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Antwerp's museums response to super diversity. A study of multiperspective cultural education for secondary school students

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Antwerp's museums response to super diversity. A study of multiperspective cultural education for secondary school students

Cultural and ethnic diversity in most Western countries has increased significantly in recent decades. Museums in general, and city museums in particular, face the challenge of connecting the original culture represented in their collections with the different cultures of their target audience. The aim of this research was to investigate how multiperspectivity can be explicitly and concretely implemented in the public relations strategy of museums. The project team formed a multidisciplinary learning community that created a synergy between art, heritage and education. Three important Antwerp museums participated, providing lessons to secondary students. The museum lessons were developed using the HEM matrix as a multiperspective frame of reference. They were found to appeal to all students in general, and in some respects even more to students with a more diverse background. In fact, the effect of the museum lessons was found to be more positive as the background of the students became more diverse. The project shows that the concept of multiperspectivity is of value to museum public relations in meeting a super diverse urban context.

Keywords: heritage education, museum, diversity, multiperspectivity, secondary education, public relations

Museums in a super diverse context

In most Western countries, cultural and ethnic diversity has significantly increased in recent decades (Vertovec 2006). Globalization, European integration and migration have thoroughly diversified society, including in Flanders (Geldof 2013). This increasing diversity has important implications for museums, especially in the urban context. In Antwerp, the second largest city in Belgium, for example, more than half of the inhabitants are of foreign origin (City of Antwerp 2019), with 171 different nationalities, more than in the capital, Brussels. In 2019, Antwerp became a majority-

minority city, which means that its residents consist of a wide range of minorities and that no community has a majority. In addition to the visible ethnic and cultural diversity among city residents, there are several other aspects that distinguish Antwerp residents from each other, such as social class, sexual orientation and religion.

This strong diversity enriches society, but also presents the task of fostering harmonious coexistence, which also has important consequences for local museums. In this context, museums in general, and urban museums in particular, face the challenge of connecting their representations of traditional culture with the different cultures of their target audience (Tisdale 2013). The task is to incorporate urban super diversity, in terms of the choices made in collection curation and the goal of attracting diverse groups of visitors.

Traditionally, most museums tell one story from a dominant perspective (Captain and Staat 2004), which is usually the perspective of an old monoculture. The nostalgic objects collected tend to arouse little interest in or involvement by people with other ethnic-cultural backgrounds (Van de Laar 2013). Moreover, museums that do pay attention to diversity often only implicitly incorporate elements of multiperspectivity, rather than having an explicit and coherent strategy (Franck *et al.* 2014).

When visiting a museum, recognition is an important feature for successful engagement. The feeling of not having a connection with the cultural heritage presented can lead to ‘cultural homelessness’ (Navarrete and Jenkins 2011). People with different ethnic-cultural backgrounds are more likely to visit a museum if they feel connected with or recognize themselves in the museum presentation (Geudens 2008). To achieve this, it may be necessary both to collect new items and to renew the collection presentation

(Nauwelaerts and Pottier 1999). The first option entails the inclusion of additional objects in the collection in order to implement ethnic-cultural diversity. This kind of multiperspectivity is important but its success is not guaranteed, as it still might stigmatize and stereotype certain groups. In a super diverse urban environment, with a huge mix of constantly changing cultural groups, it is almost impossible to represent all of the different perspectives in a museum collection.

The second option entails the reinterpretation of the existing collection. The collection might be presented through transverse themes that attract different communities in their own way. For example, one might take a somewhat classic approach, referring to universal human necessities (food, clothing, living, work, leisure); or one might focus on different social domains (political, socioeconomic, cultural, ideological); or even explore provocative or controversial themes such as justice and injustice, the impact of racism, gender roles, dictatorial regimes, war, colonialism and economic relations, the impact of media, or migration and refugees. This option of transverse themes thus enlarges the scope for recognition by all visitors. Moreover, it entails a shift from a focus on knowledge as an aim in itself to the use of knowledge, with the intention to educate citizens who are well-informed and critical thinkers (Wilschut 2016). For this purpose, a well thought out redesign of museological public relations is necessary, for which the concept of multiperspectivity also seems to be very useful.

Multiperspectivity implies diversity. It is a generic concept that is strongly related to a certain attitude. It entails an active stance and expresses a willingness to reconsider one's own point of view. While this does not require agreement with another point of view, it is necessary to understand different positions with an attitude of mutual respect

(Janssenswillen *et al.* 2019). In this way, multiperspectivity encourages the development of a critical sense, respect for others and support for democratic principles. Multiperspectivity requires a willingness to look at facts, contexts, people or developments from the perspectives of different actors in the past and different interpretations of the past in the present (Grever and van Boxtel 2014). Multiperspectivity concerns various perspectives, to take a broader approach to the dominant story to see what is missing. Different angles are presented side by side and connected to each other. The concept of multiperspectivity suggests that the scope of the presentation be broadened to include ‘forgotten’ social groups, such as immigrants, or linguistic, ethnic-cultural or religious minorities. This challenges a monocultural ethnocentric perspective.

Research design

The aim of this research was to investigate how multiperspectivity can be explicitly and concretely implemented with respect to museum collection presentation and public relations to meet the super diverse urban context. To this end, cultural education packages were developed in accordance with the principles of design-based research, with a focus on multiperspectivity. Design-based research is ‘a systematic but flexible methodology aimed to improve educational practices through iterative analysis, design, development, and implementation, based on collaboration among researchers and practitioners in real-world settings, and leading to contextually-sensitive design principles and theories’ (Wang and Hannafin 2005, 6).

The project involved collaboration between the teacher education programmes of the Artesis Plantijn University College and the University of Antwerp and aimed to strengthen the integration of research into the social context of the Antwerp region. Three major Antwerp museums participated in the project: the Royal Museum of Fine Arts Antwerp (KMSKA), the Museum aan de Stroom (MAS) and the Red Star Line Museum (RSLM). This meant that an arts museum (KMSKA) and two ‘narrative’ museums (MAS and RSLM) were represented in the study. In total, more than 70 employees were involved in the project, divided over three design teams, four implementation teams and two research teams. The three design teams were composed of museum staff and students from the teacher education programme in fine arts at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts Antwerp and the teacher education programmes in history and behavioural and cultural sciences at the University of Antwerp. The design teams formed a multidisciplinary learning community that created a synergy between art, heritage and education.

In the first phase of the research, each design team was responsible for the analysis of their museum collection or sub-collections from a multiperspective, with the aim of determining the public mediation products they could develop. This was done using the ‘matrix for multiperspectivity in heritage education’ (HEM matrix), which had already been developed in the context of the Multi-voiced Heritage project (Janssenswillen *et al.* 2018). This matrix brought together the core principles of history education and historical thinking (Van Straaten 2012), on the one hand, and cultural education on the other (van Heusden 2010; Vermeersch and Thomas 2016). The matrix has been tested and validated (Janssenswillen *et al.* 2018; Janssenswillen *et al.* 2019).

During the development process, the design teams assessed each other's progress according to the 'critical friends principle'. This involved a steering committee composed of representatives of all partners and supplemented by ten art education organizations (FARO, Youth Center Vizit, De Kunsthumaniora!, Kunst in Zicht, DKO Hoboken, MUKHA, Rasa, KASK-Artesis Plantijn University College, House of European History Brussels, Middelheim Museum Antwerp), which supervised the project, exchanged expertise and ensured quality control. This resulted in three educational packages with a multiperspective view of each collection presentation, which could be used in each museum's public relations strategy.¹

The educational packages were tested on 32 classes of secondary education students mainly 17-19 years of age from ten different Antwerp schools. To measure the effects, an existing questionnaire – an 'analysis tool for learning outcomes of heritage education' (Janssenswillen *et al.* 2018) – was thoroughly adapted and revised. This questionnaire consists of a number of items on personal characteristics and seven questions that gauge the participants' experience of the museum lesson. All necessary measures were taken to guarantee the confidentiality of the data and the privacy of participants.

¹ Two of the three packages can be consulted online at: <https://www.mas.be/nl/activities/doe-het-zelf-rondleiding-%E2%80%98feest%E2%80%99> (MAS); <https://www.redstarline.be/nl/pagina/rootszoekers> (RSLM). A summary of the project and the three educational packages is available through the brochure, 'Multiperspectivity in the museum', available from FARO.

After participating in the educational package, the students completed the questionnaire. This resulted in 292 usable questionnaires. The data was statistically processed after drawing up a codebook. One or two students per class were also randomly selected for a semi-structured in-depth interview. To put those students at ease and to respect their privacy, this was done in the specially designed Chat box knüs (Figure 1). The interview was conducted using guidelines based on two questions from the survey: ‘Which part of the museum lesson was most recognizable based on your own background?’ and ‘Which part of the museum lesson surprised you the most?’ Audio-recordings and transcripts of the 45 interviews were made and all of the interview texts were combined into one document. The most relevant information was then marked and coded on the basis of the results of the analysis of the questionnaires.

[Insert Figure 1 about here]

To determine the effects of multiperspective museum lessons on the various participants, the answers to thirteen experience and learning questions were compared according to five diversity characteristics of the respondents:

- (1) male or female
- (2) little or no recent museum experience (two or fewer museum visits in the past two years) vs much recent museum experience (three or more museum visits in the past two years)
- (3) born in Belgium vs not born in Belgium
- (4) born in Europe vs not born in Europe

- (5) genealogically registered as Belgian (born in Belgium with two parents born in Belgium) vs genealogically registered as non-Belgian (not born in Belgium, with two parents not born in Belgium).

Using a t-test, we compared the average response of the two different groups to each other. The normality of the distribution and the difference in variance were checked beforehand using Q-Q plots and the Levene test respectively. Below, the results of the questionnaire are further illustrated by some striking statements from the interviews with students.

The students came from ten different schools that each participated in one or more classes, with a total of 32 classes (21 class groups). An overview is provided in Table 1.

[Insert Table 1 about here]

We considered the museum lessons in the three different museums as a whole because all three were set up from a multiperspectivity frame of reference using the same instrument (the HEM matrix).

The students

In Table 2, we give the distribution of the number of boys (M), girls (V) and students who did not feel that they fit into either one of those boxes (X).

[Insert Table 2 about here]

The respondents (N = 286) indicated how many museums they had visited in the last two years, with a range of 0 to 6+. The answers were spread proportionally, with only a dip in the category ‘five museum visits in the past two years’ (see Table 3).

[Insert Table 3 about here]

When asked with whom they had visited the museums, the students could choose more than one answer. Of the respondents, 77.4% said they had visited museums with their school, 22.3% had been to museums with friends, 24.7% had been with family and 2.1% had gone alone.

With respect to origins, the graph below (Figure 2) shows that 186 of the 292 respondents were born in Belgium (63.70%). The remaining 106 respondents were born in 38 different countries (36.30%). There is a clear division into two groups, with the diversity among non-Belgian born very high.

[Insert Figure 2 about here]

When we look at the origin of the respondents and the country of birth of their parents and grandparents, it is apparent that the proportion of Belgian born in relation to non-Belgian born decreases in the previous two generations (see Figure 3 and Figure 4). In the population of students, the proportion of those born in Belgium is 2 in 3, while in the population of parents only 1 in 4 was born in Belgium and in the population of grandparents this proportion drops to about 1 in 6. Among the parents and grandparents, there are three main countries of birth: Belgium (26.76% parents; 19.70%

grandparents), Morocco (22.54% parents; 27.38% grandparents) and Turkey (7.57% parents; 8.88% grandparents). For the remainder, there were many small groups, representing 67 different countries. This differs from the students themselves, for which there was one large group of Belgian born and the rest of the students represented various countries in small groups. Among the parents of the students, the largest group was born in Belgium, followed narrowly by Morocco and to a lesser extent by Turkey. Among the grandparents the largest group was from Morocco, followed by Belgium, with the third largest group again Turkey.

[Insert Figures 3 and 4 about here]

General results

Table 4 indicates the respondents' experience of the museum lessons based on four criteria measured on a 5-point Likert scale. The table shows that in terms of the enjoyability of the museum lesson, the largest group of students rated it as 'neutral', followed by 'somewhat'. The largest group of students found the museum lesson 'somewhat' fascinating, 'somewhat' attractive and original, followed by 'neutral'.

[Insert Table 4 about here]

Table 5 indicates the extent to which the students considered there was diversity in the museum lesson based on five criteria measured on a 5-point Likert scale. In relation to whether there was an equal representation of men and women, the largest group of students responded 'neutral', followed by 'somewhat'; in relation to the equal

representation of the poor and the wealthy the largest group was also ‘neutral’, followed by ‘somewhat’. With respect to the equal representation of different historical periods and different cultures, the largest group answer was ‘somewhat’ followed by ‘neutral’, while with respect to the equal representation of different social, cultural and political domains, the largest group responded ‘neutral’, followed by ‘somewhat’.

[Insert Table 5 about here]

Table 6 indicates the extent to which the students considered that the museum lessons encouraged learning around values and standards, measured on a 4-point Likert scale, ranging from ‘Very little’ to ‘Very much’. For all questions, the largest group of students answered ‘Much’, followed by a slightly smaller number who responded ‘A little’.

[Insert Table 6 about here]

Finally, we measured the students’ enthusiasm about further museum experience, for which they were able to choose multiple answers. On average, 28.9% of the students chose each of the options in Table 7.

[Insert Table 7 about here]

Results on diversity in the effects of the museum lessons

When looking at the difference in the experience of male and female students, there were two questions that received a significantly different answer (see Table 8). The girls found the museum lesson more attractive than did the boys ($p = .018$; $MD = -.283$). More than the girls, the boys found that examples from the cultural, social, economic and political domains were equally represented ($p = .003$; $MD = .314$). For the remaining eleven questions, no significant difference was found between the answers given by boys and girls. These results show that in terms of gender, the multiperspective museum lesson had a predominantly similar effect on boys and girls. The girls considered the lessons to be more attractive than did the boys, while the latter considered that the presentation of social differences was more balanced than did the girls.

[Insert Table 8 about here]

'Especially at the Gay Pride. This is where both men and women were discussed, if I'm not mistaken. I've heard that from friends. I saw that in the pictures and the flyers. Because "gay" isn't necessarily men, that can be women too. That did show equality. With the other, it was more separated: the feast of the New Girl, or at the Giant Procession, they are more likely to be men. Or the Spanish, the military male. But overall, there was no clear imbalance between men and women. It was balanced.' (Male student)

'I went through the whole floor quickly, and it's a bit in-between, in balance.'
(Female student)

In the category of level of museum experience, a significant difference between the two groups was only found on one of the thirteen questions (see Table 9). Students with little or no recent museum experience were encouraged to think critically about their own values and standards more than those who had much museum experience in the past two years ($p = .025$; $MD = .211$). The multiperspective museum lessons thus had almost the same effect on those with different museum experience. The difference on one question suggests a certain habituation among students who have a lot of recent museum experience.

[Insert Table 9 about here]

'Buddhism, where your soul is actually passed on to someone else, or another body, I thought that was special. That you just stay on earth. With us, your soul goes to hell or paradise.' (Student who visited a museum once in the last two years)

'I thought the DIY assignments were original, especially with that light and stuff.' (Student who had visited more than six museums in the last two years)

In Table 10, there are five questions where students born in Belgium and students not born in Belgium gave answers that differed significantly from each other and each time in the same direction. Students who were not born in Belgium found the museum lessons more enjoyable ($p = .001$; $MD = .370$), more attractive ($p = .002$; $MD = .368$) and more original ($p = .027$; $MD = .253$) than students born in Belgium. Moreover, the museum lessons encouraged students who were not born in Belgium to recognize less

mundane situations ($p = .019$; $MD = .178$) and to think critically about their own values and standards ($p = .029$; $MD = .213$) more than the students born in Belgium. There were no significant differences for the other eight questions. We can thus conclude that the museum lessons often had the same effects on students, whether they were or were not born in Belgium. Nevertheless, differences in relation to five questions showed that the lessons had a more positive effect on students who were not born in Belgium. Therefore, it is possible that museum lessons that focus on multiperspectivity will be more engaging for students who are not born in Belgium than would traditional approaches.

[Insert Table 10 about here]

'The most recognizable for me were the reasons for migrating. My mother came to Belgium because my father lived here. So she migrated out of love. With all the videos where people talk about love as a reason to migrate, I had to think about my parents.' (Pupil born in Belgium)

'When it came to travelling by boat and being on the road for a long time, this was very recognizable to me. I was travelling for a year and a half. I was on a boat for three days. That failed. We were almost there, but then had to go back to my country. We weren't allowed in because we'd gone with a human trafficker. That was in Greece and we had to go all the way back to Afghanistan.' (Student born in Afghanistan)

'The part about marriage was very recognizable to me. I am Moroccan and in our culture it is mandatory to get married if you have a partner. There are also different phases that we have to go through to get there.' (Pupil born in Belgium to Moroccan parents)

Students born in Europe only answered one question significantly differently from those who were not born in Europe (see Table 11). They were encouraged to think critically about their own values and standards more than students not born in Europe ($p = .018$; $MD = .242$). There were no significant differences for the remaining twelve questions. These results indicate that the museum lessons had predominantly the same effect on these groups. However, the difference with the previous comparison between students born or not born in Belgium is rather striking, which is apparently due to a group of students who were not born in Belgium but were born in Europe. Diversity within Europe thus gives less cause for differences in responses with those not born in Europe than when we distinguish between students born in Belgium from those who are not.

[Insert Table 11 about here]

'My own way of looking and thinking has certainly been questioned. I thought: "Was it really like this in the past?", "Was history really like this?" I didn't know that. I thought it was already more multicultural.' (Pupil born in Belgium)

'The last time I was at the museum, I had to do more assignments about the content of the exhibition itself. Now we were allowed to think and compare more on our own. I liked this much more.' (Pupil born in Belgium)

'I'm not racist, but I think most white people don't like seeing the refugees coming. They don't let the refugees in, but when they come to the museum here and see that these people have also endured a lot of difficulties from the journey, they might look at it differently.' (Student born in Iran)

We considered the broadest differences in origin by comparing the genealogically registered Belgians with the genealogically registered non-Belgians (see Table 12). This was also reflected in the fact that the largest number of different answers were found when making this comparison. There were differences on six out of thirteen questions and always in the same direction. The genealogically registered non-Belgians found the museum more enjoyable ($p = .028$; $MD = .370$), more fascinating ($p = .048$; $MD = .376$), more attractive ($p = .005$; $MD = .472$) and more original ($p = .037$; $MD = .352$) than the genealogically registered Belgians. The genealogically registered non-Belgians also felt that the examples of the wealthy and poor were more balanced ($p = .037$; $MD = .339$), and that the museum lesson encouraged them to think more critically about their own values and standards ($p = .010$; $MD = .344$) than did the genealogically registered Belgians. The multiperspective museum lessons thus appeared to have a slightly greater impact on the genealogically registered non-Belgians than they did on the genealogically registered Belgians.

[Insert Table 12 about here]

'For example, the last thing we saw, that was about cultures, about life and death, they showed more images of death, about how they interact with it in

other cultures, and in the section about Muslims I recognized my life because I am a Muslim myself.’ (Student of Afghan origin)

‘And the boats were also recognizable. When you walk around the harbour, you’ll see these giant boats and cruise ships with lots of people. The number of people is recognizable: when you walk around Antwerp, it is noticeable how many people are walking around who are not from here.’ (Student of Belgian origin)

Conclusion

In collaboration with KMSKA, MAS and RSLM, museum lessons were developed using the HEM matrix as a multiperspectivity reference framework. The aim was to implement multiperspectivity in the museum collection presentation and to measure its effect on the public. The museum lessons were offered to a population of secondary school students in Antwerp between the ages of 17 and 19. A total number of 292 students completed a questionnaire afterwards and 45 students were interviewed. Respondents were distinguished and compared according to gender, museum experience and origin.

The survey revealed that the students generally appreciated the museum lessons, to the extent that they were enthusiastic to have a further museum experience. The students certainly liked the diversity in the museum lesson in terms of cultures and historical periods, and to a slightly more limited extent, they appreciated the balanced approach to male and female examples, poor and wealthy examples and the diversity of examples

from various social domains. They also generally reported that the museum lessons encouraged them to learn about values and norms.

We compared the differences between the students on five diversity characteristics. The museum lessons had predominantly the same effect on boys as on girls. However, the girls considered the lessons more attractive than did the boys, while the boys considered there was a more the balanced approach to social differences than did the girls. The museum lessons had almost the same effect on the groups with different levels of museum experience. Students with little to no museum experience were perhaps more encouraged by the power of the new experience to think more critically about their own values and standards than students who had a lot of museum experience.

While the museum lessons generally had the same effect on students, whether they were or were not born in Belgium, five questions indicated that the lessons had a more positive effect on students who were not born in Belgium. Thus, it can be argued that a focus on multiperspectivity could encourage students who are not born in Belgium to be more involved in museum lessons. With the exception of one question, this effect disappears when comparing students who were or were not born in Europe. Diversity within Europe thus gives less cause for differences in responses with non-Europeans than when we distinguish students born in Belgium or not. Conversely, when we reinforced the difference in origin and compared the genealogically registered non-Belgians and the genealogically registered Belgians, the museum lessons generally seemed to make more of an impression on the former.

Overall, it can be argued that the effect of the museum lessons was greater if the background of the student was more diverse. Our findings suggest that multiperspective museum lessons developed using the HEM matrix as a reference framework appeal to all students, while in some aspects, they have a slightly greater impact on students of non-Belgian origin or with a more diverse background. Thus, a multiperspective approach should be used in the public relations strategy of museums that aim to meet the super diverse urban context.

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Figure 1: Chat box knüs



Figure 2: Country of birth of respondents

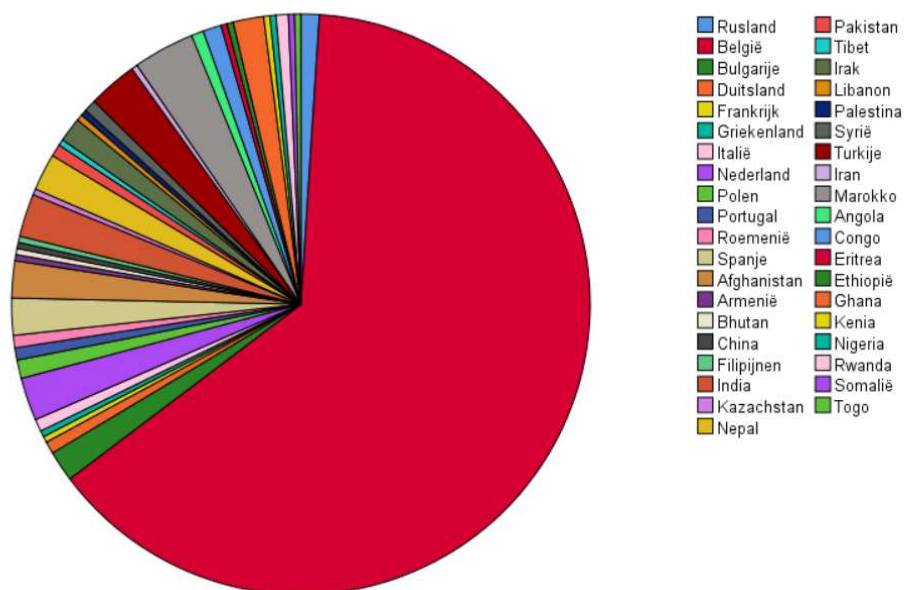


Figure 3: Country of birth of respondents' parents

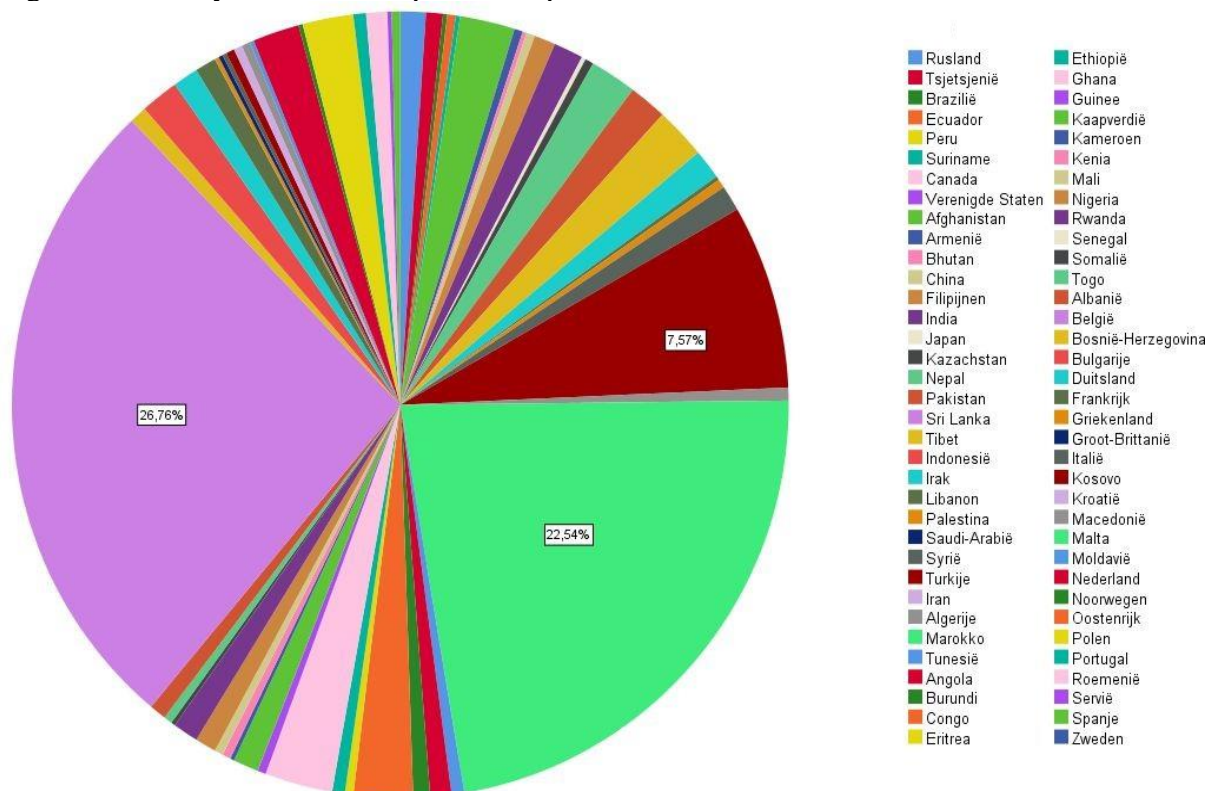


Figure 4: Country of birth of respondents' grandparents

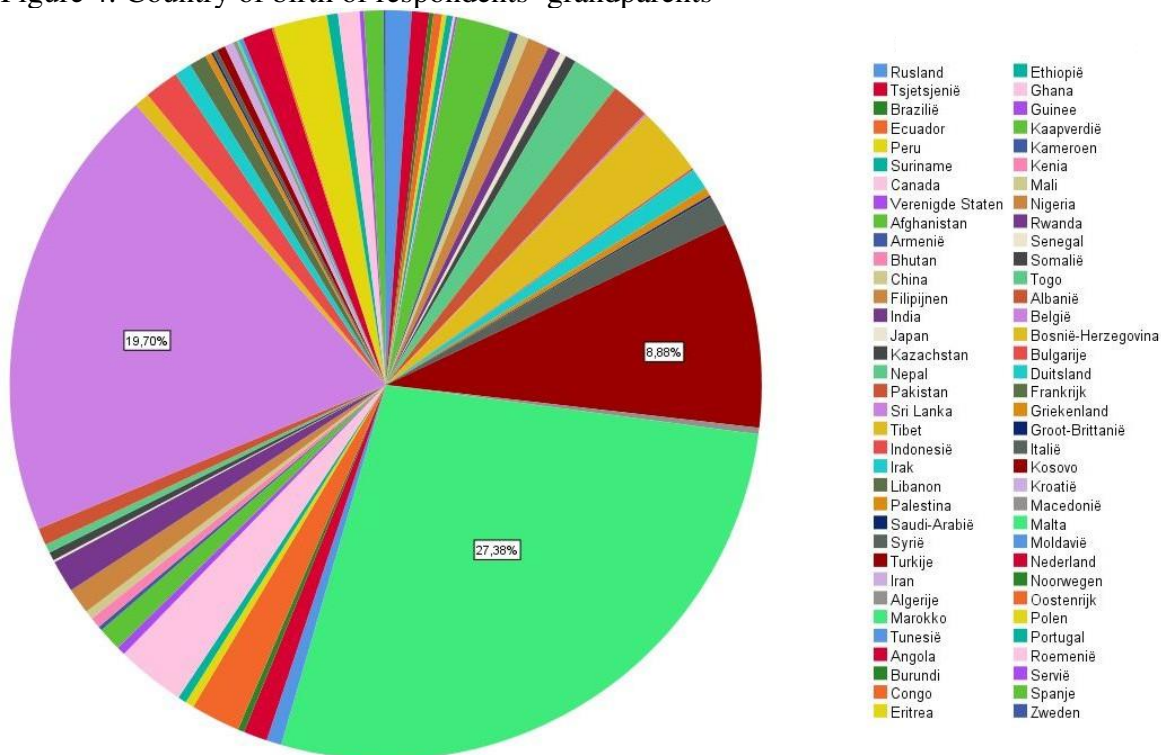


Table 1. Respondents per school

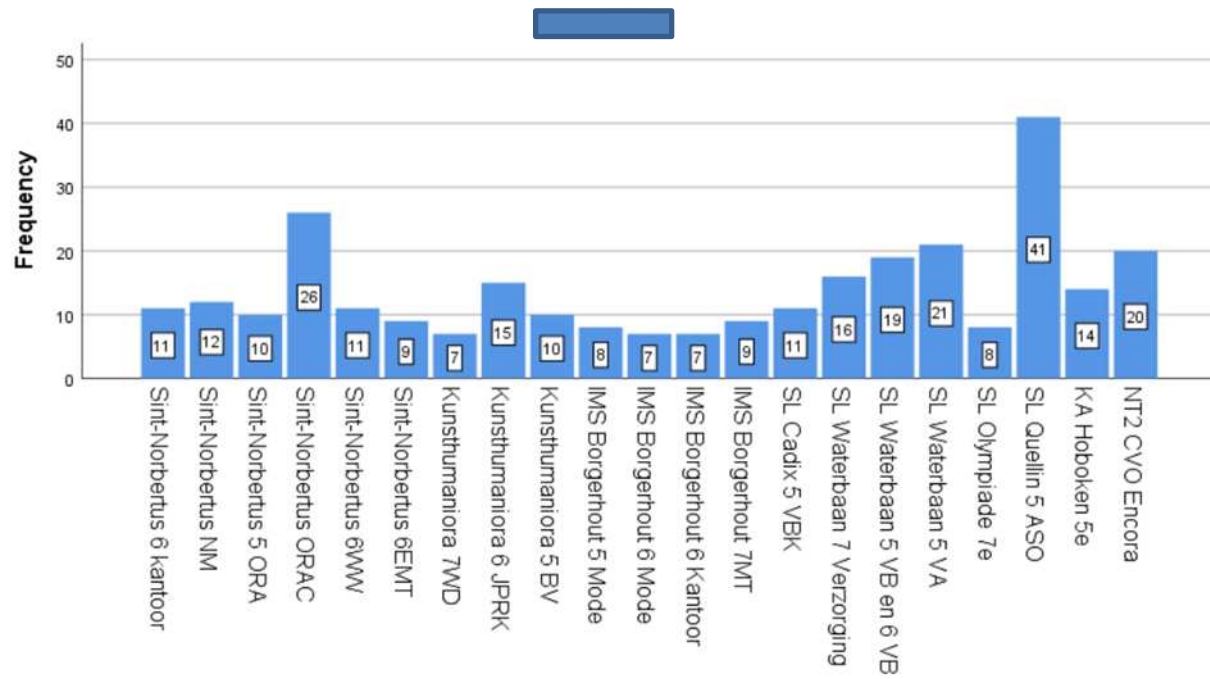


Table 2: Respondents by gender

	N	%
M	99	34.1
F	182	62.8
X	9	3.1
Total	290	100

Table 3: Number of museums visited per respondent in the past two years

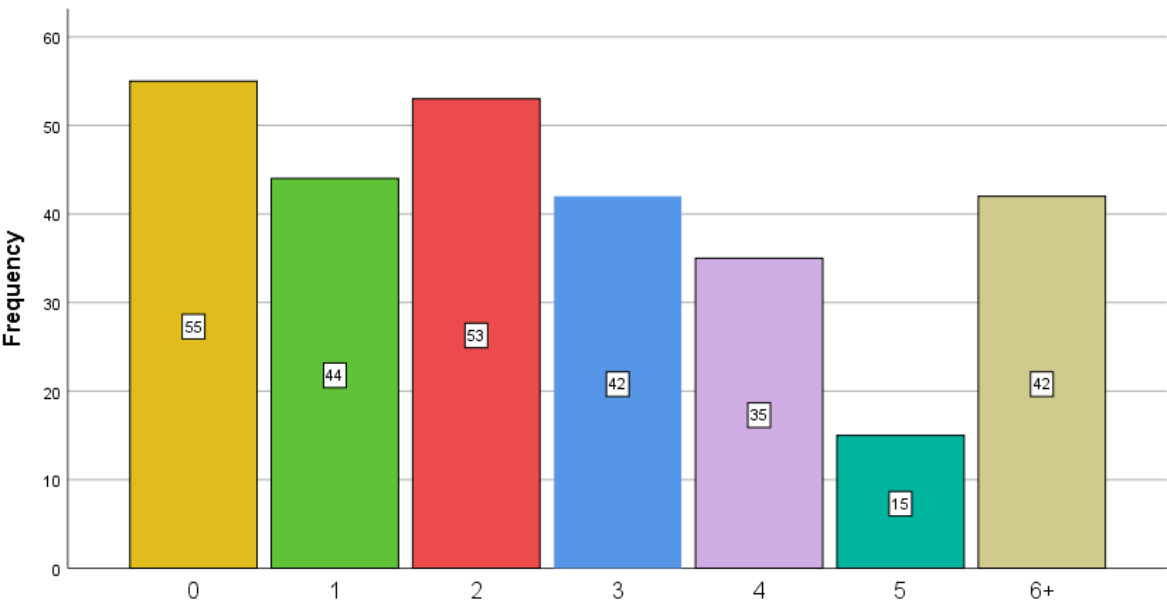


Table 4: Experience of museum lessons

		N	Not at all	Not really	Neutral	Somewhat	Totally
V1a	Did you enjoy today's museum lesson?	291	7 (2.4%)	16 (5.5%)	117 (40.2%)	108 (37.1%)	43 (14.8%)
V1b	Did you find today's museum lesson fascinating?	290	20 (6.9%)	27 (9.3%)	95 (32.8%)	106 (36.6%)	42 (14.5%)
V1c	Did you find today's museum lesson attractive?	291	7 (2.4%)	16 (5.5%)	97 (33.3%)	106 (36.4%)	65 (22.3%)
V1d	Did you find today's museum lesson original?	290	5 (1.7%)	14 (4.8%)	87 (30%)	109 (37.6%)	75 (25.9%)

Table 5: Experience of diversity in museum lessons

		N	Not at all	Not really	Neutral	Somewhat	Totally
V2a	Are examples of men and women equally covered?	283	9 (3.2%)	33 (11.7%)	130 (45.9%)	82 (29%)	29 (10.2%)
V2b	Are examples of the wealthy and poor equally covered?	286	20 (7%)	47 (16.4%)	125 (43.7%)	65 (22.7%)	29 (10.1%)
V2c	Are examples from different historical periods equally covered?	286	8 (2.8%)	19 (6.6%)	98 (34.3%)	119 (41.6%)	42 (14.7%)
V2d	Are examples from different cultures equally covered?	286	15 (5.2%)	31 (10.8%)	85 (29.7%)	95 (33.2%)	60 (21%)
V2e	Are examples from the cultural, social, economic and political domains equally covered?	286	5 (1.7%)	28 (9.8%)	141 (49.3%)	82 (28.7%)	30 (10.5%)

Table 6: Learning related to values and standards

		N	Very little	A little	Much	Very much
V3a	Did the museum lesson encourage you to <i>recognize</i> less mundane situations?	278	8 (2.9%)	113 (40.6%)	148 (53.2%)	9 (3.2%)
V3b	Has the museum lesson prompted you to understand less mundane situations?	277	9 (3.2%)	105 (37.9%)	156 (56.3%)	7 (2.5%)
V3c	Has the museum lesson prompted you to think critically about less mundane situations?	275	12 (4.4%)	106 (38.5%)	137 (49.8%)	20 (7.3%)
V3d	Has the museum lesson prompted you to <i>think critically about</i> your own values and standards?	274	21 (7.7%)	101 (36.9%)	126 (46%)	26 (9.5%)

Table 7: Student enthusiasm about further museum experience

After this museum lesson I was excited to ...	N (290)	%
... see more of this museum.	89	30.7
... visit another museum.	105	36.2
... recommend this museum to family or friends.	66	22.8
... do something with it in the classroom.	75	25.9

Table 8: T-test male student (♂)/female student (♀)

	N ♂	M ♂	SD ♂	N ♀	M ♀	SD ♀	t	df	p	MD
V1a	98	3.64	.922	182	3.54	.864	.941	278	.347	.104
V1b	97	3.46	1.021	182	3.47	1.049	-.024	277	.981	-.003
V1c	98	3.54	1.017	182	3.82	.911	-2.381	278	.018*	-.283
V1d	97	3.75	.936	182	3.88	.926	-1.083	277	.280	-.127
V2a	96	3.39	1.040	176	3.29	.849	.819	270	.441	.096
V2b	97	3.24	1.008	178	3.09	1.027	1.144	273	.254	.147
V2c	98	3.63	.935	177	3.59	.895	.394	273	.694	.045
V2d	97	3.49	1.226	178	3.58	1.012	-.649	273	.540	-.089
V2a	99	3.58	.797	176	3.26	.848	3.014	273	.003**	.314
V3a	96	2.51	.615	171	2.63	.593	-1.580	265	.115	-.121
V3b	95	2.51	.682	171	2.64	.551	-1.719	264	.108	-.132
V3c	94	2.55	.713	170	2.65	.682	-1.120	262	.264	-.100
V3d	94	2.50	.800	169	2.64	.710	-1.516	261	.145	-.145

(N = number; M = mean; SD = standard deviation; df = degrees of freedom;
p = significance; * p < .05; ** p < .01; MD = mean difference)

Table 9: T-Test Little or no recent museum experience (gME)/Much recent museum experience (ME)

	N gME	M gME	SD gME	N ME	M ME	SD ME	t	df	p	MD
V1a	151	3.52	.886	134	3.62	.908	-.967	283	.334	-.103
V1b	151	3.48	1.136	133	3.35	.986	1.023	282	.307	.130
V1c	151	3.71	1.017	134	3.71	.883	-.003	283	.998	.000
V1d	151	3.76	.978	133	3.86	.897	-.854	282	.394	-.096
V2a	147	3.27	.872	131	3.37	.970	-.853	276	.394	-.094
V2b	148	3.14	1.086	133	3.13	.972	.059	279	.953	.007
V2c	147	3.67	.830	134	3.51	1.002	1.455	279	.150	.159
V2d	147	3.56	1.027	134	3.50	1.181	.490	279	.624	.065
V2a	148	3.38	.836	134	3.34	.892	.413	280	.680	.043
V3a	142	2.58	.575	132	2.55	.646	.331	272	.741	.024
V3b	141	2.55	.591	132	2.61	.615	-.821	271	.412	-.060
V3c	141	2.59	.633	130	2.64	.737	-.598	269	.550	-.050
V3d	139	2.68	.694	131	2.47	.835	2.260	268	.025*	.211

Table 10: T-test born in Belgium (BE)/not born in Belgium (nBE)

	N nBE	M nBE	SD nBE	N BE	M BE	SD BE	t	df	p	MD
V1a	105	3.80	.924	186	3.43	.850	3.454	289	.001**	.370
V1b	105	3.58	1.108	185	3.34	1.035	1.894	288	.059	.246
V1c	105	3.94	.908	186	3.58	.957	3.205	289	.002**	.368
V1d	105	3.97	.914	185	3.72	.937	2.226	288	.027*	.253
V2a	99	3.33	1.079	184	3.30	.826	.252	281	.816	.029
V2b	105	3.25	1.081	181	3.06	.998	1.523	284	.129	.192
V2c	104	3.61	.960	182	3.58	.893	.256	284	.789	.029
V2d	103	3.45	1.210	183	3.59	1.028	-1.062	284	.311	-.144
V2a	103	3.43	.946	183	3.33	.813	.934	284	.351	.099
V3a	98	2.68	.636	180	2.51	.584	2.355	276	.019*	.178
V3b	97	2.59	.658	180	2.58	.569	.130	275	.897	.010
V3c	96	2.69	.730	179	2.55	.663	1.547	273	.123	.134
V3d	94	2.71	.771	180	2.50	.759	2.192	272	.029*	.213

Table 11: T-test born in Europe (EU)/not born in Europe (nEU)

	N nEU	M nEU	SD nEU	N EU	M EU	SD EU	t	df	p	MD
V1a	210	3.60	.898	79	3.52	.845	.653	287	.514	.076
V1b	210	3.44	1.089	78	3.41	.986	.231	286	.817	.033
V1c	210	3.73	.956	79	3.63	.950	.797	287	.426	.100
V1d	210	3.81	.938	78	3.79	.931	.156	286	.876	.019
V2a	203	3.27	.939	78	3.41	.874	-1.135	279	.257	-.139
V2b	207	3.11	1.074	77	3.19	.889	-.645	282	.519	-.089
V2c	205	3.56	.946	79	3.66	.846	-.799	282	.425	-.097
V2d	205	3.59	1.124	79	3.39	1.018	1.364	282	.174	.198
V2a	205	3.35	.909	79	3.39	.706	-.363	282	.686	-.041
V3a	198	2.59	.612	78	2.53	.597	.803	274	.423	.065
V3b	197	2.57	.590	78	2.60	.631	-.360	273	.719	-.029
V3c	195	2.61	.690	78	2.59	.692	.222	271	.825	.021
V3d	194	2.64	.764	78	2.40	.744	2.376	270	.018*	.242

Table 12: T-test genealogically registered Belgian (SBE)/genealogically registered non-Belgian (SnBE)

	N SnBE	M SnBE	SD SnBE	N SBE	M SBE	SD SBE	t	df	p	MD
V1a	103	3.79	.925	48	3.42	1.007	2.223	149	.028*	.370
V1b	103	3.56	1.109	48	3.19	1.003	1.997	149	.048*	.376
V1c	103	3.95	.912	48	3.48	1.052	2.821	149	.005**	.472
V1d	103	3.99	.902	47	3.64	1.051	2.103	148	.037*	.352
V2a	97	3.32	1.076	48	3.25	.887	.387	143	.699	.070
V2b	103	3.25	1.091	46	2.91	.812	1.888	147	.037*	.339
V2c	102	3.61	.966	48	3.63	.890	-.104	148	.917	-.017
V2d	101	3.46	1.213	48	3.54	.944	-.434	147	.637	-.086
V2a	101	3.41	.940	48	3.38	.761	.199	147	.831	.031
V3a	96	2.68	.641	47	2.49	.547	1.724	141	.087	.188
V3b	95	2.59	.660	47	2.62	.573	-.244	140	.808	-.028
V3c	94	2.68	.722	46	2.65	.640	.229	138	.819	.029
V3d	92	2.68	.755	47	2.34	.700	2.606	137	.010*	.344