

Visitor Responses to Human Remains in Leeds City Museum

Final Report



“Our bodies are inanimate. They are just containers of us, not us. Thus, they should be treated as any other archaeological object.”

“The body should be laid to rest, not be made a spectacle of”.

“In a world where we are increasingly sheltered from the reality of human mortality, yet surrounded by glorified depictions of violence with no understandings of the consequences, a respectful and informative display like this can teach us a great deal about the lives of people, about ourselves, and can give us a much needed sense of perspective.”

“Best museum display I have seen”.

Figure 1: Selection of quotes from exhibit attendees

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1. INTRODUCTION TO RESEARCH

Leeds Museums and Galleries (LMG) cares for a substantial collection of human remains which were once parts of living people. LMG is committed to caring for them in a respectful manner while also making the collections available for research and engagement where appropriate, as per the service's human remains policy.

In 2018 LMG carried out a research engagement project during the run of an exhibition called 'Skeletons: our Buried Bones' at Leeds City Museum. LMG asked visitors what they thought about museums having and using human remains, and allowing photography of human remains on display, in order to inform the human remains policy going forward. Having these conversations is very important to LMG as a service as the collections are looked after for the benefit of the public, and they strive to be open and to consult audiences.

Other Research

English Heritage carried out a nationwide survey in 2009, the findings of which were published online in a report called 'Research into Issues Surrounding Human Bones in Museums'. The aims of the research were to establish whether there was support for archaeological exhibits in museums including human bones, and whether there was support for the retention of archaeologically important human bones in museums used for future research. The summary statement from English Heritage was that 'the vast majority of the England adult population support museums that wish to display and keep human bones for research purposes, although around 1 in 10 people do not support this'.

Although the questions English Heritage asked were slightly different from LMG, many of the emerging themes overlapped, and the English Heritage survey provided a template for the gallery questionnaire discussed in Chapter 5.

'Skeletons: Our Buried Bones' Exhibition

'Skeletons: Our Buried Bones' was a collaborative exhibition at Leeds City Museum which was developed in partnership with Wellcome Collection and the Museum of London. 'Skeletons' toured to The Hunterian Art Gallery in Glasgow in 2016 and then to M Shed in Bristol in 2017, before travelling to Leeds City Museum in September 2017. But it was not simply a touring exhibition – in fact, even though the exhibition maintained the same look and feel at each venue, the individual stories told were completely different and reflected the unique archaeology and history of each place.

In Leeds City Museum the skeletons of twelve individuals from London and Yorkshire, drawn from the collections of the Museum of London, Leeds Museums and Galleries, the University of Sheffield

and the University of Bradford, were laid out in chronological order from the Iron Age to the 1800s, representing nearly 2,000 years of history. This exhibition brought together commercial archaeology, academic research and museum curation to explore the stories of each individual and the place and time in which they lived.

Leeds Museums and Galleries were keen to use this exhibition as an opportunity to ask visitors what they thought about the remains of once-living people being looked after in a museum and being researched and displayed, as well as how they felt about the public being allowed to take photographs of those human remains on display. Until the 'Skeletons' exhibition opened, there had only been the remains of one individual on permanent display; Nesyamun, the 3,000-year-old mummy of an Egyptian priest (discussed below). Putting human skeletons on display in such numbers, and actively talking about human remains in the collection, seemed like a perfect time to engage people in this conversation.

Human Remains policy

Leeds Museums and Galleries has a human remains policy which covers the use of all human remains in its collections. Human remains in this policy are defined as including "osteological material (whole or part skeletons, individual bones and teeth), soft tissue including organs and skin, embryos and slide preparations of human tissue, and hair and nails taken post-mortem".

The Human Remains Working Group (HRWG) meets monthly, and often discusses issues via email in between meetings. Every step of the process of putting on the 'Skeletons' exhibition was subject to approval by the HRWG. This included the selection of skeletons to be displayed, all written interpretation, the content of videos shown in the gallery, and the use of images and photography.

Photography

In light of the 'Skeletons' exhibition, the HRWG reviewed the policy around photography of human remains on display. LMG's human remains policy currently does not allow visitors to take photographs of human remains on display. However, the decision was made to lift this restriction during the run of the 'Skeletons' exhibition for the following reasons:

- Photography had been permitted at all other venues on the exhibition tour
- All lenders approved photography in the gallery, as long as it was made clear it had to be respectful
- Relaxing the policy would provide an opportunity to gather data about how our visitors actually use photography and share images on social media, as opposed to assuming this activity would be abused

Because of the confusion it could cause to visitors, this temporary relaxation of the photography policy was also extended to Nesyamun, the mummy of an Egyptian priest on display in the Ancient Worlds gallery.

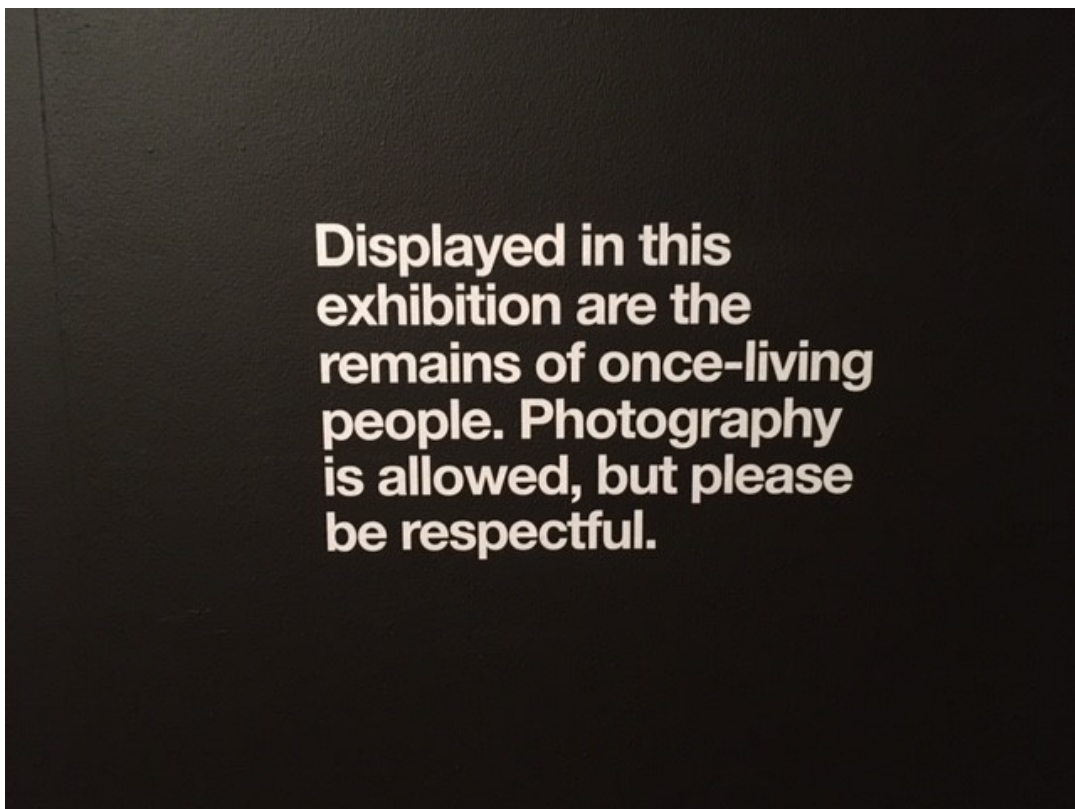


Figure 2: Photography notice in the entrance to the 'Skeletons: Our Buried Bones' exhibition.

The visitor responses project

Methodology overview

Visitors were asked their opinions on human remains in museums and the photography of these remains in three ways:

- Through free-text feedback cards in the gallery
- Over social media through responses to a Twitter poll
- Through a visitor questionnaire carried out on gallery

Each method was completely different and captured a range of opinions on the different aspects of the human remains debate.

Limitations of data collection

The number of people engaged with through the three methods was 315, which is a statistically significant number. The findings of the English Heritage survey commissioned in 2009 researching issues surrounding human remains in museums are accepted and often quoted. Their findings were based on a nationally representative sample of adults in England, with 864 respondents representing a population (adults and children) of over 52 million (0.001%) (Office for National Statistics). The number of respondents to LMG (315) are a representative sample of over 42,000 visitors (1.33%).

The feedback was captured in three ways:

- Feedback cards: 183
- Questionnaires: 26
- Twitter polls online: 106

There are, however, limitations with the data:

- The feedback cards and questionnaires only captured the opinions of those who had already chosen to visit the exhibition, and therefore were more likely to be positive.
- Not as many visitors took part in the gallery questionnaires as we would have liked.
- Twitter was used only to collect statistics on a poll, as it was impossible to capture everything discussed on social media.
- Much discussion about human remains outside of these three feedback methods, such as discussions after workshops or at events, was not captured.

Nesyamun and other human remains

The feedback responses were focussed around the 'Skeletons: Our Buried Bones' exhibition, and as such visitors probably responded with skeletons in mind. But LMG did address what is meant by the term 'human remains' in the Leeds Lab section of the exhibition (see below).

It would be interesting in the future to look at the differences in visitors' perceptions (if there are any) of human skeletons from the local area versus mummified remains from Egypt.

Human remains in the Leeds collection

Leeds
Lab



Decorated cup in the museum collection made from a mounted human skull, 1880-1920, from Tibet, Asia.

© Leeds Museums and Galleries

Leeds Museums and Galleries cares for a diverse collection of human remains. Skeletons, mummies and objects made from human bone, hair and teeth have been a source of fascination and research in the collection for nearly 200 years.

The earliest acquisition of human bone is recorded in the 1833 Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society report as "human skulls... from Cuzco, the ancient capital of Peru". But mummies were collected even earlier; the mummy of the Egyptian priest Nesyamun, on display in the Ancient Worlds gallery, was acquired in 1823, and other mummies came into the collection the following year.

We still collect human remains today in certain circumstances, usually as part of local archaeological excavations.



Figure 3: Panel in the 'Leeds Lab' section of the gallery explaining what is meant by 'human remains'.

2. SUMMARY AND RESULTS OF VISITOR RESEARCH

This report has been compiled using quantitative and qualitative data gathered through written exhibition feedback cards, in-person gallery surveys, and polls through social media, from 315 respondents that represent the (over) 42,000 visitors to the exhibition and beyond. The results relate to the two main questions Leeds Museums and Galleries (LMG) posed during the exhibition:

- Do visitors support museums having and using human remains in their collections?
- Do visitors think that museums should allow the public to take, and share, photographs of human remains on display?

As well as these two questions, a range of other specific issues emerged in the data.

The main results are listed below. All results are expressed as the result over the total number followed by a percentage - e.g. 119/200 (59.5%). The percentage is rounded to the closest decimal point.

Main Results

Question 1: Do visitors support museums having and using human remains in their collections?

Results:

- 221/269 (82.2%): Yes
- 11/269 (4 %): Unsure
- 37/269 (13.8%): No

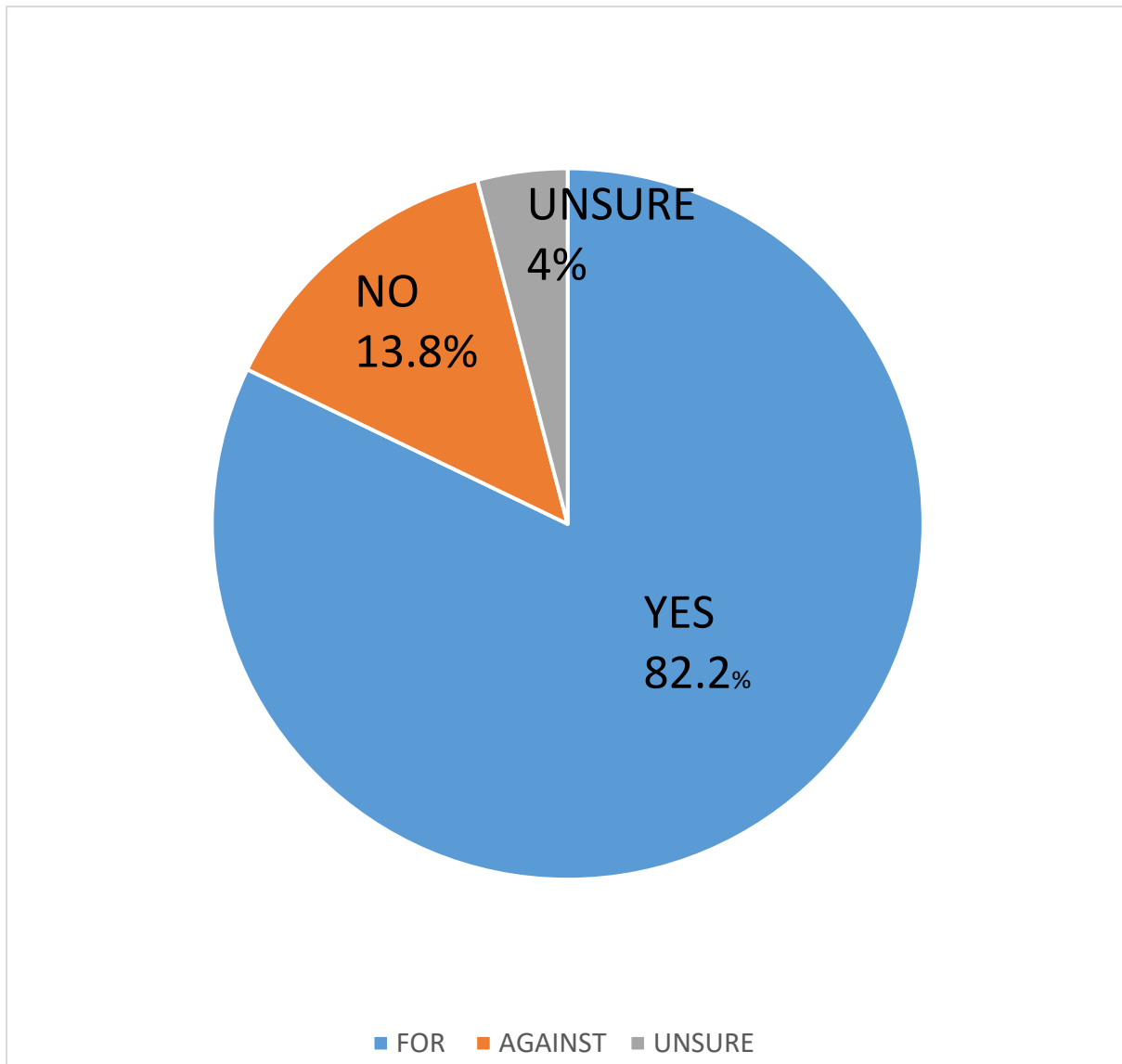


Figure 4: Results of question 'do visitors support museums having and using human remains in their collections?' in pie-chart format.

Question 2: Do visitors think that museums should allow the public to take and share photographs of human remains on display?

Results:

- 33/52 (63.5%): Yes
- 5/52 (9.6%): Unsure
- 14/52 (26.9%): No

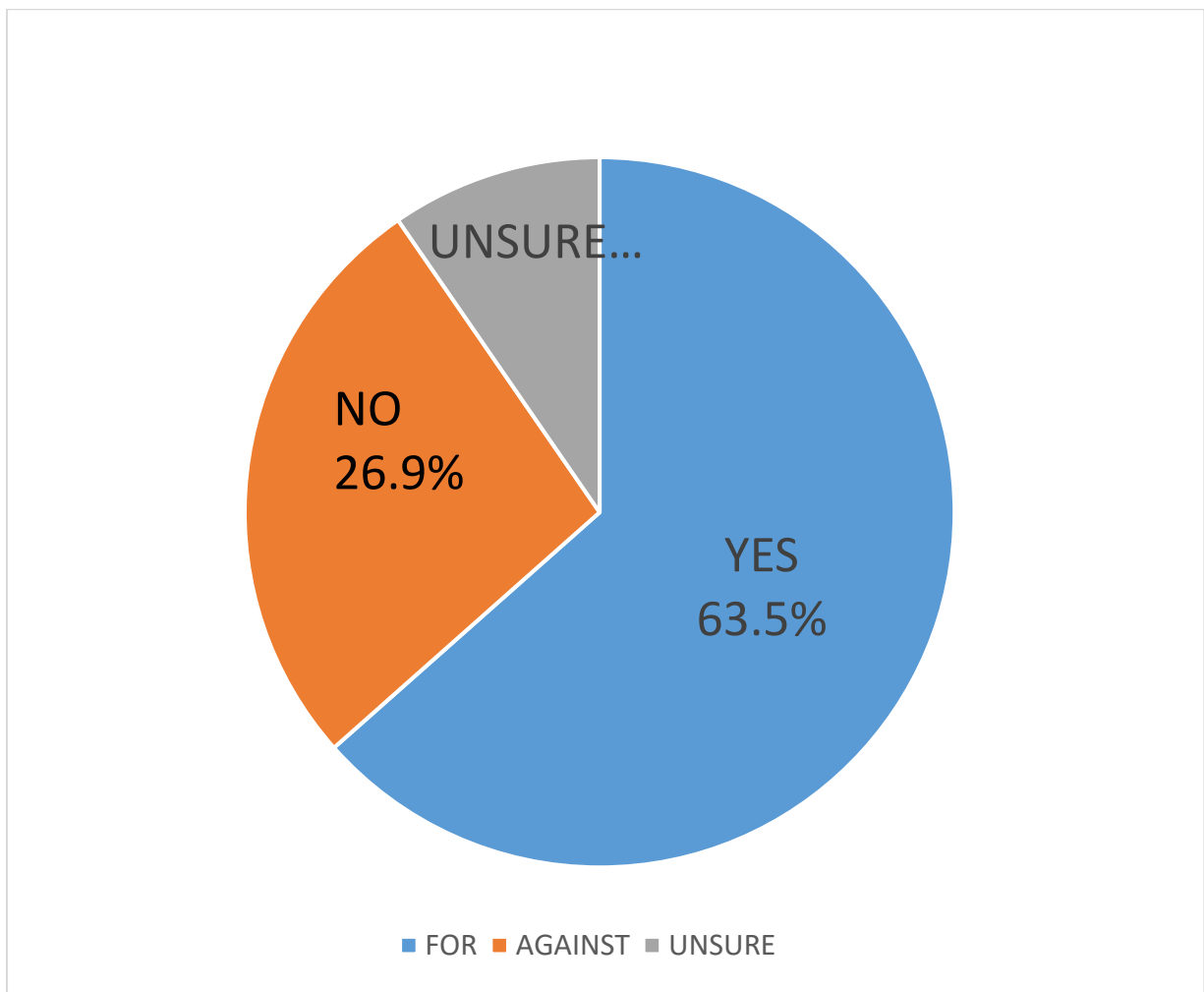


Figure 5: Do visitors think that museums should allow the public to take and share photographs of human remains on display? in pie chart format

Results breakdown by feedback method

Question: How do you feel about museums having, and displaying, human remains?

Feedback cards:

- 142/183 (77.6%) made generally positive comments about the exhibition / human remains in museums
- 30/183 (16.4 %) made generally negative comments about the exhibition / human remains in museums
- 11/183 (6%) made comments that were neither positive nor negative, and often were conflicted, uncertain or not relevant.

Note: There were many caveats within this data - see section 3 for details.

Social media twitter poll:

- 56/60 (93%) said skeletons should be on display.
- 4/60 (7%) said skeletons should not be on display.
- *A second twitter poll looked at knowing the deceased's name - see section 4 for details.*

Questionnaires:

- 23/26 (88.5%) said skeletons should be on display.
- 3/26 (11.5%) said skeletons should not be on display.

Note: There were caveats within this data - see section 5 for details.

Question: Should visitors be allowed to photograph, and share images of, human remains in museum?

Feedback cards:

- 16/183 (61.5%) said photography should be allowed.
- 7/183 (27%) said photography should not be allowed.
- 3/183 (11.5%) said photography should be restricted or they were unsure.

Social media – this question was not directly addressed on a twitter poll.

Questionnaires:

- 17/26 (65.4%) said photography should be allowed.
- 4/26 (15.4%) said that photography should not be allowed.

- 5/26 (19.2%) said they did not know.

While these two questions were the main focus of the research, a number of other issues were explored. Although the overwhelming public support for human remains is evident, many had concerns over:

- the age of the remains (time since death)
- the age at death (adult Vs children's skeletons)
- whether the name of the deceased was known
- what constituted 'respect'
- archaeologists disturbing the dead
- the conflict of feelings around human remains, particularly regarding photography

3. FEEDBACK CARDS

One of the methods visitors could use to leave feedback about ethical issues was through blank feedback cards in the gallery. These were pegged onto a wire underneath two text panels asking specific questions about human remains. The questions were:

- Should museums collect human remains for display and research
- Should we permit photography of human remains on display?

This not only referred to the skeletons on display in the exhibition, but extended to the mummy of the Egyptian priest Nesyamun on permanent display in the Ancient Worlds gallery.



Figure 6: The area of the gallery where visitors could leave feedback © Leeds Museums and Galleries

Blank cards and pencils were made available for the full run of the exhibition. They were collected weekly and transcribed into a document. Cards which were covered in drawings or irrelevant words, or were impossible to read, were discarded.

Feedback was logged, and later numbered, under the broad headings 'supportive comments about the exhibition / human remains in museums', 'negative comments about the exhibition / human remains in museums', and 'UNDECIDED on ethics / miscellaneous' where the ethical questions were either balanced out or not addressed at all. This broad categorisation was useful to give a general overview of how visitors felt about the exhibition, but it masked much of the detail of many of the responses. For example, where a visitor wrote overall supportive comments about human remains in museums but then outlined various reservations.

Should museums collect skeletons?

There are many public benefits of having human remains in the museum collection, including the opportunity for scientific research and education. Connecting with people from the past on display enables us to more fully understand the history of the world and our place within it.

But human remains were once living people like all of us. We don't know how they would feel about being in a museum. Many people argue that keeping human remains in museums is disrespectful.

English Heritage commissioned a survey in 2009 to capture different viewpoints. 91% of respondents supported museums that wished to keep human bones for research and display. There was more concern about the age of the bones (many wanted them to be at least 100 years old) and using bones of people who could be identified by name.

What do you think?

Figure 7: Text on the second panel next to the feedback area of the gallery

In total there were 183 usable responses left on feedback cards in the gallery. Many of these were detailed and very thoughtful, demonstrating that many visitors were keen to expand on the ethical questions raised. Many of those who responded pondered over the different sides of the debate, and some could not decide whether they were ultimately for or against human remains being curated in museums.

Photography of human remains

During this exhibition we are allowing respectful photography of human remains on display.

You can let us know what you think about human remains in museums, and the photography of these remains. This will inform our policy in the future.

How do you feel about museums having, and displaying, human remains?

Should visitors be allowed to take photographs and share images of human remains in museums?

Figure 8: Text on the second panel next to the feedback area of the gallery

Results from feedback cards

Should museums collect human remains for display and research?

General trends

Out of 183 responses:

- 142/183 (77.6%) made generally positive comments about the exhibition / human remains in museums
- 30/183 (16.4 %) made generally negative comments about the exhibition / human remains in museums
- 11/183 (6%) made comments that were neither positive nor negative, and often were conflicted, uncertain or not relevant

These figures act as a general guide but mask the detail of many responses. Some responses made comments about how much they enjoyed the exhibition without making reference to the ethical questions asked. In these instances, the generally positive responses have been recorded as 'for', and generally negative reactions to the gallery have been recorded as 'against', as this can be assumed from their response to the exhibition as a whole. Where a visitor said it was a great exhibition but would, say, prefer casts on display instead of real bones, these comments have been put in the 'negative comments' section because the main question is around human remains being on display.

Respect for human remains

Despite this general support for human remains in museums, many feedback cards contain caveats. Out of the 183 responses, 40 (21.9%) specifically used the word 'respect' or 'disrespect', 'sensitively', 'dignity', 'appropriate', 'ethical', or phrases such as referring to 'sympathy/empathy' or to ensuring the remains were seen as a person and are 'not abused'. This shows that there is a feeling amongst our visitors that human remains are more than museum objects, and that even if they do support human remains being collected and displayed by museums, this should only be done so with special consideration.

Should we permit photography of human remains on display?

General trends

Out of the 183 responses, 26 (14.2%) specifically referred to photography of human remains in museums.

Out of these 26 responses:

- 16/26 (61.5%) thought photography of human remains should be allowed.
- 3/26 (11.5%) were conflicted or thought photography should be restricted to researchers.
- 7/26 (27%) thought photography of human remains should not be permitted.

Sometimes reasons were given for these opinions and sometimes not. Often the comments were part of a longer piece of feedback about the display of human remains as a whole.

It is interesting to note that two people wrote that photography was valid for academic research, but not for the interest or curiosity of general visitors. This echoes several conversations with visitors, which are not officially part of this research.

Other issues raised

Because one of the questions we posed was 'what do you think?', those who chose to respond could write whatever they wanted to. Consequently, the comments reflect a whole range of viewpoints with sometimes conflicting opinions about human remains within a single feedback card. We wanted to capture some of these detailed opinions to see if there was a pattern emerging so the opinions within each comment were broken down into categories.

We have already discussed general positive and negative comments, the notion of respect and photography, which were all specifically addressed in the exhibition. Other themes which emerged were that:

- 44 respondents commented that human remains were important for research, education and learning.
- 27 respondents commented that human remains were important for their historical and archaeological value, with some saying that human skeletons should be treated as archaeological objects.
- 14 respondents commented that human remains were important for science and medicine.
- 13 respondents referred to archaeologists/the museum as disturbing the dead and/or not allowing the dead to rest in peace.
- 8 respondents commented on children visiting the exhibition – 1 thought children should be restricted, while 7 were positive about children visiting the exhibition.
- 7 respondents commented that they would be happy to donate their own skeletons for the purposes of research, education or display.
- 7 respondents thought that the dead person's faith or belief in an afterlife should be taken into account.
- 7 respondents commented on feeling uncertain or conflicted about the issues around human remains in museums.
- 6 respondents thought that human remains in museums should be reburied.
- 5 respondents referred to curiosity, fascination, etc, as not being appropriate/valid.
- 4 respondents specifically commented on lack of consent from the dead or family members.
- 4 respondents mentioned replicas or 3D prints of human skeletons – 3 thought replicas could be displayed and the real skeletons reburied, while 1 respondent had an issue with using replicas.
- 3 respondents commented on allowing a set amount of time to pass between death and the remains being in the museum.
- 2 respondents commented on displaying the remains of children – 1 thought this may be problematic and one thought children's remains should be included.

Yes, I think that museums should show skeletons because it is an essential part of history. As long as they are presented in a respectable way, and it is appropriate and relevant to a particular exhibition or discovery + not just for the sake of morbid fascination.

Figure 9: Example of a feedback card

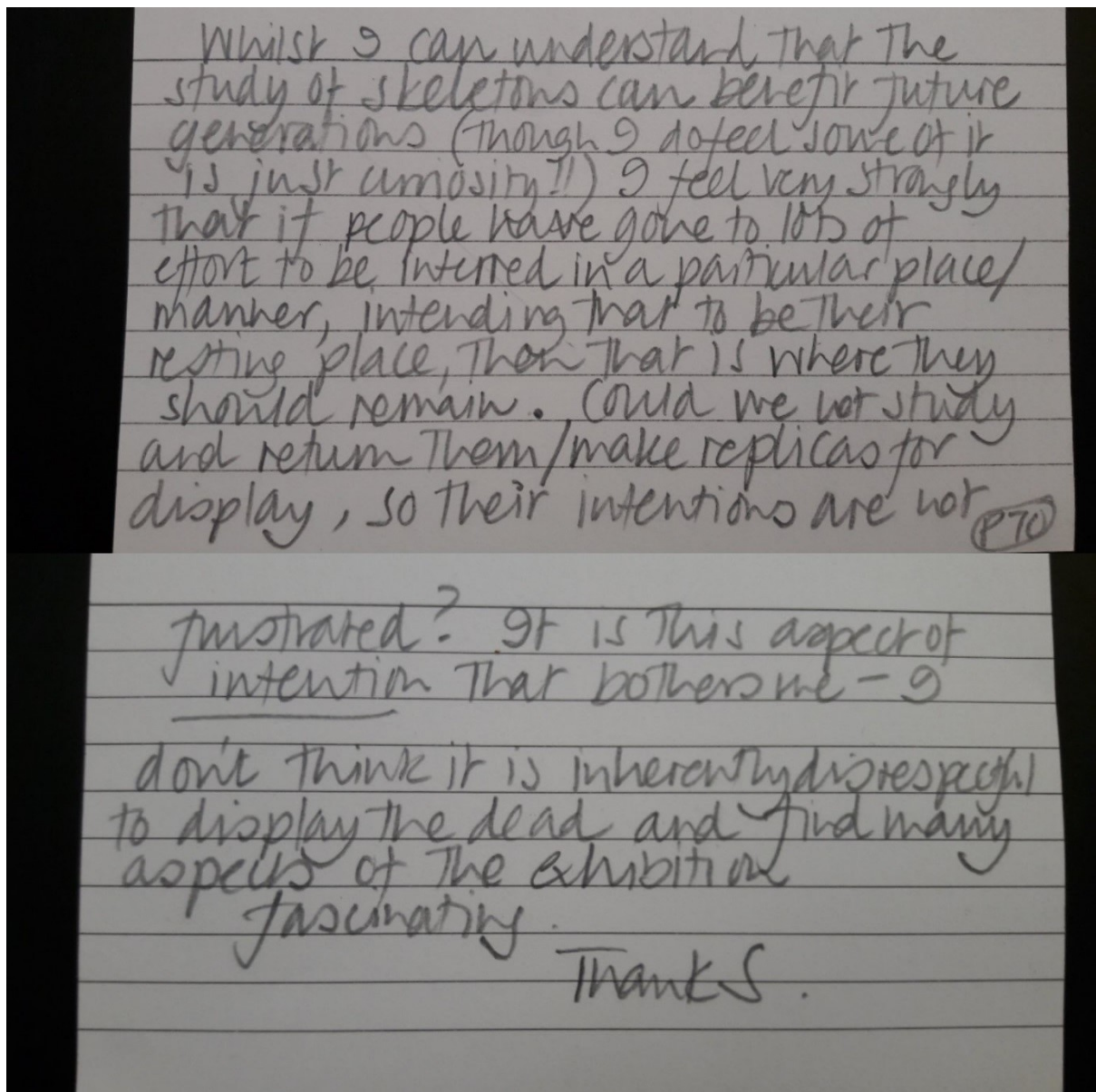


Figure 10: Example of a feedback card

4. SOCIAL MEDIA

Social media was used both to promote the exhibition and to capture visitor responses. It was important to get feedback from those people who had perhaps not chosen to visit the exhibition itself, and to reach a wider audience than the gallery.

The reach of social media is listed below:

- Facebook: 64,263
- Twitter: 44,445
- Instagram: 4917
- **Total Reach: 113,625**

It was impossible to capture everybody's opinion on social media, so for the purposes of this research we have only included the statistics where LMG asked a direct question through a Twitter poll. It is interesting, however, that the vast majority of comments on social media seemed to be very positive about the exhibition.

Facebook

LMG posted questions on Facebook three times asking followers to comment on how they felt about human remains being on display, and each time no comments were left. LMG then encouraged followers to leave comments on the curator's Facebook Live YouTube video online, but again no comments were left. Followers were much more willing to give comments on Twitter and Instagram.

Instagram

No direct questions were asked on Instagram, but the general consensus about the exhibition was positive.

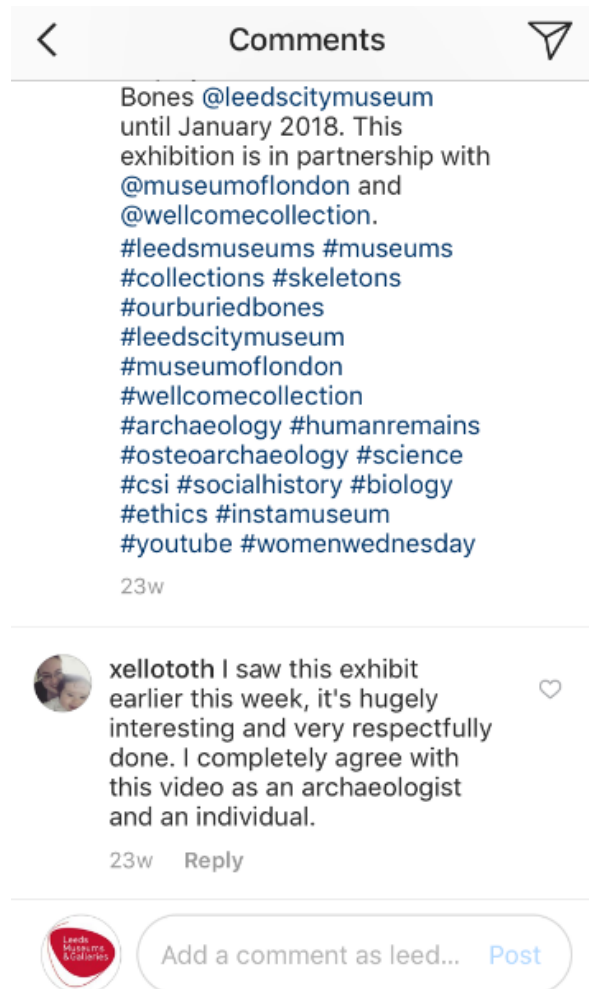


Figure 11: Instagram comment on the exhibit

Twitter poll

LMG asked in a Twitter poll if museums should display human remains, and 60 people responded. The results were as follows:

- 56/60 (93%) said skeletons should be on display
- 4/60 (7%) said skeletons should not be on display



Figure 12: Twitter post asking how followers feel about the exhibit

Another Twitter poll asking whether it matters if you know a person's name or not when displaying human remains was responded to by 46 people. This was a question which was echoed in the questionnaires.

The results were as follows:

- 5/46 (11%) said unnamed people only
- 26/46 (57%) said it was fine whether named or unnamed
- 5/46 (11%) said they disagree
- 10/46 (21%) said they were unsure how they felt

Although these statistics are not counted in the research questions, it is interesting to note that some people do prefer not knowing the names of the human remains on display. It would be interesting to know if visitors feel the same way about knowing the name of the Egyptian mummy Nesyamun.



Figure 13: Twitter poll results

There was also much open-ended discussion on Twitter about the exhibition and ethics around human remains in museums. LMG encouraged people to Tweet using the hashtag **#SkeletonsEthics**.



Figure 14: Twitter comment on the exhibit

Throughout the run of the exhibition staff also kept an eye on social media to see if visitors were taking and sharing any 'disrespectful' photographs in light of allowing photography for the first time. There was no evidence of anything other than sharing images of what you could see in the display.

5. GALLERY QUESTIONNAIRES

The third way that visitors could respond was by taking part in a short survey on the gallery. A University of Leeds History student carried out these surveys.

The gallery questionnaire was based on the English Heritage survey carried out in 2009, but with an added focus on photography, which is one of the areas LMG specifically wanted to explore (see questionnaire in the Appendix). The ten survey questions covered:

- display and research of human remains in museums
- Photography of human remains in museums
- Whether the age of the human remains or knowing the name of the individual affected responses
- whether visitors were interested in museums and archaeology

The survey also captured demographic data about the person's postcode, gender, age and religion.



Figure 15: Visitors in the 'Skeletons' exhibition © Leeds Museums and Galleries

In total 26 people were interviewed on the gallery. This is a lower number than LMG would have liked, but the interviews were held up by various personal factors. But even though the results are limited, they still provide interesting correlations.

Main questionnaire results

Should museums collect human remains for display and research?

- 23/26 (88.5%) said skeletons should be on display
- 3/26 (11.5%) said skeletons should not be on display

Should we permit photography of human remains on display?

- 17/26 (65.4%) said photography should be allowed.
- 4/26 (15.4%) said that photography should not be allowed.
- 5/26 (19.2%) said they did not know.

Key trends

- Most visitors reported that they were frequent visitors of museums (8 said 3 to 4 visits per year, 10 said 5 to 11 visits per year)
- Most said they were 'fairly interested' in archaeology: 13 of 26 respondents. 5 said they were not very interested in archaeology, 4 said 'not at all'.
- Most agreed that museums should be able to display human remains:
 - 13 said yes regardless of the age of the remains
 - 8 said bones should only be displayed if over 100 years old
 - 1 said only if remains were over 1000 years old
 - 3 said no human remains should be displayed
- Nearly all visitors said that they did not object to the remains of children being displayed (18 of 26 respondents), 4 said that adult but not child remains should be displayed, 3 disagreed with any display of human remains.
- For research purposes, 19 respondents said that they agreed with museums keeping human remains for research regardless of age, 3 said only remains over 100 years old should be kept, 1 said only over 1,000 years old should be kept, and 3 said none should be kept at all.

- On photography:
 - 10 said visitors should be free to take photographs and share them as they wish
 - 7 said photography should remain respectful (though many noted that signage should provide some examples or definition of 'respectful photography')
 - 4 said photography should not be allowed at all in galleries containing human remains
 - 5 said they did not know
- Although the number of respondents was small, there was a correlation between not supporting the display, research and photography of human remains in museums and the importance of religion. Of the four responses which were mainly against human remains in museums, two respondents said they were religious (Christian and Buddhist) and that their religion was very important to them, and two preferred not to say if they had a religion. Of the remaining 22 responses which were generally more supportive of human remains in museums, only one said that religion was very important to them (Pagan), and one said that their religion was fairly important to them (Christian).
- There was no correlation between the support of human remains in museums and age of the respondent.
- There was no correlation between the support of human remains in museums and the respondent's level of interest in archaeology and museums.

Summary

The questionnaires reinforced the opinions of visitors captured elsewhere that people are generally in favour of museums having and using human remains for display and research, and generally support allowing photography of human remains. Similar caveats were repeated around the age of the remains (both their age at death and how much time has passed since death), knowing the individual's name, and defining what is meant by 'respect'. Visitors' religious beliefs may be a factor in how people feel about this issue.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

In light of the overall public support for human remains and photography of human remains in Leeds Museums and Galleries, the following recommendations have been made:

- LMG should change their photography policy and allow visitors to take photographs of human remains on display, clearly flagging up that photography should be respectful. This includes changing the signing around the display of Nesyamun.
- LMG should be open to considering using human remains collections in displays where appropriate, with approval of HRWG.
- LMG should promote their human remains collection online when EMuseum is developed, in order to encourage further research, on a case by case basis, with the approval of HRWG.
- LMG should assess the storage of the human remains collection, in order to make the collection more stable and accessible.
- If the opportunity arises in the future, LMG should carry out more visitor consultation to look at the differences in visitors' reactions towards human skeletons in museums Vs mummified human remains in museums.

Stakeholders and Dissemination

This report will be shared across LMG, partners at the Museum of London and the Wellcome Collection, and lenders to the exhibition the University of Sheffield and the University of Bradford. It will also be made available on LMG's website.

Papers on this research have been given at the 'Skeletons, Stories and Social Bodies' conference at Southampton University (March 2018), and 'Death and Culture II' at York University (Sept 2018). Further papers are planned for the Society for Museum Archaeology Conference at University College London (Nov 2018) and Bradford University School of Archaeological and Forensic Sciences (mid 2019).

7. APPENDIX - Gallery questionnaire

INTRODUCTION: We are interested to hear what you think about archaeology and human remains, particularly how human bones from archaeological digs are displayed in museums and used in research.

SECTION 1

Q1: Have you visited the 'Skeletons: Our Buried Bones' exhibition in Leeds City Museum?

1. Yes, this is the first time
2. Yes, more than once
3. No, but intend to
4. No, and don't intend to

Q2: How often do you tend to visit museums?

1. Never
2. Less than once a year
3. Once or twice a year
4. 3-4 times a year
5. 5-11 times a year
6. At least once a month,
7. At least once a week
8. Don't know

Q3: How interested are you in archaeology?

1. Very interested,
2. Fairly interested
3. Not very interested
4. Not at all interested
5. Don't know

SECTION 2

Q4: Museums should be allowed to display human bones as long as this is done sensitively.

Which one of the following best describes how you feel about this statement:

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1. Agree – regardless of how old the bones are
2. Agree – but only if the bones are at least 100 years old
3. Agree – but only if the bones are at least 1000 years old
4. Disagree – they should not be allowed to

Q5: Thinking about this statement again, which of the following best describes how you feel about this statement:

1. Agree – regardless of whether the bones are of named people or not,
2. Agree – but only if the bones are of unnamed people
3. Disagree
4. Don't know

Q6: Museums should be allowed to keep human bones for research purposes as long as this is done sensitively.

Which one of the following best describes how you feel about this statement?

1. Agree – regardless of how old the bones are
2. Agree – but only if the bones are at least 100 years old
3. Agree – but only if the bones are at least 1000 years old
4. Disagree – they should not be allowed to

Q7: Thinking about this statement again, which of the following best describes how you feel about this statement:

1. Agree – regardless of whether the bones are of named people or not,
2. Agree – but only if the bones are of unnamed people
3. Disagree
4. Don't know

Q8: We currently allow visitors to take photographs of human bones and mummies on display in the museum. Do you think this should continue to be permitted?

1. Yes, visitors should be free to take photographs
2. Yes, as long as photography is respectful
3. No it should not be allowed
4. Don't know

Q9: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Displaying human burials and bones in a museum....

1. helps the public to understand how people lived in the past.
2. shows a lack of respect to the dead.
3. helps us to come to terms with our own mortality.
4. appeals to sensationalism rather than intellectual curiosity.

Scale

1. Agree
2. Neither agree nor disagree
3. Disagree
4. Don't know

Q10: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Keeping human bones in museums for research purposes...

1. helps us to find out more about how people lived in the past.
2. shows a lack of respect to the dead.
3. helps us to find out more about disease and find better treatments or cures.
4. does not produce any useful knowledge.

Scale

1. Agree
2. Neither agree nor disagree
3. Disagree
4. Don't know

Q11: Are there any other comments you would like to make about human bones in museums?

Demographics

- Postcode
- Male, female, prefer not to specify

Age:

- 15-24
- 25-34
- 35-44
- 45-54
- 55-64
- 65+
- Prefer not to say

Which religion do you yourself belong to?

- Christian
- Muslim
- Hindu
- Sikh
- Jewish
- Humanist
- Pagan
- Other
- None
- Prefer not to say

Would you describe your religion as:

- Very important
- Fairly important
- Not very important
- Not at all important
- Don't know
- Prefer not to say