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Demographic Transformation and the Future of Museums



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Authors:

Betty Farrell, Ph.D.
Maria Medvedeva
Cultural Policy Center
NORC and the Harris School of Public Policy at the
University of Chicago

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Ron Chew (Independent Consultant; former Director, Wing Luke Asian Museum, Seattle, WA)

Brian Crockett (Small Museum Specialist, Albuquerque, NM)

Cecilia Garibay (Principal, Garibay Group, Chicago, IL)

Elaine Heumann Gurian (Independent Consultant, Arlington, VA)

Maria Rosario Jackson (Urban Institute, Washington, DC)

Julie I. Johnson (Distinguished Chair of Museum Leadership, Science Museum of Minnesota, St. Paul, MN)

Peter Linett (Principal, Slover Linett Strategies, Chicago, IL)

Eric Siegel (Director & Chief Content Officer, New York Hall of Science, Queens, NY)

Susie Wilkening (Senior Consultant & Curator of Museum Audiences, Reach Advisors, Quincy, MA)

Julián Zugazagoitia (Director, El Museo del Barrio, New York, NY)

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Betty Farrell
Maria Medvedeva

INTRODUCTION



Source: Reach Advisors analysis of census data and survey data.

To forecast the future is to explore new territory. We start with certainty (where we are now) but each step forward takes us farther from our projected path. We think we know where we are going, but what might make us change course? What unexpected barriers or obstacles don't appear on the map? Will a seismic event shift the entire landscape? The Center for the Future of Museums' charge is to help museums project where their current courses may lead, think about where they actually want to go and anticipate the forces that may throw them off track.

In 2008, the American Association of Museums launched CFM with the inaugural forecasting report "Museums & Society 2034: Trends and Potential Futures." M&S 2034 charts

the landscape of major forces we think will shape the future of museums and their communities: economic, cultural, demographic and technological. That report went viral as museum staff members used it to structure their institutional planning, start conversations with board members and engage their communities. I am pleased to introduce this new report, "Demographic Transformation and the Future of Museums"—the first of what we hope will be subsequent papers exploring that landscape in finer detail.

M&S 2034 covered many trends. We chose to delve first into the changing ethnic and racial composition of the U.S. because of the universal reaction of readers to this striking graphic (see left). The U.S. population is shifting rapidly and within four decades, the group that has historically constituted the core audience for museums—non-Hispanic whites—will be a minority of the population. This analysis paints a troubling picture of the "probable future"—a future in which, if trends continue in the current grooves, museum audiences are radically less diverse than the American public, and museums serve an ever-shrinking fragment of society.

I think the vision of the museum field, our "preferred future," is one in which our users reflect our communities. It is a future in which the scientific, historic, artistic and cultural resources that museums care for benefit all segments of society. To make this happen, we

need to understand the story behind the current trends. Why do some groups have a track record of not using museums? What can museums do to become a vital part of the lives of people they don't serve now? What more do we need to know in order to find the fulcrum where strategic use of our existing resources can significantly alter the course of the future?

To start this exploration of museums in a majority-minority future, CFM asked the Cultural Policy Center at the University of Chicago, under the direction of Dr. Betty Farrell, to search out and summarize the existing research on demographic trends in the U.S. and the (much rarer) data on patterns of museum use by ethnic and racial groups. This overview is meant to be a jumping off point for a longer, more nuanced exploration of the topic—a tool for starting a discussion with a set of shared information. It also is a call to action for improving how museums conduct and share research and a challenge to individual museums and the field to act now, based on the information we already have.

As AAM staff pored over the researchers' progress reports, our initial enthusiasm was tempered by frustration. First, the categories that census takers and researchers almost always use to study minority groups ("African American," "Hispanic," "Asian Pacific American," etc.) stink when you try to use them to study museum audiences. They are inappropriately broad—lumping together people who, while they have something in common, have profound and meaningful differences. Almost all the comprehensive data (e.g., the U.S. Census, Survey of Public Participation in the Arts) use these categories. We shouldn't ignore the data, despite its limitations, because it is a useful starting place. But it is strikingly clear that it is up to each museum to develop a nuanced understanding of its community and the very important differences—generational,

political, historical, geographic and cultural—that exist within any labeled category. Second, there are huge gaps in the information, at least at the national level.

We also quickly realized how difficult it is to tease out and examine just one strand from the complex tapestry of forces weaving the future. While we started out examining future audiences in terms of race and ethnicity, it quickly became clear that we can't look at these factors in isolation. The audiences of the future are growing up in a world profoundly different from that of their parents. The behavior and expectations of the Millennials and subsequent cohorts may be shaped by generational similarities as much as, or more so, than by cultural heritage or racial identity. For one thing, younger Americans as a group are more diverse than their parents. For another, an enormous amount of their time is spent in online environments, where they may not even know the racial or ethnic identity of new acquaintances. And it's impossible to examine the disparities of museum use without noticing the stark effects of income and education—which often correlate with (even when they are not caused by) immigrant status, race and ethnicity.

Frankly we are also daunted by the pace of change. The world is morphing so quickly that the traditional time frame for serious, scholarly research studies may simply be too long to keep up. By the time a study is published, it is already out of date. (AAM already experiences this with the Museum Financial Information report—when we trot out three years of carefully analyzed data and the immediate question is, "But what is happening this year? Now things are different!") This issue is true on the small scale ("have patterns of visitation changed in the economic downturn?") and the large ("are we obsessing about race and ethnicity when they are on the cusp of becoming irrelevant?").

These frustrations aside, we are confident that this report is a useful and necessary first step in addressing the need for museums to cultivate more diverse audiences. As with all CFM papers, posts, videos and lectures, this report is meant to be the beginning of a conversation. I hope it provokes you to respond—to disagree, build on the argument, explore how these possible futures will play out at your museum and in your community. Please share those thoughts, don't keep them to yourself. We are happy to provide a platform—propose a guest post for the CFM Blog, comment on the posts of others, record a “Voices of the Future” video, submit a session proposal to the AAM annual meeting, invite museum futurists to present at the meetings of other associations or groups. Together we can build a bright vision of the future of museums, and with time, turn that vision into a story of a future past.

Elizabeth E. Merritt
Founding Director
Center for the Future of Museums
American Association of Museums

DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSFORMATION AND THE FUTURE OF MUSEUMS

Betty Farrell

Maria Medvedeva

How will people use museums in the future? And *which* people will use them? Broad patterns of demographic change are already transforming the social landscape of the United States, remaking communities and reconfiguring the

“To put it bluntly, racial inequality remains a basic feature of the U.S. stratification system.” —Douglas Massey¹

“For Millennials, race is ‘no big deal,’ an attitude that will increasingly characterize society as a whole as the Millennials age and our march towards a majority-minority nation continues.”

—Center for American Progress²

“We have no idea what it means to be Latino in 2050. None. Clueless.” —Gregory Rodriguez³

lives of Americans. Museums of different sizes, types and missions are already developing new strategies to engage with more diverse audiences and some of these museums are featured in the pages that follow. But we need to examine these profound changes against a backdrop of complex social forces rooted in history, politics, economic conditions, race, ethnicity, immigrant status, income, education, geography, age, work and leisure patterns, family life and social aspirations. While all of these issues are important, this paper considers just two issues in detail: race (or ethnicity) as an inescapable category for examining demographic change and age (or generation) as an indicator of other social changes that may have a larger impact on the way people approach and experience museums.

Do the conventional categories of race and ethnicity reflect intractable social divisions in the U.S.? Or do changing attitudes from one generation to the next mean we are on the cusp of some new post-racial, multiethnic, global era in which the old divisions are destined to fade in the face of new realities? Today, race and ethnicity are not just categories of analysis but social markers with profoundly real consequences for the lives of Americans. They are not static, however, and their present influence on social and personal experiences will likely change in the face of a more racially and ethnically diverse population. We cannot assume that the relationship between race and museum-going is fixed, either. As a result, much of the future is unknown and unpredictable. But, as futurists point out, we can imagine *potential* futures, assess the likelihood of different scenarios and then explore what actions museums might take now to adapt to these changes.

We start with an overview of U.S population trends and projections, review the existing research on patterns of cultural participation and examine what this means for museums. Then we explore a few of the social and cultural dynamics in America today and explore their implications for museums. In the second half of the paper, we reconsider race, ethnicity and cultural participation in the light of generational changes—especially the new assumptions about culture and society that have already taken root among young Americans. In the conclusion, we identify challenges and

Figure 1. **Racial and ethnic composition of the U.S. population in 2008**

Total U.S. Population:	301,237,703	100.00%
<i>By race</i>		
White	223,965,009	74.3%
Black or African American	37,131,771	12.3%
Asian and Pacific Islander	13,610,333	4.5%
American Indian and Alaska Native	2,419,895	0.8%
Some other race	17,538,990	5.8%
Two or more races	6,571,705	2.2%
<i>By ethnicity</i>		
Not Hispanic or Latino:	255,805,545	84.9%
White	198,420,355	65.9%
Black or African American	36,397,922	12.1%
Asian and Pacific Islander	13,413,600	4.5%
American Indian and Alaska Native	2,041,269	0.7%
Some other race	737,938	0.2%
Two or more races	4,794,461	1.6%
Hispanic or Latino:	45,432,158	15.1%
White	25,544,654	8.5%
Black or African American	733,849	0.2%
Asian and Pacific Islander	196,733	0.1%
American Indian and Alaska Native	378,626	0.1%
Some other race	16,801,052	5.6%
Two or more races	1,777,244	0.6%

Source: American Community Survey 2008. All percentages based on total U.S. population.

opportunities for museum research and practice in the future.

The Changing Face of America

Starting with the 2000 Census, the U.S. Census Bureau recognized the diversity of the American population by distinguishing “ethnicity” (referring specifically to people of Hispanic origin, who can be of any race) from “race” (categorizing the largest groups as whites, blacks or African Americans, Asians and Pacific Islanders, and “some other race,” with the option to choose more than one race). Figure 1 summarizes these

racial and ethnic categories in the U.S. population in 2008.

Figure 2 depicts recent trends and future projections for the racial and ethnic composition of the U.S. population between 1980 and 2050, based on data and estimates from the U.S. Census Bureau.

The most notable U.S. demographic trend over the last three decades has been the growth of the Hispanic population, with an increase from 6.4 percent to 15.1 percent between 1980 and 2008. The racial composition of the U.S. also became more diverse in this period, with the share of the white population decreasing from 83 percent to 74 percent and the proportion of African Americans, Asian and Pacific Islanders, and those choosing some other race or multiple races growing as a proportion of the American population. (See Appendix B for a more detailed snapshot of the American population in 2008, the most recent year for which data are available.)

By 2050, the Hispanic/Latino populations will have doubled again to comprise 30 percent of the U.S. population, with the percentage of Asian Pacific Americans increasing more slowly and the percentage of African Americans holding steady at 12–13 percent. Sometime between 2040 and 2050, depending on which projection model is employed, the current U.S. minority groups—African Americans, Latinos (of any race), Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, Native Americans and others, including those who identify as multiracial—will collectively become the new majority in the United States. The proportion of non-Hispanic whites will fall below 50 percent for the first time since the country was founded. The shift to a “majority minority” society in the U.S. portends profound changes; at the very least, the definition of “mainstream”

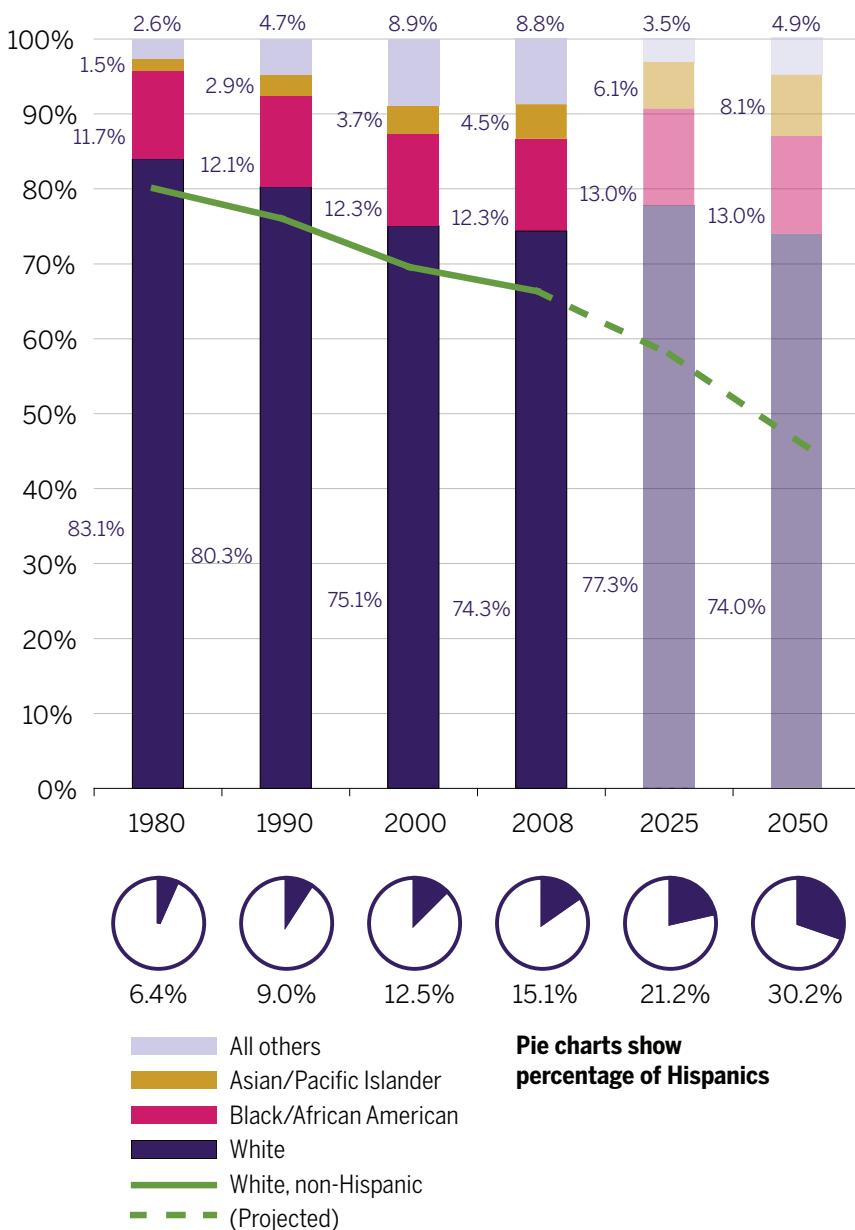
will have to be revised. We can't predict exactly what these changes will mean to museums or to their communities, but we can explore potential consequences.

Majority Minority—What Will It Mean for American Society?

Will the social gap between racial and ethnic groups widen, leading to increased social segregation and cultural fragmentation? Will the rapidly growing Hispanic population identify more with non-Hispanic whites, or with other U.S. minority groups? Or will these boundaries blur altogether and new patterns of American multiculturalism emerge? Our understanding of future demographic trends and the ways that they will play out in cultural participation is complicated by the fact that the concepts of “race” and “ethnicity” are so weighed down by the political, cultural and emotional baggage of history. They also shift in meaning, sometimes slowly and sometimes rapidly, as the boundaries that define and divide groups themselves shift.

One legacy of slavery is that “black” and “white” have always been the most readily identified racial categories in the U.S. “Research and data collection on racial issues have been shaped by America’s Black/White dynamic” often obscuring or neglecting other racial and ethnic identities.⁵ But not even “black” and “white” are simple, monolithic categories: they each encompass their own gradations of diversity. Nonetheless, the long persistence of these categories has the power to shape common experiences. For example, the discriminatory effects of being black are not limited to African Americans with historic roots in the national system of slavery. Harvard sociologist Mary Waters studied West Indian immigrants from Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad and Guyana, along with their children.⁶ Like most immigrant groups throughout U.S. history, these black West Indian immigrants arrived with strong achievement values. Despite low-wage and low-status employment opportunities—and despite the racial discrimination and prejudice they encountered—they were relatively successful economically. Their

Figure 2. **Demographic trends and projections, 1980–2050**



Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, “Race and Hispanic Origin: 1790 to 1990” (2002); Census 2000 Summary File; American Community Survey (2008); National Population Projections (2008).⁴

children, however, experienced the full brunt of structural racism in their schools, neighborhoods and employment opportunities. They increasingly identified—and were identified by others—as African Americans; the “immigrant dreams” and national origins of their parents became less important than America’s racial realities in shaping their life conditions and access to resources.

In contrast to race, ethnicity has generally been a less contested, more permeable category in U.S. experience—referring ambiguously to place of national origin, to common cultural tradition, or to shared language. The extent to which groups assimilate (often through intermarriage) or acculturate has shaped the experience of different American ethnic groups in significant ways. But ethnicity no less than race is a potent source of group divisions and tension. How willingly and quickly groups join the mainstream is determined by social conditions and policies that can be politically and culturally volatile.

Much of the demographic transformation of American society today is happening in new, uncharted territory, but the past may suggest the future. For example, a key aspect of the immigrant experience in the U.S. has been the extent to which waves or flows of newcomers continually replenish and redirect the course of the mainstream. The largest ethnic immigrant group in nineteenth-century America was German American, with many separate German-speaking communities, schools, newspapers and associations. Anti-German sentiment in the U.S. during two World Wars in the first half of the twentieth century pushed German Americans to lose their distinctive ethnic identity and institutions and to assimilate as white European-Americans. By the middle of the twentieth century there were relatively few remaining markers of the distinctive German American community that had

been a distinctive ethnic group fifty years earlier. But even mostly assimilated or acculturated ethnic identities are subject to renewal and reinterpretation. In March 2010, the new German-American Heritage Museum opened its doors in Washington, D.C., testament to the continuing significance that ethnicity carries in the U.S. context.⁷ Whether or not, and how quickly, Latinos, Asians and other new immigrant groups move toward or challenge more traditional American acculturation patterns will continue to evolve in unpredictable ways over the next half century.

To further complicate the way Americans think about group divisions, some categories in current U.S. usage are conventions that may ultimately prove to have limited value, because a group label such as “Hispanic” or “Asian” masks important differences within each group. “Hispanic,” for instance, has an established history and specific meaning in the U.S. Southwest, but it is more commonly used by the Census Bureau to designate a group with a shared heritage rooted in the Spanish language, regardless of national origin. “Asian” has become a kind of demographic shorthand for “the population living in the U.S. who self-identify as having Asian or Pacific Islander ancestry, in whole or in part, regardless of whether they’re U.S.- or foreign-born, a U.S. citizen or not, length of residence, or in the U.S. legally or illegally.”⁸ Like many Americans in this large, heterogeneous group, we prefer to use Asian and Pacific Islander, Asian Pacific American, or even Asian American, while recognizing that each of these terms is problematic. Unfortunately, imperfect as they are, the conventional categories of white, black, Asian, Hispanic, etc. are the categories that have been used to track demographics and cultural participation in the United States. If these group categories are insufficiently precise today, how well will they serve to mark group identities and shape experiences in the future?

Figure 3a. **Demographic distribution of visitors to art museums/galleries in 2008**

	% of visitors to art museums	% of U.S. population
<i>By race/ethnicity</i>		
Hispanic	8.6%	13.5%
Non-Hispanic White	78.9%	68.7%
African American	5.9%	11.4%
Other	6.6%	6.4%

Figure 3b. **Percentage* of U.S. adult population visiting art museums/galleries**

	1992	2002	2008
All	26.7%	26.5%	22.7%
<i>By race/ethnicity</i>			
Hispanic	17.5%	16.1%	14.5%
Non-Hispanic White	28.6%	29.5%	26.0%
African American	19.3%	14.8%	12.0%
Other	28.4%	32.7%	23.4%

*Based on data from the Current Population Survey, which varies slightly from the American Community Survey data cited elsewhere in this report. **Source:** NEA, 2008 Survey of Public Participation in the Arts.

Who Participates in the Arts? Who Goes to Museums?

When results from the NEA's 2008 Survey of Public Participation in the Arts (SPPA) were published in June 2009, there was a collective gasp from arts funders, cultural practitioners and the arts-going public at the downward turn in attendance among the NEA's "benchmark arts"* since the previous survey in 2002 and at the precipitous decline over time since the first survey in 1982. Staff at art museums and galleries (the only museum type consistently included in the SPPA) may have breathed more easily after that first gasp, since their attendance figures looked much better than the numbers for opera, classical music, jazz, non-musical theater and

the ballet. Any relief, however, would be short lived as readers turned to the detailed analysis. The document shows a persistent connection between race, ethnicity and cultural participation and a slow but steady decline in attendance at traditional "high culture" activities.

In general, art museum and gallery attendance held steady over the 25 years of NEA data—though it is troubling to note that the percentage of adults age 45–54 (traditionally the core audience of museum-goers) dropped from 32.9 percent to 23.3 percent between 2002 and 2008.⁹ Age-related patterns of museum attendance are only one piece of the SPPA puzzle, however. Even more striking are the racial and ethnic disparities in cultural participation. Non-Hispanic white Americans were over-represented among adult art museum visitors in 2008 (78.9 percent of visitors, while just 68.7 percent of the U.S. population) while Hispanics and African Americans were significantly underrepresented (Figure 3a). Indeed, members of minority racial and ethnic groups were less likely to participate in the arts across the full range of activities measured in the survey.¹⁰ Between 1992 and 2008, the gap between the percentage of white and non-white Americans who visit art museums also grew steadily (Figure 3b).

The NEA's Survey of Public Participation in the Arts is the only periodic national survey that we have on arts attendance and participation, and the trend data it provides are especially important as one indicator of the continuing audience for benchmark arts organizations. But the SPPA asks primarily about art museum and gallery attendance, rather than the full range of museums and their visitors. Fortunately, other data can fill in some of the

*For the purposes of the SPPA, participation in the "benchmark arts" is defined as "attendance at jazz, classical music, opera, musical plays, non-musical plays, and ballet performances, and visits to art museums or art galleries." Respondents have been asked about participation in these arts in every version of the survey since 1982. Different versions of the survey have also asked about other forms of participation in the arts, such as visiting historic sites, attending outdoor arts festivals, or attending Latin music performances.

gaps. For example, a 2006 survey of “in-person or virtual visits” to a broader range of museums conducted by the Institute of Museum and Library Services found Asian Americans to have the highest participation rates for art museums (with 36.6 percent visiting in person or online) and science/technology museums (34.1 percent). Whites had the highest visitor rates in historic houses/sites (37.3 percent) and history museums (24.3 percent); and Hispanics had the highest rates in natural history museums (25.3 percent). African Americans had the lowest participation rates (ranging from 18 to 22 percent) across all categories of museum types in this study.¹¹

Regional data present a similar picture. A 1994 survey in Northern California by the Bay Area Research Project (BARP) consortium explored the leisure-time and museum-going attitudes and behaviors of African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans and Caucasians. The researchers found similar participation patterns by race and ethnicity across a broad array of museums. All respondents to the BARP survey had been to a museum in the recent past, but most had visited infrequently—as little as one time in the previous five years. Frequent visitors from all racial and ethnic groups were more alike than different in terms of their attitudes, preferences and background socio-economic characteristics. Caucasians were highly likely (at 46.3 percent) to be “frequent” visitors (6-10 times in 5 years) or “very frequent” visitors (more than 11 times) to Bay Area museums, with other ethnic groups representing between 21.6 and 26 percent of museum visitors.¹² The results of this study closely track the NEA’s national data on racial and ethnic patterns of attendance at art museums and galleries collected 12 years later.

The preponderance of evidence points to significant disparities in museum participation by different racial and ethnic groups. The surveys reviewed here vary somewhat according to their

scope and the types and specificity of questions asked, but the overall pattern is clear. The burning question is, why? What can explain the persistent disparity in racial and ethnic participation in major cultural institutions—and especially in museums?

Why Not Use Museums? Searching for the Story Behind the Numbers

Researchers and scholars have offered various explanations for the differences in racial and ethnic patterns in museum attendance, including:

- historically-grounded cultural barriers to participation that make museums feel intimidating and exclusionary to many people;¹³
- the lack of specialized knowledge and a cultivated aesthetic taste (“cultural capital”) to understand and appreciate what are perceived by many as elite art forms, especially in art museums;¹⁴
- no strong tradition of museum-going habits, whether these were fostered in childhood¹⁵ or other family experience and tradition;¹⁶
- the influence of social networks to encourage museum-going rather than other leisure activities—i.e., if none of your friends go to museums, you don’t go either.¹⁷

Museum attendance has also been affected by changing patterns of work and leisure in the United States and the changing structure and dynamics of family life. When families include two working parents, who can take the kids on after-school museum visits? Although these social forces affect all kinds of Americans, work and family structures are also shaped by race, ethnicity and social class in ways that may hinder museum-going by members of minority groups. And structural factors such as where people live, museum locations, transportation options and

financial barriers to entry—which often correlate to race and ethnicity—also work to limit museum attendance.

Of course, these structural factors are only part of the picture: there are many other factors that operate on a personal level which help to explain why any individual does or does not visit museums.¹⁸ Although individuals differ in motivations and goals for their leisure pursuits,¹⁹ and these motivations change across life stages,²⁰ we know much less about whether there are strong group-based motivations that vary by cultural tradition, experience and expectations.

African Americans and Latinos have notably lower rates of museum attendance than white Americans. Why is that so? In part, it is the legacy of historic discrimination. A summary study of SPPA data from the 1980s on white and black attendance at arts events concluded that the measurable difference in participation could be tied to “subtle forms of exclusion.”²¹ John Falk points to historic patterns of segregation and exclusion as one reason that fewer African American families instill museum-going habits in their young children.²² More recent studies have identified a distinct cultural psychology among African Americans, rooted in historical and social experience, which has produced heightened sensitivity to stereotypes and real or perceived racism.²³ Although scholars have argued that middle-class African Americans have a “dual engagement” with European and American high art forms and African American art forms, marketing studies suggest that African Americans are more likely to attend events characterized by black themes and in which blacks are well-represented among performers, staff and audience members.²⁴ This has been dubbed the “FUBU test”—for us, by us.²⁵ This research is further supported by an Urban Institute survey which found that African American and Hispanic

participants were more likely than others to list the desire to “celebrate heritage” and “support a community organization” as reasons to attend arts and cultural events.²⁶

Studies of Latino attitudes toward museums have produced similar insights. Several suggest that Latinos are inclined to use museum exhibits as ways to teach about heritage and culture.²⁷ A report from the Smithsonian National Museum of American History found that second-generation Latino survey respondents have “very strong expectations that museums should include diverse staff, bilingual interpretation, Latino perspectives and some Latino-themed content.” Even though many Latino museum visitors in this study were English-speaking, they still appreciated bilingual signs as “signals” that museums are inclusive and welcoming to immigrant families and non-English speakers.²⁸ Other studies note that Hispanics with lower education and income levels tend to seek cultural activities that engage extended families and promote family unity, as well as providing broadly defined educational activities for children.²⁹

Education and income, which relate in complicated ways to race and ethnicity, will almost certainly continue to structure museum visitorship in the future. The 2008 SPPA data show that every step of additional education—from “grade school” to “some high school” to “high school graduation” through college and graduate school—increases the likelihood that someone will attend a benchmark arts activity, with a college graduate being 48 percent more likely than someone with a grade school education to participate in these cultural activities.³⁰ But several studies of African American arts participation and museum attendance in the 1990s confirmed that, although socio-economic factors largely predict museum attendance, they did not account for it completely.

Wealth provides the obvious advantage of increased access to all consumer opportunities, including cultural experiences and other kinds of socially valued resources that may not even have a price-tag. Money buys more than material goods: it confers social position, status and power in the world. But why higher education continues to be the strongest predictor of museum attendance is less clear—if only because there are so many intervening forces at work between the formal process of getting an education and the leisure choice of attending a museum. It is a subject of such complexity that it deserves to be addressed in a separate report.

Majority Minority—What Will It Mean for Museums?

Museums seeking to attract and keep a more diverse group of users will need to consider carefully what “diversity” means for their audiences (race and ethnicity according to currently defined categories—or something else?), how their audiences and community are changing (for example, which minority groups continue to be under-represented?), and what “diversity” is likely to mean in the future (will there be new multiracial, multiethnic group identities, with different experiences and expectations?).

The term “majority minority” brings together disparate groups of people in the United States who now constitute a minority of the population, who frequently share an outsider status, but are already in the process of becoming a collective majority. But do these groups actually form a coherent whole? Will they find common ground in experiences, perceptions, motivations and tastes that museums can use to develop strategies for community engagement? Or will Latinos, African Americans, Asian Pacific Americans, Native Americans and others continue to be separate groups with more differences than

commonalities—all of them remaining minorities by virtue of their size—who will need to be reached through different kinds of museum strategies and programs?

These are not merely academic questions—they suggest the need for museum staff to understand the demographic patterns of their changing communities in highly nuanced ways. (Some resources are presented in Appendix A.) A number of museums have found themselves at the forefront of developing relationships with local communities that are already highly diverse in their racial and ethnic composition. The following two cases are examples of museum programs that have responded to significant differences within their local ethnic communities as well as different experiences across community groups.

Case Studies: Recognizing Differences, Understanding Needs



Visitors peer through colorful kelp at the Monterey Bay Aquarium. © Monterey Bay Aquarium/Randy Wilder

In 1998, only 8 percent of visitors to the **Monterey Bay Aquarium** were Hispanic, despite a growing Latino population in California's Monterey Bay area and neighboring regions. In 2002 the aquarium launched a major marketing initiative to change local perceptions that the institution was aloof, expensive and remote. First, the staff identified that its Latino audience was, in fact, two audiences: one, highly acculturated Latinos whose household incomes were higher than the California average; the other, largely unacculturated Latinos, who were newer immigrants, predominantly Spanish-speaking, with larger families and lower incomes. The museum increased its marketing efforts to attract more acculturated Latinos from across California to choose the aquarium as a destination. For the second target group, however, the staff developed a campaign to overcome negative perceptions of the aquarium. They advertised in Spanish on television, radio and in local newspapers; they offered discounts, organized special events

("Día del Niño," "Fiesta del Mar") and specifically promoted the aquarium's annual Community Open House for Monterey County residents; they added front-line staff members who were helpful and welcoming to these less-experienced museum-goers. This effort at understanding the differences within the local and regional Latino communities paid off. By 2008, Latino attendance at the aquarium had tripled from 8 to 24 percent of visitors.³¹

Staff members at the **Children's Discovery Museum of San Jose, CA**, have been attentive to the local majority-minority population for the entire two decades of the museum's existence. By recognizing the distinct interests between and among minority groups, Children's Discovery Museum has positioned itself as a central community asset in a city and region that has already become majority minority.³²

In its first 15 years, the museum made a comprehensive and highly successful effort to encourage visitors from the large local Latino population. It accomplished this through attention to sponsoring relevant exhibits, as well as from efforts to diversify front-line staff and board membership. It also developed strong community-based networks that helped the museum reach second- and third-generation Latinos and new immigrants in the San Jose area as members of their audience. As a result of this deep and sustained effort, Children's Discovery Museum changed many of its own practices; in the process, it succeeded in integrating Latinos as part of its core audience.

San Jose also has a sizable Vietnamese American population, initially composed of Vietnamese and Hmong refugees from the Vietnam War

but now including newer immigrants and the children of immigrants as well. As they strove to serve this audience—which “represent[ed] a fairly low percentage of its visitors” at the time—the CDM staff realized that the strategies they had used to build strong Latino participation were not effective in increasing attendance by Vietnamese Americans.³³

What was different? For starters, the Vietnamese American community turned out to be much more complex and internally divided than the museum’s staff expected, with significant cleavages by generation, place of birth, English literacy, and degree of acculturation or attachment to Vietnam. Since it began in 2002, CDM’s “Vietnamese Audience Development Initiative” has provided a structure for working closely with advisors from the Vietnamese American community. The process of working with these advisors highlights the challenge of bridging political factions within the community. And the process is not done; according to Jenni Martin, CDM’s director of education and programs, “I’m still not completely sure that we have been successful in our work with the Vietnamese community. We would like to continue building that relationship.”³⁴

Early on, museum staff held focus groups to determine barriers to participation; they incorporated Vietnamese cultural icons, such as bamboo and circles (a Vietnamese round boat, a rice sieve), into exhibits and added Vietnamese to the English and Spanish signage in the museum. They addressed a cultural perception, especially prevalent among Vietnamese Americans born outside of the United States, that museums were “passive, old and academic” rather than interactive and engaging places and—even more challenging—that the kinds of important educational experiences parents and grandparents were seeking for their children could be educational even while encouraging fun and play.



Vietnamese-Americans at the Children's Discovery Museum of San Jose, California. Courtesy of the Children's Discovery Museum.

Among the most important lessons Children's Discovery Museum has learned is that, within the community of Vietnamese immigrants and their families, as in many other ethnic communities, there are different goals, expectations and interests. Using the museum to connect to Vietnamese heritage may be the primary draw for new immigrants, but individuals who were born in the U.S. or emigrated here as young people “also value multicultural perspectives and seek to instill in their children respect for all cultures” as preparation for living in a globalized society.³⁵

The Children of Immigrants Are Not Their Parents

Populations grow through immigration and natural increase (births minus deaths). In the U.S., international migration accounted for one fifth of the net population growth during the twentieth century³⁶ and almost 40 percent of population growth between 2000 and 2007.³⁷ According to data from the 2006-2008 American Community Survey, foreign-born individuals are now 12.5 percent of the American population. The majority of this group (83 percent) came from either Latin America or Asia, and mostly since 1965 when U.S. immigration laws became less restrictive.

The latest demographic projections from the Census Bureau suggest that the U.S. population in 2050 will be somewhere between 323 million and 458 million people. The typical American will be older, while the younger generations will become more diverse, in large part because of the youth and larger family size of Hispanic immigrants to the U.S. and the high birth rate among Latino families.³⁸ Minorities accounted for 48 percent of all births in the U.S. in the year that ended July 2008 and the minority birth rate will surpass 50 percent within the next two years.³⁹ Preschools and elementary schools will be among the first institutions to serve this new majority-minority cohort⁴⁰ and children's museums will also likely find themselves on the front lines of this demographic shift. As these children grow up and are joined by new immigrants to the U.S., more and more age cohorts will attain majority-minority status.

Rakesh Kochhar, Associate Director of Research at the Pew Hispanic Center in Washington, D.C., argues that the children of Hispanic immigrants, rather than immigrants themselves, "will be the principal source of population growth in the near future." Indeed, 60 percent of U.S. Hispanics are already native born.⁴¹ Hispanics under the age of

18, 90 percent of whom were born in the United States, constitute one-third of the U.S. Hispanic population.⁴² How significant a role will ethnicity play in the lives of these young Latino Americans? Will intermarriage and acculturation blur or erase "Hispanicity" over time, as happened to the ethnic identities of many earlier immigrant groups? As Gregory Rodriguez reminds us, "the children of immigrants are not their parents" and ethnic identities are not stable.⁴³

The potential for racial and ethnic identity to become more muted in the future is supported by another suggestive piece of data from the 2006-2008 American Community Survey, in which 6.5 million Americans reported having two or more racial identities. Significantly, it is the rising generations that are most likely to identify themselves as multiracial (72 percent listed as having two or more racial identities were 34 years old or younger—and 32 percent were just 5–17 years old).⁴⁴

A third of the foreign-born blacks in the United States are immigrants from Africa (most of the rest come from the Western Hemisphere). Will these new Americans and their children identify themselves with African Americans whose families have been Americans for many generations? Will they (or others around them) make distinctions among black people on the basis of national origin? How will the growing numbers of immigrants of African or West Indian descent affect the meaning of "being black" in the United States? Will intermarriage speed up the process of acculturation? "Asian [Pacific Americans] marrying non-Hispanic Whites comprise the greatest proportion of intermarriage in the United States," but intermarriage across all groups is on the rise in the United States.⁴⁵ Whether or not—and how quickly—new immigrants and well-established populations alike challenge traditional patterns of acculturation in this country will alter the dynamics of race and ethnicity for the next half century.

Case Study: Engaging and Empowering New Immigrants through Art

The **Nassau County Museum of Art**, situated on 145 acres of the historic Bryce-Frick estate in Roslyn Harbor, NY, is widely recognized for a fine collection of American, European and Latin American art. Nassau County on Long Island has experienced a 107 percent growth in Hispanic population since 1990 and neighboring Queens is among the most diverse areas in the U.S., with a population that includes many new immigrants. In light of this extraordinary growth, the staff recognized new opportunities for integrating the historic site more fully into the dynamically changing region.

In partnership with Queensborough Community College's adult literacy program for English language learners, the museum created the "Culture and Literacy through Art" (CALTA) program, specifically geared to new immigrants. Drawing on her own immigrant experience and the challenges

of learning a new language through text-based instruction, Patricia Lannes, NCMA's director of education, understood that images, as well as written texts, could serve as a powerful tool for developing literacy. Works of art can be "visual texts" readily available for decoding by adult immigrants who have a wealth of experience on which to draw as they build vocabulary, practice conversation and articulate interpretation. The program, drawing on the methodology of Visual Thinking Strategies (VTS), engages adult immigrants in facilitated discussions of a painting or sculpture in a provocative but non-threatening conversational mode that can accommodate a first-time museum visitor or an experienced art-world patron. A single work of art offers multiple entry points into a conversation—from description to more complex interpretation that may include aesthetic critique, as well as social and political analysis—in a way that a single written text may not.

The program has proven to be highly popular with participants. Thanks to a National Leadership Grant from IMLS, the museum and community college staffs are now collaborating on plans to develop a teaching institute and a model curriculum that can be shared with other cultural and educational institutions. The beauty of the CALTA program is its versatility; it is also used in family programs that allow separate, but interconnected, intergenerational activities, engaging everyone without disempowering the adults who may not have the same English proficiency as their children. It offers English language learners a means of finding a voice in a new culture and, for some, new modes of critical expression. It is a program that positions the museum as a key player in helping ease the transition of new immigrants into their American communities.⁴⁶



The Nassau County Museum of Art uses art to enhance literacy among immigrants. Courtesy of the Nassau County Museum of Art.

Figure 4. **Metro areas in which less than half of people under age 15 are non-Hispanic white (2007)**



Source: Frey et al, *Getting Current: Recent Demographic Trends in Metropolitan America* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2009)

New Neighbors: Learning to Live Together

Internal migration and geographical movement are also transforming the American social landscape. Diversity in the United States has spread far beyond the ports of entry on the East and West Coasts that traditionally received new immigrants and beyond the Northern and Midwestern industrial cities that were transformed by the Great Migration of rural African Americans in the early twentieth century. Racial and ethnic diversity is now a feature of many suburban and rural areas, not just city centers; it is growing most rapidly in the Southeastern, Southwestern and Western regions of the country. One sign of this transformation is the fact that non-Hispanic white children (younger than 15) are now in the minority in 31 large metropolitan areas, most of them stretched across the Sunbelt.⁴⁷

As immigration and geographic migration radically change the complexion of many American communities, they also bring a new mix of people and cultures into closer proximity. But it takes

more than proximity to bridge group differences and create genuine opportunities for interaction across social boundaries that are demarcated by race and ethnicity. Many highly diverse cities are, in fact, composed of separate enclaves determined by race, ethnicity and social class. Institutions and public spaces that allow people from different backgrounds to mingle if not necessarily interact—what sociologist Elijah Anderson calls “cosmopolitan canopies”⁴⁸—are rare, although arts organizations have played a significant role in providing such canopies where they exist.⁴⁹

Many racial and ethnic groups support culturally specific museums and exhibitions that relate to their own heritage, history and traditions. But culturally specific museums that attempt to reach across established group boundaries and explore similarities and differences between groups are breaking new ground. For example, the National Museum of Mexican Art in Chicago worked with members of the local Latino and African American communities to produce “The African Presence in Mexico: From Yanga to the Present,” an exhibition that received international acclaim for raising awareness about the complex history of race and ethnicity in Mexico. And the Wing Luke Asian Museum in Seattle, a cultural center serving the Asian Pacific American community, has long promoted cross-cultural understanding among the many different groups and nationalities that are categorized as “Asian,” especially through “community response” exhibitions that are planned in a collaborative effort between curators and community members.⁵⁰

Museums such as these are building canopies under which dialogues between disparate groups can take place in a safe environment. In the process, they forge a new role for themselves as the cultural agents helping to foster civic dialogue about race, ethnicity, immigration and culture in their dynamically changing communities.

Case Study: Cultivating Cross-Racial and Ethnic Experiences and Understanding



Students decide which video to select from a touch screen, before entering a video-talkback booth at “Changing Places” to record their own stories. Courtesy of the Levine Museum of the New South.

The **Levine Museum of the New South** in Charlotte, N.C., has taken its commitment to “fostering understanding in the community, celebrating diversity and acting as a catalyst of community dialogue” to new levels by explicitly developing exhibits and civic efforts to deal with the changing demographic composition and racial and ethnic group dynamics of its city and region. When Harvard political scientist Robert Putnam’s Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey⁵¹ identified Charlotte as being low on levels of inter-group trust, the Museum began developing exhibitions specifically around issues of race, racism and trust. First was “Courage” in 2004, exploring the history of school desegregation. The museum partnered with the Community Building Initiative to organize an extensive program of small group dialogues that brought professionals from across the city to the museum for focused discussions. They re-envisioned the museum as a model insti-

tution for using history as a catalyst for a deeper understanding of contemporary community challenges. The success of “Courage” spurred Levine to “embed this commitment to community engagement in the museum’s DNA,” according to president Emily Zimmern.

The most recent effort built on this approach deals directly with demographic change. The Charlotte-Mecklenburg County region has been among the fastest growing and most rapidly diversifying areas of the U.S., with a 600 percent increase in the number of Latino immigrants alone in the past decade, as well as immigration from many other places around the world. African Americans have also been relocating to this area in record numbers. The project, “Changing Places: From Black and White to Technicolor,” has been particularly ambitious, including a museum exhibition, public programming, dialogues for groups of teens and adults, a public television documentary and an interactive website (changingplacesproject.org) that encourages video responses and personal narratives that feed back to become part of the ongoing exhibit. The hallmarks of the project are engaging and provocative questions that get people talking about tough issues: Who judges you without knowing you? Who do you judge? What parts of your cultural heritage have you kept? Let go of? What cultural aspects of the South most surprised you? For the museum staff, the most unexpected and gratifying aspect of this project has been the extent to which Levine Museum of the New South has taken on a leading civic role in their region, using their exhibit to structure the opportunity for a broadly based community dialogue about the transformative demographic changes in this community that are at once local and global.⁵²

Listening to the Future: The Perspectives of Youth

Race and ethnicity are persistent factors in American life and that's not going to change anytime soon. But as we have noted already, attitudes about race and ethnicity are not fixed. One way to preview future attitudes is by listening to today's young people, whose experiences and choices will shape that future world. Pollster John Zogby calls the Millennial generation (roughly 18-29 years old) the "First Globals" and contends they are the first generation that "takes globalism as a given,...that has embraced diversity so thoroughly that distinctions of race, gender and sexual orientation have faded into a faint background music."⁵³ In terms of cultural participation and museum-going habits, there are already indications that a dramatic generational shift is underway as these young Americans opt for new modes of participatory engagement. Will age (or generation) eventually eclipse race and ethnicity as the key factor that shapes museum use in the future?

Obviously not all young people are the same, and their access to resources and opportunities in 2010 continues to vary in significant ways by race, ethnicity, immigrant status, income, education and geography. These disparities aren't likely to disappear in the near future, either. But technological change and the embrace of global perspectives can act as a kind of equalizer, creating new solidarities (in the form, for instance, of social-media friendships stretched around the globe)—and younger Americans are especially attuned to these emergent forces.⁵⁴ As a result, their tastes and motivations may be previews of a future that is already taking shape. In this particular future, race and ethnicity may turn out to be less significant influences.

One highly visible and tangible form of emergent cultural shifts is the generational divide between digital natives (younger people who have grown up with computers, video games and the Internet) and older Americans who are the digital immigrants to this technological world.⁵⁵ Museums are still developing ways to make more vital use of new technologies and the networking and marketing opportunities afforded by social media; but these technologies and the interactions they allow are simply givens among young Americans—no longer innovative practices but expectations. Young people tend to be early adopters of technological innovations and there is evidence that the digital divide by race and ethnicity is narrowing, and not just among the young. The Pew Internet & American Life Project found no significant differences by race among the 57 percent of U.S. teens who use the Internet to create original content.⁵⁶ Meanwhile, Internet use by Hispanics has been growing at a rate of four times the national average, such that Hispanics are now "more likely than other groups to text message, search the Web through mobile phones and browse social networking sites."⁵⁷ In cyberspace, generational experience already seems more determinant than race or ethnicity.

As the digital divide narrows, a generational divide widens as younger people become more likely to adopt (and prefer) highly participatory forms of cultural engagement. This may involve participation in the kinds of meaningful informal learning communities that characterize fans and gamers.⁵⁸ And as Jane McGonigal points out, museums can learn a lot from game designers, who know how to design attractive, even addictive experiences. She also notes that, unlike the best games, museums often fail to provide visitors with clear instructions or the feeling of having successfully accomplished something.⁵⁹

There has also been a surge in personal artistic creation, such as digital curation, again with younger Americans in the lead. A recent report from the Center for the Future of Museums dubbed this trend “myCulture.”⁶⁰ Henry Jenkins identified a related trend in online communities, which favor communal rather than individual modes of cultural reception, and promote opportunities for shared problem-solving and new modes of processing and evaluating information and knowledge.⁶¹ Again, museums have something to learn from these cultural forms.

Focus Groups: The Call for Immersive, Participatory Experiences

One way to “listen to the future” is to talk to young people, so we recruited three focus groups* for this study, including a mix of participants from different racial and ethnic backgrounds. They also included people age 16-25, of different education levels and museum-going experience. While small, these three groups reflect the coming demographic realities in American society. Significantly, the young people engaged in these discussions did not describe their museum-going experiences from perspectives shaped by race or ethnicity, but rather in terms of modes of participation. What they want from museums are interactive, immersive, and participatory activities. They want to be more than outside observers looking in. And the museum attributes they value most highly are uniqueness, novelty and authenticity.

The focus group discussions ranged across a broad array of topics—from experiences at local museums they liked and disliked, to specific exhibits they remembered fondly from childhood and others that had bored them on school trips, to the ideal museums they could imagine for the future. We also asked the participants about the leisure-time activities they liked best. Most mentioned shopping, movies, sports, playing video games—active forms of entertainment.

The most consistent and prominent theme in the discussion groups was a desire to make museum exhibits more interactive and relevant. While children’s museums, zoos and science museums were recognized for their hands-on exhibits, the participants wanted more hands-on opportunities at art museums as well. When asked to envision her own dream museum, one participant responded “What if you could try your hand at creating your own painting via computer simulation after being inspired by a painting on the museum wall and then having it judged?” Another participant imagined the museum-as-lounge, a space conducive to sitting and contemplating, talking and socializing, as well as learning. More than anything else, the focus group participants wanted choice—a choice of activities and exhibits within the museum and choice between museums and other leisure activities outside an institution’s walls.

*The focus groups were conducted by the University of Chicago Survey Lab in January and February 2010 in three sessions. One consisted of seven 16- and 17-year-old students from diverse backgrounds (African American, Latino and white) who volunteered to participate through an after-school arts center that provides high-quality, free art classes to underserved city youth. Two other groups of 18-25 year-olds were more formally recruited through online and on-the-street flyers, asking for people who could come to a 2-hour evening session in downtown Chicago “to talk about their thoughts and experiences with museums.”

Voices from the Focus Groups

These quotes illustrate what the young people we interviewed want from museums and exhibits in museums. Some of the grammar and verbal tics have been silently corrected.

Interactivity

“I want to be immersed in the culture. And when I say immersed—when I walk in I want there to be red clay dirt. I want there to be trees and I want to be able to see how the food is made and I want to be able to touch the animals that live in this area. I want to taste something. I want to be able to smell something.”

“Even if I didn’t want to touch the Mona Lisa, I want to have the option to touch it. You go to a museum and you’re just walking around looking at everything. And not even that you want to touch anything but it just seems like ‘OK this is the museum, and this is me.’ We’re not connecting on any level other than visual.”

“I love aquariums and zoos. My favorite aquarium is the one in Atlanta. It just takes me ... I love things where I can interact in. Like they have stingrays where you can stick your hand in there and touch the stingrays. Also a school of ... sharks in there that you can touch. I just enjoy that type of stuff. So anything interactive I’m right there, interested in.”

“[I would like] a museum that like—the wall in the bathroom is like a piece of the Berlin Wall. I saw [this] on the news once, but like, I thought that was really cool. They just bought a chunk of the Berlin Wall and put it up in the bathroom...you get to pee on it.”

“I thought about the Hyde Park Art Center—they put a lot of artwork on display and they also have art classes. I think that that’s really convenient.

You know you can walk around and look at art and you can go try to make some yourself. And they also have ceramics and it’s really cool to look at the sculptures and then to go make your own vase as well.”

“The less stuff that’s behind glass and velvet ropes the better.”

Relevance

“Like the Mexican Fine Arts Museum [now the National Museum of Mexican Art]. It’s more likely that if you were to go into the Mexican Fine Arts Museum [you] would be able to relate to not only the artists but also the artwork, the sculptures—also the patrons of that particular museum. Whereas if [you] went to a larger museum like Museum of Science and Industry or the Art Institute, those are a little bit more farfetched in regards to personal relevance.”

“I think it was really cool when Gallery 37 did all the cows and the benches around the city, you know, the street benches. I thought that was really relevant artwork. You didn’t have to go to a special place to see it.”

Multiple activities and multiple topics—but under one roof

“For instance, [at] the [Museum of] Science and Industry there’s some interactive displays. I liked those when I was little. And there’s like an ice cream shop there too. And the IMAX theater—the big screen thing.”

“I do like the whole area with the [Field Museum] and the planetarium and the aquarium because it’s like you can go from one to the other. And you can also stay outside on a nice day. I can go to the lake and you can experience the whole lake experience.”

“There is this really great sculpture garden where I’m from in Grand Rapids, Michigan. It’s called the Frederik Meijer Gardens and they have a greenhouse that has different rooms for different environments. But then they also have hundreds of acres of probably around 70 or 80 sculptures that you can take a trolley tour on or you can take a day and walk through it all.”

Uniqueness, novelty and authenticity

“I’m not really interested in any of the museums in Chicago anymore. I think I’ve seen all that I can see, unless there is some new exhibit in town for two weeks or something like that.”

“...the artwork that you will find hanging in a museum like the Art Institute is meant to be relished. Because it’s old, you know. That’s what

it’s for. Whereas at a smaller museum the exhibits are updated more frequently with fresh material that’s never been seen before. It’s actually something that’s new and innovative and inventive.”

“[With] smaller museums you feel more of a connection with the artist because it’s normally more of an average person. Whereas someone who has global notoriety because of their artwork, and there are thousands and thousands of copies of it. At a smaller museum, it would be more unlikely that you would find a replica of something that you found in there.”

“I like the technological aspects of some things but definitely having the real deal is always a good thing as well.”

What is a “good museum experience” for the participants in our focus groups? Here are two longer descriptions of compelling experiences that made a lasting impact:

“The other museum that I thought about was the Chinese-American Museum in Chinatown. And I know when the Chinese New Year comes around that’s the time to go. Everything is really interactive and you actually do get an entire cultural experience. You know that there is going to be dancing and that there is going to be a big dragon. You know that there’s going to be food passed around. Those are things that you’re expecting that you look forward to, that you have to go then. It’s something that you can take away and remember and talk about afterwards. Whereas opposed to just going and looking at stuff and then your experience is over and that’s it.”

“I would recommend the Mexican Fine Arts Museum [now the National Museum of Mexican Art] just because it’s in my neighborhood and not only [can you] visit the museum, but you can also take a stroll around the neighborhood and you’ll get a feel for

what the museum is there for. ... A lot of history from immigrants that came here, a lot of people that were born here expressing their struggle in finding their identity. So you’ll see a lot of paintings over their struggles with their identity. And they’ll also have a separate room where you have a show—like folklore or actual performances, which is on the other side. So there’s two different sides.... [And in the larger neighborhood around it] you’ll get to go to awesome restaurants, which is great. There’s a lot of murals around the neighborhood by local artists. So you’ll get to go see the street form of art.”

The members of our focus groups never spontaneously mentioned museums as the kind of place they would choose to spend their leisure time. In fact, they generally described museums as static places (“places that exhibit things”), didactic places (but not necessarily places where the learning was fun or engaging), and places where you had to be quiet and stand outside looking in. By contrast, one participant said “I like the Getty [in Los Angeles].... It’s like Oak Brook Mall except a museum.” Museums are not shopping malls, of course, but there may

be some lessons to learn from what makes the mall an enjoyable destination for these young people: a place where visual, auditory and other senses are stimulated; a setting where one can choose to be alone while in a public space or to socialize with others; a place with a variety of activities to fit many different tastes.

Many museums are experimenting with innovative, engaging and participatory practices, trying to become what Nina Simon calls “participatory museums.”⁶² However, these experiments in museum practice didn’t appear on the radar screens of either the college-educated or teenage participants in our focus groups. As representatives of the diverse American population of the present and the future, however, they are a prime target for museums to attract—especially as museums take on expanded roles as community centers, leading civic institutions, informal learning environments and canopies that can stretch more widely to encompass diverse individuals and communities.

The following case studies highlight two museums that have sought to build on the initial visitor experiences of young people by deepening their level of involvement, developing more collaborative museum projects to engage them beyond a single visit, and creating the kind of informal learning environments that result in more meaningful and sustained museum experiences.

Authenticity, realness and relevance were terms that our focus group participants often invoked when asked to think expansively and creatively about the possibilities for museums in the future. The kind of engagement that the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County generates through the Roundtable program is an impressive model for addressing the kinds of captivating and immersive experiences that many young people are looking for in their museum experiences—while substantially deepening the experience through collaborative and extensive projects that connect informal and formal learning processes.

Case Studies: Reaching the Millennials

The **New York Hall of Science** in Queens has trained and mentored high school and college students as “Explainers” in their “Science Career Ladder” program for the past 20 years (following the model of a similar program at the Exploratorium in San Francisco). The students are hired to explain exhibitions to visitors, perform science demonstrations and help with educational programs. A study by the Institute for Learning Innovation found that a high proportion of program participants—and there are now some 1700-1800 alumni—go on to attain at least an undergraduate degree, with “a particularly stark contrast among those identified as Spanish/Hispanic/Latino, where program alumni attain advanced education at a rate five times higher than those in the general population.”⁶³ This is all the more impressive, because according to the museum’s director and chief content officer, Eric Siegel, this hands-on sci-

ence and technology center does not select young people for this program who have the strongest science backgrounds or those already predisposed to professionally oriented career tracks in medicine and business. These are “regular kids” who contribute to making the New York Hall of Science staff and audiences among the most ethnically diverse in New York.

Explainers are young people looking for a job that can help them work their way through school, who care about communicating science to visitors and who, in the process, may decide to enter the pipeline to become future teachers, scientists and science enthusiasts. By 2007, two-thirds of the Hall’s Education Department staff were former Explainers, strong testament to an organization that has cultivated a deep commitment to active and engaged science learning and teaching among



An Explainer with a visitor at "The Search for Life Beyond Earth," New York Hall of Science. Photo by David Handschuh. Courtesy of the New York Hall of Science.

a diverse group of young people.⁶⁴ This may serve as a model for museums that want to diversify their staff as well as their visitors.

Visitors to the New York Hall of Science consistently list interaction with Explainers as one of the top factors in making their visits enjoyable. The employment of these young, engaged students may have a special impact on children, who can closely relate to them. In 2009, Explainers spoke 23 languages, with their name tags identifying the languages they speak. They often communicate in visitors' native languages, making the museum's exhibits more accessible to those with limited English. Preeti Gupta, senior vice president for education and public programs, began her career as an Explainer. She often spoke with visitors in Hindi, which allowed for a deeper sense of com-

munity as the museum engaged with members of its diverse, changing neighborhood.⁶⁵

The **Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County** launched its Education and Arts Roundtable project in 2004 with local K-12 teachers and staff from community arts organizations as an "incubator of ideas and exhibits" and a "catalyst for change." The impetus for the project was the museum's goal of shifting from a focus on research and collecting to promoting deeper and richer experiences through community engagement with the collections. Drawing on research by cognitive scientists on the settings and activities that produce deep understanding on the part of learners, consultant Elisa Callow introduced the term "interplay" to highlight the importance of active collaboration among artists, teachers and students as they developed projects from the collection, explored the "big ideas" that gave new meaning and relevance to the collection materials and transformed these ideas into new exhibits.

The resulting projects represent an extraordinary level of collaboration, immersion and deep learning by students of all ages.⁶⁶ One example is the creative interpretation by local high school students of the museum's archaeological exhibition, "The Mysterious Bog People." Over a two-year period, the students, their teachers and curators used this exhibition of archaeological artifacts (including depictions of human remains) as a starting point for exploring a question of direct relevance to their own lives: How would their *own* community be interpreted by archaeologists of the future, if the interpretation could only be based on the evidence of surviving artifacts? This led to an investigation that challenged prevailing stereotypes of their community, immersed the students in a wide-ranging interdisciplinary course of study and culminated in the student-produced and curated exhibition, "Artifacts of Our Lives."

Research Recommendations: Building the Future of Museums on a Better Base of Knowledge

It is important for museums to grapple with the demographic changes sweeping the country if they plan to be useful to more than a small segment of American society. But good decisions require good data as well as good instincts. Unfortunately, the research on race, ethnicity and cultural participation, though provocative and suggestive, is spotty, often outdated, and usually too narrow to draw broad conclusions for museums. The majority of studies focus on a single cultural institution and these tend to be marketing studies or evaluations for funders that result in proprietary reports unavailable for sharing across the field. There are very few studies that are comparative in nature, focusing on similarities and differences within groups and across groups. There are no longitudinal studies that track the same museum visitors over time, analyzing changes in their expectations, preferences and modes of participation. It's difficult to find reliable studies of which practices work and which do not.

Focus group discussions, such as those conducted in association with this report, are only suggestive of perspectives and perceptions; many more would have to be conducted before we could detect truly reliable patterns. Surveys on cultural attendance, including the NEA's SPPA, leave out many important aspects of participation and may miss the kinds of cultural engagement that are most important and meaningful to people. Different types of museums are included or excluded from different studies of participation and engagement, making it difficult to compare the trends in art museums, history museums, science museums, etc. The result is a relatively shallow base of established evidence on which to build new knowledge for the field and limited research findings to help develop museum practices nationwide. If nothing else, the literature

review we have conducted for this report should serve as a call to action to fill in the research gaps. This would improve the ability of museums to make sound, informed decisions about how to serve their communities now and in the future.

We believe that individual museums, and the museum field as a whole, should:

Make better use of existing data: Museums should make greater use of existing databases, especially from the U.S. Census Bureau, as a starting point for understanding the demographics of their local communities (see Appendix A for a list of suggested resources). Museum service organizations should help museums access, interpret and apply this information as a tool for strategic planning. Although the Census remains the most reliable source of data on American racial and ethnic groups, many other sources now provide online tools that make demographic analysis relatively easy.

Museums should also mine data from other sources, especially when comparable sources of information about museums do not exist. For example, we don't have longitudinal studies that follow museum-goers over time, information that would be especially useful for museum participation research. But we do have several large national studies that capture information about education, social conditions and cultural habits—in particular, the *Early Childhood Longitudinal Study* (U.S. Department of Education), the *National Longitudinal Survey of Youth* (Bureau of Labor Statistics), and the *Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study*. Museum researchers could be more creative in their use of these and other projects in the social sciences.

Pressure existing research projects to capture more information about museums: Some existing research programs could be broadened

to capture information on museums. For example, the *General Social Survey (GSS)* conducted by the National Opinion Research Center has been tracking demographic information, attitudes, opinions and social change in the U.S. since 1972—an ongoing project designed to “take the pulse of America.” The GSS periodically calls for proposals to add questions to future surveys; the next time museums need to answer the call and take advantage of this valuable research tool. Museums and museum service organizations should actively seek ways to incorporate museum data collection into research platforms such as the GSS. Federal data-collection agencies should also be lobbied to incorporate more questions about museums and museum-goers into their ongoing research programs.

Share the knowledge: Too much valuable data is locked away in proprietary studies, in the form of market research or evaluation studies, but never shared beyond the walls of the museum that commissioned the research. Museums need to develop a shared expectation that the knowledge they collect as individual organizations will be shared with the field unless there is a compelling reason for it to remain confidential. There are many models of data sharing on a local or discipline-specific scale. Earlier in this report we cited the Bay Area Research Project (BARP), a collaborative effort by a consortium of museums in the San Francisco region, which is notable for the collective nature of its research and for the broadly comparative focus of its multicultural audience survey. We could have cited others. Unfortunately, such efforts are not yet the norm. This needs to change if museums are to maximize the benefit from their individual investments in research.

Collaborate with other nonprofits: Other nonprofit sectors (e.g., dance, theater, classical music) share the museum field’s challenge in understanding and adapting to demographic

change. Studies that cut across organizational types and cultural activities can produce information on audience engagement that is useful to museums. Research on cultural participation is accumulating, but evidence about what works and doesn’t work—about risks that were taken, about innovative projects that may not have succeeded at first try and those that soared immediately—all need to be shared more across the cultural sector. A cooperative model in which all cultural organizations see themselves as having a stake in understanding the complex dynamics that underlie Americans’ use of leisure time, their cultural interests, expectations and motivations, would expand our understanding of the entire cultural ecosystem. For example, both the dance and symphony orchestra service organizations have explored these issues in recent reports.⁶⁷

Develop research opportunities through partnerships: Museums, and their national service organizations, should take the lead in developing new research partnerships. Research can be expensive and museums rarely have substantial research budgets. But many could work more closely in partnership with colleges and universities in their local area to develop supervised, student-based research in a systematic way. Partnerships with academic institutions and student researchers offer opportunities to develop more qualitative studies—on-the-ground ethnographic research, interviews, focus groups—which are labor-intensive, but often rich in insights and new perspectives. (This report is, we believe, a model of this kind of partnership.) Businesses, local government and foundations also share an interest in fostering a robust civic culture and a creative economy and workforce. As several of the case studies in this report suggest, museums now play a central role as civic leaders in their communities and should leverage that leadership role to develop new partnerships for continued research on museum audiences and practices.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE: A CALL TO ACTION

Elizabeth E. Merritt

Betty Farrell and her team at the Cultural Policy Center conclude their report with a clarion call to improve how we conduct, collaborate and share research. But it is also clear from the report's case studies that there are many things museums, individually and as a field, can do now. We can't let the incompleteness of the data keep us from taking action—we need to start building the future *and* work on gathering better information.

So, AAM will launch the next stage in this discussion with its own call to action. On behalf of the association, I hereby challenge myself and my colleagues in the museum field to:

Broaden our sense of identity. When we draw a line around our field, we find ourselves identifying strongly with other “museums.” I worry less about defining what a museum is (a discussion that has consumed gallons of ink and hundreds of hours of time) and more about identifying other places that fill some of the same functions that we do or that we aspire to. What can we learn from other public spaces: libraries, community centers, even coffee shops and bubble tea stores? Wherever people choose to spend time socializing, talking and learning—we have something to learn from those places, as well. We need museums to be places people want to hang out in, not just places they feel they ought to visit—places to check off on their life list, or destinations for the ritual pilgrimage with guests.

Take responsibility for learning, in depth, about the communities we want to serve.

My major take-away from this research is that diversity is fractal—when you take a closer look at categories, they break down into subgroups that contain *just as much complexity*—right down to the level of the individual. Do use the resources listed at the end of the report to access the national and local data that others have compiled. But look and listen for yourself to understand the nuances of your communities, their shared and different needs.

Invest in the diversity of the field. Right now only 20 percent of museum employees are minority. Eric Siegel, director of the New York Hall of Science, commented on an early draft of this paper that “too many middle aged hyper-educated white people are going to limit the degree to which museums incorporate other points of view.” But 80 percent of museum studies students are white and 80 percent are female—we can't diversify by competing for the few diverse members of the pool of people already committed to museum careers through this pipeline. We need to tackle this problem at all stages—increase awareness of museum careers, recruit more diverse students into museum studies programs and look outside traditional training programs for bright, interested people and then invest in their continued education.

Heed the Millennials' call for participatory and social activities in museums. There is a rapidly emerging consensus that the most successful museums of the future will be places to hang out, engage and contribute: museums that blur the boundaries between “back of the house” and the public side. They will be moderators and filters of contributed wisdom and diverse perspectives, in addition to being sources of scholarship and opinion.

Take the lead in building a new era! You may be tempted to wait and see whether the challenge of diversifying museum audiences solves itself. It is always more comfortable to stick with what we have always done well, than to test new ways of operating. Maybe (as our CFM lecturer Gregory Rodriguez suggests) newer Americans who are not coming to museums today will follow the common American trajectory into higher education, higher income and “higher culture” (e.g., museums). But, are you really willing to bet the future of your organization on that forecast? Be positive about your ability to make your museum matter to groups that are not core visitors now, but don't expect it to happen without a lot of deep thought and hard work.

For our part, AAM and its Center for the Future of Museums pledge to keep driving this conversation forward. We will heed Betty's call for more and better collaborative research at the national level, we will delve more deeply into the next explorations suggested by this report (generational change, the effects of income and education on museum use) and we will encourage your participation in this exploration of the future. Let me reiterate my invitation from the introduction: propose a guest post for the CFM Blog, comment on the posts of others, record a “Voices of the Future” video, submit a session proposal to the AAM annual meeting, invite museum futurists (from CFM or elsewhere) to

present at the meetings of other associations or groups. Share any research on diversity that your museum has conducted. Together we *will* build a bright vision of the future of museums, and with time, turn that vision into a story of a future past.

Endnotes

¹ Massey 2007.

² Madland and Teixeira 2009.

³ Rodriguez 2009.

⁴ In 2009, the Census Bureau issued a series of alternative projections based on various rates of immigration. Although the details vary, the general trajectory towards a majority-minority population is the same under every scenario.

⁵ Smelser, Wilson and Mitchell 2001.

⁶ Waters 1999.

⁷ Fisher 2010.

⁸ Le n.d.

⁹ National Endowment for the Arts 2009a.

¹⁰ National Endowment for the Arts 2009b.

¹¹ Institute for Museum and Library Services 2008.

¹² BARP (Bay Area Research Project) 1994.

¹³ Karp and Lavine, eds. 1991.

¹⁴ Bourdieu and Nice 1984; Schwarzer 2006.

¹⁵ Wilkening and Chung 2009.

¹⁶ Falk 1995.

¹⁷ Ostrower 2005.

¹⁸ Ostrower 2005; Ellenbogen 2006.

¹⁹ Falk 2009.

²⁰ Wilkening and Chung 2009.

²¹ DiMaggio and Ostrower 1990.

²² Falk 1995.

²³ Miller and Kemp 2006.

²⁴ DiMaggio and Ostrower 1990.

²⁵ Miller and Kemp 2006; Chittick and Linett 2008.

²⁶ Ostrower 2005.

²⁷ Stein, Garibay and Wilson 2008; Chittick and Linett 2008.

²⁸ Stein, Garibay and Wilson 2008.

²⁹ Garcia-Luis 2007; Garibay 2009, 2007, 2006.

³⁰ NEA 2009b.

³¹ Yglesias, email communication; de la Hoz, email communication.

³² Fenichel and Schweingruber 2010; Jennings, telephone interview.

³³ Fenichel and Schweingruber 2010.

³⁴ Fenichel and Schweingruber 2010.

³⁵ Fenichel and Schweingruber 2010.

³⁶ Hobbs and Stoops 2002.

³⁷ U.S. Census Bureau 2009.

³⁸ U.S. Census Bureau 2009.

- ³⁹ Roberts 2010.
- ⁴⁰ Frey et al. 2009.
- ⁴¹ U.S. Census Bureau 2009.
- ⁴² COSTA IMC 2008.
- ⁴³ Rodriguez 2009.
- ⁴⁴ Urban Institute 2009.
- ⁴⁵ U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 2009.
- ⁴⁶ Lannes, telephone interview.
- ⁴⁷ Frey et al. 2009.
- ⁴⁸ Anderson 2004.
- ⁴⁹ Stern and Seifert 2000.
- ⁵⁰ Grams and Farrell, eds. 2008.
- ⁵¹ Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey n.d.
- ⁵² Zimmern, telephone interview; O'Leary 2007.
- ⁵³ Zogby 2008.
- ⁵⁴ Wilkening and Chung 2009.
- ⁵⁵ Prensky 2001.
- ⁵⁶ Lenhart and Madden 2005.
- ⁵⁷ Gomez 2010.
- ⁵⁸ Jenkins and Bertozzi 2008.
- ⁵⁹ McGonigal 2008.
- ⁶⁰ Chung and Wilkening 2008.
- ⁶¹ Jenkins 2006.
- ⁶² Simon 2010.
- ⁶³ Sickler and Johnson 2009.
- ⁶⁴ Gupta and Siegel 2007.
- ⁶⁵ Edmondson 2009; Siegel 2010.
- ⁶⁶ Stevenson, Callow and Ono 2009.
- ⁶⁷ Dance/USA 2008; League of American Orchestras 2009.

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Appendix A

Online resources for demographic information and socio-economic indicators

Demographic Information

The U.S. Census Bureau (www.census.gov)

The Data Access Tools page of the U.S. Census Bureau website at www.census.gov/main/www/access.html lists interactive software and data file resources available through U.S. Census Bureau. The most frequently used online tools are:

Use *QuickFacts* (quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/index.html) to find demographic (population, race and ethnicity, nativity and language), socio-economic (education, housing, income, etc), business and geography data at the county, state and national levels.

Use *American FactFinder* (factfinder.census.gov) to find demographic, socio-economic, business and geography data at the zip, town/city, county, state and national levels. With the “Map” option in the American FactFinder menu (on the left side of the page), you can create thematic maps showing population, socio-economic and business characteristics by location, as well as reference maps showing boundaries.

While the “Newsroom” section of the U.S. Census Bureau website (www.census.gov) does not contain interactive online tools, it provides information on narrow topics including recent press releases, Facts for Features (collections of statistics from the bureau’s demographic and economic subject areas, intended to commemorate anniversaries or observances or to provide background information for news topics,

including links to thematic datasets) and Minority Links (links to the latest data on racial and ethnic populations in the United States).

Census Scope (censusscope.org/index.html) Social Science Data Analysis Network (SSDAN) at the University of Michigan

CensusScope is an easy to use tool for investigating U.S. demographic trends. With 2000 U.S. Census data and trend data from 1990 and 1980, this online tool offers charts, maps and rankings for key demographic, social and business indicators by state, counties and metro areas and also provides data on segregation and dissimilarity measures for 1246 individual U.S. cities with population exceeding 25,000 and for all metropolitan areas, based on single and multiple race populations as identified in Census 2000.

The Measure of America (measureofamerica.org) American Human Development Project for the Social Science Research Council

The Measure of America interactive maps are intended for use by policymakers, researchers and academics. This tool allows users to create customized state and congressional district maps based on U.S. Census and American Community Survey data for more than 60 human development indicators in the areas of demographics, health, education, income, environment, housing and transportation and security. In addition to customized maps, the interactive tools menu

includes: “Common Good Forecaster: Exploring the Impact of Education in Your Community”; “Well-O-Meter” (to evaluate an individual’s own human development index) and Excel data charts from “Measure of America” report.

The tool section also includes a link to “Philanthropy In/Sight.” This Foundation Center’s online resource allows mapping grant makers and grant recipients by geographical location and area of interest (including arts and culture), in the United States and worldwide; assessing demographic data and funding needs by location with over 100 indicators; and provides full organizational profiles and grant information for thousands of grant makers and grant recipients across U.S. and worldwide. There is a fee for this service.

Language Map (mla.org/map_main)

Modern Language Association

The MLA Language Map is intended for use by students, teachers and anyone interested in learning about the linguistic and cultural composition of the United States. The MLA Language Map uses data from the 2000 United States Census and 2005 American Community Survey to display the locations and numbers of speakers of thirty languages and three groups of less commonly spoken languages in the United States. The census data are based on responses to the question, “Does this person speak a language other than English at home?” The Language Map illustrates the concentration of language speakers in zip codes and counties. The Data Center provides census data about more than three hundred languages spoken in the United States, and includes numbers and percentages of speakers. The data can be detailed by location, non-English languages spoken, age and English language proficiency.

Longitudinal Social Science Surveys

The *Early Childhood Longitudinal Study*, by the U.S. Department of Education and Institute for Education Sciences, focuses on children’s early school experiences beginning with kindergarten through 8th grade. For example, for *ECLS-Kindergarten Class of 1998-99* (ECLS-K), the data were collected from a large nationally representative sample of children and their parents, teachers and schools. The longitudinal nature of the ECLS-K data enables researchers to study how a wide range of family, school, community and individual factors are associated with school performance, including basic data on children’s participation in music, dance and art lessons and performing arts (nces.ed.gov/ecls/kindergarten.asp).

The National Longitudinal Survey of Youth by the Bureau of Labor Statistics gathers information on the labor market activities and other significant life events of young men and women. For example, the NLSY 1997 Cohort follows the lives of a nationally representative sample of 9,000 American youth who were 12 to 16 years old as of Dec. 31, 1996. Round 1 of the survey took place in 1997. In that round, both the eligible youth and one of that youth’s parents had hour-long personal interviews. These young people continue to be interviewed on an annual basis (bls.gov/nls/nlsy97.htm).

The *Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study* collected information about the adaptation process of over 5,000 8th and 9th grade students—children of immigrants—in California and Florida. Study participants were surveyed when they were, on average, 14, 17 and 24. During the second round of the survey, face-to-face interviews were conducted with parents of half of the adolescent sample. Research themes included language knowledge, attitudes and levels of identification with American society, socio-psychological well-being, educational attainment,

employment and occupational status, civil status, political attitudes and participation, delinquency and plans for the future. (cmd.princeton.edu/data%20CILS.shtml).

The *General Social Survey* (GSS), by the National Opinion Research Center, “started in 1972 and completed its 26th round in 2006. For the last third of a century the GSS has been monitoring social change and the growing complexity of American society. The GSS is the largest project funded by the Sociology Program of the National Science Foundation. Except for the U.S. Census, the GSS is the most frequently analyzed source of information in the social sciences. The GSS contains a standard ‘core’ of demographic and attitudinal questions, plus topics of special interest. Many of the core questions have remained unchanged since 1972 to facilitate time trend studies as well as replication of earlier findings. It is the only survey that has tracked the opinions of Americans over an extended period of time.” (norc.org/projects/General+Social+Survey.htm).

Center for the Future of Museums

Video of “Towards a New Mainstream?” a lecture by Gregory Rodriguez, founder and executive director of Zócalo Public Square, is available free on CFM’s nonprofit YouTube channel [youtube.com/futureofmuseums](https://www.youtube.com/futureofmuseums). AAM members can access a webcast of the lecture that also includes an overview of national demographic trends by James Chung of Reach Advisors, and commentary by Cecilia Garibay, principal of the Garibay Group, Lisa Lee, director of the Jane Addams Hull-House Museum and Tammie Kahn, executive director of the Children’s Museum of Houston. A free discussion guide for the lecture is available from the CFM website. (futureofmuseums.org/events/lecture/rodriguez.cfm).

Appendix B 2006-2008 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates

	Total Population	White	Black or African American	Asian	American Indian and Alaska Native	Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	Some other race	Two or more races	Hispanic	Not Hispanic
Population size	301,237,703	223,965,009	37,131,771	13,164,169	2,419,895	446,164	17,538,990	6,571,705	45,432,158	255,805,545
% of total population	100.0%	74.3%	12.3%	4.3%	0.8%	0.1%	5.8%	2.1%	15%	85%
AGE	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Under 5	6.9	6.2	7.6	6.6	7.9	7.6	10.5	16.8	11.2	6.1
5 to 17	17.6	16.3	21.1	15.8	20.8	19.7	22.7	31.8	23.1	16.7
18 to 24	9.8	9.3	11.6	9.4	12.1	14.2	11.8	11.5	11.3	9.6
25 to 34	13.3	12.6	14	16.9	14.2	16.7	19.1	11.8	17.6	12.6
35 to 44	14.3	14.1	14.5	17.8	14.4	15.4	15.9	9.8	15	14.2
45 to 54	14.6	15.2	13.8	14.3	13.9	12.5	10.4	8.5	10.4	15.3
55 to 64	10.8	11.9	8.8	9.8	9.2	7.8	5.4	5.3	5.9	11.7
65 to 74	6.5	7.2	4.9	5.4	4.5	3.9	2.5	2.7	3.2	7.1
75 years and over	6.1	7.2	3.7	3.9	2.8	2.2	1.6	1.8	2.3	6.8
Median age	36.7	39.1	31.7	35.6	31.1	29.8	27.5	18.6	27.4	38.7
HOUSEHOLDS										
% family households	66.6	66	63.8	74.5	68.4	75.9	79.5	64.8	77.5	65.3
% with own children <18 years	31	28.9	34.3	39.2	35.2	42.9	52.4	35.8	48.4	28.9
Average household size	2.61	2.51	2.67	3.04	3.01	3.46	3.65	2.75	3.48	2.5
Average family size	3.2	3.09*	3.4	3.54	3.62	3.95	4	3.38	3.88	3.1
% living with grandchildren (age 30+)	3.5	2.7	6.2	5.9	7	9.3	7.4	4.4	7	3.1
MARITAL STATUS (age 15+)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Now married, except separated	52.2	53.4	30.4	59.6	38.8	4.74	46.5	36	48.3	50.6
Widowed	2.5	6.7	6.3	4.6	5.3	4.1	2.9	3.7	3.5	6.7
Divorced	9.3	10.9	11.6	5	12.8	7.6	7.3	11.2	8	11
Separated	1.8	1.7	4.7	1.3	3.3	2.7	4	2.7	3.7	2
Never married	34.1	27.3	47	29.4	39.8	38.2	39.2	46.4	37.6	29.7

	Total Population	White	Black or African American	Asian	American Indian and Alaska Native	Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	Some other race	Two or more races	Hispanic	Not Hispanic
PLACE OF BIRTH	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Native	88	93	92	33	94	77	58	93	60	93
Foreign-born	12	7	8	67	6	23	42	7	40	7
YEAR OF ENTRY (for foreign-born)										
% entered 2000 or later	27.6	26.5	30.4	27.4	32.7	36.2	30.4	25.1	29.5	25.8
HISPANIC ORIGIN										
% self-identified as Hispanic, by race	15	11	1	1	15.6	7.3	95	27	n.a.	n.a.
LANGUAGE NEEDS										
% of those who speak a non-English language at home & speak English less than "very well" (age 5+)	1	0	0	27	2.3	5.6	33	1	29	0
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT										
(age 25+)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Less than high school diploma	15.5	13.1	20	14.6	24	14.8	42.6	16	39.5	12
High school graduate (includes equivalency)	29.6	29.9	33.2	17	32.5	38.2	28.4	26.6	27.4	29.9
Some college or associate's degree	27.5	28.1	29.6	19	30.7	32.1	19.1	33.7	20.5	28.5
Bachelor's degree	17.3	18.3	11.4	29.7	8.5	10.8	7.1	15.3	8.7	18.6
Graduate or professional degree	10.1	10.7	5.9	19.7	4.3	4.1	2.8	8.3	4	10.9
INCOME IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS (IN 2008 INFLATION-ADJUSTED DOLLARS)										
Median household income	52,175	55,229	35,086	69,047	37,068	55,870	41,230	46,079	41,630	53,640
Median family income	63,211	67,715	41,514	78,986	42,428	60,267	41,945	54,465	43,240	66,490
Per capita income	27,466	30,299	18,119	30,248	17,063	20,303	15,207	15,178	15,916	29,517