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THE MUSEUM AS A REPOSITORY FOR LOCAL IDENTITY AND SOCIAL CAPITAL: AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT IN PERFORMING THE EXHIBITION – TWO CASES FROM ŁÓDŹ

These years cultural institutions of various kinds are debating over similar issues: The decrease of audience numbers and the increase of their age. The audience development strategies looked for in order to handle these challenges are typically concerned with fulfilling the audience's needs with the aim to sell more tickets. Research carried out in this field shows that the level of education is crucial when it comes to attendance rates[1]. With the so-called performative turn in the humanities, researching the exhibition visitor's experience has gained ground in museology and arts studies, the notion of an exhibition as something that is performed with the visitor being the crux. Questions have been raised such as how does the design of an exhibition affect the visitor during the visit and what does the visitor get out of the visit.

It seems rather straight forward: If an institution wants to increase its attendance rate, then the first concern should not be outreaching marketing strategies but the intended outcome of the visit and how to design an exhibition that could produce this kind of experience. However, as research of audience visits to exhibitions have found, exhibitions unfold as events; they are static displays of selected (archival or otherwise obtained) material only so much as they can be arranged – curated in a certain way – to present a conceptualised topic to a visitor. The intention of the curator is only a potentiality of the actual meeting that takes place, physically and cognitively, between the visitor and the exhibited objects. As Canadian curator Bruce Furguson has it, an exhibition is a complex communicative relationship: "...a strategic system of representations"[2], and this problematic relational aspect is taken further by the Danish museologist Bruno Ingemann as he defines the exhibition as being constituted by a meeting "between the physical room of possibilities in the exhibition and the visitor's mental room of possibilities"[3]. In order to stress the performance aspect, one may use concepts developed by performance studies professor Richard Schechner: the curator can only hope that the visitor will behave in accordance with the script that is embedded in the exhibition design[4]. Hence, it is possible to argue that audience development always ought to be an integrated dimension of designing an exhibition.

In this paper we will explore different strategies of exhibition design from the performance studies approach – the exhibition seen staging for the visitor performing the exhibition. Our purpose is not to suggest ways of increasing ticket sales, as we consider this a bi-effect of a well-designed exhibition. We focus on how audience development can be a tool for audience emancipation through design. How can a design allow for social inclusion and thus become a "theatre for development". In this sense the emancipation must strategically rely on the topos or geographical place of the exhibition, in order to speak to the local sense of identity. To make this point we have chosen to analyse two exhibitions in

Łódź that for cultural reasons seem to be either uniquely associated with this city (even Poland) or located in a site that poses interesting possibilities for reaching new attendees. These are namely the Film Museum neighbouring the world-famous Łódź Film School and ms², part of the Museum of Arts in Łódź, which exhibits collections of 20th and 21st Century art next to the central shopping and entertainment venue Manufaktura. From the audience development point of view, these museums have the potential to be repositories for Bourdieusian social capital and local identity, which is readily available to large audiences. Or do they? This question we aim to answer through our exhibition analyses. Thus, the article will both address the quality of the exhibitions from the strategic point of view and contribute to the general discussion of audience development in the museum.

Audience Development

Before we enter the exhibitions, an introduction to audience development is called for. In particular, we will relate it to the somewhat puzzling concept of the "theatre of development".

Audience development is originally a British concept. One of the first researchers, who investigated this field of study systematically, is Nobuko Kawashima (originating from the area of cultural policy studies). She described the British approach by dividing audience development actions into four categories: extended marketing, social inclusion/outreach, taste cultivation, audience education[5]. The first two categories deal with the quantitative aspects of audience development. They are targeting not-easily-reachable audiences ranging from those who have almost never visited any cultural institution to lapsed attendees. The interest of the last two categories lies more within the existing audiences. Here audience development focuses on efforts to cultivate the taste of the audience and present new art forms or endeavours to elevate the understanding and enjoyment of the arts which existing attendees currently consume. With regard to Kawashima's approach, Danish performance design scholar Anja Mølle Lindelof notices "all those aspects taken together show that audience development covers the financial, artistic, social and educational aspects of institutional efforts in order to address the audience in new ways"[6].

What is interesting in our context is the addition of social inclusion as a specific category in Kawashima's understanding of audience development. It is the only one to draw attention to the attendees who are (almost) not visiting any cultural institutions. The assumption behind targeting this audience is that culture should be accessible to all people. It expresses the ideology of culture as being of universal value and its social aim is the democratisation of culture. As Kawashima points out, it "mirrors the Liberal Humanist tradition of British and European cultural policy, which insists on the rights and potential of all individuals to benefit from culture and places a faith in a common culture that transcends the social, political and cultural divisions of the nation"[7]. The stress put on "non-audiences", people who do not feel the need to take part in cultural events, takes institutions to new territories where they focus not only on the arts, but also on the overall social development[8]. In order to make art and culture accessible for everyone, institutions have to gain awareness of the factors that create an unequal participation in the arts and find solutions for various barriers that drive away potential audiences (like ticket prices, geographic distance or the atmosphere in the venues). The design of a museum exhibition, theatre performance or concert, etc., may assist in diminishing those barriers.

If non-attendees are to be firmly included in the audience development spectrum, Lindelof suggests adding a fifth category to Kawashima's four: " theatre for development, in which the aim is not for institutions to reach out, but to empower subaltern communities through the use of theatre methodologies and using their own language and culture to strategize solutions to their problems"[9]. Lindelof draws on the British drama-pedagogue David Kerr's description of theatre for development as a combination of different theatre methodologies, which are being used in order to improve people's quality of life. The term originates in programmes prepared for developing nations and in the beginning focused on rural and "low-tech" theatre, such as Augusto Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed developed in Brazil and Peru in the 1950s and 60s. With the introduction of new media, it spread to radio (dramas) and TV (theatre and soap operas) but covered the same issues as the original theatre for development projects in Third World countries.

Theatre for development focuses on communication with and within subaltern communities and works as a kind of tool for social inclusion through art. In Third World countries it is dedicated to issues important for the local audiences, like feminism, AIDS, or children and youth projects. When compared with Kawashima's view on audience development, especially social inclusion, there are distinctive

similarities. The main goal is to reach subaltern communities through art: To make art and culture more accessible by focusing it on those communities' issues and by speaking to them in their own language. Art becomes an important tool not only for raising cultural awareness and Bildung itself but for addressing social problems as well. Hence, audience development does not only focus on reaching out to audiences, but also on how to empower them.

The evolution of the theatre of development has taken it into other media: radio, television and the Internet. In addition it may be introduced in connection with the arts, since cultural institutions nowadays are dealing with versatile projects, which support a breeding of hybrid forms of expression. It is no longer revolutionary to talk about "performative exhibitions", which conceptually demands the visitor's involvement or intervention[10], or "performance-installations" that combine the theatrical with immersive and interactive environments[11]. The idea of a theatre for development, in this view, can be transplanted to other cultural projects, in this case, museum exhibitions. The idea will remain the same: using the arts in order to empower the audience, but the medial means will change. In a semi-metaphorical sense, the performance studies approach turns the exhibition into a theatre of arts appreciation (cf. the English use of the word theatre in "anatomical theatre", "operating theatre", "theatre of war").

What is more, a theatre for development does not have to focus only on specific subaltern communities. Cultural policies in Europe often consider access to the arts as a way to improve the quality of people's lives in general. This mostly concerns the barriers that different segments have to overcome or negotiate in order to take part in culture. However, when one looks at the list of barriers in which the financial, geographical or those connected with the atmosphere of the institution are the most considerable, there are also other barriers. Surveys have found that most of the potential attendees may at one point of their lives have felt excluded from visiting cultural institutions. Therefore, a theatre for development can be used as a method for developing all audiences, not only subaltern ones.

Within this context, the main questions of our exhibition analyses are, what kind of audience strategy do they employ? How may experienced attendees and new attendees follow the exhibition and relate to it? Finally we hope answer the question as to whether or not the design of the two exhibitions integrate audience development that could emancipate their audiences in terms of local identity and social capital?

The Film Museum

The Film Museum is located at the former palace of Karl Wilhelm Scheibler, a German-born Polish industrialist, businessman and textile manufacturer. The museum's collection consists of films, posters, set designs and puppets for animated films, technical equipment and other memorabilia associated with Polish cinematography. The museum also gives access to the palace and exhibits the story of the Scheibler family and their considerable part in the development of Łódź as an industrial city in the 19th and 20th Century.

The museum entrance is located in a white factory or workshop annex to the palace. Placed next to a park it is quite inconspicuous and easy to miss. When the visitor enters the museum and buys a ticket at the small information desk, s/he is directed to the basement, past a flight of stairs leading up to the museum cinema (which is not solely dedicated to a historical repertoire but also reruns recent releases, Hollywood blockbusters, Polish films and other productions). There are no leaflets or guide for the exhibitions unless asked for. At first, the path leads through a long corridor with movie stills from the beginning of the 20th Century and an old projector halfway along. These exhibits play a rather decorative role since there is no description or explanation about what is being presented. The next corridor is decorated with copperplates presenting people and pieces of equipment connected with film production. However, also here the objects appear to be mainly decorative since there are no text plaques offering information on what the display is about.

This corridor leads to the rooms with the collection "From negative to copy". It presents many different devices for copying and editing and presents a history of editing using big boards on the walls with illustrations of key contributors to its technical development accompanied by text in Polish. The descriptions are linear ordered, quite detailed and include a history of montage as well. It is hard to know which of the machines on display is the one being described on the wall. They seem to be presented rather randomly. When the visitor is standings immediately next to them, the cutting boards almost invite touch and manipulation, but at the same time the exhibition design does not encourage such actions.

After leaving this collection, the visitor walks through a few rooms with old film posters. Within this collection the cafe is located. Again, one gets the impression that the posters are merely decoration for the visitors passing to the next collection, as there are no explanations in this part. The collection is randomly arranged without any evident or implied thematic structure. It may provide casual amusement when one recognises a poster or the film it is associated with, as we did with the poster of Andrzej Wajda's *Panna Nikt* and the Polish poster of Disney's *Snow White*.

The poster display leads to the ground floor, where visitors suddenly enter a very different space. This is the first floor of the palace with its elaborately decorated rooms and exhibits devoted to the former owners of the palace, the Scheibler family. We experienced this as an abrupt shift of setting, as if travelling through time and space. It is like stepping out of context because on this floor there are no film exhibits. The interiors and text and photo displays tell the story of the mid-nineteenth century palace, which was rebuilt in 1886 1888 into the form of the present neo-renaissance style. What is on exhibition here are the elements which have survived in relatively good condition: the stucco decoration, tiled stoves, painted decoration, wooden panelling and furniture, the fabrics of furniture coverings, wallpapers, mosaics, floors and stained-glass windows. The exhibition continues through a few rooms decorated in the style of the epoch, with display boards on the history of Łódź and the Scheibler family. Visitors may read the texts (all in Polish) or just look at the historical pictures or take in the atmosphere of this extraordinary place. Beside the name of the building "The Film Palace" there is no connotation with the film industry. The museum webpage describes this section of the museum in the following way: "These [elements of the decoration – our addition] constitute an authentic exhibition of the city's industrial historic past during the years of its birth and development and also refer to the history of Polish cinema: in the post-war years the palace often changed ownership and its interiors were often used as film studios"[12]. However, the exhibition itself does not include this existing connection with local film production.

From the industrial times visitors go to the first floor to see a temporary exhibition on *Ida*, the Polish movie, which most remarkably won the 2015 Oscar for Best Foreign Language Film, the first Polish movie to ever do so. There, visitors may have a look at movie memorabilia: posters from different countries, awards (several in addition to the Oscar), selected scenes from the script, interviews with the artists, reviews, stills, location studies, etc. There is no specific sequence in which to see the material, although each room is dedicated to the afore-mentioned themes. All the exhibits in their non-linear order create an impressionistic take on the movie and present different aspects of its production, distribution and reception. Everything is described in both Polish and English. All the rooms in this collection are painted grey – and in that way the ambience of the black-and-white movie is conveyed.

On the same floor there are other collections being exhibited: set designs and puppets from the animated movie *Flying Machine* and the exhibition "A Contemporary of the Cinematograph. The magic of séances in stereoscopy". *Flying Machine* is a story about a journey in the footsteps of the Polish composer, Frederic Chopin: the piano inhabited by his soul becomes a flying machine and takes two children for a journey across Europe. The film was the largest European animated production realized in 2011. At the museum one may walk through a Parisian street with the flying piano and character dolls. It shows what the set of this kind of animated production is like. However, in the room there is no information about the exhibition, its purpose and reasons for showing it in Łódź.

"A contemporary of the cinematograph. The magic of the séances in stereoscopy" presents different 3D devices from early film history till today, though randomly arranged. The showpiece is an original photoplasticon. On the walls one may find a few descriptions of the presented objects and explanations of how they worked. Everything is in Polish. There is not enough historical information to track the history of the technological development and no reason given for exhibiting this collection. The photoplasticon is installed in an all too small room with its contemporary press coverage to show how the public received it. One can barely walk along the wall to read the texts or really appreciate the huge apparatus it in its entirety.

The third floor is devoted to stop motion animation. There are an overwhelming number of dolls and movie sets presented and in no discernible order, which adds confusion to the experience. There is no designated or implied path to follow, or conceptual take on the exhibited objects to suggest how to reflect upon them. The plaques present the titles of the movies in Polish, but no information is given about these movies or their production. One is left guessing about them and the significance of this major and possibly unique collection: Why is it here? What is the story? Has it something to do with a specialisation in stop motion animation at the Łódź Film School? There are a few installations which seem to be prepared especially for children: some models which children could possibly use for drawings and a piece of set decoration representing an animal's mouth through which children may crawl; but there is no information about the activities that children may partake in. The exhibits are mostly behind glass or placed at a distance from the paths so it is obvious that visitors may not interact with them.

The last parts of the exhibition are presented on the ground floor behind the Scheilblers' interiors and entitled "The miracle of animated photography" and "Movie set mysteries". They present many kinds of cameras, the turning points of film history, biographies of important inventors and a blue screen studio set-up in which on a monitor visitors may see themselves being recorded by the camera and imposed against a digital image backdrop. This is the one of the few explicitly performative exhibits in the museum. There are many descriptions placed on the walls of this section, again all in Polish. What is lacking is a description of the whole collection to explain why it has been put on display.

Considering the topos or geographical location of the Film Museum in Łódź within close vicinity to the Film School and the fact that there has been and still are, considerable film production activities taking place in and around the city, there is a potential for selecting, acquiring or borrowing archival material for exhibitions that could speak to and create awareness of this local context. This we did not see explored in the exhibitions. Most prominently this possibility exits in the interiors of the Scheibler palace which (paradoxically) is the part that the new museum attendee would associate the least with film production, despite its colloquial name "The Film Palace". The fact that it has been used as a film studio to reflect for instance, the industrialisation in Łódź in such a well-known film (later made into a TV-series) as Wajda's *The Promised Land*, makes us wonder why curators have not considered this obvious possibility in order to connect with the local audience. As it is, one has to look specifically for any relation to film production in the exhibited texts about the Scheiblers and their palace, to find a very brief mention of the palace's post-war use as a studio. Exhibitions about the use of the interiors during other productions besides Wajda's could be interesting too, not only from a local film history point of view, but also in order to offer practical insights into the use of real location if a fully equipped film set with lights, camera, microphones, booms, etc., were installed in one of the rooms. The museum obviously has a lot of technical equipment in its collections for making such an exhibition. One could also imagine temporary exhibitions that thematically or associatively connect to the history of the palace and its interiors such as the role of movie benefactors given the fact that industrialists (if not in Łódź then elsewhere) often were patrons of the arts, or to historical movies that would relate to its neo-renaissance décor.

Another potential for connecting with the local audience is shown by the large collection of stop-motion animation objects. It would not take much effort to reorganise this part of the museum into a very engaging exhibition that would connect to and inform the visitor about the activities of the Łódź animated films studio, Se-ma-for, which is one of the oldest studios in Europe. During the 65 years of its existence, there have been produced 1450 animated movies and 2 of them have won an Oscar for animated short films (in 1982 and 2008). As it is this history is lost on the visitor.

In general the Film Museum exhibits are not informative enough and there is a need for more thematic focus of the exhibition designs. In Ingemann's conception of the exhibition, the typical effect of the current displays in the Film Museum is the creation of too many possibilities between the physical exhibition and the visitor's mental room of possibilities, resulting in an impressionism, which might only appeal to the film buff.

ms²

ms² is located in the historic building of a 19th Century weaving plant, in the periphery of Manufactura, the large shopping and entertainment centre in Łódź, next to the huge Andels hotel. The four-story museum building is visible from the entrance to the main shopping mall, sporting its iconic ms² logo on the corner of its roof and with huge banners attached to the walls. Its location seems to offer easy access to an experience of modern art to the many that do their shopping in the mall, as well as tourists who come to see Manufactura for its historical buildings or stay at Andels hotel. It is placed there as an annex of the nearby Museum of Arts in Łódź (ms[1]) and the locus of the exhibition "Collection of 20th and 21st Century Art".

The museum's main feature, besides its interesting topos, is the engaging way in which the objects within its collection are presented. Instead of a chronological order representing various periods and movements, the works of art are arranged into themes and motifs relevant to a contemporary public. The exhibition is presented on three floors and the title "Atlas of Modernity" is a tell-tail sign of its organisational concept with its connotations of geography, mapping, overview, travel, etc., applied to the abstract concept of a phase in the development of society and art. As director of the museum, Jarosław Suchan, writes in the preface to the exhibition's folder: "The 'atlas' appearing in the title defines best

the structure of the exhibition: it is an unusual collection of 'maps', each describing the topography of a different territory of modernity"[13]. Every floor presents a few themes that reflect different concepts connected to modernity. Different genres and authors are mixed, paintings, installations and sculptures are standing next to each other, themes are not strictly observed, they invite the visitor to create a narrative rather than present closed chapters.

The first floor opens with a large text board describing the theme of the exhibition "Atlas of modernity". It explains the term modernity: "An age whose origins some associate with the French Revolution and the Enlightenment ideals of reason and progress, while others relate it to the industrial revolution and the development of capitalism. It is also a state of mind: a strong sense of one's own subjectivity and the autonomy of the individual in relation to the community..." The idea behind the collection is unfolded, the non-linear, thematic-metonymic structuring principle, which might prepare/ inspire the visitor to go on her/his own journey into the proposed mental topography of modernity.

All of the themes are distributed all over the three floors. The first floor has three themes: Museum, Autonomy and Capital. On the second floor one may find Experiment, Propaganda, Machine, City and Progress. On the third floor Norms and Standards, Catastrophe, Tradition, The Self, Emancipation and Revolution are being presented. Descriptions of every one of them are placed on the walls in Polish and English. Every description of a theme is accompanied by a map at the bottom of the plaque, showing which part of the exhibition belongs to it. Even though there are no sharp borders between the sections of the exhibition, it is possible to follow the development of the themes and at the same time they all connect and fluctuate. The descriptions consist of definitions of every theme. These main guiding descriptions are supplemented with elaborated presentations of some artists' works in the various sections, but not all. This may assist interpretation of particular pieces and inspire reflection on the whole collection.

Every exhibit is presented with a title, name of the artist, technique and QR code, which refers to the individual work. Using the code to access further information with an app on your mobile may appeal to younger visitors. We did not. Instead we relied on the fewer longer descriptions. For example for *Centaur* by St. Ruby (an experimental film), *We are not afraid* by Les Levine (a poster showing a young couple, part of an exhibition in Łódź from 1981), *Vehicle* by Krzysztof Wodiczko (design and model of a vehicle constructed by the artist) or *Art = Capital* by Joseph Beuys (description of this slogan used by the artist). Those descriptions add more to the understanding and interpretation of the art, but they seem to be rather random and come up as a surprise.

There is also a local connection in the exhibition as famous modernist artists from Łódź are represented. Katarzyna Kobro, a Polish sculptor of Russian, Latvian and German origin, married to Władysław Strzemiński, member of the a.r. (Real Avant Garde) group founded in Łódź, of which the International Collection of Modern Art – one of the best collections of its time in Europe and which became the most important collection of the Arts Museum in Łódź – is represented and mentioned in connection with three themes: Autonomy, The Self, and Revolution. Władysław Strzemiński, one of the initiators of creating the collection of modern art in the Muzeum Sztuki in Łódź, member of a.r. (Real Avant Garde) group, co-founder and lecturer at the State Higher School of the Visual Arts (SHSVA) in Łódź, is represented and mentioned seven times: in the introduction, under Museum, Autonomy, Norms and Standards, Catastrophe, and Revolution.

All together the exhibition is interesting in the way it creates a metonymy between the cognitive level, theme and topography plus the actual navigation through the exhibition (using the maps); in this way the concept of the exhibition is bodily internalised in performing it. Here the curatorial script is truly embodied in the possibilities of navigation that the exhibition architecture and the organising of objects allow for: the behaviour intended by the curator is readily restored. The principle of assemblage (itself a late modernistic concept) in the way the materials are brought together without immediately or explicitly connecting, creates cognitive blanks in the mapping that invite the attendee to fill them in. Probably the exhibition becomes progressively interesting the more you know about history and culture, but even visitors who are not that informed might get an illuminating overview and performative experience of modernity. The descriptions, however, are not always easy to follow and the connotations are not that obvious, but mostly they make sense, e.g. we have Norm and Standards, The Self and Emancipation next to each other. This exhibition design appeals to the visitor to engage, explore and immerse her/himself in the collection and spend time in the museum, to see every floor in order to look for connections. This ideal visitor following the curator's script might not sound like the typical shopper going to Manufaktura and probably s/he is not – art consumption does not equal consumerism; but none the less there is a subtle parallel between the restored behaviour in the exhibition and the restored behaviour in the shopping mall: both patterns of behaviour describe an eclectic navigation between thematic sections, in Manufaktura between the different shops each representing themes of e.g. food, shoes, clothes, electronics and each shopper's path make up for a narrative of shopping. In parallel, the exhibition attendee's path forms

a narrative of modernity. Even if the narratives are thematically different, they structurally resemble each other and come close to Schechner's concept of performance, which is the "twice restored behaviour"[14] of (everyday or fictional) life; the visitor not only restores the pattern of behaviour pre-scripted by the curator, which is reminiscent of the modernist flâneur's path through the city topography, but s/he also restores the similar behaviour that is embedded in the shopper's path. The connection might not occur to every visitor, yet it is embodied there and may ease the experience of a first-time attendee.

Conclusion

We have aimed to answer the question: Does the design of the two exhibitions integrate audience development in a way that will emancipate their audiences in terms of local identity and social capital? Breaking it down into two questions, in what sense may we perceive the two museums as repositories for local identity? And for social capital? There are no categorical answers to these questions; to answer them more fully we would have had to make qualitative surveys of audience experiences. However, since we have focused on the design of the exhibitions, we can evaluate these in terms of their potential extrapolated from our own experiences.

We understand a repository in its colloquial meaning to be a place where things are deposited or stored. Therefore, the two museum buildings and their history have to be included in the evaluation. They are not newly constructed custom-made museums, but old buildings, which are intimately related to the history of Łódź: factories and an industrialist's palace. These are constant reminders of the city's past. In both museums the collections and the ways they are presented or could be presented pose possible connections for the visitor to make to the city outside. These connections may be seen as factors for the formation of local identity; through the exhibitions and their objects and themes, one may have one's identity as an inhabitant of Łódź confirmed. Furthermore, the locations of the museums are ideal for emphasizing these relationships and this is actively explored by ms². This is done partially by presenting local artists as significant persons in the Polish modernist movement, although most surprisingly through the exhibition's thematic-metonymic organisational principle reflecting the contemporary behaviour in the next-door shopping mall. Thus, ms² achieves a performative exhibition format that may help to develop its audience in making identification with the museum easier; one may feel at ease with this kind of experience.

Local identity means having a sense of belonging to the local community. To gain access to or to develop this sense of belonging requires social capital. Pierre Bourdieu understands capital as "accumulated labour (in its materialized form or its 'incorporated', embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labour"[15]. Capital may then be acquired through one's experience with, one's labour of, in this case, going to the museum. Social capital refers to having access to or being a member of a group.

> These relationships may exist only in the practical state, in material and/or symbolic exchanges which help to maintain them. They may also be socially instituted and guaranteed by the application of a common name (the name of a family, a class, or a tribe or of a school, a party, etc.) and by a whole set of institutional acts designed simultaneously to form and inform those who undergo them; in this case, they are more or less really enacted and so maintained and reinforced, in exchanges[16].

Going to the museum may confirm one's relationship to the culturally active group, but it is the possibility to mentally connect to the city through the exhibited objects that may allow one to recognize visiting the exhibition as being an inhabitant of the city. The recognition of belonging to a group, i.e. having social capital, is essential for audience development. If the exhibition generates social capital through its relationship to the city it may appeal to both the attendees and the non-attendees' urge to belong and possibly to a sense of taking pride in the cultural and artistic inheritance of one's city – a shared ownership and hence the basis for social relations.

EDNOTS

1 Geir Vestheim, "Cultural policy and democracy: an introduction," *International journal of cultural policy,* no. 18 (5) (2012): 493–504.
2 Bruce Ferguson, "Exhibition Rhetorics: Material speech and utter sense," in *Thinking about Exhibitions,* ed. by Reesa Greenberg, Bruce Ferguson & Sandy Nairne (London: Routledge, 1996), 178.
3 Bruno Ingemann, "Den besøgende. Social identitet, læring og oplevelse – en metodisk discussion," in *Udstillinger mellem focus & flimmer,* ed. by Elisabeth Bodin & Johanna Lassenius (Copenhagen: Multivers, 2006), 86.
4 Richard Schechner, *Between Theater and Anthropology* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 37.
5 Nobuko Kawashima, *Beyond the division of attenders vs. non-attenders: a study into audience development in policy and practice* (Coventry: Centre for Cultural Policy Studies, University of Warwick, 2000), 8.
6 Anja Mølle Lindelof, "Audience development and its blind spot: a quest for pleasure and play in the discussion of performing arts institutions," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* no.21 (2) (2015): 202.
7 Kawashima, *Beyond the division...,* 19.
8 See: Bourdieu's description of school system and cultural institutions in reproducing notion of legitimate taste: Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).
9 Anja Mølle Lindelof, "Audience development...", 203.
10 For instance, the ABBA Museum in Stockholm.
11 Theatre groups like Danish-Austrian SIGNA and British Punchdrunk uses this format.
12 The Film Museum webpage, accessed 1.IV.2015, http://www.kinomuzeum.pl/index.php?action=muzen.
13 Jarosław Suchan, "Atlas of Modernity," accessed 20.III.2015, http://msl.org.pl/static/upload/atlas-nowoczesnosci-issuu-ang.pdf.
14 Schechner, *Between Theater…,* 36.
15 Pierre Bourdieu "Forms of Capital," in: *Cultural Theory: An Anthology,* ed. by Imre Szeman, Timothy Kaposy (Hoboken, N.J.: John Wiley & Sons, 2010), 81.
16 Ibidem, 86.

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