedish, it is likely that the results had been different, moving more towards the responses of the informants. Also, museum visitors that do not know the languages of the guided tours may avoid these, which again would be an explanation of the result. As the activities referred to by the informants include many pre-booked activates, the participation by these groups does not necessarily stem from the same motivation as the participants in the open guided tours. This is one explanation of the result from the interviews regarding the language barriers that were noted, where adjusting the Swedish language to speak slower, using more synonyms or articulating more, as well as using non-verbal communication aids, to share information, was noted. One of the informants said that, "body language gets to be an extra language when we teach SFI and ABF students." (4.2 Verbal and Non-Verbal Communication with Museum Visitors)

As presented by Adams et al. (2008), talk and gestures in real time carry traits that are independent of the person communicating. Furthermore, they are regarded as a result of the cultural context and can hence be studied as they provide information about the person's cultural background. In this regard, the native language coming through in a guided tour by one of the museum educators was observed by one of the respondents (4.8 Communication with Museum Educators).

Although the above focuses on differences in verbal and non-verbal communication behavior between museum educators and museum visitors, the result also illustrated the experience of similarities of the same cross cultures. One such example is the use of making eye contact in conversations, which was expressed by participants from both groups (4.2) Verbal and Non-Verbal Communication with Museum Visitors; 4.8 Communication with Museum Educators). In regards to non-verbal communication, however, the results were partly conflicting between answers provided by respondents. Where the French manager, living in Sweden, stated cultural similarities that influence communication between museum educators and museum visitors as, "Speaking and using hands when speaking", the Italian interpreter noted a cultural dependent difference in that, "Italians use gesture and speak loud, so in museums in Sweden, here it is the opposite." (4.8 Communication with Museum Educators). This difference might depend on the nationalities, although French people are also known for using gestures to a big extent. A more likely explanation is instead that the French manager is familiar with Swedish culture and therefore might identify with both cultures, hence recognizing similarities instead of differences. This can be motivated by his response that he did not see any particular cultural differences between himself and the museum educator (4.8 Communication with Museum Educators).

In a study by Yamazaki et al. (2010), the verbal and non-verbal means of communication were identified to be used in particular ways by museum guides. For example, gaze was used as a means of communication, looking from the visitor(s) to the exhibit. Furthermore, head movement was identified as important in directing courses of action. Although these were observed, when taking part in the guided tours, these observations are not part of the scope of this study. In addition possible cultural aspects of such behavior was not touched upon in either of the interviews or questionnaires and is therefore not discussed, although it can be suggested for further studies.

5.4 Negative and Positive Effects of Intercultural Communication

The examples of positive effects of intercultural communication in the meeting with museum visitors, provided by the informants, could be coupled into three pairs (4.4 Effects of Intercultural Communication). Notably, the museum educators from the same museum provided an example that belongs to the same category as the other museum educator working at the same museum. Anna and Lars focused on the enrichment and contribution in the conversation, a view that is reflected in the quote by Norberg (2000, p. 516): "All cultural experiences can contribute to a dynamic educational process where all issues are highlighted from different perspectives." The next pair, Maria and Lisa, focused on the novelty factor, putting the autopilot out of use, and Sandra and Nina focused on that everyone should feel at home and represented in the museum. In an article by Teather (1991), democratization of the museum for intercultural and intracultural relationships is highlighted. In the article, one area of focus is that all cultures should be equally represented in museums. About twenty vears later, the answers by Sandra and Nina confirms that this aim has been accomplished in the view held by museum staff, at least in one museum in Gothenburg. However, the demographic of the museum visitors participating in this study does not show a wide range of socioeconomic background. They are all either studying or having an occupation that is based on an academic degree (see Appendix 4). This finding is correlating with general findings in other museum studies (2.3.2 The Museum Visitor).

Although not asked about positive or negative effects of cultural differences in the communication between museum educators and museum visitors, positive aspects were still reported on, including: "keep running English guided tours", and, "I would like to organize these kind of experiences in Italian museums." (4.7 General Results from Questionnaires) In addition, the answers provided to question 9 of the questionnaire; "How did the intercultural communication with the museum guide/educator influence your view on Swedish culture?" (Appendix 2) could be interpreted as positive effects. Three of the answers had a positive connotation, such as, "Positive as I gained greater insight on Swedish mentality in the 1800s and more info about Gothenburg", and, "In a good way", and by the French student living in France, who said that, "Swedish people are always ready to share and very open minded, they are not afraid of making fun of themselves." In addition, the Ukrainian musicologist living in Sweden said that, "It helped to understand it more", and the French manager living in Sweden was inspired to investigate further as he stated, "I will search more for this Swedish melancholy he was speaking about." (4.10 View on Swedish Culture) One of the main purposes of the audience and learner-centered museums today (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000) is to educate museum visitors. The previous responses could be interpreted as successful learning occasions at the museums.

Moving on to the results that indicate negative effects of intercultural communication in the meeting between museum educators and museum visitors, these do not follow as clear groupings between the museums as the positive effects do, based on the interviews conducted. Although all informants started out with the answer of there not being any negative effects of the intercultural encounter, four of them elaborated on the answer. The issues in the examples were of three different characters, covering practical matters, lack of knowledge, and lack of preparation (4.4 Effects of Intercultural Communication). The answers given included, "it can be practical sometimes, for example that someone insists on having a guided tour on Midsummers eve." (4.4 Effects of Intercultural Communication) However, the informant added, "there are not really any difficulties that cannot be solved in the discussion." Moreover, the informants all showed that they found diversity to be something positive, which can be illustrated by the following two quotes given by Lisa: "I only find it's good with diversity." And by Sandra: "I cannot see the negative in meeting more people" (4.4 Effects of

Intercultural Communication), which leads us onto the aspect of cultural awareness in relation to communication behavior.

5.5 Importance of Cultural Awareness

Jameson (2007) states that people, who depend on being able to communicate efficiently in intercultural contexts, have to have insight into the hidden impacts of culture. Although four of the six informants stated that they use theories about intercultural communication in their interactions with museum visitors, the awareness of other differences than national culture influencing communication behavior between museum educators and museum visitors were highlighted by the informants, exemplified by a quote by Lisa, who said that, "It is always very important to have the awareness that we are different, maybe not just that we belong to different cultures, but that we also have other backgrounds that are different." (4.5 Awareness about Cultural Differences) However, all the informants agreed that there are benefits with increased intercultural awareness amongst museum educators, when communicating with museum visitors. Again, the informants' awareness reflected an experience of other differences, such as handicap, that were stated to be good to be aware of in interactions with museum visitors (4.5.1 Benefits of Increased Intercultural Awareness). Not being aware of cultural differences could, according to the some informants, lead to communication difficulties, such as illustrated in a quote by Anna: "You can end up in pitfalls in my occupation, if you are not aware of it [cultural differences]." (4.5.1 Benefits of Increased Intercultural Awareness)

As noted in the above, museums today are audience-centered, and intend to provide different services to the visitors and the surrounding community. In any field of service, the attitude of the person providing the service to the customer affects the service experience. As stated by Jameson (2007), in order to have a suitable attitude towards other people, from the own and other cultures, it is important that a level of self-awareness and self-reflection is developed. Here, a strong focus is on understanding oneself. In one of the interviews the museum educator reflected on her intercultural skills, in cases where some communication difficulties had occurred, as illustrated by this quote: "If anything, it is that I feel I'm not sufficient" ... "I can sometimes feel that maybe I haven't reached them all the way and then I wonder where it's gone wrong or what I could have done better." (4.4 Effects of Intercultural Communication) This quote can be interpreted as an example of self-reflection in an attempt to improve the intercultural behavior with museum visitors. This kind of self-reflection and awareness of communication seams to be warranted, if taking one of the responses of the museum visitor's answers into account, namely: "the tour guide at one point said; 'as I'm sure you know" (4.8 Communication with Museum Educators) which made the respondent feel a bit alienated. However, whether or not the statement by the educator can be linked to cultural traits is left undecided, but as museum educators aim at contributing to a positive museum experience (Gilmore & Rentschler, 2002), this is worth reflecting on.

5.6 Training Museum Educators in Intercultural Communication

All the informants thought that there were benefits in educating museum educators in intercultural communication and intercultural behavior. Two of the six informants mentioned that not only museum educators, but in fact everyone working at the museum would benefit from such training as they interact with museum visitors from different cultural backgrounds. As for the respondents, six of the 11 that gave an answer on the topic thought that there are possible benefits in training museum educators in intercultural communication. The answers included this response: "Yes it can be very useful because it can help to broaden their minds and make explanations and tours more interesting and effective." (4.9 Perception about Intercultural Training)

In regard to intercultural training in their formal education, although limited, three of the six informants had some kind of such training and two of the six informants had undergone some kind of intercultural training at their current work place. Moreover, since the informants had a preference to undergo more education at the workplace related to culture and intercultural meetings, and since both informants and respondents stated benefits of such trainings, it could be argued that these would be considered for museum educators and other museum staff.

In addition, given the fact that the responses from both informants and respondents indicate a benefit for museum educators to receive intercultural communication's training, it is not farfetched to suggest that this might also be the case for other professionals working in service and/or education, who encounter people from different cultural backgrounds in their daily jobs. Although the work of museum educators is not very common, since it is both service-oriented and educational, examples of other professionals that share similarities with those of museum educators include tour guides at city tours, persons working at tourist offices or information counters at train stations and airports, librarians at public libraries and teachers at international schools or in places with culturally diverse populations. As such, the results of this study may be used for discussion of intercultural communication's initiatives in these service and educational areas.

It should be noted that the results, in regards to the benefit of training in intercultural communication and the importance of awareness of cultural differences and how these influence the communication behavior, repeatedly show that this is only one aspect that potentially influences the communication between museum educators and visitors, as discussed in the above (5.2 Culture Influencing Communication). To provide an example, four of the six informants highlighted that knowledge about the effect of other differences than just culture is important when communicating with museum visitors (see 4.5.1 Benefits of Increased Intercultural Awareness). Although this result is indicative, given the limited sample of informants, it is worth reflecting on. Thus, it can be suggested that the need for and the role of intercultural communication's training should be carefully considered before advocated and implemented; Drawing on the results from this study, maybe cultural differences should be focused as one of several components in a communication's training designed for museum educators, and not as a single component considered to influence the overall communication behavior between museum educators and visitors.

6 CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER STUDIES

This study has focused on intercultural communication between museum educators and museum visitors in museums in Gothenburg City, Sweden. In the previous, we have seen that the informants all demonstrate a high level of cultural awareness and intercultural competence. The answers given in the interviews reflect that they are aware of intercultural communication skills, both verbal and non-verbal. They have also reflected on appropriate and effective behavior that form the competence needed in their daily encounters with people from other cultures than their own. Although there are no claims to generalize the results from this study, these can rather be seen as indicative and aim at providing a foundation for further studies. The results of the interviews show that intercultural communication between museum educators and museum visitors is an ongoing process. Furthermore, that awareness and understanding about cultural differences are of use to the museum educators when interacting with museum visitors, but that all differences or issues in the communication with museum visitors cannot be related to cultural background, but may instead be related to for example individual traits, gender and age.

The result of overwhelming positive effects of cultural diverse interactions at the museum was a somewhat unexpected result of the study. Although it is not hard to imagine that museum educators working with diverse groups every day in their work would have positive examples to report, the minimal negative effects reported is also one of the interesting findings of this study. Investigating the positive and negative effects of intercultural communication between museum educators and museum visitors was one of the main purposes with this study. One conclusion that the study has to offer in this regard is that the interview questions about the positive effects of intercultural communication between museum educators and museum visitors was answered with examples that could be divided into three groups, (1) enrichment and contribution in the conversation, (2) the novelty factor, putting the autopilot out of use, and (3) making everyone feel at home and represented in the museum. The negative effects were, by far, fewer and less noticed by the museum educators. The result showed that these had one of three different characteristics, covering practical matters, lack of knowledge, and lack of preparation. Furthermore, the answers provided by the museum visitors participating in the study reflected this, where the main effects were noted as positive.

Another conclusion made, based on the interviews, is that there is room for adapting the communication to be more culture specific dependent on the museum visitors' origin, either by use of vocabulary, speed, choice of language, content of the communication, using sounds, or even the use of non-verbal communication, including for example gaze and body movement, where specifically increased used of gesture and pointing were reported.

A further indicative conclusion, based on the results of this study, is that it is important for museum educators at museums to have intercultural training, and more specifically intercultural communication's training as continued professional education. The fact that only two of the informants had undergone such education, although they all saw a need for it, shows that there is a void to fill.

6.1 Further Studies

This study focuses on museum educators at three museums in Sweden and on visitors at two of these museums, wherefore the application scope and the findings are limited. Since the topic has previously not been studied much, the results of this study are regarded as a first indicator that can be used to design further studies.

In order to better map what differences in the communication, between museum educators and museum visitors, can be traced back to cultural differences, and not individual or other traits, an observation study of the museum educators in their meetings with museum visitors from other cultures is proposed. This allows for a much more detailed study, where for example the use of gestures, length of eye contact, themes of what is being communicated, and level of politeness can be observed and analyzed. However, such a study is time consuming and contains the element of getting the approval from the museum visitors in order to observe them, which might influence the result as people usually get more self-conscious when knowing that they are being observed, sometimes even behaving differently. In addition, filming such interactions is tricky at museums, as it poses security issues for the museums.

Although cultural taxonomies and theories have been used in the above to analyze the results from the interviews conducted and the completed questionnaires, a future study on the interaction between museum educators and museum visitors at museums would have to utilize existing theories to a much broader extent. Also, the questions asked should be more specific as to what cultures are intended by in the different examples given by the informants, in order for a more precise culture specific analysis. In addition, questionnaires might be exchanged for interviews or for larger samples with questionnaires outlining questions that give quantifiable data. All the informants in the study are Swedish nationals and five of them are women. Although this is a rather fair representation of the gender distribution between staff working at Swedish museums, in a future study it would be of interest to interview museum educators from other cultures and with a more equal gender distribution. Consequently, the scope of the study might have to be expanded.

One of the conclusions drawn in the above shows that although the informants in this study display a high level awareness of cultural differences and their potential influence on the communication with museum visitors, intercultural trainings at the workplace were regarded as something positive and in some cases missing. As such, it is suggested that a future study would investigate this need by covering more museums and museum staff. If the broad scale need amongst museum educators is coherent with the result shown in this study, then data could be gathered before and after an intercultural communication training. Some of the areas that would be covered in such a training, and evaluated, are intercultural engagement, intercultural communication and cultural understanding, something that all the informants in this study demonstrated.

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APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR MUSEUM EDUCATORS

Background Information

Name: Age:

Nationality:

Position:

Background/education:

Interview Questions

- 1. Could you please tell me about your profession?
- How long have you worked as a museum educator?
- Have you worked or lived abroad?
- 2. What is your experience with intercultural communication at your workplace?
- 3. What do museum visitors usually speak with you about? Cultural differences?
- 4. Do you find it easier to communicate certain information to people from certain cultures, over other? Why/what cultures?
- What nationalities are most common amongst your visitors?
- 5. Do you use any particular theories or awareness, in regard to culture, when you communicate with people from different cultures? Why/why not? Example?
- Is there room for tailoring your communication to be more culturally specific depending on where the museum visitors are from?
- Do you think that intercultural awareness in your profession, when communicating with museum visitors, is of benefit to the visitors' museum experience? If so, in what way(s)?
- 6. Do you think that there is a benefit of training museum guides in intercultural communication and intercultural behavior? Why/why not?
- 7. Did you undergo intercultural training before beginning your job? Or as continued professional education?
- If so, what did you think about it?
- If not, would you like to?
- 8. Are there any positive effects due to intercultural communication in your encounter with museum visitors? Example?
- 9. Are there any negative effects due to intercultural communication in your encounter with museum visitors? Example?
- 10. Is there anything else that you want to add in regard to intercultural communication at your workplace?

APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MUSEUM VISITORS

I'm investigating intercultural communication (communication between persons from different national origins) between museum educators and museum visitors at Swedish museums. The study is part of a master's thesis in the Master of Communication program at Gothenburg University. The below questionnaire is used to gather information about visitors' experience at the museum. It will take about 5-10 minutes to complete.

If you decide to participate, you are guaranteed anonymity, you don't have to answer any questions that you don't wish to answer and you can choose to quit filling out the questionnaire at any time. The information from the questionnaires will strictly be used for the purpose of research. The results of the study will be published online.

If you have any questions, don't hesitate to ask me.

Thanks in advance! Jahanavi Schriefer

E-mail: jahanavi.schriefer@gmail.com

Background information

zacko. cana memacien
1 What is your
a) age?
b) gender?
c) nationality ?
d) country of residence ?
e) occupation ?
f) e-mail address ?
2 How often do you visit museums
a) in Sweden?
b) anywhere in the world?
3 What do you usually speak about with museum guides/educators when you visit a museum?
The following 7 questions are asked in relation to your experience of today's museum visit and the museum guide/educator that gave the tour you just took part in.
4 What were your expectations (if any) on
a) the museum visit ?
b) the museum guide/educator ?
5 What was your experience of intercultural communication (communication between persons from
5 What was your experience of intercultural communication (communication between persons from different national origins) at your museum visit?

6 a) What possible cultural similarities did you notice between you and the museum guide/educator when
communicating (listening/speaking) with him/her?
b) How did you respond to the possible cultural similarities?
7 a) What possible cultural differences did you notice between you and the museum guide/educator when
communicating (listening/speaking) with him/her?
b) How did you respond to the possible cultural differences?
by now and you respond to the possible cultural unferences:
8 a) Do you think that there are possible benefits of training museum guides/educators in intercultural
communication?
b) Why/why not?
9 How did the intercultural communication with the museum guide/educator influence your view on
Swedish culture?
10 Is there anything else that you would like to add in regards to your experience of intercultural communicati
museum guide/educator at the museum?

Thank you for your participation!

FRÅGEFORMULÄR FÖR MUSEIBESÖKARE

Jag undersöker interkulturell kommunikation (kommunikation mellan personer från olika nationell härkomst) mellan museipedagoger och museibesökare vid svenska museer. Undersökningen är del av en masteruppsats vid programmet Master of Communication som ges vid Göteborgs Universitet. Nedan frågeformulär används för att samla information om museibesökares erfarenheter på museet. Det tar ungefär 5-10 minuter att fylla I formuläret.

Om du bestämmer dig för att delta garanteras du anonymitet, du behöver inte besvara någon fråga som du inte vill svara på och du kan välja att avbryta när som helst. Informationen från frågeformuläret kommer enbart att användas i forskningssyfte. Resultatet av undersökningen kommer att publiceras online.

Om du har någon fråga, tveka inte att fråga mig.

Tack på förhand! Jahanavi Schriefer E-mail: jahanavi.schriefer@gmail.com

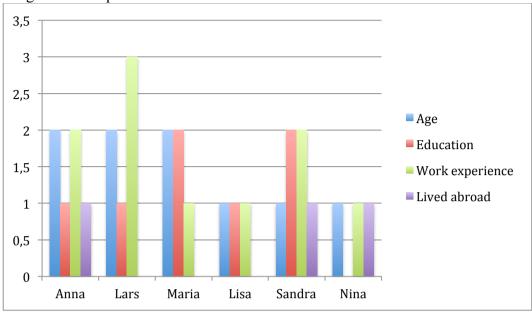
Bakgrund
1 Kan du fylla i följande bakgrundsinformation om dig?
a) ålder:
b) kön:
c) nationalitet:
d) land där du bor idag:
e) yrke:
f) e-mailadress:
2 Hur ofta besöker du museum
a) i Sverige?
b) någonstans i världen?
3 Vad pratar du vanligtvis om med museiguider/pedagoger då du besöker ett museum?
Följande 7 frågor ställs i relation till din upplevelse av dagens museibesök och museiguiden/pedagogen som nyss gav visningen som du deltog i.
4 Vad var dina förväntningar (ifall du hade några) på
a) museibesöket?
b) museiguiden/pedagogen?
b) museiguiden/pedagogen?

5 Vad var din upplevelse av interkulturell kommunikation (kommunikation med personer från olika nationell
härkomst) under ditt museibesök?
6 a) Vilka möjliga kulturella <u>likheter</u> lade du märke till mellan dig och museiguiden/pedagogen när du
kommunicerade (lyssnade/pratade) med honom/henne?
b) Hur reagerade du på de möjliga kulturella likheterna?
7 a) Vilka möjliga kulturella <u>skillnader</u> lade du märke till mellan dig och museiguiden/pedagogen när du
kommunicerade (lyssnade/pratade) med honom/henne?
Kommunicerade (1733) dae, pratade, med nonom, nemie.
b) Hur reagerade du på de möjliga kulturella skillnader?
8 a) Anser du att det finns möjliga förtjänster i att utbilda museiguider/pedagoger i interkulturell
kommunikation och interkulturellt beteende?
b) Varför/varför inte?
9 Hur påverkade den interkulturella kommunikationen med museiguiden/pedagogen din syn på svensk
kultur?
10 Finns det något annat du vill tillägga gällande din erfarenhet av interkulturell kommunika
på museet?

Tack för ditt deltagande!

APPENDIX 3: INFORMANTS – GENERAL OVERVIEW

Diagram 1 Comparison of Informants



The y-axle is the number, corresponding to Table 1 below. The x-axle lists the informants, i.e., museum educators.

Table 1 Participants and Comparison between cases¹

	Age	Education	Work experience	Lived abroad	
Anna	2	1		2	1
Lars	2	1		3	0
Maria	2	2		1	0
Lisa	1	1		1	0
Sandra	1	2		2	1
Nina	1	0		1	1

Informants

Interview 1

Anna

Museum A

Age 35-44 (2)

Nationality: Swedish

Profession: Museum educator

University degree: Bachelor in art studies (1)

Work experience: 6-10 years (2)

Lived Abroad: Yes (1)

Interview 2

Lars

¹ The coding was simplified, ranging from 0-3. Even though the units of the staples vary, this simplification serves to provide a quick overview. The units include years of age (Coding 1: 25-34 years old, 2: 35-44 years old), education level (Coding 0: No formal education, 1: Bachelor degree in art studies, 2: Master degree in art studies), years of working experience as an art educator (Coding 1: 1-5 years, 2: 6-10 years, 3: More than 11 years) and experience living abroad (Coding 0: No, 1: Yes).

Museum A

Age 35-44 (2)

Nationality: Swedish

Profession: Museum educator

University degree: Bachelor in art studies (1) Work experience: More than 11 years (3)

Lived Abroad: No (0)

Interview 3

Maria

Museum B Age: 35-44 (2)

Nationality: Swedish

Profession: Museum educator

University degree: Master in art studies (2)

Work experience: 1-5 years (1)

Lived Abroad: No (0)

Interview 4

Lisa

Museum B Age: 25-34 (1) Nationality: Swedish

Profession: Museum educator

University degree: Bachelor in art studies (1)

Work experience: 1-5 years (1)

Lived Abroad: No (0)

Interview 5

Sandra

Museum C Age: 25-34 (1) Nationality: Swedish

Profession: Museum educator

University degree: Master in art studies (2)

Work experience: 6-10 years (2)

Lived Abroad: Yes (1)

Interview 6

Nina

Museum C Age: 25-34 (1) Nationality: Swedish

Profession: Museum educator

University degree: No completed formal education (0)

Work experience: 1-5 years (1)

Lived Abroad: Yes (1)

APPENDIX 4: RESPONDENTS - GENERAL OVERVIEW

Questionnaire 1

Age: 25

Gender: Female Nationality: American

Country of residence: Sweden

Occupation: Student

Questionnaire 2

Age: 22

Gender: Female Nationality: German

Country of residence: Germany

Occupation: Student

Questionnaire 3

Age: 59

Gender: Male

Nationality: American

Country of residence: Sweden

Occupation: Economist

Questionnaire 4

Age: 33

Gender: Female Nationality: German

Country of residence: Germany

Occupation: Teacher

Questionnaire 5

Age: 25

Gender: Female Nationality: Latvian

Country of residence: Latvia

Occupation: Student

Questionnaire 6

Age: 46

Gender: Male Nationality: French

Country of residence: Sweden

Occupation: Manager

Questionnaire 7

Age: 39

Gender: Female Nationality: Danish

Country of residence: Sweden

Occupation: Manager

Questionnaire 8

Age: 21

Gender: Female Nationality: French

Country of residence: France

Occupation: Student

Questionnaire 9

Age: 30

Gender: Female Nationality: French

Country of residence: Sweden

Occupation: Engineer

Questionnaire 10

Age: 28

Gender: Female Nationality: Italian

Country of residence: Italy Occupation: Interpreter

Questionnaire 11

Age: 44

Gender: Female

Nationality: Ukrainian

Country of residence: Sweden Occupation: Musicology

Questionnaire 12

Age: 38

Gender: Female Nationality: Spanish

Country of residence: Sweden

Occupation: Student

Questionnaire 13

Age: 30 Gender: Male

Nationality: Italian

Country of residence: Italy

Occupation: Lawyer