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II. Abstract

This master thesis is result of the fieldwork done in one of the Norwegian museums and in four Norwegian primary schools. The main informants of the study were third grade children who visited a prehistoric exhibition. The thesis explores the children's experiences of the museum visit with school class, and children's perspectives on the prehistoric museum objects. Two main methods were used in order to answer the research questions of the thesis: observations, which were conducted in the museum, and semi-structured group interviews with children, which were conducted in the schools.

The children in this research were seen from the Social studies of childhood point of view. The thesis revealed that museum was a place where children were competent social agents, that in the same time their agency was constrained by museum rules, timetables and curriculum, and that children wanted more agency in the museum. Moreover, study explored that children expressed agency to imagine the prehistory in their own way. The children from the research were also seen as competent human beings who could benefit from the museum visit in their childhoods.

This master thesis explored that children's experiences of the museum visit were mostly influenced by social context of the visit, or who they were in the museum with. Further, it highlighted that majority of children experienced the museum as a place for learning. Children's experiences were also influenced by the fact that they were not supposed to be all around the museum, but just in one exhibition room. The stuffed animals in the museum were not part of the curriculum, but an important part of children's museum experiences.

The children's interaction with museum objects allowed the author to study children's perspective on prehistoric times. Children imagined prehistory by using the museum objects and the stories applied to them, which children could see and were told about in the museum. In addition, children used to transform the information about the prehistory to their own everyday's interests making the new and own story about the prehistory. They were doing that also together with their peers. This master thesis proposes the museum as one more setting where the concepts of interpretative reproduction, peer culture, "human beings and human becomings" and children's agency could be studied.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Choice of topic and the research site

In this introduction chapter I will present my motivations for choosing the topic and the research place. After giving the definitions of the museum and museum objects I will introduce the research questions as well as aims and significance of the topic. In the end of the chapter I will shortly describe the structure of the master thesis.

My own educational background, which is bachelor in archaeology influenced the choice of the museum as a place for research and the master thesis topic to be: *Museum as a place for children. Children's perspectives on a prehistoric exhibition*. However, I wrote this thesis as a master student in Childhood studies and I searched for literature which looked at children in the museum from Social studies of childhood point of view. I did not find that such projects were done in Norway until now, but there is an on-going project of Anna Sparrman, the professor at department of Thematic studies-Child Studies, on Linköping University in Sweden (Linköping, 2015). This project named "Culture for and by children- A visual ethnographic study of Children's Museums, Theme Parks, Amusement Parks and Science Centers" is focusing on children's experiences of these spaces and studies them from children's perspective (Nilsen, 2015). In time of writing this thesis, the results of Anna Sparrman's project have not been published yet. In general, the lack of research on the topic children and museum, and especially from Social studies of childhood perspective, decided the extent of the thesis and gave an extra challenge to me as an author.

While working as archaeologist I took part in numerous projects and I have one year work experience in "The National Museum of Niš" in Serbia. In the museum, one of my tasks was showing the archaeological and historical exhibitions to the tourists, and most of them were children of all ages. As an archaeologist who graduated with a topic regarding Iron Age, and a master student in childhood studies, I was interested in grasping children's perspectives about prehistory. I wanted to explore the children's experience of one day spent in the museum, and I wanted to look at the museum from children's perspective. Further, in my opinion, museum is the place where archaeology and childhood studies could meet, and I was very motivated in finding connections between these two sciences. By combining the previous experience with the

new obtained knowledge about the theories of childhood studies I believed that I could contribute to this area. Therefore I decided that my research site would be one of the Norwegian Museums which practiced involving the school children visits in its dissemination program.

The museum I did research in consists of several buildings, as well as workshops and storages. Each building contains different exhibitions, either temporary or permanent. The exhibitions are about natural and cultural history topics, and the aim of the museum is to provide visitors with the knowledge of the natural world, culture, science and technology. The Museum is especially interested in engaging children, and during the school year, different activities for children of all ages are being organized. Since I am first and foremost interested in the children's experience of prehistory I decided to do research in the archaeological exhibition room which is regarding the prehistoric period of Norway.

The children I did research with came into the museum with their classmates and teacher, as part of an organized visit, and at the museum they were involved in several different activities regarding the prehistoric exhibition. During the research it turned out that the follow up of my research had to be conducted in the primary schools which had visited the museum. In the end, my research took place in the museum and four different Norwegian primary schools.

I chose Norway because this country has a large number of museums who are interested in engaging children and collaboration with schools. Museums in Norway are mostly financed by public means and they range from small local museums to regional museums and to bigger national and university museums (Lauritzen & Kraft, 1996:14). The museum I did my research in is also founded by public foundations. The exhibition where I did research with children is a traditional one, in the sense that it is not digitalized but based on the traditional museum objects which were exposed in the glass closets.

1.2 Museum, exhibition and museum objects

The most recent definition of museum which is widely used is from 2007 incorporated in the Statutes of the International Council of Museums (ICOM):

“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.” (Desvalles & Mairesse, 2009:57). This definition replaced the ICOM definition from 1974, which was used in more than 30 years.

The definition that The British Museums Association adopted in 1984 reveals the main purpose of the museum in the maybe most concrete way: “ *A museum is an institution which collects, documents, preserves, exhibits and interprets material evidence and associated information for the public benefit* “ (Woodhead & Stansfield, 1994:4).

Dean (1994) adds that the main purpose of the museums is to collect, research and display the objects in the museum exhibitions. Desvalles and Mairesse (2009:35) give the definition of the exhibition as “ the act of displaying things to the public, the objects displayed (the exhibits), and the area where this display takes place”. Making those exhibitions public and opening them to the visitors are very important tasks of nowadays museums. Throughout their work on public exhibitions museums “ must prove themselves worthy of the visitor’s attention and time” (Dean, 1994:2). In the modern museums public and visitors are of a big concern. Dean (1994) explains how the museum transfers the information to the visitors through the museum exhibition which is made of objects. The museums communicate with the visitors through the public exhibitions, and though the museum objects displayed. Desvalles and Mairesse (2009:64) defines the museum objects as one of the important concept of the museology “The museal object is made to be seen, with its whole mass of implicit connotations, because we can display it in order to stir emotions, to entertain, or to teach “. Within the museum exhibition these objects are presented to the visitor with the meaning assigned by experts through their scientific research (Desvalles & Mairesse, 2009:64). The objects are interpreted and the interpretation in form of narrative is offered to the visitor. But, the “meanings of an object varied not only over time and space but also according to who was viewing them” (Alberti, 2005:568). Desvalles and Mairesse (2009:64) add that ”each visitor is free to interpret the objects according to his or her own culture”. Children have their own perspectives and could therefore interpret and experience the museum objects in their own way.

1.3 The aim of the project

The aim of my research is to explore children's experience of the one day spent the museum with classmates. Additionally I wanted to explore how children were making meaning of the historical exhibitions which were offered to them in the museum. Within the second aim I wanted to see how children understand the prehistory and its objects in the museum, based on previous knowledge and experience. Based on the previous work with the museum visitors, I concluded that experience of exhibition is highly personal, dependent on the former education, social and cultural context of each person and that children also might have their own perspective from which they could understand prehistory.

The museum is a place where "the experience from the child comes into contact with the tools and practices" (Rowe, 2002:19). In my research the children's experiences came into contact with museum objects and narratives, which were attached to them as a result of scientific interpretation made by professionals. The goal of museum is not just transforming information to the children but to stimulate visitors to make meaning of the objects exposed (Rowe, 2002). During the visits in the museum children get an opportunity to actively participate in the meaning making (Rowe, 2002:21), and in my research it would be making the meaning of the prehistory and the museum objects which belonged to the prehistoric period. The children were participating in the discussion with the guide about the museum objects, they could see the objects, and also touch the copies. In the museum the children were provided with different information, but they might make their own meaning of the exhibition and have their own interpretations of the exhibition.

1.4 Research questions

From the above aims I have formulated the following research questions:

- What are the children's experiences of the day spent with the class in the museum?
- What are children's perspectives on the prehistory based on their interaction with museum objects from the exhibition?

The research questions was the tool in learning about the children's general experience of the whole museum visit, and for gaining children's perspectives on the prehistoric exhibition and

its objects with which children got into contact in the museum. These two research questions are quite interrelated. Children's experiences in the museum was sometimes in dependence on the museum objects, and on the contrary children's interaction with museum objects was affected by the museum experience of the each child.

By children's interaction with objects I meant that children saw the exhibits in the setting of the museum, they listened about them, they participated in the discussion on them and they could touch the copies. Moreover, the children got opportunity to reflect on the museum objects during the interviews I conducted.

The important goal of every museum is collecting objects and displaying them to visitors (Paris & Hapgood, 2002:43). The museum staff use the objects as "facts on the page" in order to educate the visitors (Paris & Hapgood, 2002:44). The museum from this study offers to children narratives and interpretations of prehistory using the objects from exhibitions as a tool. But children could experience and response to this the narratives in different way. Regarding children's interaction with museum objects I was curious about the following issues: Which objects were the most interesting from a child's perspective, and which were stimulating the discussions about the prehistory? Why were some objects more important from the children's point of view than other objects? Then, how did children use prior knowledge, conversations and which associations from the modern world in order to make meaning of the prehistoric exhibition? Museum's objects also become the stimulators of children own memory and stimulate them to express their experience and share stories (Paris & Hapgood, 2002). That is why I thought, that this object centered approach, and talking with children about the museum objects, would be useful for gaining children's perspectives and experiences. As Paris and Hapgood (2002, 44) write "the notion of story is crucial, when considering object based knowledge" in the museum. The children from my study were listening to the stories from the guide but they were also constructing their own narratives of objects.

In order to answer the research questions I observed the children in the museum and I conducted group, semi-structured interviews in the schools. The group interviews were formed of two or three children, both girls and boys.

1.5 Significance of the topic

The Article 31 in the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child states that State Parties should "recognize the right of the child to rest and leisure, to engage in play and recreational activities appropriate to the age of the child and to participate freely in cultural life and the arts. States Party shall respect and promote the right of the child to participate fully in cultural and artistic life and shall encourage the provision of appropriate and equal opportunities for cultural, artistic, recreational and leisure activity" (UNCRC, 2015).

But what does the statement above mean for my research with children in museum? If they have a right to participate in the cultural activities in the museum, they also have to be asked, and their voices have to be heard about their experience of the programs which are made for them in the museum. By examining children's perspectives of the museum visit I hope to give a contribution to knowledge on how children could benefit even more from such visits. Knowledge about children's experience of the museum could be an useful tool for making the programs in the museums in accordance with children's expectations. To recognize that feeling that their opinion is important and worth to be heard, could also be beneficial for encouraging children's participation in culture, and it could be a solid basis for the formation of the children's museum visiting habits.

What meanings children are making and attaching to the museum object could be also useful for the kind of museum I did research in. Gaining children's perspective during and after one day spent in the museum, might contribute to what the museum as place for children can offer to them, how to improve the museum when dealing with the youngest public, and how to gain even more children among its visitors.

1.6 The structure of the thesis

This master thesis consists of 7 chapters. The introduction chapter explains the choice of the topic and research site, aim of the study, research questions, as well as significance of the study and the structure of the thesis. The first chapter is followed by the background chapter which introduces the history of the institution of museum and the process of the dissemination for children mostly in Norwegian museums. The third chapter presents the theoretical frameworks I used in order to analyze my data and answer the research questions. The

methodology chapter provides insight into the fieldwork I conducted, by presenting the research design, methods used, language and ethical challenges. The fifth and sixth analysis chapters present the findings from this study and are interconnected with a discussion on the explored issues. Lastly, in chapter 7, I summarize by discussing findings together in the light of answering research questions, and give some advices to museums in order to be even better place for children. In the very end I propose some recommendations for future studies.

Chapter 2: Background of the study

In this background chapter I will describe shortly the history of the institution of museum and emphasize the fact that museums have not always been place for children. Special attention will be paid to the period of 1970th when the awareness of the importance of engaging children in the museums appeared. Then I will introduce the process of the dissemination for children in museums and end with describing the phenomenon of school visits to the museums foremost in Norway. Throughout the background chapter I will present the projects which took part in Norway from 1970th onwards regarding the Museum and Children, which I found inspiring for my research.

2.1. History of museums

The term museum derives from the Greek word “ Museion “ which means the dwelling of the Muses, who in Greek mythology are goddesses of the inspiration of art, science and literature (Woodhead & Stansfield, 1994). Muses as a symbol of knowledge have marked out the museums as a place for study and learning (Dean, 1994:2). Romans used the term to describe the place for philosophical learning and discussions (Woodhead & Stansfield, 1994). The renaissance period brought the increasing interests in classical material which were collected by rich Europeans in bigger and smaller collections, which were sometimes open to the public (Woodhead & Stansfield, 1994). In the beginning of the 19th century the museums got the role to preserve the national identity and strength the national consciousness (Woodhead & Stansfield, 1994). In Norway the museums also have played an important role in forming the nationality during the 19th century (Enerstvedt, 1997). It was recognized that there was a Norwegian culture, and the museums should represent this culture. This culture was particularly inspired by culture of farmers, also called as “folk culture” (Enerstvedt, 1997:13). Further, Enerstvedt (1997) notice that the folk culture gave a character to the Norwegian museums and their exhibitions. But during the 1900s the Norwegian society went through certain changes and museums lost social importance (Enerstvedt, 1997:13). The new rising working class did not identify themselves with the folk culture in the museums, and the museums in this period did not play an important role in creating the society and cultural development (Enerstvedt, 1997) . After the Second World War there was the rising of Norwegian welfare society with a

tendency to give to the all citizens the possibility to enjoy the same benefits and among them benefits from art and culture (Enerstvedt, 1997). With that goal a number of cultural institutions were founded like Riksgallery and Rikstheater, and different programs were developed, like displaying Art in Schools and Art on Working Places (Enerstvedt, 1997). However, as Olofsson (1979:10) points out museums through their historical development “had mostly been in the first place the storehouses for the preservation for cultural heritage and main roles were to collect, preserve and to carry out research”. It was during the 1970^s when the museum’s educational potential was recognized and museums became the place for everybody (Olofsson, 1979:10). While writing about the development of the museums in Norway, Enerstvedt (1997:14) points out that from 1975 museums in Norway get the financial support from the State and they were supposed to play “bigger role in the local society cultural life “ and more in accordance with the wider visitors experience. In 1980th the idea that culture should not exists just for its self but that it has to be an instrument, was the reason why tourism and visitors became the important preoccupations of museums (Enerstvedt, 1997:14).

2.2 Museums and children

The history of the children in museums is not a long termed one. It is hard to imagine today that museums throughout history have not always been the places for children. Most of the modern museums today invest a lot in making the exhibitions more suitable to the youngest visitors. Recently the children’s museum became popular which deal with children’s culture and history of childhood. Such museums are especially designed for children. The children museums have origin in USA, and the oldest one is opened in New York in 1899 (ACM, 2015). Norway has a children’s museum in Stavanger (MUST, 2015).

Historians and archaeologists nowadays recognize the importance of children’s social role in the past and actively investigate material culture which could be connected to children and children’s behavior through the ages (Baxter, 2005; Derevenski, 2000). The archaeology of children found its place in the social studies on the basis of the work of historian Philippe Aries who explores the conception of childhood from middle age onwards (Aries, 1982). But children have long been neglected by sociologists as well as by historians and archaeologists. The eminent British historian John Hale opened his article from 1968 with the following statement : “ let me say at once that I hate the idea of museums being used primarily as teaching aids of any

sorts. Their first job is to house the valuable objects safely and display them attractively. The second responsibility is to those who already are educated, to the student, the collector, the informed amateur..." (in Olofsson, 1979:10). With such attitudes children could not be seen as active participants in the institutions of museums. The trend of the lack of children in museums continued during the 1970^s but the awareness that it is wrong and that something had to be done appeared. In this period the importance of museum's 's educational role is recognized (Olofsson, 1979). The museums became the place where children can learn about different topics and as a result the collaboration between the museums and schools was encouraged. The International Year of the Child in 1979 was the one more reason for United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to conduct and publish the important project "Museums and Children" (Olofsson, 1979). In this project UNESCO studied the role of the museums as "out-of school educational instrument" and carried out research about the activities which were organized for children in numerous museums all around the world (Olofsson, 1979). The goal was how to improve the educational programs for children in the museums, to encourage the collaborations between the schools and museums, and that children could benefit even more from such museum's visits. Enerstvedt (1997) writes about the situation of children and museums in Norway during the 1970^s, when the museums became more aware of the responsibility that they had to engage children in their activities. Museums got the important task to educate children about different topics, and to adjust their dissemination projects to the schools and their educational programs. Enerstvedt (1997:15) points out that the museums became aware that different visitors have different needs and hence children have their own culture and preferences.

In 1975 the Norwegian Museum Pedagogical Union was founded with a mission to influence the museums to employ more pedagogues (Lauritzen & Kraft, 1996). Then in 1976 the Norwegian Association of Museum Educators was established and the goal "was making museums more professional regarding the publicity, guiding and education activities" (Lauritzen & Kraft, 1996:7). Regarding the 1979 child year, in Norway The Council for Cultural Affairs (Kulturrådet) had published papers and made a lot of conferences on the topic of child and culture (Lauritzen & Kraft, 1996:15). From those measures it is obvious that children had become the important targeted group in Norwegian Council for Cultural Affairs, and probably stimulated engaging children in the museums from 1970th onwards.

In the beginning of the 1990s , as a result of long and good collaboration with museums, The Norwegian Council For Cultural Affairs created and conducted the important project named “ Children, Young people and Museums” (Enerstvedt, 1997:10). Then, almost 15 years after the first steps were made, it was recognized that museums still needed to be supported in their work and developing offers for children and initiatives to strengthen their collaboration with schools (Lauritzen & Kraft, 1996:8). The three year long project, started in 1992, and Norwegian Council for Cultural Affairs should invested about 3 million NOK (Enerstvedt, 1997:10). An new Committee was formed named the Children and Museum Committee, and its purpose actually was to conduct the project about the Children and the Museum (Lauritzen & Kraft, 1996:8). The Committee should first find museums who wanted to participate, train them, and in addition children should actively participate in planning and carrying out the project (Lauritzen & Kraft, 1996). Enerstvedt (1997) introduces the 11 Norwegian museums which took part and her publication “ Children, Young People and the Museums” presents the project and evaluation of it. The project emphasized that the museums have to adjust their dissemination specially to children and young people, to stimulate them to make more offers to this group of visitors and to take into account children’s own culture when making the programs for them in the museums (Enerstvedt, 1997:16). From the results it was obvious that there were a lot of museums which are enthusiastic in improving conditions for children in Norway in 1990th. Further it was recognized that museums have to collaborate with children and “ Institutions working with children and people who know a lot of about the children” (Lauritzen & Kraft, 1996:14).

In 1995 the International seminar named “ Children and Museums in Changing Society” was held in Stavanger in corporation with Norwegian Council for Cultural Affairs (Lauritzen & Kraft, 1996). The seminar showed that children in the museums had become an important topic in Norway. The Seminar participants discussed what had been done until then and they were aware of the long way further to make museums more attractive to the children. The participants of the Seminar emphasized that Norwegian Museums have to give children an important place within the budgets, and that “ the traditional exhibition models do not allow children to be really integrated in what they are expected to experience” (Lauritzen & Kraft, 1996:7). In the next section the dissemination for children in Norwegian Museum will be described as an important

function of the museums today, and as an activity in stimulating children to come to the museums and making them more attractive to the children.

2.3 Dissemination for children in Norwegian Museums

The term dissemination in general is defined as the final goal in activities of libraries, archives and museums (Regjeringen, 2015). The dissemination process in Norwegian Museums is introduced on the official website of the Norwegian Council for Cultural Affairs as one of the important tasks of the museums in Norway: *“The museums should provide their visitors both with the knowledge and experience. They should be available to everybody and they should represent the relevant and actual social institutions which promotes reflections and learning. The active dissemination is therefore important in both democracy perspective and widely cultural perspective. This demands active facilitating and making strategies to enable the different target groups. It involves also that dissemination has to be both critical and innovative in relation to both thematic and instruments”* (Kulturrådet, 2014). This definition suggests that dissemination is an area of museum work which actually open the museum’s door to the society and therefore to the children. In one of the reports attached to the website of The Norwegian Council of Cultural Affairs, Selmer-Olsen (2005) writes about the importance of the task of the Council to strengthen and develop the dissemination of art and culture for children. The author emphasizes that there is a new focus on children as actors and as right bearers and that those facts have to be taken into account by The Norwegian Council of Cultural Affairs when doing the dissemination of culture and art for children. The exploring of the children’s perspective should take an important role in the cultural dissemination for children in Norway (Selmer-Olsen, 2005).

But what have the Norwegian museums concretely done in order to improve the above mentioned dissemination for children? A possible answer could be seen in numerous surveys of museum’s visitors (*publikumundersøkelse*), which have become common praxis in Norwegian Museums. Recent projects conducted in Norway named “What the public thinks” (*Hva mener publikum*) (Alison James & Frøyland, 2002) reveal that in Norway the visitors surveys have become an important part of dissemination in museums and that Norwegian museum staff is very aware of the importance of evaluating their work by asking the museum visitors for their opinion and experiences. The publication “Children’s and young people’s opinions about

museums” (Håberg & Frøyland, 2007) shows that children are also seriously taken into account while planning the dissemination in nowadays Norwegian museums. This publication is a result of a research conducted in the period from 2004 /2006 by students of Oslo University College, in different museums in Norway. The students asked children, who visited the museums, what they thought about the museum visit and how they experienced the museum visits. They used qualitative methods as interviews and observations. Through such research with visitors museum’s staff get to know its visitors, see the expectations they have of museums, realize how the museum visitors behave and what they remember after the visits (Håberg & Frøyland, 2007). With knowledge like this museums become familiar with visitor’ s needs and are able to adjust themselves to the visitors (Alison James & Frøyland, 2002). Once the children became an important part of the museum, as active and welcomed visitors, they had to be included in those researches equally with adults.

2.4 Situation in Norway. Statistics.

The statistics from 2013 shows the information about the activities in the museum institutions in Norway (Kulturrådet, 2013). The information about the statistics were collected by Norwegian Council for Cultural Affairs in March 2013 and they involved all together 129 Norwegian Museums. The report reveals that dissemination is beside the research and management one of the most important museum’s tasks (Kulturrådet, 2013). The numbers show that Norwegian museums are increasingly attracting more visitors both at exhibitions and other offers. In 2013 those 129 museums had 10, 95 million visitors, which is much more than during the two years before. In general, Norway is among the countries in the world with most museum visits per inhabitant. Further, over 3 million of museum visits were done by children and young people, which should be 28 % of the total visits. Norwegian museums are eager to have the good offer to the youngest children, and are open to collaborate with schools about the visits and dissemination. The number of the children who took part in organized visits has been stable in the last five years. But anyway, one can see a little downfall from 2011. Together 930 000 children took part in a pedagogical scheme in 2013, but it is 15 000 less than in 2011. 72 % of the museums have an adopted plan of dissemination measures for children and young people, and 36 % have an internet based pedagogical scheme for children and young people. During the

year 2013, 85 museums had the gratis entrance for children during the whole year. If it was charged, the approximate price for children was 38 NOK (Kulturrådet, 2013).

2.5 Museums and schools visits in Norway

According to statistics we can see that today school visits to the museums are very common and important in Norway. The collaboration between the schools and museums is quite common trend in the modern Norwegian society. In 2006 and 2007 the project named “Museum and school” were conducted by the Oslo University Collage (Høgskolen i Oslo (HiO)), and the goal was to gain knowledge about how the collaboration between the schools and museums was going on and how it could be improved (Langholm & Frøyland, 2010). The publication by Langholm and Frøyland (2010) “Museum, more than a free day” presents the project. As a part of the project the museum’s pedagogues and teacher were invited to collaborate and were trained in order to that pupils could get the best use from the museum tasks and assignments. The students should benefit maximally from the museum educational potential. The creators of the project propose that “Successful collaboration between schools and museums requires that students are offered activities and tasks which they perform together with others, and which can only be carried out at the museums “ (Langholm & Frøyland, 2010:6). They also add that the museum visits and assignments for children have to be linked to the school curriculum, and in that way students will manage the best possible learning and benefit from the museum visit.

Talking about the recent trend of collaboration with schools and museums in Norway, the project named “The cultural school backpack” (Den kulturelle skolesekken (DKS)) has to be mentioned (Kulturrådet, 2015). The project is a national-wide cultural initiative started in 2001 in collaboration between the Ministry of Culture and Ministry for Education in Norway (Johansen, 2004:31). The idea was that the project should contribute to that all school pupils in Norway could meet professional art and culture of all types and benefit from it in the best way. As Johansen (2004:32) points out the project should provide the pupils with cultural skills, so they will be more competent to meet the challenges in the society. Further the DKS should be incorporated in the school curriculum and follow the educational schools system in Norway (Johansen, 2004). Pupils should through DKS get the possibility to get familiar with, to experience and to develop understanding for professional art and cultural expression of all types (Kulturrådet, 2015).The offers to the students in cultural institutions should be compatible with

the school learning programs. These offers should be of high quality and various in sense that they have to include visible and scene art, music, film, literature and the cultural heritage (Kulturrådet, 2015). The institution of Museum is a representative of the cultural heritage and as Johansen (2004:32) writes museums "bear a responsibility to provide the historical element-cultural heritage- in DKS". The children who took part in my research were on an organized visit in the museum, regarding the historical topic they learned in the schools before they visited the museum, which was compatible with the school program.

Chapter 3: Theoretical perspectives and key concepts

3.1 Introduction

The theory chapter is structured of nine subchapters. First five subchapters are about the Social studies of childhood and its concepts which I found relative for my research. This introduction to theory chapter is followed by second subchapter which I named *Archaeology of childhood*. This subchapter is the chapter about the presociological child. It is historical review on different perception of childhood through centuries and before new ideas in sociology of childhood appeared in the late 1970s. This master thesis is written from the perspective of social studies of childhood. The sociological child is a subchapter about the social studies of childhood, and its main ideas. Childhood is social phenomenon in specific cultural context, and it cannot be separated from society and culture in which it exists (James & Prout,1990b).

Among the concepts that social studies of childhood bring I found concept of agency as relevant for my master thesis research. The children from my research I saw as active social actors, who did not passively consume the culture offered to them in the museum. The children were able to actively contribute to the event they were taking part in the museum by expressing their agency. The other concept of social studies of childhood I used is the concepts of “human beings” and “human becomings”. It empowered me as a researcher to understand children’s experiences of the museum exhibition and interpret some of the children’s answers.

After the chapter on social studies of childhood, I will introduce Falk and Dierking (2011)’s Model developed in 1992, named The Interactive Experience Model. I found it relevant because it tries to understand the museum visit and experience from the visitor’s point of view. I used the model as a theoretical perspective through which I analyzed data related to two research questions of this maser thesis, which are presented in introduction chapter. The subchapter about object-centered perspectives in the museum addresses the children’s interaction with museum objects.

The last part of this theory chapter introduces the concept of culture. From cultural studies, I took as a relevant the anthropological definition of culture as “whole and distinctive way of life” and institutional dimension of culture (Barker, 2004). I used concepts from cultural studies

in order to explain Norwegian children's behavior in the museum, as a cultural institution which preserves selected culture and offers it to children. To follow up on cultural studies I see Corsaro's (2005) term "interpretative reproduction" which I use to explain children's interaction with culture in the museum. The concept of peer culture helped me to understand children's relationships with their peers in the museum, and to interpret some of the topics which appeared during the group interviews.

3.2 Archaeology of childhood

The research done by a historian Phillipe Aries (1962) on the images of childhood from middle ages onward, are interesting from both sociological and archaeological point of view. On one hand the research highlighted that the childhood has not always been perceived in the same way as today, and thereby gave the basis for the sociological discussion on the topic of childhood (James, Jenks & Prout,1998:4). Within his analysis of medieval Art, Aries concluded that idea of childhood in the medieval world actually did not exist, or not in the same way as we conceptualize childhood today. On the other hand his research could complete the picture of archaeology of childhood which explores children's lives and behaviors throughout the centuries (Baxter, 2005). Aries (1982:31) noticed that children were not depicted on the works of Art during the middle ages, or they were presented in the same way as adults just in a smaller size. Further Aries (1982) showed that those images changed through centuries and the reason for it was not just the different artistic taste. The changing attitudes towards children and the way in which they had been treated in society had its reflection in how children were depicted (Aries, 1982).

James et al. (1998) talk about the conceptualizing childhood during the past times from the social studies perspective. They introduce the term "presociological child" in order to explain how children were seen throughout the centuries and to give explanation to their new theories. According to Allison James et al. (1998:11) a presociological child is "the child seen outside of or uninformed by the social context within which the child resists". Through history the childhood was differently conceptualized by societies, from evil and innocent child to immanent or "tabula rasa" child who are in need for education and care (James et al.,1998). Seen as evil or innocent the child of middle ages were not seen naturally different from adults (Aries, 1982). When child is able to live without a mother it was treated in the same way as adults (Aries,

1982:36). Regarding the unsecure times, with high rate of infants' mortality, the youngest children even did not count as a part of society (Aries, 1982:36).

In 17 century some first pedagogical measures appeared, connected to the rising awareness that children have to be trained and that their behavior should be corrected (Aries, 1982). In order to know how to raise them, adults had to understand the childhood (Aries, 1982:40). However it was the mid 18 century when as Aries notice that "the launching of childhood "in Europe appeared (James et al.,1998:5). Childhood begun to be seen as different, and adults recognized that there is a difference between them and children. The 18 century was also the period when children got the central place in family, and it became important to invest in children's future on all levels (James et al.,1998). In 18 and 19 century children became worth of getting attention of adults. Adults were obliged to provide good growing up for children. Education was among other "raring strategies" the tool for children's developing into proper adults (James et al.,1998:14). Somehow the child in this period was marked as a child not just different from adults but also with special needs (James et al.,1998:15).

The concepts of child as different from adults continued to develop in the end of 19 and late in the 20 century. The presociological child of this period is marked by Allison James et al. (1998) as "naturally developing child "of 20 century. This child is constructed within the developing psychology with Piaget as a main figure (James & James,2008:39). Piaget studies on the cognitive development of children affected a lot how children were perceived through this period (James & James,2008:39). Child is seen as incompetent but it is developing though ages and fixed stages into competent adults (Jenks, 2005). This concept denied children as active human beings, but see children as passive social objects, who through development of thoughts and body are striving to achieve the competence and intelligence of adulthood (James & James, 2008:40). Developmental psychology sees children as biologically immature human beings and is arguing for universal nature of childhood (Jenks, 2005). Every stage of child's development is universal and demands the different pedagogues practices for children in different ages (Jenks, 2005:23).

The ideas from developmental psychology have its reflection in the social studies through socialization theories. Socialization is a process through which children learn how to became the socialized adults, and how to fit into the society (James et al., 1998:23). Children have to be taught how to behave in order to meet expectation of the society they live in. Here in social

studies, children are seen as incompetent, in need to be developed in complete competent adults (Allison James & James, 2008:120).

But, in the late 70s of 20 century the developmental psychology and socialization have been challenged with new perspectives on children and childhoods.

3.3 Sociological child

The ideas of above mentioned historian Aries had been the basis from which the scholars in late 70s of 20th century started their discussion on childhood (James, Jenks & Prout, 1998). Within this discussion the childhood, seen as universal and naturally developing, has been brought into the question (James & James, 2004). The fact that in the middle age childhood did not exist in the same way as we conceptualized it today in the modern world have led to the recognition that some new theories and concepts are needed in order to understand and research childhood. Childhood could not be seen just as a natural age stage in the beginning of the human life or the transitional period towards the adulthood (James & Prout, 1990b). Within the new theories which appeared in late 70^s the childhood has to be understood as “socially constructed” (James et. al, 1998). It cannot be separated from the society and culture in which it exists (James & Prout, 1990b). Childhood is with no doubt an early stage of human lives, but how this stage is understood varies in different cultures or is differently constructed by different societies (James & James, 2008:116). Such attitudes towards the children were the core of then called the “new sociology of childhood “, which today after its long history is very common used sociological approach in theorizing and researching children. The recognition that “reality is socially constructed” was the very important for the development of childhood studies (James & James, 2008:116). The theories of childhood studies are arguing that perception of the childhood in a certain society is socially constructed (Greig, Taylor, & MacKay, 2013:52). The realities which are experienced as a normal and logical in one society is actually not “objective realities” but they are constructed within that society (Greig et al., 2013:52). In Norway, as in every modern western country, the definition of childhood is accepted from of the United Nation Convention on the Rights of The Child as “ the period from birth to 18 years of age” (Greig et al., 2013:52). But still across the world, among the different societies and even within the same society, attitudes towards children differ (Greig et al., 2013:52). In other words the ways in which children are treated, as well as which rights they are enjoying and which obligations they have

could be very distinct. The image of how children think and how they should behave are socially constructed.

The Social studies of childhood sees childhood as a social category which cannot be separated from other social categories as class, gender, ethnicity (James & Prout,1990b:4). The important feature which it brought is that children had to be seen as social actors and studied in “in their own right” (James & Prout, 1990a :4). The concept of children as social actors entails the idea that “children are not just passive subjects of social structures and processes” (Jenks, 2005:30). But, children must be seen as “actively involved in the construction of their own social lives, in lives those around them and the society in which they live” (James & Prout, 1990a:4). Children are experts in their own life and they have to be listened to and encouraged to participate. When studied children have to be actively involved in the topics concerning their lives, and their own meanings and opinions (James & Prout,1990b:5) should be explored. If the researcher is about to study children’s experiences of a social or cultural event, he or she has to listen to children’s voices and see the phenomenon from their perspective. Only then we can really understand the phenomenon and claim that we are doing research in accordance with children’s rights. The importance of the children’s rights for social studies of childhood is going to be presented in the following paragraph.

The development of social studies of childhood throughout the 20 century was accompanied by developing of discourses on children’s rights, which were concerned about the children’s well being. United Nation Convention on the Rights of the child (UNCRC) was adopted in 1989 and it is ratified by almost all countries in the world (Burr & Montgomery, 2003:155). UNCRC states that all children in the world should have the same rights and that they should have the same rights as adults (Burr & Montgomery, 2003:155). Still, it recognizes that children are different from adults, and that in some cases they need special protection in term of rights ,because they are less mature and more vulnerable than adults (Burr & Montgomery, 2003:143). Among others UNCRC gives to children the right to participate and promotes child’s best interests. Article 3 states that the best interest of child has always to be of the main interests, which should mean that they have to benefit from our research. Article 12 gives children right to participate, and right to be listened to about the topic which are concerning themselves. Those two articles are actually in accordance with main ideas of social studies of children (Lee, 2001) where children’s voices are aimed to be heard.

3.3.1 Schooled child

Representations of the social studies of childhood are concerned about children in the relation to social space (James et al.,1998). One of those spaces can be school, as a place where children spend the big amount of time per day (James et al.,1998). In the western societies children as a social category are placed in school and obliged to spend the certain amount of time there (James et al.,1998:41). Somehow the school as social space determine the way in which children are going to spend their days (James et al.,1998:41). In the classroom children can be placed in rows or different groups or organized in different activities (James et al.,1998:45). As James, Jenks and Prout (1998) notice children's experience could not be the experience of "neutral space", because the space is made by adults. The school as social space use timetables and curriculum as a means of control over children's activities which " dictate how children ought to be and what should they learn" (James et al.,1998:42).

Children who took part in my research were in the museum on school trip, during the regular school day. The theorizing on childhood in social spaces provided me with a perspective to see the museum as a social space and I found it applicable when I analyzed data from the research I conducted.

3.4 Agency

As already said above, the social studies of childhood see childhood as socially constructed. But, what does it mean for an individual child? Children would rarely make meaning of their childhoods as a kind of construction embedded in the bigger social machinery. The concept of agency brings the complexity of science closer to the children themselves. It recognizes the power children have in making meaning of their childhoods.

The concept of agency is tightly connected to the social actors concept, but it goes beyond. According to the social studies of childhood children are active social actors and not the objects of the social activities (James & James,2008:20). Children are active social actors and they do not passively consume the culture offered to them (James & Prout,1990b). Childhood studies recognized that children can play an active role in everyday social life (James & James,2008:114). Further, If children are about to be researched within the social studies of childhood, they have to be seen as active agents who are competent and together with adults

contribute in constructing their own childhoods (James & Prout,1990b). James and Prout (1990b:8) argue that children “must be seen as active in construction and determination of their own social lives, the lives of those around them and of the societies in which they live”. The overlapping of concept of social actors with concept of agency could be noticed in this quote. Mayall marks the difference between those two concepts and argues that“ the actor is someone who does something, and the agent is someone who does something with other people, and in doing so, makes things happen, thereby contributing to wider process of social and cultural reproduction” (James & James,2008:41). Oswell (2013:42) adds that agency is “capacity of children to do thing in the world, where that doing might be physical, cognitive, emotional or other”.

Oswell (2013) introduces children’s agency in different spaces from families, schools to health, consuming culture and so one. In my study I argue for children’s agency in the museum, as a social place where children are interacting with peers, adults and with museum objects. The concept of agency allowed me to explore children’s experiences by seeing them as active participants in the museum exhibition.

3.5 “Human beings” and “human becomings”

The concepts of “human beings” and “human becomings” I found especially important when I tried to understand children’s experiences of the museum exhibition. I used Nick Lee (2001) perspectives on this topic. In my master thesis I see children as human beings who are competent and capable to understand, enjoy and benefit from the archaeological exhibition here and now, in their childhood. I did not consider that children came to the museum, to learn about the history in order to became the proper, informed adults, neither to develop their museum visit habits for the future. However, in the interviews with children I got numerous answers that children were going to the museum in order to get a good job tomorrow. Regarding such children’s perspective I had to take into account Emma Uprichard’s (2008-07) writings, who sees children as both human beings and human becomings.

The concepts of “human being” and “human becoming” are very fundamental for childhood studies. In the literature, discussions on the children as “human beings” or “human becomings”, are mostly the discussions about children’s incompetence and competence. Before the new sociology of children (James & Prout,1990b), there were no much space in social

science for children's agency and therefore children were seen as "human becomings" (Lee, 2001:8). Children were conceptualized as incomplete and not competent contrary to competent and complete adults. Childhood and all children's activities were just preparations for future (James & James,2008). "Human becoming" is a child who lacks the competence and is striving to become a competent adult (Uprichard, 2008-07:303). While the child as "being" is a social actor who is actively constructing its childhood (Uprichard, 2008-07) .Lee (2001:5) adds that differences between the "beings" and "becomings" come from the differences between the complete and independent and incomplete and dependent.

Further, Lee (2001:7) notices that only few decades ago childhood was seen as a "journey towards a clear and knowable destination". That destination was a stable adulthood, when a person is complete. The person in adulthood, with enough ages, with stable job and intimate relationships has reached the goal of the journey, and no big changes are going to happen in his or her life (Lee, 2001:7). Adults had the authority over children because they had reached the completeness (Lee, 2001:10). The image of competent, stable and complete gave adults power over children. They could make decision for children, and speak on their behalf. With such attitudes in social sciences, the difference between children and adults was clear and it gave the basis for seeing children as "human becomings" within the social sciences.

As Lee (2001:7) argues, 21 century brings some important changes in understanding childhood. He writes about this 21 century as 'age of uncertainty" when adults have missed the big control over children (Lee, 2001:8). The result of it was that children got more power. Children are not longer very dependent on their parents and families (Lee, 2001). With the UN Convention on children's rights, children got their own right as independent human beings (Lee, 2001:8). In 21 century it has become obvious that adults are not that complete and stable. Uncertainty in the adult's lives on both private and work field are seen more and more often (Lee, 2001). Adults today could not always be seen as complete or competent. Their imperfection came into focus. The main difference between children and adults has being challenged. The age of uncertainty has mitigated the differences between adults and children.

Emma Uprichard (2008-07) argues that seeing children as either incompetent "human becoming" or competent "human being" could be problematic. Uprichard (2008-07:303) proposes that children have to be considered "as both human becomings and human beings" and she bases her assumptions on her research with children in UK and France, where children talked

about themselves in relation to the changing places in which they live. The notions of beings and becomings must be taken into account together, and to understand a child as both “being and becoming increases the agency that child has in the world” (Uprichard, 2008-07:303). Uprichard (2008-07) emphasizes the importance of time and temporality when the notions of “beings” and “becoming” are in question and investigates how researchers can study the present of “being child” who is also going to become an adult. Further, Uprichard (2008-07) problematizes the notion of competence in her research. She stresses attention on the social context in which a person is situated in relation to competence. From this perspective, children and adults can be both competent and incompetent depending on which situation they are faced with (Uprichard, 2008-07:305). For instance one child from her research, explained that he can do some things that his mother cannot, and that the mother needed him for technology. The other problematic issues could be that “human beings” notion actually “neglects the future experience of becoming adult” (Uprichard, 2008-07:305). How children will perceive their childhood could also be in relation to the future. Children do take into account the future when they are talking about the social issues concerning their lives. The “being child” lives in present, but it also has past and future (Uprichard, 2008-07). Uprichard (2008-07) claims that the being and becoming notion are already used together in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. Children have their rights now but the State Parties have to provide the good conditions for survival and development of child, so they can become adults.

Taken together being and becoming gives more realistic picture of children, and it is more convenient for childhood researchers (Uprichard, 2008-07). Children are aware of the process of growing older, and the future which is coming affects how children perceive the world and experience their childhoods in the present (Uprichard, 2008-07). When trying to explore children’s experiences about different topics, researchers might be faced with that children could see themselves as both “beings” and “becomings”. Uprichard (2008-07) suggests that researcher have to explore both children’s perception in present and their perception of the future in order to empower their agency.

Those concepts provided me as a researcher with an attitude towards the children as human beings, who are competent to experience and benefit from the museum visit in their present, thereby in their childhoods. Seeing the children as human beings, and active social actors who have agency, helped me to understand what it means to be a child in the museum. On

the other hand, Uprichard's writings about children as both beings and becoming helped me to interpret children's answers regarding the future aspirations.

3.6 Museum Experience

The first research question of my master thesis addresses children's general experience of the prehistoric exhibition. The second research question addresses children's interaction with museum objects. In order to answer these questions I used, beside the sociology of childhood theories, the Falk and Dierking's (2011) creation of framework for understanding the museum experience of every visitor. This framework was named "The Interactive Experience Model" and developed in 1992 (Falk & Dierking, 2011). I found it relevant, and in accordance with social studies of childhood, because it tries to understand the museum visit and experiences from the visitor's point of view (Falk & Dierking, 2011). The model provides lenses thorough which children's experiences of the museum could be seen from their perspective (Falk & Dierking, 2011:2). This model refers to that every museum visitor's experience is influenced or composed from three contexts (Falk & Dierking, 2011:5). These are the personal, social and physical context. The contexts are overlapping and tend to "contribute and influence the interaction and experiences that children have with museum objects" (Falk & Dierking, 2011:5). In my analysis I adopted Falk and Dierking's Model and tried to understand children's experiences of the museum and children's interaction with museum objects in relation to personal, social and physical context.

The *personal context* entails visitor's interests, preferences for spending the time, motivations and expectations they have before the visit, as well as previous knowledge and experiences (Falk & Dierking, 2011:2). The personal context refers to that experience of a child will be affected by what the child personally had come in the museum with. The second context Falk and Dierking (2011) argue for is the *social context*. People often visit museums in the different kind of groups and they are always part of the social context in museums (Falk & Dierking, 2011:2). When one is visiting museum alone, he or she is also a part of certain social contexts. Museums are social places, where one gets into contact with other visitors or museum staff (Falk & Dierking, 2011). Even if one does not meet somebody, one interacts with museum exhibitions which are made and interpreted by experts, receiving somebody's messages and points of view. Children I did research with were visiting the museum on the school trip with a

classmates and teacher. In the museum children came into contact with museum staff, volunteers and me. They also came into contact with other visitors who were in the exhibition room. According to the Model, children's experience of the museum is strongly influenced by the social context (Falk & Dierking, 2011:2). As I wanted to understand the children's experience from their perspective I had to take into account social context they were part of. The third and last context which influence the visitor's experience of the museum is *physical context* (Falk & Dierking, 2011). The physical context includes the architecture of the museum building, the design of the exhibitions offered and objects, which were part of it. Beside the design some facts as if the museum is crowded or not, sounds and smells are also part of this physical context. How children are going to behave and what they are going to see in the museum is in dependence on the physical context (Falk & Dierking, 2011:2). Together with the two other contexts, physical context shapes the experience of the child in the museum.

3.7 Object centered perspectives in the museum

Museum experiences of the children from my study were in a close relation with the objects displayed in the prehistoric exhibition. Shawn Rowe (2002) sees the museum as a place where the experience from the child comes into contact with objects, and he is interested in the role which objects plays in children's learning and constructing knowledge and meanings. However he writes from the developmental psychology point of view. Hapgood and Paris (2002) are also concerned about how the museum, as informal learning setting, influence children's cognitive and social development. Nevertheless, these authors are useful for my study because they write about the children and the museum's objects. They wonder in their research how children interact with museum objects, in which way they discuss them, how they use previous knowledge, comparisons and what kind of questions they ask in order to understand the museum objects (Hapgood & Paris, 2002:43; Rowe, 2002). The similar issues I was curious about in my research. The objects are the "starting point of the visitor's experience," because "objects stimulate thoughts and reflections" (Hapgood & Paris, 2002:44). While children observe the objects in the museum, personal memories and previous experiences could be evoked (Hapgood & Paris, 2002:44). Children can easier express their experiences and tell stories that can be shared with others in the social context of the museum. (Hapgood & Paris, 2002:44). Beside

evoking the memories objects can stimulate visitors to create their own stories about the museum exhibitions (Hapgood & Paris, 2002:44).

Similar, Piscitelli and Weier (2002:128) argue that authentic objects in the art exhibition are very important for children's learning and that they motivate children to learn about the artistic topic. Children could be more motivated to learn about the exhibition topic when they are in contact with objects (Piscitelli & Weier, 2002:128). The children's interests could be stimulated with those objects, and they provoke "comments and reflection, arouse memories, and encourage sharing of personal stories" (Piscitelli & Weier, 2002:128). In addition they can also stimulate imagination of the children. But Piscitelli and Weier (2002) look on this topic as developing children's aesthetic ability. Children need the adult's guidance or professional help and instructions to develop their ability to understand the art (Piscitelli & Weier, 2002:129). Children are seen as a novice and not competent in relation to competent adult, professionals, experts who know a lot about the topic. These points are in contradiction with the main ideas of Sociology of childhood, and thereby not relevant for my master thesis research. On contrary, I looked on the children as experts who can make their own understanding of the museum objects, also without adult's guidance and instructions. In the museum they act as active social actors, and interaction with objects entails expressing their agency. Children are already able to understand and interact with museum objects and they do not need adults to instruct them.

3.8 The concept of culture

The concept of culture is not easy to define. Mostly it is used to explain the different human activities (Barker, 2004:44). In my master thesis I will use it to understand children's behavior in the museum, as a cultural institution, which within its content preserves the culture and offers it to the children.

The anthropological understanding of culture would be embedded in the definition of culture as a "whole and distinctive way of life" (Barker, 2004:44). According to the definition the concept of culture could be seen as everyday practices and the way of thinking of a group of people (Barker, 2004). The members of one culture share social meanings and ways in which they understand the world (Barker, 2004:45). Among the understandings could be those related to the archaeological exhibition I did research with children in. The common social meanings, members of the concrete culture could share through signs which make the same sense to them

(Barker, 2004:45). The common language is the tool with which the members of one culture make and share meanings of material objects or social or cultural practices (Barker, 2004:45). In order to understand a culture we have to explore those meanings and, as Barker (2004:45) writes how they are produced “symbolically as forms, of representation”. Representations in cultural studies is related to “the ways by which the world is socially constructed and represented to and by us” (Barker, 2004:45). The representation of a culture has also its material part, in the sense that it is built in “sounds, inscriptions, objects, images, books, magazines and television programs” (Barker, 2004:45). All of these are part of one culture, and they are “produced, enacted, used and understood in specific social and material contexts” (Barker, 2004:45) . Further within these contexts culture is being received and communicated by the members of the culture.

The anthropological definition of culture as a “whole way of life” make culture “distinct from the concept of Arts” (Barker, 2004:45). In that way it makes it distinct from the concept of culture the museum offers to the children through its exhibitions and learning programs. Within cultural studies the important role is given to the cultural policy. The cultural policy deals with institutional form of culture (Barker, 2004). A museum is one of the institutions, which within its administration, concerns the management of culture, and has power “to produce and govern the form and content of cultural products”(Barker, 2004:40). Institutions have the power to organize and shape what is going to be presented as a cultural event or cultural object to the people. Beside that institutions has also power to conduct the knowledge or to decide what kind of knowledge the members of the culture should gain within their context (Barker, 2004:40) . These institutions are mostly public in nature, so it could be concluded that government takes part in producing culture and deciding which aspects of it will be presented to children.

3.8.1 Interpretative reproduction and peer culture

Corsaro’s term *interpretative reproduction* and the ideas it implies, enabled me to understand the children’s interaction with culture in the museum (Corsaro, 2005). Corsaro (2005) did research about children’s social lives based on his fieldworks in Italy and America. The term he created was supposed to explain “innovative and creative aspects of children’s participation in society” (Corsaro, 2005:18), and it means “socialization process with which children participate in the reproduction of society“(James & James2008:72). Corsaro’s (2005:73) theories are based

on developmental psychology and the assumption that children learn about the culture and society as a part of their cognitive development and learning language. But according to him children are not just passively receiving the knowledge about the culture and society, they are also “actively contributing to cultural production and change” (Corsaro, 2005:19). At the same time children are being affected and constrained by the” societies and cultures of which they are members” (Corsaro, 2005:19). What children are supposed to do in any given society is socially constructed and this social construction limits children’s behaviors. According to Corsaro (2005) the reproduction of culture, changing society and culture, children are doing the best by interacting with each other, hence by interacting with their peers. Children who took part in my research were in the museum with their peers. They listened to the guide’s story, answer the questions and took part in activities. But they were not just passively receiving the information. Corsaro (2005:18) argues that children adjust the information from the adults to their world and “their own peer concerns”, and in that way they “create and participate in their own, unique peer cultures”. They produce peer cultures, as Corsaro explains “in attempting to make sense of the adult world” (2005:24). The important point of interpretative reproduction entails that children “do not simply imitate and internalize the world around them” (Corsaro, 2005:24). In such Corsaro’s ideas, Allison James (2009:41) recognizes the children as active social actors who participate in society from the very beginning and have agency to change the culture or to adjust it to themselves.

Corsaro defines children’s peer culture as” a stable set of activities or routines, artifacts, values, and concerns that children produce and share in interaction with peers” (Corsaro, 2005:95). Children in the museum might also have shared values, concerns and ways of making meaning of things, which were a part of their peer culture, produced in interaction with each other. Corsaro’s discussion helped me to understand and interpret children’s agency to appropriate the information they got in the museum to their own worlds and in the way that it could “make sense” to themselves.

Chapter 4: Research methodology

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will describe the methodological process of my study. I will first discuss the qualitative research, then the methods I used, my role as a researcher, language challenges and ethical challenges I met. In the last subchapter the methodological aspect of analysis the data will be described. My research tools were observations, which was conducted in the museum and semi structured interviews which I did in four different Norwegian schools. I chose those methods because I believed that they could enable me to explore my research questions in the best possible way and in respect to the conditions of my fieldwork. My choice of methods was determined by theoretical perspectives of social studies of childhood, where children are seen as competent and active social actors (James et al.,1998). I went in to the field with bearing in mind James and Prout's assumption that children should be studied in their own rights (1990b:150) and that they have right to express their own points of view. My attitude towards the children in the field was shaped by Allison James discussions where she argues that children should be seen as human beings instead of becomings, and further with debates on agency concept (James,2009). I studied the children in the museum as social actors who are "active in construction of their own lives" (James & Prout, 1990b) . I saw children as human beings who have right to benefit from museum visit and as competent children who are able to use the museum now, in their childhood , and not for gaining visiting habits to be a proper adults, who are interested in history and cultural heritage. In accordance to social studies of childhood (James & Prout, 1990b) I also tended to do research with and not on the children.

4.2 Qualitative research

The researchers in social science often choose to do empirical research with children. Fraser introduces that empirical research accepts "our experience of the world as a valid way of deriving new knowledge" (Fraser, 2004:18). I decided to do qualitative research with children ,which is the empirical research that was supposed to bring me as a investigator into" lives of the respondents" and make me understand the children's perspectives (McCracken, 1988:10). As research tools I used the semi-structured interviews and observation, so my qualitative research

data would be the results of observation process and the analysis of the words of the children. Qualitative research demands fewer participants and enable the researcher to have longer and more in depth conversations with them (Bui, 2009). Bui (2009:14) writes that with qualitative research, the study topic can be explored into depth, the results will be based especially on the participant's perspective. In my research, the qualitative methods provide me with the possibility to grasp children's perspectives of the museum and the prehistory and to explore their experiences and understandings.

4.3 Access to the museum and the schools

I made contact with the staff of the museum almost half a year before I started with the fieldwork. From the museum staff I got information about their autumn program and the list of the schools which were supposed to visit the museum in the beginning of the following school year. Before starting the research I also made some steps towards getting familiar with the museum's activities. I made some informal visits to the museum. Then I observed both younger and older children, who were visiting the museum with school class. But, I did not take notes and did not include the observed information in my research.

Since I am foremost interested in the children's experience of past times I wanted to do research in the rooms of museum with two exhibitions, regarding the prehistory and middle age of Norway. Before I started with my fieldwork I found out that these two exhibitions were going to be visited by children of two different age groups. The middle age exhibition was reserved for children of 12 or 13 age while prehistoric exhibition visit was organized for children of age of 7 or 8. From the pilot observation, when I observed both younger and older children, I concluded that it would be difficult to do the research with two so different age groups. In July it seemed that there were more schools submitted for prehistoric exhibition, and I decided that my target group would be children 7 or 8 years old. Later while I was meeting a lot of challenges in talking to the younger children, I wondered if I had made the wrong choice. I knew that older children must not be necessarily better informants, but my diffident experience in doing research with children made me think about it. However I was aware that the different age groups brings different challenges while doing research with children, and that talking to older children could have its own difficulties.

Getting access to schools was the other part of my field work preparation. Even though I got the list of schools from the museum, making contact with them was not an easy job. I decided to contact them as soon as new school year began. But soon I found out that they were very busy with new school year activities and that it would not be easy to get in touch with them. Since most of the schools did not answer the e- mail, I decided to go there and talk to them personally. It made me a bit familiar with school setting. There I met a lot of nice people who were eager to help. But however getting access was a long process. I was not sure whom I should talk first. I decided to go to administration office and they were kindly directing me further. Sometimes I talked to rector and sometimes I got into contact with teachers. After introducing myself and explaining what my project is about, I first had to get the permission from the school staff, and then asked them to forward my letter to parents by e- mail. I used to ask if I could get permission to do observation in the museum and eventually after it to invite some of the children to interview. Most of the teachers or schools staff agreed at once that I could observe children in the museum. The issue with interviews was a more problematic. My originally plan was to do the interviews in the small room I got from the museum staff in the first floor of the museum. Being on the terrain I realized that schools were in hurry for the school bus and that it would be too much to ask them to extend their visits because of my interviews. Also it turned out that teachers were more eager to invite me to the schools the following day then to let me do interviews with children in the museum.

The result of the long process of making the access was that I did observation in one of the room of museum with prehistoric exhibition and I did interviews in the schools. I observed all classes from the schools I made contacts with. There were 8 classes from 6 different schools. The number of the children in each class was from 12 to 24, with two or three teachers and teacher assistants. I managed to make the agreement to visit four of the schools and I conducted 16 group interviews. Groups were made of 2 or 3 children, 15 boys and 21 girls. All together, I had 36 interviewees.

4.4 My role as a researcher

Fine and Sandstrom (1988:13) write that “ the adult participant observer who attempts to understand the children’ s culture cannot passed unnoticed as a member of that group”. As an adult researcher I could not do observations in the museum with an expectation to be

unnoticeable. During my fieldwork I realized that children did notice me and that they were building some attitudes towards me. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) write that personal and social characteristics of a researcher can influence relationships with research participants. Some of these characteristics are “gender, age, ‘race’ and ethnic identification” (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007:73). As a researcher I had to be aware that my previous knowledge and education as well as my different social and cultural background, may also affect the research process. I came into the field as an adult, female student and a person who has been living in Norway one year and whose Norwegian was not the mother tongue. I was introduced to the children by the guide as a student who was doing research with children in the museum.

Even though my physical features did not necessarily tell about my foreign origin, my rough accent would have always revealed that I was coming from somewhere abroad, and I believe that it has rather affected my fieldwork. Being on the terrain as a foreign student with a strong accent and occasional grammar mistakes affected how Norwegian children perceived me and shaped my role as a researcher.

Among physical appearance the important issue is for sure the way of dressing (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). People are sending messages with their cloths, and it is recommendable to be dressed neutrally during the fieldwork. I chose to wear as much neutral cloth as possible and not wearing makeup or too formal cloth. In that way I tried to avoid that children could see me as a serious person who could be similar to the teachers and museums staff. But being on the terrain, I soon realized that in Norway the way of clothing is not that rigid and that teachers were coming pretty casual dressed to the museum with children. From me this seemed pretty uncommon. Such facts used to remind me that I was coming from a different country and different cultural background. Doing research in a different culture from your own has a lot of challenges (Burja, 2006), but there are also some advantages. One cannot get relieved of its own cultural background and that is something researcher has to be aware of. In my case my cultural background and the different setting in which I was child was always present. The bias of us and they was something I carried all the time during my research process. Although comparison was not a goal this maybe helped to notice something that a Norwegian research could miss.

My education background as archaeologist and the fact that I have worked as a guide in a museum had its influence in shaping my role as a researcher. Ennew and Abebe (2009) suggest that the researcher should not act as a teacher. I have never been a teacher, but as a guide and somebody who knew a lot about the prehistoric topic I had to make an effort to keep off enthusiasm of showing and explaining children what they were wondering about during the assignments in the museum.

4.5 The school class in the museum

Before starting with describing the methods I used, in this subchapter, I will briefly introduce the flow of the visit which was organized for the children in the museum.

Children used to be met by the guide in front of the main door of the museum building. First they used to go in the dressing room and then they would all together walk upstairs to the exhibition room. During the visits, children first had lectures on the topic of the exhibition while the guide was provoking the discussion with them. The lectures provided information mostly about the Stone Age of Norway. The children also got familiar with some basic knowledge about the other prehistoric periods as Bronze and Iron Age. However, children were supposed to see only the Stone Age exhibition. The Bronze and Iron Age exhibits were in a different part of the exhibition room, and were not supposed to be visited.

After the discussions with children and providing them with main information about prehistoric exhibition, children took part in two different activities. Both of activities had as a goal making children active in learning and understanding the prehistoric exhibition, and I found them very fruitful for observing the children in the museum and resolving my master thesis research questions. In the first activity children used to work on small assignments which were based on the question regarding the prehistoric exhibition. During the second activity children got the copy of prehistoric objects and they were supposed to guess which period they belong to.

4.6 Observation

According to Ennew and Abebe (2009:5.7) observation is a research method which can be used for watching what children do and how they do it. Further the observation is important for “understanding the context of data” (Ennew & Abebe, 2009:5.9). My observations took place in the prehistoric exhibition room in the museum. I observed and noticed down children’s talks, sounds and noises they made, comments and questions they had, their body language behaviours in the setting of the museum. Before I went into the field place, I made a plan what I should observe. Further, I knew the exact room where I would be with the children, what the museum’s activities would be about and for how long they would last. I structured my observation in relation to the course of museum staff schedule for the activities for children. I observed the children while they were attending the organized visit in the museum, which lasted about one hour and a half.

In first part of their visit children used to have a short lecture and discussion with the guide on the topic of prehistory. They were asked to sit on the floor in front of the guide. Ennew and Abebe (2009:5.8) write about the importance of keeping a research diary which purpose is to “record the research process”. They also give advice that the research diary should be written every day during or after the observations. In this part of observation I tried not to attract attention on myself and not to disturb. That is why I chose not to use the note book and write immediately down, but I tried to remember as much as possible, and wrote it down right after. I wanted to avoid an unnatural situation of me as an adult researcher noticing down everything children said or did. Some of the children might not have felt comfortable with that. It was also because of teachers, because I thought that they could see my taking notes as an evaluation of their class.

In order to avoid being connected with a teacher I chose to sit on the floor together with the children and not on the bench with adults. This part was not according to the plan. The children were often asked by the guide to turn back and look behind or left and right. I noticed that because of my bigger physical size, some of the children could not see the concrete object and that I was stressing attention to myself more than I wanted. So I decided to sit in the corner of the bench, in the part where none of the children were hindered from seeing some objects. In that way I avoided standing up or moving too much, and I had the impression that my presence was not

that obvious. But did some children perceive me as some kind of teacher since I was sitting with other adults on the bank? I knew that kind of risk existed and what I could do was not to hang out with other teachers or talk to them too much during the visits.

Once the discussion with the guide was done, children were involved into two different activities. My observation process while children had been involved in two different activities had totally a different flow. At first, in this part of my observation I thought to be more active participant. I planned to have some informal conversation with children while they were enrolled in the activities. Even though I did have small talks with some of the children, the flow of the activities did not give much space for it. Children were very busy with the assignments and there were not much time left for the conversation. Instead of asking them questions, I decided just to offer to help with resolving the assignments. In that case I relieved a bit the guide as well, and wanted to get a chance to get closer to children. But at one point I realized that some of the children might have had the impression that I intended to evaluate what they knew or what they had remembered. As I already said, I did not want children to perceive me as a teacher. In further, I did not offer the help but I just tried to be friendly. I think that this approach, when I observed the children, as somebody who did not know more about topic than them, was much more fruitful in building the report with children during the observation stadium. However the children had different attitudes towards my presence. Most of them did not pay attention on me, even when I tried to provoke some conversation. Some of them used to be really busy with their assignments, they could have thought that talking to me could be waste of time, or they just were shy to talk to a stranger. Some of them asked for my name and many of them were wondering where I was actually coming from. There were only a few of children who asked me for a help for the assignments without that I offered the help by myself.

During the first activity the children were working in the groups. They used to start sitting on the floor and then the assignments demanded from children to move around searching the right answers in the glass shelves. The point of the assignment was that children should get familiar with the objects, to find them, recognize them or guess what they were. I found this part of the observation challenging. Children were all around the exhibition room, running, talking loud, laughing and arguing with their group partners. It took some time before I got used to follow them with the glance. It was difficult to observe more than couple of children at the same time and I was in danger to miss some information.

The second activity, when children were given the objects, did not give any possibility of making the conversations with the children. Then I used to sit on the floor behind the class and carefully observe children's behaviour, remember the comments and how they were describing and dating the objects. This activity gave a lot of potential for learning about the children's interaction with museum objects.

4.7 Semi structured interviews

Interviews are known as a “conversation which has structure and the purpose” (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009:3). Kvale and Brinkmann (2009:1) argues that “ qualitative research interview attempts to understand the world from the subject' s point of view, to unfold the meaning of their experience, to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanation”. The authors also consider the children as interviewees and writes that “interviews with children allows them to give the voice in their own experience and understanding of their own world” (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009:145). I decided to use the interviews because of the range of information that can be obtained (Willis, 2006:146) and I thought the conversation with the children was more likely to be manageable. I had to be aware that I was taking the children's time from the class and I had to take into consideration that they cannot spend half of their school day on my project. Interviews could provide a lot of information about the different topic in the relatively short time. Since I recorded the conversation, some extra time could be saved. Further, Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) suggest using “child-appropriate questions“ while doing interviews with children. With child friendly questions, which could sound more interesting to the children I tried to gain children's understanding, to maintain their concentration and to improve the quality of the interview flow. I supposed that such questions were more likely to be interesting and easier to understand by the children 7 and 8 years old. Using the semi structured form and the child friendly questions were mine major strategies in adjusting interviews to the children.

The semi structured interviews was the main method to collect data for answering my research questions. I decided to use the semi –structure interviews, and more informal conversation with children, because in that way I could give the children more control over the conversation and mitigate the rigidity of the more structured interviews. In this kind of the interview researcher has freedom to reformulate the questions and to ask them in different order, but it is still important to follow the topic of the research (Ennew & Abebe, 2009:5.36) .

4.7.1 Creating the interview questions and the interviews process

Semi structured form of interviews, which I decided to use, shaped the way in which I created the list of questions. Willis writes that by using semi structure interviews “ you can ensure that areas you think are important are covered, but you also provide the interviewees with a opportunities to bring up their own ideas and thoughts” (Willis, 2006). Further I learned from my experience that semi structured interviews provided me with more freedom to adjust the questions to the spontaneous flow of the interview. The power imbalance could also less emphasized while doing research with children, because as Ennew and Abebe (2009:5.36) argue children are left to answer “in their own way”. Before starting the fieldwork I made a list of questions which I wanted to ask my participants. On my list there were 31 questions which I marked as compulsory to ask, and couple questions which I wanted to try out with children. While making the list of questions I was prepared to change the questions according to the specific moment during the interview, to formulate them in other words, and ask them in different order. For instance if the child in the beginning of the interview would started to talk about the topics which were covered with my last questions, I would encourage him or her to talk.

As an interviewer I had to be aware of the danger of the “leading questions” while doing interviews with children (Ennew & Abebe, 2009). Such question could lead the children to give answers which should fit into my assumptions and answer my research questions. Further, with “open questions”, or the questions which did not demand yes or no answer (Ennew & Abebe, 2009:5.35), I wanted to give the children possibility to think about the topic. I wanted to grasp and understand their reflections on the topic, and I hoped that I would get long and complex answers which could be really important for the children. However, I had situations that some children were not comfortable with talking too much. I also noticed that some children could easily step back from the topic and talk about irrelevant issues, and then I was forced to narrow down my sometimes too open questions, and to ask something really concrete.

Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) write about the follow up questions. According to them the follow up questions are important in order to extend the informant’s answers and encourage them to continue with describing (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009:135). I used to repeat children’s answers or just some important words in their answers. In addition, I observed the children while they talked. Ennew and Abebe (2009:5.37) suggest that those observations, such as body

language or emotions, could be important data when researcher interprets the children's answers. I used to notice down this kind of observations as soon as I was finished with interviews in the given school. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009:138) mention the importance of being able to listen carefully to what the interviewees said and how it was said. To learn how to listen and observe are important in managing the "the art of second questions" (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009:138). During my research I had the opportunity to realize that a researcher needs to learn this ability and that better listening is coming with time and experience in doing the interviews. I noticed how more skilled I became in asking the second questions and noticing what was more important for children, in the end of my research.

4.7.2 Choosing the interviewees and the group interview

Willis writes that "while choosing who to interview , you need to think carefully what kind of sample your research question require" (Willis, 2006:146). For my informants I chose among the children who visited the museum with the class, and who got permission from the parent to take part in my research. Children were the only participants in the research and results of the analysis are based only on the children's answers and observations in the museum.

Among interviewees I wanted to choose both boys and girls, then children who were more active and talkative in the museum and those who were more silent or not that interested. However, on the terrain it turned out that this ideal selecting of participants is not always possible.

Even though I had planned to do the individual interviews I ended up with doing the group interviews, with two or three children. I thought that individual interviews would provide more in depth conversation with each child. Being in the class with children I found out that children preferred to be interviewed together with a friend. Also in each class there were many children who got permission from parents and who wanted to talk with me. If I had interviewed each separately it would have taken a lot of time. I had to take into consideration that I was taking their time from the class and that maybe my presence in the school was slightly disturbing their daily activities.

The main concern in the group interviews was how to include all the children in the conversation. Sometimes it could be a really vivid conversation and children used to edit and reflect on each other statements. But on the other hand some children could just agree with what

their class mate had just said and skipped the answer on my questions in that way. Further, regarding group interviews, I experienced that one child could pretty much lead the conversation. If other children are less talkative, her or his voice is much more dominant in my transcriptions. In addition if one child was not concentrated and not eager to answer the questions it could affect the answers of other children, who could become not patient as well.

4.7.3 Setting of the schools and the flow the interviews

The conditions for interviews with children in each school were different, and I used to accept the teacher's proposal of the place where I could have the interview. In two schools I got a separate small room where I could talk to the children. In the third school I conducted interviews in the corner of the classroom. In the fourth school I had interviews with the children in the middle of school hall, which was in between the three classrooms with glass doors. Different conditions gave me opportunity to reflect on how different settings could affect the flow of the interviews with children. It is not necessary to say that the best conditions and the most technically successful interviews were in two schools where I got the separate room.

The interviews conducted in the corner of the classroom gave me a lot of challenges. We were sitting on the table in back of the low wooden closet, so we could not see the rest of the class, but we were not spared of the noise and voices from the teacher and other children. Sometimes my interviewees could suddenly become very interested in what was going on in the class, or other children could approach being curious of what we were talking about. In the school I had interviews in the school hall first two interviews were very successful. Everybody could see us through the glass doors, but nobody interrupted and we also did not hear a lot of noise in the background because we were not inside the classroom. In such conditions I had the impression that children are really relaxed during the interviews and that they felt like on their own. In this setting the only problem was the school break, when all children used to go out the classroom, passed beside us and were curious of what we were talking about. Then it was hard to keep the attention of my participants.

4.8 Language challenges

Doing research in the culture which is not your own has a lot of challenges. One of them is certainly the language, which could be totally different from the researcher's mother tongue. It entails process of translating from the very beginning of the research, through data collecting to the analyses of the data (Burja, 2006:173). My research was one of those. I did the observation and interviews in a foreign country with a different culture than mine, and in the Norwegian language which was not my mother tongue. My Norwegian language skills were on the B2 level according to the NTNU examination of the foreign students. However the process of learning the language was not easy and really time consuming. At the moment I did my research I have been learning Norwegian in more than two years, and by living and working in Norway I got a lot of opportunities to practice my skills. The fact that my research took place in one of the Norwegian regions with specific dialect made it even more difficult. The children who took part in my research talked the one of the dialects of the Norwegian language, which could be pretty distant of the "bokmål" or the grammatically proper Norwegian, which is usually taught on all language courses. Burja (2006:176) talks about the importance of accent and not ignoring the local dialect of the participant, because you can miss some important points. In order to get closer to my participants and with wish to be better accepted I decided to translate my interview questions in this local dialect or just use the terms which are compatible with a dialect and children way of talking.

While observing in the museum It happened from time to time that I did not understand a word or two, but usually I could always understand the children's comments and conversations. The main language challenges I met in the schools, during the interviews. Even though I did manage to have good enough conversation with children, there were situations when I had problems to understand. Beside the local accent, sometimes the whole words could be different of those I learned in the Norwegian course. In addition children used to talk really fast, or laugh or mug and talk in the same time. The fact that my participants were in the period of losing the primary teeth and that they slightly lisped did not help as well.

On the other hand, it happened sometimes that children could not understand my Norwegian. But, usually I would have managed to tell it slowly or in the way which made it more understandable. Me as an adult, talking imperfectly Norwegian sometimes could confuse

the children or they might not have taken me totally seriously. As I roughly tried to talk in dialect, they could not hide that it was amusing to them. However, there were some positive sides of my imperfect Norwegian. Children were eager to help me with language and they used to slowly explain again what they wanted to say and what the unknown word meant. I was not just learning from the children about their experiences but I was also learning language from them. Another positive side regarding my language was that maybe the children did not perceive me too seriously, in a sense as an adult who had strong authority over them. There was no danger that I would use too advanced language in accordance with my education. I believe that my struggling with language made a more relaxing atmosphere and that children could see me as more equal with themselves.

4.9 Voice recorder

I decided to use the voice recorder in my research with children. Willis writes that recording the interview has a lot of benefits, because the researcher can fully concentrate on the conversation and avoid writing down or remembering, and that it could particularly be useful for the researchers who do the interview in the language, which they are not confident totally in (Willis, 2006:150). The author argues that if you have recorded the interview you will have possibility “to check the meaning of the words and phrases later” (Willis, 2006:150). I chose to record interviews because I thought that if I had the exact sentences and words of children I could translate it better later.

Even though I asked gate keepers for permission, I had to ask the children once again if they agree that I could record our conversation. All of my participants were positive about the using the voice recorder. Willis argues that “some interviewees might be rather inhibited by the presence of the voice recorder or might be reluctant to provide sensitive information” (Willis, 2006:150). The unique situation I had was when one girl said to the boy, who was talking how bored he was in the museum, to not tell that because he was being recorded. Otherwise, I did not notice that children’s behaviours were affected by the presence of the voice recorder in the sense that they were not comfortable with it. But, it affected the interviews because some children were rather obsessed with it, and could not wait to the end of our conversation to hear their voices. There were situations when they wanted to sing in it or imitate the teacher while I was desperately trying to get conversation back on the topic of museum. But in the end of the

interviews, hearing the voice from the recorder was some kind of reward and children were pretty delighted with it.

4.10 Ethical challenges and power imbalances

During every part of the research process, a researcher has a responsibility to act according to the research ethics. It could be even more important when the research participants are children, who could be “more vulnerable and more powerless than most adults“ (Ennew & Abebe, 2009:2.4). Alderson is explaining that the “good research“ with children has to be right based research (Alderson, 2004:98), which means in accordance with the rights implied in the United Nation Convention on the Rights of the Child from 1989 (UNCRC). Regarding the ethics of the research the protection rights of the child are especially significant. Protection rights should hinder the child of being harmed in the research which is usually designed by adults. Even though my topic was not sensitive and it was not likely that children could get emotionally upset some protection measures were needed.

Fine and Sandstrom (1988:14) argue that it is an “authority dimension, in particular, that separates the research with adults that research with children”. My role as a researcher has already been affected by the fact that I was an adult researcher who was doing research with children. Further, as Robinson and Kellett (2004) notice, the schools setting can bring some ethical challenges when doing research with children. School are made and lead by adults, and power imbalance is especially emphasized in such settings. The same one could say for the museum, where all activities and exhibitions are organized and made by adults. During the museum visits children did not just listen to the adults. They did take part in the discussions but they were also expected to give the proper answers, and not every answer was taken as a truth or just children perspective on the past. As I did the interviews with children in the school there was the risk that children would seek to give the “correct or proper answers” to my questions. Further, children could see me as a person who wanted to evaluate what they remembered or what they had learned in the museum. Some of them could not feel comfortable with that and I did not want to provoke such feelings. Explaining the children the purpose of the project, with proper introduction of myself and letting them know that they can withdraw the research whenever they want, made them feel more comfortable. It was important that children

understood that I considered them as experts and that I wanted to learn from them and not to evaluate their knowledge about the prehistory.

To act in accordance with the protection rights of the child, a researcher has to know how to protect children's privacy and anonymity during the research. Ensuring confidentiality is the important ethical rules while doing research with children (Ennew & Abebe, 2009:2.17). In order to achieve the confidentiality and anonymity I decided not to collect children's names. For my research names were not relevant and it was enough to know the gender and the age. In addition I did not take pictures. Ethics has to find the place thorough the whole process of research , form choosing the topic to writing the reports and disseminating them (Ennew & Abebe, 2009). While doing my research the first ethical challenge I met was the obtaining the consents. Since I did research with young children the consent from the children were not enough (Ennew & Abebe, 2009:2.20). I had to get consent from both parents and teachers, and in some cases I had to ask the rector of the school as well. But, if the children's participation was about to be "voluntary" (Ennew & Abebe, 2009:2.14), children had to be asked once again in the classroom if they agreed to talk to me.

The observations in the museum were quite different. The guide used to introduce me to the children in the part while she was wishing welcome to the museum. Even though I talked to the teachers and they were supposed to inform parents about my research, children seemed to be a bit surprised. They used to turn back curiously and look at me. It seemed that some of them wanted to ask something, but I had never gotten any question from children in this part of the research. While I was writing this I regretted that I had not asked children about this moment during the interviews. If the children were informed from parents and teachers about my research before the museum visit, left unclear to me.

Ennew and Abebe (2009) advice that "adult have to learn to treat the children with respect and equality" (Ennew & Abebe, 2009). I had to learn to respect small children's needs to stand up, sometimes just to walk away and that sometimes they would not want to answer or just be bored during my research. Further, if I wanted to treat them as equals I was not supposed to act as a teacher. I should not to try to warn children and to avoid hanging out and chatting to much with other teachers. During the breaks I rather had small talks with children and used to answer their questions. While my research time was expiring, sometimes I had a feeling that I did not have enough information. But then I had to be careful not to push children to answer if

they did not have much to say. I also had to learn not to laugh to some children's comments, which could be sweet and amusing from adults point of view, but to take them seriously as a equal conversation partners, who do have relevant opinions.

The importance of not raising unrealistic expectations (Ennew & Abebe, 2009:2.16) I recognized when I asked children what they would like to be different in the museum. A lot of them wanted the more animals or "swimming pool" in the exhibition room. A girl asked me when she could visit again the museum to see what they had done differently there. I had to be clear that I could not promise anything about making the better museum for children, because it did not depend on me.

In her discussion on what the "good research is" Alderson argues that such research has to have good outcomes and that children have to benefit from it (Alderson, 2004:98). Results of my research could be used for improving the museum conditions for children, so that they can benefit even more from it. In reality the chances for some significant disseminating of my report are not huge, but I hope that it could slightly help in understanding children's perspectives on the museum and the objects of prehistory.

4.11 Analysis of the data

Ennew and Abebe (2009:7.26) define the analysis of the data as "a systematic process of sorting and re-sorting different ways so that trends, links, similarities and gaps are identified". As a result of my field work I had the tape recorder with 16 recorded interviews with children and a note book with the observation notes. My first step in analysis process was transcribing the interviews. The transcribed interviews as well as observation notes were sorted in different categories. Ennew and Abebe (2009:10.5) introduce the category as "topic, theme or idea used to organize, *cross-check* and *analyse* data". My categories were the different topics which appeared from children's answers. Foremost, I divided the answers and the observation notes in two big topics regarding two research question of this thesis. However, in the children's answers I recognized a lot of small topics or categories. If they were relevant for answering the research questions they found its discussion place in the subchapters of the two analysis chapters. In order to mark and differ the categories, in the beginning process of analysis data I used colours.

4.11.1 Transcribing

Once the tape recorder is turned off and interviews are done, the huge amount of work is in front of the researcher. Even though the recording of interviews has a numerous advantages Willis notice that big stress could be provoked by the transcribing, due to enormous time consuming (2006:150). Since I did the interviews in Norwegian I had to listen over and over again in order to understand. I had the feeling that the transcribing process is immense. However, during the transcribing I tried to write down not just actual words, but I marked laughs, yawning, the emotions in the children's voices and the significant silence. Here the notes I made about the observed fact just after the interviews also helped me a lot. It turned out that I did understand much more while transcribing than during the interviews, but I also realized that sometimes I could have missed some data. Because I did not understand in the moment of interviews, I did not reflect with follow up questions and missed to provoke some discussions which might be interesting.

Willis also stresses attention how noisy environment could disturb the recording the interviews (Willis, 2006:150) and then complicate the process of transcribing. Even though there was always some noise in the background I could not say that it was the big problem. The more challenging were the group interviews. There were situations when children talked in the same time and interrupted each other. In some interviews it took some extra time until I managed to differ similar and tiny children's voices.

4.11.2 Translation

Willis writes that "translation is more than technical exercise, it is also social relationship involving power, status and imperfect mediation of culture" (2006:173). For the purpose of the master thesis I translated the interview transcripts from Norwegian into English. Even though it was not so difficult to transfer the meaning of the children's statements to English, sometimes I found it challenging. The melody of the Norwegian language did not sound the same when translated in English. Further, sometimes children used to say something in rhymes. Such children's statements caught my attention, but when I translated them into English they sounded less interesting. For example the statement of a boy who said: "*It is stupid to be stupid, so it is*

wise to be smart”, in the original language was “*Det er dumt å være dum, så det er lurt å være smart*”. Or in the another interview, when asked about the differences between museum visits with family and school a boy said: “*Then we were less, and now we are more*”, what in Norwegian was: “*Da var vi mindre , og nå er vi flere*”. The statements like this were not crucial for the analysis of my thesis. But, from children’s color of the voices and facial expressions I got impression that while children were pronouncing them, they were at least very amused by saying something which sounded so fluffy.

From time to time children used to make some small grammar mistakes, and I had to be careful not to correct them while I was translating. On the other hand, my English grammar might not be so perfects as children’s mother tongue. According to Willis (2006), my Serbian background could have influence how I understood, and then how I translated the children’s statements. Thanks to my educational background I was very familiar with the topic we were talking about, and I think that I succeed in omitting this issue. However, from the experience from the fieldwork, I learned that language is a challenge for the researcher. The foreign language can keep you step back from the perfection of doing the fieldwork and it demands some extra time and energy.

The distance of foreign language was also the topic children from my research were discussing. Two boys from the group interview were interested in which language people in prehistory spoke. One of the boys concluded: “*Maybe not in Stone Age, but in Iron Age, I think that they spoke English*”.

4.11.3 Interpretation of data

Kvale and Brinkmann (2009:192) write that transcripts should be tools for the interpretation of the interviewee’s words. According to these authors interpretation should go “beyond what is said” and search for structure and meanings which are not so obvious in the text (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009:207). After transcribing, categorizing the data should be interpreted. As LeCompte and Schensul (2013:301) notice the data “do not speak for themselves”, but the researcher has to make a final story or interpretation and tell to the wider audience what data collected mean. I, as an author of interpretation, had to reflect on how data answer the research questions, what importance they have for this study and which theories informed the analysis. The theoretical perspectives I used in order to interpret data are presented in chapter 3.

Chapter 5, Analysis 1: Children's experiences of the museum visit

5.1 Introduction

The analysis 1 chapter is related to the first research question of this master thesis: *What are the children's experiences of the day spent with the class in the museum?* Children from my research spent one day in the museum with their classmates and teachers. In this chapter I will present the children's experiences on the basis of data I got while asking children about the museum visit. The analysis will be supported with observations I conducted in the museum. In the theory chapter I presented "The Interactive Experience Model" of Falk and Dierking (2011:303, 305), which tends to understand every visitor's experience as interaction of three contexts. In this part of analysis I will pay attention on personal context children brought with them in the museum, and the social context of the museum visit. As personal context I marked the children's previous museum experiences, and expectations before the visit. The social context addresses the interaction among the children and others at the museum. The fact that children were there with their peers is a component in shaping children's experience, and though appropriate for answering the first research question of this thesis. The third context proposed by Falk and Dierking (2011) is physical context. Physical context as physical setting of the museum and its exhibits can find the purpose in answering the second research question, which I am going to elaborate on in the chapter 6.

According to the Social studies of childhood children voices should be heard (Allison James et al., 1998). The analysis chapter consists of a lot of children's quotes, which I analyzed by using the theoretical frameworks presented in chapter 3. The quotes are mostly from interviews I conducted in school, or from observations in the museum exhibition room. I refer to children's statement only by children's gender. Since all children from my research attended the same class, I did not find it relevant to mention the age of the each interviewee. This analysis chapter will start with presenting my findings about children previous experience of the museum and the social context of the museum visit. The following subchapters are about children's wish to explore the museum on their own terms, children's enthusiasm about stuffed animals and about children's experience of the museum as a place for learning. Last two subchapters

summarize the data from interviews and observations regarding children's general experience of the museum visit and children's voices on what they would like to be different in the museum. Throughout the analysis the data will be discussed in relation to theoretical concepts I introduced in the theory chapter. In the last chapter of the thesis I reflect on how the described topic helped me in answering the first research question of the thesis.

5.2 Children's previous experiences of museums

Falk and Dierking (2011) argue that every museum visitor comes at the museum with a certain personal context. Children's previous museum visits I saw as a personal context which might affect how children experienced the museum where I conducted my research. Regarding previous experience, in the interviews I tried to examine who the children were in the museum with before they visited the museum with their class, and what were their experiences from those eventual previous visits. I also hoped to grasp children's expectations and previous knowledge about the museum.

The majority of the children from my research had visited some of the Norwegian museums once or two times before. Most of the children had visited the museum with family members, though some of the children said that they were at the museum with the kindergarten or with a teacher from the younger school classes. I asked the children about the difference between the school trip visit and the previous visit in order to explore children's personal context and social context of the museum experience. However, children's answers did not reveal numerous details about their previous experiences. Children answered in very short and quite concrete way. For example, children said: *"With class the visit could be shorter because we had to take the bus back to the school"* (boy), or *"with parents we were less and with class we were more"* (boy). The children tended to make the differences very simple. Some of the children did not show the motivation to talk a lot about the topic on differences. For example, on my question *"Why do you think that it was more fun on the school trip visit?"* a girl simply answered: *"because I was with my friends"*. According to her face expression I could notice that she was a slightly surprised why I asked something so obvious. However, when comparing the visits the majority of the children just said that it was almost the same *"the same fun"* or *"it was just as well"*. As a single case stands out with a girl who noticed *"It was the same, it is just that with parents we do not learn that much, but we learn a lot with class"*. Thus, the importance of

learning in the museums appeared in the children's very first answers. I will discuss this topic later in this analysis chapter.

5.3 Social context of the museum visit

Faulk and Dierking (2011) write about the importance of social context for shaping children's museum experiences. From the conversation with the children I learned that whom they were with at a museum was very important to them. Children who participated in my research did not remember exactly when the previous visit was or which museum they were in, but they remember precisely whom they were with. For example, children from different interviews said:

Girl: "It was my mum's birthday and after that the same day, we all together went to one museum, I do not remember the name of it"

Girl: "I was in a museum before with mum, dad, uncle, aunt and grandparents"

Martina: When was it?

Girl: "I do not remember exactly but it was the same museum as this one" ;

Boy: "I was with mum, dad, and my little brother, my younger sister has not been there because she was not born yet "

This boy did not know the exact time point but he knew that it was before his sister's birth. The two girls did not answer when they were in the museum, but they knew it was with first class teacher, though I could guess that it was two years ago.

Falk and Dierking (2011) introduce the result of the research from the recollection of the museum visit in USA. They interviewed adults and asked them to recollect the visit to the museum with the school class. Their findings reveals that the social context of school trip was very important for their interviewees, and it was something that they remembered the best from the previous museum visit (Falk & Dierking, 2011:51). A large number of interviewed man and women could remember whom they were in the museum with, whom they were sitting with on the bus trip or how the guide looked like (Falk & Dierking, 2011:51). Moreover, those memories could be really vivid up to 15 to 20 years (ibid.). Children from my research were also asked in a way to recollect previous museum visit. Beside the people they were accompanied by they could also recollect well some social facts as "it was my mum's birthday".

The group interview with two girls brings further some interesting points for discussing the social context in the museum:

Martina: Have you been in a museum before, and with whom?

Girl 1: Yes we were with Ann!

Martina: Who is Ann?

Girl 2: She is our first class teacher....

Martina: But which museum have you been in?

Girl 2: After that she felled on the ice, and she had to go to the hospital.

Girl 1: So we got another teacher.

Me: Can you remember how it was to be in the museum this younger class and with the different teacher?

Girl 1: I do not remember...But we are going to get a new teacher in the next grade as well...Her name is Karin.....

While I as adult research wanted to learn about children's previous experience of the museum visits, I faced that children were more interested in talking about the changing of teacher. The teacher might be a very important figure for children from my research. They spent a big amount of their time with a teacher both in the school and the school trip activities, as for instance museum visit. The girls from the example above had already experienced changing of the teacher, and they were supposed to get another one. I can guess that it was a very significant moment in their lives. Without intension I provoked a discussion on this topic. Being in the museum with class teacher was the social context of these girls. The importance of it is obvious in their answers. In addition it reminded them to talk about the changing the teacher, which could everyday lives. The girls form the interview were very eager in answering the questions and reflective during the whole conversation with me. Taking into consideration the agency concept children had a capacity to decide what they wanted to talk about, and they were capable to express their own perspective about the previous experience of the museum visit. Even though I wanted to see if the fact that they had already been in one of the museums could affect how children perceived and reacted on the actual museum exhibition, I got some different answers. Children's previous experiences of the museum were the memories about their teacher.

From the Social studies of childhood, children from the example should be seen also as social actors. Wyness (2006:236) writes that "the social actor implies that children are of the

social world, beings rather than becomings”. Based on arguing for childhood studies perspective, I considered these girls as human beings. They expressed their considerations and maybe worries about changing of teachers, here and now in their childhood, as a third grade pupils. Falk and Dierking (2011) argue that children’s previous experience of museums would rather shape the later museum visit’s experiences. The girls from the interview above did have a previous experience, but they were not interested in talking about eventual pervious knowledge about museums, and I did not learn how it could influence the experience of later visit with the class. But, from this example I understood that what was personally important to the children, here and now, shaped their museum experience.

By asking the children about the activities in the museum, I also learned that social context of being in the museum was important in shaping their museum experience. Being in the museum as a part of a school trip meant that the social context for each child from my research were their peers and teachers. Falk and Dierking (2011:37) write that most visitors come to the museum as a part of social group, and it shapes the program they are involved in at the museum. Children from my research, as a part of school class visit, were organized as participants in activities and lectures which were supposed to meet the needs of the whole social group in the best possible way. The fact that children were organized to discuss and work together in the groups was a consequence of this concrete social context.

The observations I conducted could supplement the information about the children’s experience of the museum and importance of social context. Both during the lectures and activities the majority of children listened carefully to the guide, and they were interested and active in the discussion and assignments they got. However, I noticed some impatience in some of the children’s behaviors. In every class there was one or a couple of children who were not listening or slightly disturbing the others. After a while there would always be some boy or a girl trying to lie instead of to sit on the floor. There were children who wanted to go to the bathroom, and some of them complained that they were hungry. “*When are we going to go around*”, was a question which I could often notice. Some of the children find it interesting to tease each other in the silence, avoiding the glance of the adults. Some chose not to be silent. They were whispering, laughing, not participating and wanted to do something else. Even though they were always a minority, I could notice that a couple of impatient children could affect the visit of the whole group.

Falk and Dierking (2011:37) argue that when visitors come to the museum as a part of social group, they devote a lot of time to each other, and museum experience of every visitor is influenced by whom they are in the museum with (Falk & Dierking, 2011:37). Visit is affected by needs and comfort of all members of the group (Falk & Dierking, 2011). If one member is not satisfied or not patient it can affect the museum visit of others. From my observations I could notice that it could provoke stress among the whole group, or that the visits could be shortened. Children who were hungry and thirsty could not follow the lecture. Some of them used to stand up and ask the teacher “*when is the lunch*”. The children wanted to go to the rest room were also followed by a teacher. Children who did not want to listen were disturbing a friend behind. Two girls from a group interview said that boys were laughing too much, and they could not hear and see everything they wanted. These girl’s museum experience was certainly affected by the others in the museum.

5.4 Children want to explore the museum on their own terms

Children from my research were on the school trip in the museum. The exhibition they saw was in accordance with the school curriculum for the third grade. The museum visit should extend their knowledge about the prehistoric topic, and children were supposed to get familiar with the museum objects, which belonged to this period. The children were also supposed to see only the room with prehistoric exhibition. Anyway, the museum consists of more and different exhibition rooms. Some of them children passed by or went through while they were on their way to the prehistoric room.

In this part of analysis I will present and discuss findings related to children’s tendency to explore whole museum on their own terms, and children’s excitement about the stuffed animals in the museum. Those two topics are interconnected and will be discussed together. Further, they will be discussed in the light of children’s agency to challenge the museum rules in the subchapter 5.4. In the chapter 7, I will come back to how these findings answer the first research question of the thesis regarding children’s experience of the museum.

5.4.1 We want to go all around the museum

During the interviews I aimed to grasp children's perspective of the museum visit and hoped to understand how children experienced the museum. I got some answers, which pointed out that children wanted to explore the museum on their own terms. For example, when asked to think about the previous family visit some children answered: "*With parents it was better, because then we could spread all around the museum and we saw a lot of different things*" (girl) or "*With family we could go whenever we want in the museum, and we did not need to sit and listen to the guide....*"(boy,), or "*with family we can go whenever we want*" (girl). There was just one boy who said that he would prefer to go to the museum alone, because as he said: "*Then I will avoid all that pressure, now we go here, now we go there!*". From these children I learned that they wanted to explore the space by themselves. Being in the museum with families or alone is less structured, with fewer obligations and therefore might be more comfortable in these children's opinions. Falk and Dierking (2011) noticed, while observing the families in different museum, that in such group visits children's needs always come first. The children from my research, who were in the museum with their families wanted to spread themselves all around the museum. It is more likely that their needs would have been met then, on the previous family visit. On the school visit, children were in the museum together with their teachers and had to follow some rules in order to provide good atmosphere for learning about the prehistory. For instance, children should sit on the floor in front the guide, they should not talk with each other while the guide was speaking and they had to raise a hand in order to say what they wanted. One of the issues was also that children were supposed to see only the prehistoric room, and not to be all around in the museum. In the case of the group visit, from adult's perspective, it could be practical to keep the children at one place. Children might get lost in the big building or because all that glass and very valuable exhibits. From my observation I noticed how teacher sometimes could get stressed when they did not manage to "control" a group of children. During the activities children had a time to run all around, and then I tried to have some small conversation with the teachers. But I could notice that they were very busy following children with a glance. After awhile I gave up trying to make a report with teachers before going to the school, because as I understood they were very busy to make sure that children behaved "properly" in the museum and probably to ensure that they learned a lot about the topic. However, it could result in some children's dissatisfaction of the museum visit and answers like this: "*I would rather that*

I could go around the whole museum, and I think it was boring that we were not allowed to see everything there” or “ It was a bit boring just to sit there, when it was so many exciting things to see all around the museum”

5.4.2 Stuffed animals

In subchapter I will present and discuss the findings regarding children’s commitment to the stuffed animals. In the museum I did research in, stuffed animals in 3D models are numerous and quite impressive by its size and originality. I remember when I walked for the first time through the museum, as an adult visitor I was quite amazed by those animal models. Most of the animals are situated in one exhibition room. For purpose of the analysis I will call it animal room, even though it includes much more scientific concepts. Children from my research were not supposed to visit this animal exhibition room, because it brings different historical period, different exhibits and stories from the past times. Its content was not in accordance with a curriculum predicted for children from my research. On their way to the prehistoric exhibition, children passed by different exhibitions and they were excited and very curious to see what was inside. However children were not allowed to come by in all exhibition rooms and they were supposed to follow the teacher and museum staff to the room where they are going to learn about prehistory of Norway. As I walked together with children to the exhibition room, I noticed that they were especially impressed by stuffed animals which they could see on their way. During the lecture children also got some information about the animals in the prehistory. The data from my interviews also revealed that children from my research were quite impressed by the animals.

In the exhibition room where children had lectures and activities, there was only one stuffed animal. I got the opportunity to observe children’s interaction just with this single model of an animal, a reindeer. During the activities children got opportunity to approach and to explore it closer. Children loved to touch the stuffed animal and it provoked very interesting conversations between them. They used to discuss and conclude that it was not real one, but they wondered if it was male or female and discussed what it was made from. The animal was also the object which children find interesting for teasing each other and laughing together. Among the children who were all around the museum during the activities, I observed two girls and noted down their conversation. One girl invited her friend to show her the back of the animal. The girl said to her friend: *“Ha ha, here it is”*, and they sat together on the floor, laughing about

her discovery. In the other class there were two boys imitating the sound of the reindeer, and telling to the girl classmate that they would tell the animal to eat her.

From the adult's point of view the stuffed animal could be seen as an issue of disturbing the lecture. While the guide was talking, children sitting by the animal would always touch it trying not to be noticed by guide and teacher. There were some cases when children asked questions about the animal, even though it was not the topic of the current discussion. During the activities, when children mobility was more free, they would always steal a bit of time of doing assignments, to approach and touch the stuffed animal.

However during the interviews almost none of the children mentioned the stuffed animal, which was the part of the exhibition they were visiting. The most interesting animals were those in the animal room which were in another floor. Based on children's answers, I learned that stuffed animals in the museum were something that children wanted to see and that they were a topic children wanted to hear about. The following quotations from different interviews describe the children's enthusiasm about the animals:

Martina: What could museum staff do in the museum in order to make an even better place for you and your friends?

Girl 1: "We could go a bit around. I think it was a bit stupid that we could not go around and see the other exhibition, for example these with animals... We had to be just in one place..."

Girl 2: "We were not supposed to see them, but I looked at them, and I saw them before... I think it was fun to see them, and they can look like a bit scary. "

Martina: Why scary?

Girl 2: "Because it can be a tiger with sharp teeth, and he can eat a lot!"

Boy: "I want to see maybe more stones, and fur, and leather,and a lot of animals.....we can see the cartoon about the animals in stone age " ;

Boy: "They can make the stone age as another exhibition with a lot of animals... Girl from the same interview added: "because it is a little bit interesting to children".

The examples above have already indicated that stuffed animals were very important part of the children's museum experiences. Some other children's statements convinced me that how children experienced the museum was very influenced by stuffed animals. For instance, the interview with three guys shows that children's whole experience of the museum exhibition was an experience of "seeing a lot of stuffed animals". These three boys were talking a lot about the

animals during the interview. On my question to describe museum visit they also mentioned the stuffed animals. Even though I tried to bring back the conversation on the prehistoric exhibition, the boys did not pay attention, and kept on talking about the topic which was most important to them. On the question what was most exciting they experienced in the museum such a conversation occurred:

Boy 1: "The most exciting was to see the stuffed wolf".

Martina: But from the prehistoric exhibition we were at?

Boy 2: "I have not seen everything... I saw the stuffed reindeer, with horrible smell from its mouth (laughing)"

Boy 3: "I saw the whale".

Boy1: "But those teeth were not real, there were plastic...".

Further, some other children also answered the question about the most interesting experience in the museum as that it was *"to see the reindeer"*, *"to see the wild pig"*, *"it was fun with the musk"*, *"The most exciting was to see the stuffed wolf, because I have never seen a real wolf before"*. A girl, who talked a lot about her positive feelings about the stuffed animals as the most exciting experience in the museum, wanted to share some previous museum experience with me:

Girl: "I was in one Museum in Oslo, and there were also stuffed animals, the stuffed snake was disgusting.... "

Martina: OK, let s talk about the Stone Age exhibition, what was the most exciting you have experienced there?

Girl: "It was very fun with drawings on the stone...there you can see the fish and other animals....They used to draw animals in Stone age but in some weird way...."

In the example with the girl I tried again to bring the conversation back to the topic I was interested in, that is Stone Age objects. On my questions about the Stone Age objects the girl was referring to the wall paintings with depicted animals, which she could see in the museum. She found a way how to put her interests in animals again in the first plan, and at the same time she answered my question.

During the interviews children also revealed that the reason why they like so much the stuffed animals in the museum, might be their previous experience with real animals in their everyday lives. Children from my research had some positive experiences with real animals and I

could assume that it would be their expectations and shape their museum experience. According to Falk and Dierking (2011) if expectations are met, experience is improved. Children from my research were not allowed to see the stuffed animals, and during the interviews some of them were clear that they were not satisfied with that. When I asked children about their expectations of the museum visit children were not that eager in answering it. But from the interview with two girls I got the following answers: Girl 1: *“I thought that we would be allowed to spread ourselves around”*. Girl 2 added: *“And that we could touch the things and be in the room with animals, I was there once with my big brother.....but it was not allowed this time”*. When talked about these issues the girls talked with disappointment. Their expectations might have not been met. Maybe it is not totally correct to assume that these two girls did not have positive experience of the museum, but I could notice that they were not that motivated in answering my questions during the interview and slightly impatient. The girl from another interview said that she expected to see the musk in the museum, because his grandfather has a book with a lot of musk. There were a stuffed musk animal in the corridor of the museum. The girl was amazed and talked enthusiastically about it. She was also very interested in conversation with me, and she used to give really serious and in depth answers. She explained her experience of the museum like: *“It was very exciting, to hear all about the nice stories and objects”* and *“It was very nice to learn about the history in the museum”*. Even though the musk was not the topic children heard about in the museum, she saw it on her way, recognized it and found the way to experience the museum as maybe even nicer place than adults imagined for her.

From the interviews with children I learned that the reason why children were so excited about the stuffed animals in the museum, could be that they were very fond of real animals and that they had a lot of contact with animals in everyday life. I asked the children why they thought that it was the most exciting to hear about the animals. A boy said: *“I was allowed to go in the room with stuffed animals...It was very fun, and I liked to play with animals at home as well”*. From the another group interview I got such answers” : Boy: *“Because they live on the farm, I like to go to the farm and I want to work in a farm when I grow up”*. The girl from the same group interview added: *“Apropo farm, my uncle works at one, with a lot of cows”I am visiting him very often...”*.

5.5 Children's agency in challenging the museum rules

Falk and Dierking (2011) notice that children's experiences of museum are dependent on the mode adults have structured the visit for them. The visit for the children in my research was structured as a guided tour, and children were supposed to concentrate just on the one part of the museum. But on their way to the prehistoric exhibition children could notice that there are some other exhibitions in the museum as well. As Falk and Dierking (2011:158) write when the visitors are supposed to be guided just at one part of the museum nothing can reduce their feeling that they are missing something. The same could be said for children. Children might want to see everything despite programs made for them and might feel frustrated because they do not get the opportunity to explore museum on their own. Based on the answers I got from children in my research, I understood that they also wanted to see other things beside the program made for them, and as elaborated on here, especially the exhibition with stuffed animals. Those limits did affect their museum experience.

Seeing the children from the social studies perspective allowed me to apply the concept of agency in order to explain children's experiences of the museum. From my research I learned about the children's competence to explore the space on their own terms and trick the adult's rule, which was that it is not allowed to go all around the museum.

About children's agency to challenge the adult's rules I learned from observations I conducted during the activities and from children's answers during the interviews. As soon as children are finished with the activities they used to find a moment and spread themselves in the "not aloud part of the museum". Some of the children tried not to be seen and went alone in this part of the museum. But, some of them asked the teacher if they could just look in for a while. If there was time left sometimes the teachers used to follow the children to see what they wanted. During the interviews the children used to talk about the part of the museum which they were not supposed to visit, as something the most interesting they experienced and with most astonishing exhibits:

Girl: "I think it was most interesting to see the Bronze Age, because they had so many nice bronze and swords and a lot of jewelry (here she talk about the bronze age exhibition, which were not planned to be visit). When I was finished with assignments, I went a bit around and then I saw this part of exhibition with a lot of nice objects from Bronze Age".

The following example from the group interview with three girls depicts the children's agency to challenge the adult's rules in the museum. Two girls from one of one of the group interviews were talking about the animal exhibition. They managed to persuade a teacher to follow them there after they were finished with prehistoric exhibition.

Girl 2: "Yes there were a lot of nice animals to see there... But, we should not go really close to them, because they can fall. "

Girl 1: "Yes and they can be broken...and destroyed.... There should be a sign with all rules in the museum, so that we know that....."

Girl 2: "Or there can be just like glass door, through which one can see all those animals....And there should be written: "Do not open this door, and do not touch, just look".

Martina: Why do you think that it is important not to touch the animals in the museum?

Girl 3: "They can be so old. So, if we move them, they can be destroyed, they can suddenly end up on the floor...."

This example from the interview with three girls caught my attention because of two points. First, it explains children's agency to fulfill their aspirations and see in the museum what they wanted to see beside the structure of the visit made for them by adults. These girls probably expressed the wish to go in the animal room to the teacher. Here also the teacher was acting in children's best interests, by letting them explore what they wanted. Second, children here are constrained by rules in the museum. Children from this example showed that they are aware of the "do not touch" rules, and they emphasized the importance of it during the interview. Children could probably see those signs all around the museum and teacher might had told to them something about it before the visit. However, the children from this research, loved to touch the animals, and always found the way to do that, when adults did not watch.

As the example of children's agency to challenge the adult's rules could also be children's attempt to touch the stuffed animal in the exhibition room, while they had lectures and activities. These observations I presented in the subchapter above, regarding the topic on stuffed animals. In almost every class I observed a couple of children trying to touch the fur of the reindeer, and inviting the friends who were sitting behind to try it as well.

In such cases I recognized that children expressed agency to change the cultural event in the museum. The children were competent to make the museum visit more interesting to themselves. They were capable to both listen to the adults and did not disturb, but they were also

finding the way to explore what they wanted, and adjust the visit to their wishes and preferences. They were also doing it together with their peers. Using Corsaro's (2005:18) writings this phenomenon might be what he calls "children's contribution to the cultural production and change". By interacting with their peers children in the museum were producing peer culture. Corsaro (2005:209) notes "children's behavioral routines as a part of their peer culture ". Children produce those routines in interacting with each other. The routines represent the different children's actions "which are recurrent and predictable" (Corsaro, 2005:209). The children's laughers, giggles and whispers could be seen as elements of peer culture which they were producing in the museum. The stuffed animals in the museum were often the basis from which this production started. As I already said the stuffed reindeer in prehistoric exhibition room was the objects which children used to tease each other and to laugh together. They could also seriously discuss the topic about stuffed animals. The animals in the museum also provoked children to share some personal and previous experiences with animals, or to talk about what they liked to do in everyday lives. I could assume that stuffed animals in the museum were adopted by the children as an element of their peer culture. They were the common concern of the children and often imposed topic by children during the interviews. The animals were also not allowed to touch and thus even more interesting to the children. As I noticed from observation, the children found it very amusing to touch the animals and to talk about it to a friend.

However the elements of peer culture acted out in the museum were not just connected to the stuffed animals. From the observations I did in the museum, I could notice that elements of peer culture were all around. During the activities the children were organized to discuss and work together in the groups. But, children did not passively accept the imposed program for them. By interacting with their peers the children were able to make their own peer culture. There were noisy running from one glass closet to another and trying to find an answer, they were laughing and seriously discussing with each other. Sometimes they would argue, and hide the answers from another group. They emphasized that they were finished with assignments and they were obviously satisfied with it. Sometimes they were dissatisfied when teacher chose who would be in the group together with, but would usually accept the teacher's proposal. Being in the museum with their peers shaped the experience of the children from this study. In addition

adults who organized the program for them and teachers who affected peer interaction were also taking part in shaping the children's experiences.

Talking about school visits Falk and Dierking (2011:50) noticed that peer interaction could be a comfort for children who are in the novel settings as museum is. According to them children can show a certain level of anxiety in such unfamiliar setting with a lot of unfamiliar objects. The social interaction with their peers, like chatting with each while guide is talking, could be seen like a means how they tried to overcome the anxiety (Falk & Dierking, 2011:50). However, from my research I did not notice that the children were anxious in the museum, or that they were not feeling comfortable. Children's laughter and not "allowed" conversation " I will rather interpret as a part of children's agency to produce peer culture in the museum, and to actively make some changes in the event they took part in the museum, by making it more appropriate to own needs and interests.

5.5.1 Children's agency in relation to curriculum and timetables in the museum

Drawing upon to Mayall's writings , I can assume that children as agents in the setting of the museum were able to do "something with other people" and "make things happen" (in Allison James & James, 2008:41). Further, drawing upon to Corsaro (2005:18), the children were in the same time constrained by societies and cultures, which they are members of (2005:18). Allison James et al. (1998:42) theorize the childhood in relation to social space and they write about curriculum and timetables as a means of "control over children".

Children who took part in my research were in the museum on school trip, during the regular school day. They were in the museum with classmates and teachers, and they heard the story which was in accordance with their curriculum. The same as if they were in the school settings, children in the museum were controlled by timetables and curriculum. Adults decided what kind of exhibition children are going to see, which stories and activities are proper for their age and how they would sit and how they are expected to behave. Their time was also organized by timetables. First they listened to the story, and then they participated in two activities. After that they had to hurry up for the bus so there was no much time left to explore the museum. Even children in one class got the permission from the teacher to go to visit the animal room, the most of them left the museum with some unmet expectations. According to Falk and Dierking (2011) this might have affected their museum experience in a negative way. Considering the children's

excitement about animals and museum objects, I cannot argue that children had negative experiences of the museum visit. I would rather stick to Allison James et al. (1998:45) arguments and argue that children 's experiences could never be seen an experience of "neutral space" because the museum is an institution led by adults, and activities there are organized by adults. The adult's authority could rather shape children's experience and make them feel that there were limited possibilities for exploring the whole space on their own terms. However children from my research were not passive in relation to the adult's rules in the museum. Wyness (2006:168) write about the "normality of conflict" in children's relationship with adults. Children who are constrained by adult's authority will try to "gain control of their lives and share this control with their peers" (Wyness, 2006:168). Children find a way to act among those constrains and they use kind of conflict as "important means thorough which children affirm their social status" (Wyness, 2006:168). As an illustrative example could be Corsaro's (2005) observations that children, who were prohibited to bring the toys in kindergarten, were bringing just the small ones, which could be hidden in their pockets. According the quotations and observations presented above, children I did research with were also finding the way to see and touch the museum exhibits, or to be in the place where they were not supposed to be.

5.6 Museum as a place for learning

While I was making the interview guide for conversation with children my purpose was not to evaluate children's learning in the museum. But during the interviews I found out that from children's perspective the museum was a place for learning. In this part of analysis I will present and reflect on children's answers on different questions in my interview guide. Some of the answers were also self-imposed by children.

On my questions "What have you being doing in the museum", or "What was the most interesting you have experienced in the museum" children from different interviews answered : *"In the museum we ate, and so we learn a lot about stone age...and we also saw objects"* (girl), *"We were in the museum to learn about the stone age...."*(boy), *" The most interesting was that we could learn about a lot of different things, and then we had activities afterwards...."*(girl). *" In the museum we learned about stone age"* (girl), *"Because it is museum, there one can see the objects to learn a bit....."*(girl), *"We learned a lot of cool things"* (boy) , *" In the museum we learn things, and we saw the exhibition...so we can both see them and hear about them..."*(boy)

When I asked why children go to the museums, children answered: *“Children go to the museum to learn a lot of interesting things, it was very fun to learn in the museum” (boy), “ It is just fun to know about the prehistory...” (boy), “They (children) go there to learn a lot...”(girl), “Children can learn about stone age, and about animals, and we also learned a lot”*

Based on these answers I learned that the children experienced the museum as a place for learning. Children from my research were in the museum during the school day, and the lecture they got in the museum was supposed to upgrade their knowledge about prehistory. Most children who came in the museum had already learned something about this topic in the school. The guide used to start the discussion with Stone Age in Norway, and I could observe that children had very good knowledge about it. They knew when the Stone Age started and they had heard about the flint and its big importance during the Stone Age. A lot of hands were up, children asked the questions and reflect on each other’s comments. I had impression that very fruitful discussion was going on. Teachers were also eager sometimes to show how much their pupils know and used to remind them and motivate them to remember the answer. From time to time they could not hide how proud they were of the children. In the museum the learning atmosphere prevailed and it might have influenced the children’s answers. Based on children’s answers I could understand that children’s experiences of the museum were very connected to learning.

The children’s learning in the museum, together with some of the children’s answers from my interviews, will be discussed in the next subchapter in relation to the concepts of “human beings “and “Human becomings”.

5.7 “Human Beings” and “Human Becomings” in the museum

From children’s perspectives I understood that the reasons for going to the museum were to learn in the museum. Moreover, some of children’s statements reveled that, when thinking about the reasons for going to the museum and getting knowledge about prehistoric topics, children took into account their future plans. In such children’s answers I recognized the potential for discussing the concepts of “human beings “and “human becomings”. Below, I will present the examples from interviews, which refers to this topic:

“Children go to the museum to learn about Stone age, and a lot of different objects...And to see those objects, how they look like....And one can learn a lot and be good in his job one day “ (boy); ” Because child has to know, right? And so, we learn a lot about it” (girl) ;”We have to know about it maybe to tell to our children one day. Or maybe when you are grown up, maybe you have to know it, for example, if you are at work maybe you have to know it” (girl). “Also we should learn about it if we want to work in the museum when we grow up” (girl), “ Children learn about the past, because they have to know to be good in their work in the future” (boy).

However, some of the children’s answers were related just to learning at the museum, like for instance the part of the group interview with two children:

Boy: “Children go to the museum to learn more”

Martina: Why do we need to learn about prehistory?

Boy: “One becomes smarter if one learns more...”

Martina: Why it is important to be smart?

Boy:” It is stupid to be stupid so it is smart to be smart....”

Girl: “And we have to learn about it and know about it in school.”

Boy: “We have to learn about it, because if somebody asks you, you can know it and answer.”

Some of the children clearly answered that the reasons for going into the museum was both connected to their nowadays success in the school and to having the good future. As boy said: *“We have to know about it because if not we are going to get minus”,* Girl from the same interview added: *“And it is not good with minus. It is important to learn about it, because when we have children one day we have to help them with that....with school assignments also.....Boy: (interrupts):” But if we get plus, that is really good....”*

The above quotations represent the children’s opinions about the reasons for going to the museum and getting knowledge about the prehistory of Norway. Looking on these reasons from children’s perspective imposed the concepts of children as “beings” and “becomings”. Before the new sociology of childhood, children were dominantly theorized as “growing up” and childhood was seen as a developmental stage towards a complete adulthood or socialization process “of becoming social “ (Gallacher & Kehily, 2013:240). Writing this master thesis from the social studies of childhood perspective I took children “seriously as beings in their own right rather than adult becoming” (Gallacher & Kehily, 2013:241). I saw children as active human beings who are capable and have right to benefit from the museum visit now in their childhoods.

Further, I had to seek for children's opinions about the reasons for visiting the museum and take them as valid. Looking on those reasons from children's perspective I realized that children do not see themselves strictly as either "beings" or "becomings".

The findings from my research are in accordance with Emma Uprichard's suggestions that children and childhood had to be seen "always and necessarily " both as "beings and becomings" (2008-07:303). Seeing children just as "human beings" she finds problematic because it neglects the "notion of time and temporality" and therefore the future experiences of the child (Uprichard, 2008-07:303, 305). When asked about the reasons for coming in the museum, the children did take into account their future. They had to learn in order to become knowledgeable adults who can be good in their jobs and who can properly raise their own children. On the other hand, children said that they came to the museum in order to learn and to be good students at school. From the children's point of view learning is connected to their nowadays success in the school and getting "plus" but also to their future and becoming a competent adult.

Based on the Emma Uprichard's theorizing I could conclude that children from my research constructed their museum experience with concern to their present and school results but also with concern to their future. They saw the museum and what it offered to them as a tool for being good students in the present, but also for becoming a proper adult in the future. They experienced the museum here and now in their childhood, learning about the prehistory, which is important for their present knowledge in school. But, the stories about the past also provoked the children to think about the future life. The children were aware of the fact they would be adults one day and it affected their opinions about the topic we talked about.

Children from Emma Uprichard 's (2008-07:310) research were also aware of ageing and they "conceptualized future " in the different ways. For example, while some children were aware that getting older brings some more freedom, the other children said that it could be boring to become an adult. The children from my research saw the future as a period when they will be working and having their own children, which requires some knowledge. However, this knowledge they were supposed to gain in present. They learned about in the setting of the museum and before the visit they got some information about the prehistory in the schools. This was important for both their presents and futures. The children from my research constructed their museum experience as both "human beings" and "human becomings".

Uprichard (2008-07:311) also argues that theorizing children as "human beings and becomings" provides a researcher not just with better understanding of children's lives, but it also "increases children's agency". From social studies of childhood perspective children from my research were active social agents and had agency to construct their own childhoods and experiences (Allison James et al., 1998). Uprichard (2008-07:311) adds that concept of "being and becoming" can expand children's agency in a sense that children could be also seen as future agents". Children from my research were active social actors in constructing their museum experience as learning experience. Moreover, they expressed agency to use this learning in the museum both in the present and for imagining their future lives. What kind of adults they will become was shaped by their present construction of the experiences of everyday life, where the learning was very important for the children.

5.8 Children's opinions about the museum visit

One of the key features of the new sociology of childhood is that: "Children's social relationships and cultures are worthy of study in their own right" (Jenks, 2005:30). The discourse of children's rights enables researcher who studies children to "understand and take into account children's point of view" (Kehily, 2004:13). The ideas from social studies of childhood and children's right discourses informed me as a researcher to conduct the study in accordance of the "best interest" of the children in the museum. That would say that children I took as participants should benefit from my research. By exploring children's voices on the museum exhibition and letting them be heard, I argue that children are capable to estimate what is the best for them and what they would like to be different. Children's opinions about the programs made for them in the museum should be taken as valid.

Below I will summarize the children's general experience of the museum based on the results from interviews and observation. I wanted to understand how children experienced the museum visit by asking them questions about the activities they had in the museum. Children's voices about the topic provided me to learn about the museum thorough children's perspective. Observations during the lectures and two different activities could edit my understanding. The last subchapter addresses the children's opinions about what they were not satisfied in the museum with and what they would like to be different or "better" for them.

5.8.1 Experiences form activities in the museum

Beside observations, I also asked the children to tell me about their experience about the activities they took part in at the museum. From children's opinions about the activities I could learn that they were very connected to what Falk and Dierking (2011) call social context, or whom they were with at the museum. When children described activities they used to talk a lot about interaction with their peers and who they were in the group with. For example children said: "*I was together in the group with the girl with glasses*", "*I was together with my best friend*", "*I think it would be better if we could decide by ourselves who do we want to be in group with...I was alone in the end, but I finished assignment first*". "*I could be with Martin and Leo, but then we would be three*". The children always remembered the name of the group partner, and it provoked they further reflections about the activities.

Further, regarding the activities children usually remembered the best dynamics of it "*We got to solve the assignment...and we had to go around and find the right answer in the glass closets*" and "*we had to remember the number*"... Two girls explained also the whole flow of the activities in details "*We had to go around and find the object in the closet, and afterwards we had as a table with different objects, there were from different periods, and also we had to guess which period they were from*"....Two girls said that they were arguing with their group partners, because they had different opinions about the answers.

One girl described the activities as difficult: "*I was in the group with my learning partner Mia. We were together but we did not understand almost nothing....It was very difficult....so we tried once again but nothing....I said maybe it is like this, she said maybe it is like this, but then we had to ask..., it was boring that we had to get help*"... Regarding the assignment they got, one guy admitted that he cheated a bit, and laughed "*The blueprint was actually on the back side of the thing, and if we could not the answer we just followed the blueprint*". Talking about the activities children did not like that sometimes it was difficult and they had to ask for help.

However, there were a lot of positive feelings about the activities. The most positive is that they were finally active, could go around, satisfy curiosity and explore the space on their own. A guy said "*The most interesting about the activities was that we could go around and see all those objects*". Further, when asked if they had a advice for museum staff to improve the museum for children two girls said: "*More activities, more activities*". A boy from another interview said: "*It was a lot of fun during activities because we worked together*"... "*We had to*

go around and to think a lot, we had to remember what we have learned, we had to think what was the ax and what was not, it was very funny”.

5.8.2 Children’s experiences of the practicalities in the museum

In order to find out if there was something children were not satisfied with, I asked them if there were something “boring” in the museum. The most of the children answered “no” , “not at all” and “everything was fun”. Such answers I got regardless the gender, or regardless how interested they were during the museum visit or the interview. But there were some children who said that they did not like the “sitting on the ground”, during the lectures : “*It was boring to sit on the floor so long and talk so long about many different thing, I could not remember everything what was said*” (girl);

“Everything was fun, but in the end I got pain in my legs, because we had to sit so long there on the floor. I used to sit on my knees “(girl). This girl was also a very careful not to offend somebody and added “But otherwise, it was very interesting, everything she said” (here she means on the museum guide);

“It was boring just to sit there so long, when there were so much interesting things to see around. I wanted to go around” (boy).

In some of the children’s opinions the boring part in the museum was the issues they found difficult to perform or understand. For instance, two girls from the group interview said that it was boring that they had to ask for help:

Girl 1: “We just had to go, and ask for help, it was difficult”

Girl 2: “It was boring because I did not understand every word in assignment so I had to ask”.

The two girls from another group interview said that it was boring that guys talked and laughed a lot while the guide was talking: “*The girl are not so silly like boys, they were just talking, and teasing each other“* and “*When we had to see something which she (guide) showed to us, we could not see it, because boys did not want to sit down, and they just laughed”*. From those two girls’ perspective the topic about the boredom in the museum was a convenient moment to complain about boy’s bad behavior.

Further, when asked what they did not like, a lot of children complained that they were hungry, or thirsty, or that they had to go to the bathroom. “*If I had decided at the museum I would have done that children do not get bored....that we get food earlier...and we can eat the*

food and work afterwards again...and that we are allowed to play more in the museum....and candies, a lot of candies for free” (girl, interview 2), “Maybe there can be a small restaurant where we can have a lunch” (girl 3, interview 7).

5.8.3 Children as museum consultants

Children from my research could be competent consultants when making the future programs for them in the museum. I asked the children if they had any advices for museum staff how to make even better museum for children. Here, I will present some of the children’s answers:

“I would like that we could go around, we had to just sit there....also I would like that I had mine IPAD, so I could play with it”....(boy). “ I would like that they had animals, which we could play with”...”and a lot of stones, more stones...maybe we can play with them, and make something with them”...(girl).

The quotations above are not the lonely examples of children expressing their wish to play in the museum. For instance:

Boy: “I would like to see more plays in the museum....a playing space for children”

Martina: How the playing space should look like?

Boy: “I would like that they have a swimming pool...”

Martina: What kind of swimming pool?

Boy: “With stone age water...There could be a lot of stones inside, and like fountain with water which can fall on us.....(laughing) “

The children from my research clearly expressed the wish to play with their peers in the museum. James and James (2008:91) give the definition of children’s play as “pleasurable activities freely engaged in by children, freedom from work, to act frivolously or capriciously “. Social studies of childhood seek to understand the meaning which play has for children. James and James (2008:92) introduce Schwartzman ‘s (1978) analysis of children’s play where he concluded that play “is integral to children’s social worlds and to the ways in which children make use of different spaces in the environment”. The children from my research wanted to use the museum in a bit different way than it was predicted for them by the adults. Instead of listening and activities some of them wanted to play. Children who said that they would like to play in the museum mentioned IPAD, stones or swimming pool. Those activities were probably

something the children liked to do the in their free time. However, they were capable of connecting it to the setting of the museum by imagining the Stone Age app, playing with stones in the museum, and swimming, but in the water from the Stone Age.

Chapter 6, Analysis 2: Children's interaction with museum objects

6.1 Introduction

During my fieldwork I learned from children's answers and from children's behavior in the museum about their interaction with the museum objects. My intentions were to explore the children's opinions in order to answer the second research question of this master thesis: *What are children's perspectives on prehistory based on their interaction with museum objects from the exhibition?* The two issues about children's perspective on prehistory and interaction with museum objects are quite interwoven. How children imagined the prehistory was interconnected with children's interaction with the museum objects. Regarding the first issue of the research question, I hoped to understand how the children experienced the prehistory and the stories about the prehistory which were presented to them in the museum. I wanted to learn about how the children understood the historical knowledge they were supposed to gain on their school visit in the museum. The second issue of the research question should provide me with knowledge about how children made meaning of the prehistoric objects which they saw in the museum. As children's interaction with museum objects I considered all children's experiences with museum objects, their opinions about them and the discussion they provoked among children. On the other hand, interaction meant that museum objects left some impression on children, and that they might have affected the way in which the children imagined the prehistory.

Children's interaction with museum objects helped me a lot in making the picture more complete about children's perspective on prehistory. Children from my research were visiting the prehistoric exhibition. Even though they were told something about the Bronze age and Iron age, the exhibits they saw and the stories they listen to were mostly considering the Stone age of Norway. That is why the term as Stone Age is often repeated both in my questions to the children and their statements. Most of the children's answers did consider the objects and stories they saw and heard in the museum. Nevertheless, children opinions about the prehistory went beyond it, and they expressed a competence to imagine the past in their own way. In this part of analysis, I will introduce children's answers and present the prehistory how I understood it looked like through "children's lenses".

In this analysis chapter I will discuss children's perspective on the prehistory and their voices on how they imagined the past. The first part of analysis 2 (subchapter 6.2. and 6.3) considers children's imagination of the prehistory. In order to see how children imagine the prehistory and how they used the museum objects to imagine it I asked the children following questions during the interviews: "How do you imagine the prehistory?" And "Can you imagine that you were a child in Stone Age? In the second part, which is subchapter 6.4., I will reflect on some of the main concepts of social studies of childhood in relation to children's imagination of prehistory.

In the concluding discussions (chapter 7) I will return to how the points I found out in my research could answer the second research question, about the children's perspective on prehistory based on their interaction with museum objects from the concrete museum exhibition.

6.2 Children's imagination of prehistory

The group interview with three girls reveals how children's imagination of the prehistory could be really unpredictable for us, adult researchers. The following example caught my attention because the variety of children's answers to make a picture of the prehistory, in this case of Stone Age. Children's answers from this example made me think about the children's perception of prehistory as different from what we adults tend to teach children about it. I noticed that children expressed agency in making their own image of the prehistory which stepped away from narratives children could hear both in the museum and in the schools.

Martina: How do you imagine the prehistory?

Girl 2: "I imagine it like a lot of castles everywhere..."

Me: What kind of castles?

Girl 2: "They were not that nice as King Harald has....but with a lot of grass and trees....and a lot of animals which were not stuffed jet.... And animals which should be apes but did not manage to develop jet....and a lot of other things, a lot of stones and palm trees. "

Martina: Palm trees?

Girl 2: "Yes, but not spruce" (guide said that in the Stone Age people did not have spruce yet, and made association with Christmas tree).

Girl 3: " No, there were no Christmas tree in Stone age.... "

Girl 3: "Before it was not like today.....There was maybe just a forest all around, and not that many towns...and plenty of long beaches, and just sea so long one can see..."

Martina: "Do you think it was better than today?"

Girl 2: "No, not exactly"

Martina: Why?

Girl 2: "They did not find out jet hammockit was boring not to have one....".(they both were laughing here).

Martina: Do you have something else to say?

Girl 2:" In Iron age they had maybe different castles with maybe like big army all around...so big army in case that they were maybe attacked..."

Girl 3: "Yes, so nobody could attack them."

Martina: So do you think that there were a lot of wars in prehistory?

Girl 2: "Yes, today we are almost everybody on the earth friends, there is just few of them who are in war today....I think it is very stupid....Why could not all of them who starts the war just not think about it., and just live the nice life.....So, if we have war and death every day...it is stupid...."

Girl 2: "When I am in my bad, I am thinking about how lucky we are in Norway....we can live in nice houses with food and bad....and I think poor them who are outside hungry and alone...and they who have to eat from garbage..."

Girl 1: "If I had been alone outside I would be very sad..."

Girl 2: "Yes that is sad....And we want to give money to everybody who sits and begs...but we cannot give all our money...because we also do need the money...otherwise we will be poor also..."

In the group interview above children are using both jokes and very serious conversation about poverty and wars in the present world in order to explain how they imagined past times. They connected it with feelings as "it would be sad", and "we are very lucky" and to children's fear to be alone outside. They also probably used some attitudes about Norway as a rich and safe country, which they could hear from Norwegian television, their parents, or schools. They also made an association with the present King Harald and his castle in order to explain their imagination of the prehistory. The fact about the king's castles could also be the information they could hear about in their everyday life as a part of Norwegian society. What I have also noticed

is that the children from this example, almost did not use the stories or museum objects they saw in order to imagine the past. Castles and stories about the wars were not the actual topic in the museum for these children. The knowledge about this is definitely gained from some other sources, which they could find important to use as a model for imagining the prehistory. In his conceptualizing the culture Barker writes about its “material part”, which could be built in ,among others, in “books, magazines and television programs”(Barker, 2004:44). To Barker’s notifications I can add computer games, which could also be sources where the children could hear or read about the information they assigned to the prehistory. The material part of the Norwegian culture together with the stories they listen to in the museum, might have shaped the children’s imagination of the prehistory.

For the girl 2 from the interview above the topic about wars in the world was the association of the prehistory. But, the main concern for the girl was that the war could even be here where “we” today live. She did not know a lot about the wars in prehistory but she was aware that nowadays there were still some who were in war and that was “very stupid”. She was empathic for all those who are poor and affected by war today and was giving advice to all of those people, who were starting the wars just not to do that, and live a nice life. Her imagination of prehistory with a lot of wars provoked negative feeling to those who are responsible for death and hunger in the world and emphatic feelings for all those poor people living in such conditions. The girls from the interview experience their childhood in Norway as a secure childhood with good living conditions and as one of them said “we are lucky who live in Norway”. I could learn from these girl’s perspective that prehistory might be insecure and not desirable time to live since the difficult life conditions could appear. Knowledge about the contemporary wars and poverty in the world influenced how they imagined the past. Along Barker’s theorizing of material part of culture the information these girls came into the museum with, could be seen as previous knowledge or as what Falk and Dierking (2011) call the “personal context” of every museum visitor. According to them the previous knowledge of the girls might influence their museum experiences. Here I can add that it could also influence how the girls imagined the prehistory.

Beside the previous knowledge Falk and Dierking (2011) determine the previous interests and motivations also within the personal context of the museum visit. When asked to imagine the prehistory, these girls were using the moment to make jokes about the hammock and something

they probably like to do in free time. They also considered important the fact that they did not have the Christmas tree in the Stone Age. From the girl's perspective palm trees could be appropriate substitution. If they did not have Christmas tree they must have something which can be the same attractive and interesting. Otherwise, without palm and hammock it could be "boring" to live in prehistory. Children's previous interests or what they like privately could affect how they experienced the prehistory.

From the above example I understood that children in order to imagine the prehistory could easily move back and forth from discussing seriously topics about the war to what they like or enjoy to do in free time. What is the common for those two issues that both are very important from this children's point of view. The story about the war probably affected the girl 2 and provoked some strong feelings which she decided to share during the interview. The Christmas and palm trees as well as hammock are something towards the children had positive attitudes, and something they would like to keep in their imagination of the prehistory.

6.2.1 Physical context of the museum

The example from the interview with three girls is not an only one where children associated the prehistory with wars and unsecure times. From below children's perspective being a child in Stone Age could be dangerous but also boring because they did not have all equipment as we have today:

Boy: "It was dangerous then, you had to be strong....it is totally difficult to imagine".

Martina: What would you have played with?

Boy: "I would play war..."

Martina: Why war?

Boy: "There were a lot of spears and bows and arrows you could find and it could be fun."

Martina: And you?

Girl: "I also would play war..."

Martina: Do you imagine Stone Age as a lot of wars?

Girl: "Yes there were fighting a lot...children could not be alone "

Boy: "But there were also not that many people then."

Martina: Why do you think so?

Boy. No, they were fewer, and it was maybe a little bit boring to be a child in Stone age....They did not have all those things as we today....

Based on such children's answers I wondered where those children's attitudes are coming from. As I already said above children might have heard or seen something about the unsecure prehistory in schools, television and so on. Since I did not ask the children about it during my fieldwork, this cannot be known for sure. What I saw and heard from children is that the interaction with museum objects could make its input in children's imagination of prehistory. In the museum exhibition children could see numerous of tools, among them hunting and warrior's equipment. From some children's answers it seemed that it left a big impression on them. Some of the children use to talk about the Stone Age spearheads, hammers and knives as something most interesting they saw in the museum. It might be that such museum objects shaped the children perception of prehistory as a dangerous period when you needed that kind of tools in order to survive. Taking into account Falk and Direking's Model (2011), it would have meant that physical context of the museum influenced the museum experience of the children. The exhibition children saw and objects it contained could be seen as part of the physical context of the museum. From the conversation with children I learned that they often connected their imagination of the prehistory with museum objects they saw and with stories they heard there: "*I imagine it as plenty of stone objects and stone houses* " , "*I imagined prehistory as like Stone age and Iron age and everything that happened before today*" "*I imagined like a lot of people wearing the cloth and shoes from leather , and live in stone house....They could also live in tents, and they had a lot of flint*" "*Like a lot of flint, so you can make a fire of it*" "*I imagine the prehistory like a lot of stones, and knives and some of them had spares and bow and arrow*" . Children's interaction with museum objects and physical context decided the way in which children experienced the prehistory.

6.3 “If I were a child in Stone Age...”

I asked children if they could imagine that they had been a child who lived in Stone Age. As follow up questions I asked them what they would have done then, which objects from exhibition would they have used most, and which of them would have been the most important in their lives. Here I got a lot of interesting answers. Children were very comfortable with such questions, and they felt like they had a lot to say about this topic. Being children was already familiar to them. They were already experts on their own childhoods. It was easy to adjust them to the prehistory. Below I will present and discuss some of the children’s answers. First, I will present some of the conversations regarding the importance of providing for basic human needs in the Stone Age, like food, clothe, houses. Then, I will pay attention on children’s answers which show that being a child in Stone does not exclude playing and importance of drawing and school.

6.3.1 Providing for basic human needs

From children’s perspectives on living in Stone Age I could learn about the importance of providing for the basic human needs while imagining the prehistory. Some of the children from my research said:

“If I were a child in Stone Age I would have hunted the animals “(boy, imitates the sound of the animals) ,

“I would make clothe from leather and fur. It was winter. It was cold and they needed a lot of wool “(girl),

“I would do the same what adults would do. I would go hunting, and fishing. The most important to me would be to have the food, and leather to keep me warm” (boy),

“I would use hammer and everything one had to use to provide the food” (girl),

” The most important to me would be stones, and animal skin, and animals.. To make food, and to make tents and longhouses and boats” (boy),

“I would use the stone knife to cut the animals which one had to eat in order not to die...It was very important....And I would I have the fur and clean it very good, and use it like a jacket or during the nights if it was cold....”(girl),

“I would go fishing every day. But first I would make the fishing roads. I would go in the forest and find it there... also a sharp stone I should have, and maybe spears is smart to have...”(boy), I would have had a stone and trees and so I would make my own room in my own house (boy). When I asked what he would like to have in his room, boy said: “A stone which I could draw on...And a small one where I could have my things to put on. . I would just draw all day long.....and go fishing, and make clothe.....And also, I would find two trees and I would have like a hammock. But if it started to rain I would have moved indoors...”

From such children’s ideas I understood that children were thinking very practically while they were imagining the prehistory. They had to provide warm clothe, house, food. They would have provided it by doing the same as adults in the prehistory by fishing, hunting and sewing clothe. They combined both facts from the lectures they heard in the museum and the necessity of basic human needs, like eating, protecting oneself from coldness and having the place to live and the bed to sleep in. Some of them expressed the wish to have their own room with a kind of comfortable bed. It is something that children need today, and to them it was logical that they would have needed it in the prehistory as well. From children’s perspective on living in the Stone Age I could learn about the importance of providing basic human needs while imagining the prehistory. Without them it would be cold and as some of the children said even “boring”, ‘sad” or “dangerous”.

6.3.2 Children’s everyday lives and Stone Age

The following example from the interview with a boy and a girl brings some interesting points. It could conclude the above mentioned children’s consideration about the importance of food, but also introduces the next topic about children tension to play in the Stone Age, or to use free time, from their point of view, in an interesting way. However, the example gives the possibility for discussion about the influence of children’s everyday lives on their imagination of prehistory:

Martina. OK, can you imagine that you were a child who lived in Stone age?

Boy: “If I had lived then? “

Martina: Yes

Boy: “Ha ha...I would have collected a lot of stones....and ...“

Girl: “I would have only a flint stone...”

Me: Why flint?

Girl : “Then I could make spears like they did.”

Boy: “We could make knives and so on... So we could cut the animal skin and meat...”

Boy: “Or I could go for a walk to pick blueberries”

Girl: “Yes, blueberry trip!”

Martina: What would you have played with?

Boy: “If we kill the ox for instance, we can take out its stomach “(the guide told that in stone age people use animal stomach for different purposes).

Girl: “But we had to wash it first properly”.

Boy:”And we can put water inside it and use it for football “.

Martina: For football?

Boy: “Also I would like to play with horses...”.

Girl : “I would alsoIf I have had an animal, would also empty a stomach and....And for example if I had had a big brother, I would have said to my brother that I would like to go for a walk in forest and he could join me for crowberries or something.

Boy: “Crowberries? “

Girl: “It is almost like blueberries but maybe a bit more sour. And in the evening home again....”

Girl: “Or if I had had a horse I would have ridden it.....” (imitates horse sound)

Boy: “If I had a dog, I would have thrown the sticks to him!”

Girl: “Or If I had had a horse I would have given corn to him.”

It is worth mentioning that these two children had already been talking a lot about the animals during the whole interview. They expressed that they were fond of animals and according to Falk and Direking (2011) Model, their personal context could be the reason why museum experience of this two children was mostly about “seeing stuffed animals in the museum”. Moreover, personal interests of the children also influenced the manner in which they imagined the prehistory. Beside the personal interests their imagination of the past was partly influenced by the physical setting of the museum. For the moment, the children left behind their commitment to animals and were talking about the way how to hunt and cut the animal with flint knives in order to provide food. This part of their imagination was created by the objects they could see and by stories they listen to in the museum from the guide. Paris and Hapgood

(2002:44) argue that “Museums objects are starting point of the visitor’s museum experience because objects stimulate thought and reflection”. The museum objects are not just promoting the memories of the historical events “but they are also cues for personally reconstructed memories” and they encourage visitor “to share the stories with others“(Hapgood & Paris, 2002:44). The flint knives from the exhibition were the objects from which these children’s conversation started and provoked them to share some personal stories and narrative. In this case it could be personal stories about the animals and berry trips. The girl would have ridden a horse if she was a child in the Stone Age, and the boy would have played with his dog. The girl also extended the story and talked about walking to the forest with her brother. Since, they had already said that they were interacting with animals I could take this fact as something which is not just imagined but an actual activity in the everyday lives of these children. For instance, before in the interview the girl said that she loved to visit her uncle’s farm. Further, walking out in the forest for picking berries is common in Norwegian culture and there are high chances that the girl from the interview has experienced this. It is also not impossible that she had a big brother in reality. In relation to the second research question of the thesis, I learned from this example that children imagined the prehistory by sharing their personal experiences from everyday life, which were provoked by interaction with the museum objects.

6.3.3 Playing in Stone Age

Listening to the children’s voices about how is to be a child in Stone Age I learned that playing are important part in their everyday lives in the present. Its importance did not diminish when we talked about the past times. If they were about to play they had to find ways to use the material available in Stone Age. About these materials they learned in the museum and they could see them all around the exhibition room. According to Falk and Dierking’s Model (2011) it would be related to physical context of the museum. The children were very creative in using the tools and material one could find in Stone Age in order to meet their nowadays interests, and to provide toys and games they liked to play with, today in their childhoods. As one girl said: *I would make objects form stone, and go to hunt with others, and play with... and I would made dolls of stone, and I could have played with animal bones...and maybe I would throw the small stones in the sea...* “. According to Falk and Dierking (2011) personal context of this girl would be that she came into the museum with some experience of playing with dolls and maybe throwing away stones in

the sea. The girl's personal context together with physical context of the museum could shape her museum experience. Further it could influence her imagination of being a child in Stone Age. Falk and Dierking (2011:55) write that physical context always interacts with personal context and it affects what a child is going to notice and maybe which objects are going to be the most interesting or important to remember for every child. The exhibits children were talking about during the interview, and those they used in creating favorite toys and games I recognized as Falk and Dierking's interaction of personal and physical context.

Football in Stone Age

Beside personal, Falk and Dierking (2011) argue that the physical context is also interacting with social context in shaping the child's museum experiences. The following example capture all the three contexts and depicts children's amazing creativity to use the material from stone age in order to figure out how they could play their favorite game-football, in Stone age. Further, the concepts from social studies of childhood make me think beyond the Model and to recognize the children's agency to adjust the past to their present interests and needs. The example also points out some ideas of Corsaro's term of interpretative reproduction and peer culture. However those concepts will be discussed in the subchapter 6.4, together with findings presented throughout the whole chapter 6, and in the light of answering the second research question about children's imagination the prehistory based on the museum objects. The example provides a conversation with two children, a boy and a girl:

Girl: "If I had lived in Stone Age I would draw a plan to shoot a reindeer....."

Boy: "I would like to play a football. With sticks for goals and ball...ball from stone. So I would get really pain in my feet." (Here they are both laughing.....).

Girl: "Maybe you can put a lot of animal skin around the stone ball..."

Boy: "But it would be difficult to get stone ball in the air..."

Girl: "Then it could be just of skin....".

Boy: "Or just feather inside!"

Girl: "It is a bit hard to think about it."

Boy: "That they played football in Stone age..." (laughing)

Martina: Do you think it was possible?

Boy: "Yes, but maybe they did not have goal nets...But if they had a fish hooks, (the boy could see the fish hooks in the museum exhibition) they had maybe nets for fish, so maybe they could use it like nets for goals....JEEE (imitates sounds from the game). "

Girl: "But if they had had fish hook in the goal, it is not me who would have been a keeper. "

In this conversation the children are seriously discussing the solution how they could play football in Stone age. That was obviously something they really liked, since this discussion kept them interested in the topic. I could mention that before this question these two children were not that talkative, and they seemed not very motivated to answer my questions. Children's devotion to football was certainly what Falk and Direking (2011) call personal context of visitor. Further, the physical setting of the museum consisted of numerous stone objects affected the children's imagination of the prehistory. But, the fact that children were together with their peers in the museum could be also significant for shaping the children's imagination. The children were communicating and following up each other's answers, trying to find the way how they could play football in Stone Age. They were also together in the museum and they experienced the museum exhibition as a part of a social group. I have already written about how the social context can influence children's experience in the chapter 5. Here I can argue that the social context can also influence the children's imagination of the prehistory. Dierking (2002:9) writes that children in the museum "learn and make meaning as a part of social group" and that "peers builds social bonds through shared experience and knowledge". The children from my research together were making meaning of the Stone Age by sharing the common experiences and knowledge. The common experience could be the experience from the museum they were together in. Further, they were both provided there with information about the museum objects. The information could be seen as a shared knowledge the children possessed after the museum visit. Lastly, the shared interests in football provoked the fruitful discussion on the topic about being a child in Stone Age among the children. The issue about museum objects was a starting point for the conversation which was extended to the issue about their hobbies or interests. Both issues could contribute to how these children made a common meaning of Stone Age or how they made together the unique picture of being a child in Stone Age.

The children from the interview were also part of the same, Norwegian culture. Barker gives anthropological definition of the concept of culture as a "whole and distinctive way of life" (Barker, 2004:44). The cultural background of the children probably could affect the flow of the

conversation and the outcome for the interview. The children from the example above were not the only ones among my participants who used to mention football during the interview. The girl who was talking about the football aroused my curiosity to check the data and I concluded that among children who were talking about this sport there were both boys and girls. For me as a researcher who comes from another cultural background it was strange. In my home country football is considered as boy's sport and there are only a few of girls who are practicing it. Based on the research about the girl's interactions in schools in North America, Goodwin also noticed from her observations that "historically the soccer field belonged to the boys" (2006:1). Besides the interviews, I also noticed from my everyday life in Norway that football is quite a popular sport among girls. Skaalvik and Kvvelo (1998) write about the importance of sports in children's lives in Norway. They introduced that organized sports, and on the first place football, are the most common free time activities for Norwegian children (Skaalvik & Kvvelo, 1998:198). Further, they give the information that in Norway "there are the same number of girls and boys who are taking part in organized sports". and there are just few of the lands in a world where this number is the same (Skaalvik & Kvvelo, 1998:200). They also noticed that there are more boys who play football, but still there are also a lot of girls and that the number of the girls playing football and handball is approximately the same (Skaalvik & Kvvelo, 1998:201). In Norway the football could be considered as both boys and girls sport. The Norwegian culture, which is grounded on high gender equality, was a part of the children's context which might have affected in which way the children experienced the museum exhibition, and moreover how they imagined the prehistory.

6.3.4 School in Stone Age

The examples above showed the importance of playing for children from my research. By grasping children's perspective about different topics during the interview I learned about the importance of school as well. One subchapter, in the chapter 5, points out that children experienced the museum as a place for learning. The following children's conversation from the group interview, which was provoked by one of my questions on imagining the prehistory, supports the findings about the importance of learning and school for my participants:

Girl: "I am wondering if they had schools then....They could not write in that time, could they have school then?"

Boy: "But they could just talk with children and show "(explaining with hands how the people in Stone age could communicate)

Girl: "Or.....they could draw to the children...They did have wall paintings...So they could draw opinions instead of writing opinions. "

Boy: "They could also draw numbers, like 6 plus 6For example, on the stone they could write: 6 plus 6 is 14, 20 or 12. So, children could just choose the answer!"

Girl: "Or if they haven't had schools they could learn at home...."

Boy:"They could not write, but not because they were more stupid than us. There was just nobody who found out the letters in that time...."

The school was important in the children's lives. Being in the museum for them was experience with school class. From the reaction of these children I could notice that not be able to go to school was worth of thinking about. From the children's point of view not going to school was hard to imagine and something to be concerned about. They were trying to find solution for children living in Stone Age and proposed some of the methods which were maybe used by their teachers.

6.3.5 Family and Stone Age

While talking about the past and objects in the museum, children from my research often made association with their family. Falk and Dierking (2011) introduced the results of their observations on families who were visiting different museums in USA. One example from their research shows how family members use museum and its objects to joke and talk together, but also they were comparing museum objects with their own everyday experiences (Falk & Dierking, 2011:47). The family from this concrete visit were comparing the stuffed cat from the exhibition with a cat who belonged to their nearest neighbor (Falk & Dierking, 2011:48). Falk and Dierking interpreted this as family's "attempt to find shared meanings in the exhibition", and that they tended to "personalize the information contained in exhibits" (Falk & Dierking, 2011:48). According to them museum "provides backdrop for family's social interactions " (Falk & Dierking, 2011:49).

Children from my research were not on family visit but they also used to personalize the museum objects. For example when the guide said that it was hard to find flint stone in Norway, but there are plenty of it in Denmark, children used to reflect on it in with following statements :

Girl : ‘ I have an aunt in Denmark, she gave me a flint stone once’. Boy: “My big brother was in Denmark, and brought flint... “. Children personalized the museum exhibits with something that is familiar to them, or something which their relatives have in possession. By doing so children could make the prehistory less distant and unfamiliar museum objects closer to their own experience.

The following example from the group interview with two girls and a boy entails similar points. A girl mentioned her older sister but she also went beyond it and revealed what she liked to do with her sibling. The museum objects and the story she heard there motivated her to talk about some personal experiences and to share the story.

Martina: Can you imagine that you were a child in a stone age?

(Girls are laughing and are reluctant to answer)

Martina: For instance, what would you like to if you have lived then?

Girl 1: “I would swim every day.”

Martina? Do you like to swim?

Girl. 1: “Yes, I am often going to the swimming pool with my older sister.”

Girl 2: “But they did not have swimming dress in that time...”

Girl 1: “They could swim naked then.” (Both girls are laughing....)

Boy: “But they had animal skin.....they made cloths of it...They also used to eat animal meat.”

Me. What you would have eaten in Stone age?

Girl 1: “A lot of fish.”

Girl 2: “It is healthy to eat fish.”

Boy: “I would like to eat meat.”

Girl 1: “I would eat just bread with fish....”

Girl 2: “Ash, I don’t think I would like it.”

Family related issue is quite obvious in the example above. The fact that girl 1 was often swimming with her sister was something she liked to do in her everyday life or the personal context which influenced her museum experiences and how she imagined “being child in Stone Age”. Paris and Hapgood (2002:44) point out that “museums objects are starting point of the visitor’s museum experience because objects stimulate thought and reflection”. The objects in the museum encourage visitor to talk about the personal memories, experiences, and to share the

stories with others (Paris & Hapgood, 2002:44). For girl 1 from the interview it was experience of swimming with her older sister.

Children's further discussion leads to the answer how the museum objects could provoke children's personal memories or experiences, by connecting the children's hobby or what they like to do today with a context of museum objects and stories which are attributed to them. The main concern for children is not having the swimming dress as they could probably see or even use today. To swim naked was obviously funny to them both, and they used the moment to laugh together and make internal jokes. Boy added that in the Stone Age they could use animal skin for clothe, and though probably as swimming dress. Here, I noticed again how children could be good archaeologist, play with materials, and were capable to assume what kind of material could be useful for people in the Stone Age.

Children for the group interview imagined swimming in the Stone Age in the same way as it looks like today, in swimming dress and in the pool. I could learn that from children's perspective prehistory might not be very different from nowadays. They were able to adjust their everyday activities to the Stone age, using their creative mind and finding the solution how it could be possible. But, children do not give up of their interests and hobbies. People from their everyday life, like parents and relatives are also important to the children, and have to find the way to fit into the story about the prehistory.

In order to be more pleasant prehistory is not just related to the family and hobbies or plays. The same interview reveals that food the children like could also be an issue. Children were talking about the food they like, and they are relating it to the Stone Age. Fish is very common meal in Norway, and I can guess that the children from my research have it often on their plates.

6.4 Childhood studies concepts in relation to children's imagination of prehistory

In the subchapters above I presented the findings from the interviews with children, when I asked them to imagine the prehistory or how from their perspective being child in Stone Age could look like. Here, I will discuss the findings above in the light of some of the important concepts of social studies of childhood. I will reflect on how the concept of agency, interpretative reproduction” and “human beings and becomings’ answer the second research question of the thesis.

6.4.1 Agency to imagine the prehistory in their own way

From the children's answers presented throughout the chapter 6 I concluded that, when imagining the prehistory, children used to personalize the objects and actions they would like to use and do. They included family members in the stories and the activities from their everyday lives. Further, from my participant's points of view I learned that, while imagining the prehistory, they acted as both social actors and agents. I have already introduced in the theory chapter that Mayall makes “a clear distinction between the concepts of social actors and agency” (in Wyness, 2006:236). As social actors the children were actively participating in conversation about the prehistory and creating the image of it, based on the objects they saw and stories they heard from adults in the museum. Moreover, listening to children's voices I recognized the children's agency to imagine the prehistory. Children from my research were capable to imagine the prehistory independently of the objects and narratives attached to them. They were able to change the interpretation of the objects they heard from the guide and to imagine the prehistory in their own way. They were capable to adjust the picture of prehistory to their own needs and interests. In that way they were changing the story of prehistoric exhibits in a way which was “their own”. The children made their own stories, in which they included themselves, family and important issues from present everyday life.

6.4.2 Interpretative reproduction

Corsaro's term (2005) interpretative reproduction and the ideas it entails could be discussed in the context of the second research question of the thesis. Children from my research

were participating in society by taking part in one event by visiting the museum exhibition. Taking into account Corsaro's writings the children were not just "passively receiving the knowledge about the culture and society, but they were also " actively taking part in contributing to cultural production and change "(2005:18). The children I did research with were in the museum together with their peers, listening to the guide and taking part in two different activities created by adults. But the children were not passively accepting the adult's programs. In relation to Corsaro children were able to adjust the information gotten from adults in the museum, and in that way they could produce their own "unique peer culture" (2005:95). Further, they were producing their own peer cultures "by creatively taking or appropriating information from the adult world to address their own peer concerns" (Corsaro, 2005:18). The interview examples from this analysis chapter present that children were imaging the prehistory in their own creative way. They were receiving the information about the Stone Age by the adults in the museum, which was official interpretation of the prehistory made by professionals, and based on the scientific research. However, during the interviews, children used the information as a starting point for making their own unique story, or imagination of the prehistory. In those stories they were including their peers, family members and hobbies they like to do. Based, on the children's answers I argue that children were acting in accordance with term interpretative which "capture innovative and creative aspects of children's participation in society" (inWyness, 2006:168). The children from my research were creatively participating in the aspect of culture offered to them in the museum. Taking into account Corsaro's (2005) term interpretative, children from my research were able to make some changes in the cultural event which was organized for them in the museum. In the light of the answering of second research question, they were actively participating in changing the interpretation of the prehistory and adjusting it to their own interests and needs. They were also doing it together with their peers. Corsaro (1985:171) write that "the elements of peer culture may involve a mixture of information obtained from a variety of sources". The museum was the place where the children from my research received the information about the prehistory and its objects. According to Corsaro (1985:171) "children's unique combination or transformations" of the information got could be seen as elements of peer culture. Even though I have not done long term research with children, in children's imagination of the prehistory I noticed some elements of peer culture. In the example with a boy and a girl who were talking about the football, the children used the common interests, or something they

both liked to do in creating the prehistoric event- playing the football game. The children's association of animal stomach with a football might be not an logical answer to the adults who tends to investigate and interpret the prehistory. But, from the children's perspective it was very appropriate to use something they were both familiar with –football, in order to imagine prehistory. Further Corsaro (1985:172) points out that the peer culture does not exist 'separate from, the adult world' and that " the majority of elements of peer culture originate from children's perceptions of, and reactions to, the adult world". The children from my research were not just affected by the information which they received in the museum. Adult's world, with its responsibility to provide for basic human needs, might also have influenced how the children imagined the prehistory. Children from examples above talked a lot about the importance of providing the food, clothe and place to live in prehistory. Such attitudes might be children's transformations of expectations from adults in the Global North countries to how they imagined themselves in Stone Age. However, I do not have enough data to claim that certainly.

6.4.3 “Human beings” and “human becomings”

In the chapter 5 I discussed learning in the museum in relation to “human beings and becoming” concept. Here, in chapter 6, the importance of schooling for children is repeating in the examples when they did an effort to imagine how it would have been possible for Stone Age children to go to school. Uprichard (2008-07:311) writes that seeing children as both “beings” and “becomings” actually “does not decrease children's agency, but increases it, as the onus of their agency is in both present and future”. Children from my research imagined the prehistory by using their present habits and activities. But, by imagining the prehistory they were also aware of the future possibilities and importance of school, as well as of providing the basic needs for life both in present and future. Beside the Uprichard's (2008-07) argument that children are also” future agents “. Out of findings from my research I argue that scope of children's agency extends to past, in a sense that children were competent to imagine the prehistory by using their present habits and future aspirations.

Chapter 7: Summary of the thesis and concluding discussions

The children from my research were the third class students from different Norwegian schools. They attended the group visit with their class at one of the Norwegian museums. The visit was organized for them by adults and in accordance with the school curriculum. In my thesis I explored children's general opinions about the museum visit, and how children understood the prehistory which was presented to them in the museum through the guide's lecture and objects from the exhibition. Children's understanding of the prehistory is mostly about the children's imagination of it, based on the objects they saw and stories they heard in the museum.

This chapter summarizes the main findings of the master thesis in relation to two research questions:

- 1. What are the children's experiences of the day spent with the class in the museum?*
- 2. What are children's perspectives on prehistory based on their interaction with museum objects from the exhibition?*

I searched for children's perspectives on the issues entailed in the above research questions. Looking at the museum through the children's standpoint helped me to understand what the museum as a place to visit, meant for the children. The museum as a place for children will be discussed in relation to theoretical concepts I used in this thesis.

7.1 Children's experiences of the museum visit

By asking the children about their previous experience of museum, I learned about the importance of, what Falk and Dierking's (2011) personal context of the museum visit (chapter 5.1.). The children's previous experiences of museums could be seen as children's personal context with which they came to see the new exhibitions, and which affected this new museum experience. After analyzing the interviews with children I learned that children did have previous experience of museums, and therefore they come into the museum with a certain personal context. What I also learned and what I could add to Falk and Dierking's writings, is that personal context is not just connected to the concrete previous visit to another or the same

museum, or eventual knowledge about the museum exhibitions. Children's previous experiences are closely related to whom they were with at the museum more than what they have seen or heard about then. Further, from the example of the interview with two girls, I noticed that children expressed agency when they memorized previous visits at museum, by connecting it to their everyday lives. Children were capable to construct their museum experience by connecting it to their everyday concerns and interests.

In general, an very important issued for children from my research, was whom they were in the museum with, or what Falk and Dierking (2011) call - the social context of the museum experience. The fact that they were in the museum on the school trip, together with their class mates affected how they experienced the museum. However, their museum experiences were also influenced by adults, who organized the museum visit for them.

An important finding from my research (chapter 5.4.) can be expressed as: *The children want to explore the museum on their own terms.* The children expressed the desire to go around the museum and not to stay just in one place. They were especially interested in the room with stuffed animals. The topic about the stuffed animals brings up two points. First that from children's perspective the museum was in closely related to the animals, and that interaction with them was the most important for some of the children's museum experiences. Both from observation and interviews, I concluded that it was hard to keep children's attention to the Stone Age objects when the animals were all around or in close vicinity. Even if I as researcher expected children to talk more about prehistoric exhibits, it seemed that children were more excited about the animals, and the topic which actually was not part of museum curriculum. Second point is that personal context of the children, or their previous experiences with animals, was one of the reasons why the children in the museum were so impressed with them.

That children expressed *agency* to challenge the adult's rules in the museum are presented through the examples and discussed in the subchapter 5. 4. For instance children were competent to persuade the teachers to follow them to see the places of the museum which were not predicted to be visited. Some of them just tried not to be seen by adults and to check the other exhibitions and touch the animals or other museum exhibits.

Children of my research, as a part of Norwegian society and culture, were placed in the museum as a social space, and constrained by its rules, and by the fragility of the museum setting (a lot of glass, and valuable exhibits). On the other hand, children's experiences were limited by

curriculum and timetables, which are made for them by adults. Children challenged the rules by expressing agency and by interacting with each other, and by making aspects of the peer culture in the museum. Further, children were capable to adjust the space to themselves, in the sense that they were finding ways to see and enjoy the things which were not part of curriculum and out of the timetables. By challenging the curriculum and timetable they were expanding the program made for them by adults, and they managed to adapt it to their wishes and needs. The Falk and Dierking's Model (2011) would say that children's experience is influenced by adult's design of the visit. It is probably predetermined when the adults have authority to decide what children are going to see and learn in the museum. But, Social Studies of Childhood's theoretical perspectives provided me with lenses to see the children as active agents who can influence their own museum experience. Children were able to change slightly the design of the museum visit, and in that way enhance their own museum experiences.

Listening to the children's voices I understood that sometimes they experience the museum as a place for learning. From the observations I could notice that children came into the museum with solid previous knowledge about the prehistoric topic, they understood the topic well, and were very interested in discussions with the guide. Children did not just answer the questions, but they were very eager to ask the guide and to reflect on their classmates arguments. Children from my research were able to follow and take part in the discussion about the Stone Age in Norway. Lastly during the interviews I noticed that they did remember and learn a lot about the topic.

The children's answers regarding the learning in the museum brought the concepts of human beings and becoming into the focus. In my study I considered children as human beings and active social actors who are competent to experience the museum visit and to interact with museum objects. During the whole research I could notice that the children showed a competence to benefit from the visit here and now and to adjust it to their interests. However, some of the children's answers from the interviews were that children go to the museum in order to learn, and become knowledgeable and proper adults. While analyzing I also had to take into account such opinions seriously and learn that children in the museum saw themselves as both "beings" and "becomings". Children's experiences of the museum were connected to both present and future. The children took part in the museum visit in their childhoods and by learning

about the prehistory. But while doing that, the children also thought about future, and it affected how they experienced the museum visit in the present.

7.2 Children's perspectives on prehistory and the museum objects from the exhibition

Chapter 6 presented the children's perspectives on the prehistory based on the museum objects they saw in the museum. In order to grasp children's perspective on this topic I asked the children how they imagined the prehistory and "being child" in Stone Age. The interpretation of the children's answers is my attempt to understand the prehistory seen through children eyes.

The museum objects can be seen as a part of Falk and Dierking's (2011) physical context of the museum. Being a part of the prehistoric exhibition, with prehistoric objects all around could shape the museum experience of the children. During the interviews children talked a lot about the objects, and the objects were probably part of their museum experience. What I further noticed is that physical context of the museum affected how children imagined the prehistory. Children from my research used the objects they saw in order to explain how they experienced the prehistory. Some children's imagination of the prehistory was connected to wars, hunger, and unsecure times, where you would need the spears and bow and arrow for protection, or for providing the food. Those objects children could see as a part of the exhibition, which in case of my research was the physical context of the children's museum experiences.

The children's imagination of prehistory sometime goes beyond the objects they saw in the museum. The interview with three girls revealed that what Barker (2004) named "material part of culture" had also its influence. The information children had been surrounded with, in present as a part of Norwegian society, could affect their imagination of the prehistory. Some of the interviews point at that children's association to Norwegian culture affected how they imagined the prehistory, as for example girls playing football or children going to a blueberry trip in Stone Age.

From children's answers from interviews I learned how they imagined being a child in Stone Age. Most of children's answers were related to the practicalities of living in Stone Age. Providing for basic human needs, as food, warm cloth and house, was important issues for children's perceptive. In order to provide those needs, children would do the same as adults, hunting, fishing, sewing and building the houses. The stories about people doing such activities

children had heard in the museum. In order to imagine themselves living in Stone Age, they combined those stories with basic needs of human kind in present world.

The children's everyday life influenced also their imagination of prehistory and being a child in Stone Age. The children's nowadays everyday activities and their personal interests as for example in animals, found their place in the picture children made by imagining the prehistory. Further their hobbies and activities they do today, were also tools for imagining the prehistory.

Regarding hobbies and nowadays activities, I learned from the children's opinions that being a child in Stone Age did not exclude playing and school. Football was the one of the favorite play for my participants. They wanted to transfer it to the past and they tried to find the way how it could be realized. Form the conversations among children I understood that playing a football match would not be impossible in Stone Age. By using their creativity they adjusted the stories about the objects they heard in the museum in order to make it possible. Their personal interests, hobbies or what they like to do today, together with the museum objects and stories about them, were all together shaping the children's imagination of the prehistory. The issues about the possibility to go to school were something to be worried about from my participants point of view. But, once again children used their creativity and proposed very wise solutions how children in Stone Age could manage to go to school. School and learning were pertinent in the children's nowadays experiences. They affected not just children's general museum experience, but also their imagination of prehistory.

Lastly, the children used to personalize museum objects. While talking about the objects they included family members and what they like to do together. Family members were also included in children's imagination of prehistory. Without them the past times could be unfamiliar and distant.

7.3 Museum as a place for children

Looking at the museum through the children's lenses provided me with an insight of the museum as a place for children. From children's perspective I understood that they experienced museum as a place for learning, and that they did learn a lot about prehistory in the museum. Further, the children experienced the museum as a place, where they were provided with knowledge for their present but also for their future.

On the other hand, some other children's answers and behavior reveals that they also saw museum as place where they would like to play and see everything beside the programs made for them. The museum was also a place for children's social interaction with peers and adults, and place where the children were producing their peer culture. The museum was also a place where children expressed agency.

7.3.1 The setting of the museum and research questions

The setting of the museum as a place for children was a context of answering the two research questions of this master thesis. Since both research questions are related to the museum and its exhibitions and objects, they were quite interwoven. How children experienced the museum visit was influenced by their interaction with museum objects and stories about the prehistory. On the other hand, children's imagination of prehistory based on the interaction with the museum was influenced by children's general experience of the museum. Moreover, the theoretical concepts I used were repeating while answering both of the questions. This issue will be addressed in the paragraphs below.

Personal, social, and physical context of the museum

Falk and Dierking's Model could be applied in both research questions of this thesis. The museum experience of the children in my research was influenced by interaction of three contexts. Each of these contexts is a part of every child's visit and together they construct the experience of the child. The children's visit in my study was in the physical context of the museum, with its archaeological exhibition and objects. The children who came into the museum had their own personal context or the perspective through which they perceive it. In addition, children were in the museum on the school trip with their classmates and teachers. They could share experience with each other as a part of the social group in the museum. According to Falk and Dierking experience of the children, I did research with, would have been different in some other museum or in different social group. The only constant component is the personal or what every child brings with himself in the setting.

Beside the children's experiences, the three contexts of the museum visit shaped how the children from my research imagined the prehistory. The children's perspective on prehistory and its exhibits was influenced by children's personal context, like previous knowledge, experiences and interests, and physical context of the museum, or objects they saw and stories they heard

about them. In the end children were together in the museum with their peers, they experienced its exhibition as a part of social group, and during the group interviews they were together making the unique imagination of the prehistory.

Peer culture in the museum

Being in the museum with their peers was the social context of the children's museum visit. Corsaro's (2005) writings provided me with reflections which go beyond the three contexts of Falk and Dierking. Children in the museum were producing their peer culture, as they were listening to the lectures and doing assignments together, challenging the museum rules together, laughing and teasing each other. The stuffed animals which children were especially interested in I saw as an element to be used in peer culture, in the setting of the museum. Interacting with their peers influenced how the children from my research experienced the museum visit.

Corsaro's (2005) theorizing on interpretative reproduction and peer culture helped also in answering the second research question. Children in the museum were receiving the information about the prehistory from the adults. That information they used to creatively appropriate to their concerns and interests. Together children were changing the official interpretation of prehistory they were told in the museum. By doing so, at the same time they were producing their own peer culture.

Children's agency in the museum

The concept of agency allowed me as researcher to study museum as a place for children. In relation to the first research question, the concept of agency helped me to understand the children's experience of the museum visit. Children I did research with were taking part in an event in the museum, which was organized by adults. Children were part of this event as active social actors, discussing actively the historical topics and museum objects. They participated in the event together with other people, as teachers, guides and other visitors. By interacting with each other and adults, children could give the special stamp to this event, and make of it a unique, unrepeatable historical moment, which was happening in a certain place, with certain children and certain adults. By expressing their agency, children could change this event, by denying its adult's design and adjusting it to themselves. However, children's agency in the museum was also constrained by museum rules, curriculum and timetables. Children managed to challenge it, but sometimes they felt limited and it affected their museum experience. If the

concept of agency gives the possibility to listen to children, I can argue that children from my research wanted more agency in the museum.

This thesis also recognizes children's agency to imagine the prehistory in their own way by interacting with the museum objects. The children's expressed agency to appropriate the information they got in the museum to their own worlds and in the way that it could "make sense" to themselves. The children were competent to imagine the prehistory by changing or editing the stories which were prepared for them by adults.

Children I did research with were members of the Norwegian culture. They spoke common Norwegian language which was the tool for making meanings and sharing opinions of the museum's exhibition. The representation to the Norwegian culture had certainly affected the way the children understand and made meanings of the archaeological prehistoric exhibition, and how they experienced the whole museum visit. The children in Serbia would probably have different experiences of the museum visit, and would imagine the prehistory in different manner.

Based on the discussions above, one can notice that museum from the children's perspective was a place for learning and social interaction with peers, for producing peer culture and expressing elements of Norwegian culture. In the end, the museum was a place where children's agency was constrained by its rules but also where children were active and competent agents.

7.4 Recommendations

Subchapter 5.8 summarizes the children's opinions about the program made for them in the museum. It is an attempt to suggest the children's opinions as a base for making the museum even better place for children. The children from my research experienced the program mostly in very positive way. Although, these were some issues, which children were not satisfied with and wanted to be different. If we are about to hear their voices, the small pillows on the floor could be an indirect proposal from the children to the museum staff. The children's big wish to be all around the museum is probably not easy to fulfill, taking into account the time and fragility of the museum. However, expanding the time of the museum visit and going around with the children after lectures and activities could be an idea. The children's wish to be in the animal room, and their enthusiasm about the stuffed animals tells about the importance of such models for education for children in museums. Advantage of the museum I did research in, is certainly

the fact that they had plenty of them. Using these animal models in programs made for children and letting children interact with them is definitely a big potential the museum has.

The children from my research were provided with a place for lunch in the museum, and they used to go there as soon as they were finished. However, some of the children said in the interviews that they were hungry and thirsty during the lectures, had to stand up or to go to the restroom, which might suggest that children wanted slightly different timetables, and maybe some breaks in between.

That some of children mentioned IPAD and Stone Age app is something which is likely to be expected today. Such technical devices are an important part of children's nowadays lives and interacting with them in the museum could be something children would feel very comfortable with. Children wish to play in the museum, for example with stones or in a swimming pool, is probably unrealistic and in contradiction with idea that children should learn in the museum. However, the children's positive experiences of the activities in the museum might suggest that such programs are very effective. Engaging children, and making them active in the museum, carries a potential for combining learning and playing in the museum.

7.4.1 Future study

In my thesis I have just touched the important topic about learning in museum. Children's learning in the museum is quite well explored (Dierking, 2002; Paris & Hapgood, 2002; Piscitelli & Weier, 2002; Rowe, 2002). However, the most of studies are from developmental studies point of view, which see children as novices who are in need to be instructed by experts, in order to learn and understand the knowledge offered to them in the museum.

My study, which was informed by concepts of Social Studies of childhood showed that children were capable to understand the museum exhibitions in their own way. For further research, the Social studies of childhood carry potential for studying the children's learning in the museum. If they are experts in their own childhoods, children can be studied as experts in their own learning in the museum. Wyness (2006:236) writes that "agency opens up possibilities of hearing children, consulting and working with children, and creating new spaces for children's contributions". One of the new spaces could be a museum, where children could be taken seriously in consulting for making the future learning programs. Children's agency in the museum can be expanded by exploring what children would like to learn and in which way.

The examples from the interviews I conducted showed children's amazing creativity to imagine how the people in Stone Age could use available materials in order to make the nowadays objects or perform nowadays actions. Here, I recognized that children thought more or less in the same way as archaeologists, who seek to interpret the objects of past times. It could be interesting for future studies to explore how children would interpret some of archeological objects. Children's ideas might be taken as suggestions to archeologists, who investigate, for instance, the lives of children in prehistory.

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Appendix, Interview guide:

1. Have you even been before at a museum? (*Har du vært på et museum før?*)
2. What do you remember from the previous museum visit? Who have you been in the museum with? (*Ka huske du fra det forrige besøke?, Hvem va du på museet med?*)
3. How it was to be in the museum with your classmates? (*Kordan va de å vær sammen me vænna/klassekamerata på museet?*)
4. What did you expect to see in the museum before you went there? (*Ka hadd du forventa å sjå/se på museet før du dro dit?*)
5. Can you tell me, what were you doing at the museum? When you came to the exhibition room, what did they do then? (*Kan du fortæl mæ ka dokker gjor på museet? Da dokker kom på utstillingromme; ka gjor dokker da?*)
6. What was the most interesting you have experienced there? (*Ka va de mest speinnende du opplevd på museet? (i fårrje uke?)*)
7. What do you remember best from guide's lecture? (*Ka huske du bæsst av (uinnervisniga te gaiden) de gaiden fortælt om?*)
8. What was the most interesting she said? (*Ka va de mæsst inntressange hu sa? Ka likt du bæsst av de hu fortælt?*)
9. Did she say something which was difficult to believe in or a bit boring? (*Sa hu nåkka som va litt vannskeli å tro på eller litt kjedelig?*)
10. The guide talked to you and she asked you some questions. Did you want to ask something, but you did not dare? What did you want to ask? (*Hu gaiden snakka me dokker og stilt dokker nånn spørsmål. Hadd du lyst te å spørr om nånting, men som du kanskje itj tosja å si? Ka va de da?*)
11. Also, you had two activities after the lecture? What have you been doing then? (*Åsså hadd dokker værkste ætterpå? Ka gjor dåkker da?*)
12. What was the most interesting from the activities? (*Ka va de mest speinnende fra værkstee?*)
13. Was it something that you did not like that much? (*Va de nåkka du itj likt så godt?*)
14. Why do children visit museum? (*Koffår kjemm barna på museum?*)
15. How do you imagine prehistory? (*Kordan forestille du da forhistorien?*)
16. How can one learn about prehistory? (*Kordan lærer mainn om forhistorien?*)

17. Why it is important that children know about it? (*Kofárr er det viktig at barna fá vite om den?*)
18. Also, you had time to go a bit around and see the objects in glass cases? (*Ássá hadd dokker litt ti te á gå rundt á sjá på tingan som ligg i monteran (glass-skapan), itj sainnt?*)
19. Can you tell me about the objects there? Which of them did you like most? Why? (*Kan du fortelle til meg litt om de tingærn som ligger der? Ka ting likt du bæst fra utstillinga? Koffár de, da?*)
20. Can you imagine that you were a child who lived in Stone Age? (*Kan du forestill dæ at du var et barn som levd i steinildern?*)
21. Which objects from the exhibition would have been the most important for you? Why? (*Kordan ting fra utstillinga hadd komme te á vært det viktigste for dæ , trur du? ? Koffár de, da?*)
22. Which of the objects would you have used the most? (*Kordan ting hadd du villa brukt mest ?*)
23. Do you think that man could use it for something else? (*Trur du man kunna brukt den te nå ainna ássá?*)
24. Do you, or somebody you know use the similar objects today? (*Bruke du eller nánn du kjeinne en lignende ting i dag?*)
25. Why do we have, in your opinion, all those old objects in the museum? (*Koffár tror du vi har aill dæm her gamle tingærn på museet?*)
26. Do you think that it is important to see the objects in order to learn about prehistory, or is it enough just to hear a story about them, or to read about prehistory in a book? (*Syns du de e vikti á se på dæm her tingan får á lær om fårhistorien, eller e de nákk á bare hør på en historie, eller læs om forhistorien i ei bok?*)
27. Why do you think so? (*Koffár mene du det, da?*)
28. Do you have an proposal for them who work at the museum, how they could make an exhibition which is even more interesting for children? (*Har du nå forslag te kordan dæm som jobbe på musee kainn lag ei utstilling som e mer intressang te unga/barn*
29. If you had decided at the museum, what would you do differently? (*Hvis du hadd bestæmt på museet ka hadd du villa gjort ainnerledes ?*)
30. Do you have something to else to say, add? (*Har du nokka ainna som du vil si?*)

31. How was it to have this conversation with me? (*Ka synes du om den samtale som dokker hadd med mæ?*)