Chapter 1 – Performance of the everyday

Chapter Introduction

A few years ago, I missed a flight for the first time in my life. I told the taxi driver I was running late to the airport, and he raced along the motorway, only to get his tire punctured in the rush. I still managed to pass security, check-in my bag, go through passport control, but once I had got to the boarding gate, it had closed. A security officer walked me back through these several areas of the airport, from passports through to the check-in area, through temporary paneling and partitions, unlocking doors I had never noticed before.

I felt I was almost performing the actions we go through when we board a plane, but in reverse. I saw the airport like I had never seen it before – with spaces multiplying behind closed doors, almost like a series of backdrops and stage 'wings'. The security officer and I were walking against the flow of people, clearly attracting their attention. Almost like in a procession, I was individually escorted through a crowd and scrutinized by multiple gazes and reached the starting point, where I was invisible again. For the first time, I saw an airport as a site of a continuous performance.

The area of study of 'the performance of the everyday' frames ordinary human actions as structured, expressive, and ritualistic behaviours that can be analysed using a performance lens (Schechner 2002)[1]. In this thesis, I use the idea of

[1] The concept of the 'performance of the everyday' approach traces its roots to Turner, in his investigation of

'performance' as an analytical lens used to expose the invisible architectures, social scripts, and spatial choreographies of everyday life. In performance studies, performativity[2] is the ability of speech or actions to produce change or to have an effect on the reality around us – how we live, how we relate to one another, and the possibilities we have for that in the future. Each of the single actions from the moment of entering an airport through to when we board the plane, have the power to allow us to get on a flight, or not. We may almost see these as performative actions: the inability to perform any of these affects how we proceed to the next stage of action and, therefore, to board a flight.

When walking around the city, we read and follow visible signs and pathways – for example, road signs, public notices, commercial advertising. We also follow internalised or acquired knowledge of social customs of behaviour in a public space. During the Covid-19 pandemic, visible signs and invisible rules of physical behaviour became more visible and acquired a new relevance for many people. Physical proximity or distance truly became a matter of life and death – the simple act of being close to another person could lead to a potentially fatal disease (Kourlas, 2020). We are all too familiar with some of these experiences – feeling a sense of threat and anger when a jogger runs close past us as while we walk down the street, worrying about them exhaling near you; in the supermarket, hearing other people huffing and puffing as you get too close to them to reach out to a product on the shelf; on public transport, staring inquisitively at the person who is not wearing a face mask, or being stared at if you have forgotten yours.

'social dramas' (Turner, 1982) and to several authors I refer to extensively in this thesis: Goffman (1956), De Certeau (1984), Butler (1988 & 1990) and Schechner (1988 & 2002).

[2] First advanced by philosopher of language J.L. Austin (Austin, 1962). The concept has been adopted and interpreted by several authors in performance studies, including the influential reading of the concept by Judith Butler (Butler, 1990).

During the Covid-19 lockdown periods, many of us took part in online video calls, and became more aware of the choreography of these interactions – with the interplay between looking at the image of themselves in the video, at

the other person on the line, muting/unmuting the microphone, switching off the camera and starting to do another activity while still on the line. In *Essays on the Blurring of Art and Life* (Kaprow, 1993) artist Allan Kaprow speaks about the performative qualities of everyday actions and suggests to script everyday situations, framing them as performance 'ready-mades' (Kaprow, 2003, p.188). He specifically gives the example of a telephone call, with the pauses, silences, nuances in the tone of voice in the conversation, the actions reaching quickly to the phone receiver, or slowly, scratching an itch or doodling while on the line, are not casual and are often revealing of emotions.

Other physical interactions in a public place, both at the time of the pandemic and prior to it, reveal more subtle dynamics. For example, the strange and awkward play of giving way to another person when walking down a corridor or narrow pathway or an alley. Our choices of movement are negotiated in our mind in such a short time, that it is almost impossible to take notice or remember having taken those decisions and why. In *Essays on the Blurring of Art and Life*, Kaprow attempts to script the movement of a moment of minimal movement between three people as they negotiate going through a door (Kaprow, 2003, pp.181-194).

As Kaprow points out, 'the performance of everyday routines, of course, is not really the same as acting a written script, since conscious intent is absent' (Kaprow, 2003, p.187). I read Kaprow here to mean that, although everyday movement can be seen as performance routines, these are not carried out with the intention of performing.

Rather, they reflect scenarios that 'are learned and practiced over lifetime' (Kaprow, 2003, p. 187), using a vocabulary that often draws back to our learnt physical behaviour since childhood. One example Kaprow brings is table manners.

In this thesis, I analyse everyday movement in the institutional space of the museum. At public-facing level, I am curious about the movement of visitors, in relation to more or less explicit forms of directing movement, and I refer to these as ‘scores’. These may be tangible – for example museum maps, signs, labels, panels, audio-guides, front-of-house staff – or inherent or implicit. I identify the latter in two ways. On the one hand, there are codes of socio-physical behaviour belonging to the museum as a public space, for example, walking slowly and speaking quietly. On the other hand, each visitor will have their own ideological, cultural and personal preconceptions about the specific museum they are visiting and, also feelings and beliefs about museums as institutions that are derived from the collective imaginary. All these elements shape and influence how bodies move in such spaces and, as a consequence, affect our thought.

In this first chapter, I aim to demonstrate how the museum can be seen as a site of continuous performance by referring to literature on everyday movement produced in performance studies, or texts from other disciplines that have been influential in this field. I initially introduce the ideas of resistance and social codes of physical behaviour, drawing on Andrew Hewitt and Judith Butler (Hewitt, 1995; Butler, 1988), both of which are a fundamental theoretical premise to my research. I then link these ideas to sociologist and philosopher Pierre Bourdieu’s ideas of the *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977) and cultural capital, and discuss his theories’ legacy in museum studies. Bourdieu’s ideas provide a springboard to contextualise one of my PhD aims to

investigate the mechanisms of exclusion that are founded in institutional operations.

Subsequently, I outline how the performance of the self plays out during the museum visit, in a complex interplay between public and private spheres. In close relation to this, I explain in what ways my research connects to a ‘spatial practice’ approach (Lefebvre, 1974; De Certeau, 1984; Rendell, 2007) as it aims at revealing hidden or latent social and cultural power dynamics present in the act of museum visiting. At the end of the chapter, I refer to Richard Schechner’s descriptors of performance (Schechner, 1988) to reflect on the determiner of time in the museum as a site of continuous performance. Finally, by referencing the discourse on immaterial labour, and recent theories on temporality in museums and art galleries, I highlight different qualities of the act of museum visiting and visitor attention modes.

Social Choreography: Conforming and Resisting

Everyday movement is not only learnt, practised and performed, but it is also ‘pre-scripted ideologically' (Hewitt, 1995, p.15): it is revealing of social structures, acquired patterns and social motives. In line with Hewitt’s analysis of ‘social choreography’, which spans literature, philosophy and history, I believe everyday movement is not a metaphor or representation of social order. Rather, movement is a means by which we navigate, shape and rehearse social order. In distinguishing different forms of performance, such as play, sport, ritual and the dramatic arts, Richard Schechner (Schechner, 1988, p.15) proposes that through performance, in a similar way to sports and games, people express their social behaviour. Schechner proposes that in theatre, games and sports have a framework of rules within which there is a certain freedom to express social motives and dynamics. To an extent, everyday movement in a public space is also framed within a set of more or less

explicit rules.

Visitor movement in a museum may not seem as a complex subject of study as it is often limited to very minimal and extremely simple physical acts such as walking, standing, looking. With reference to a prolific academic discourse across performance, literature and philosophy on gesture and on the act of walking (Butler, 1988, Agamben, 1993, Hewitt, 2005), I start from a consideration of visitor movement as profoundly connected to internalised codes of behaviour and societal needs and beliefs. I then relate this analysis to the museological debate stemming from Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* as theorised in *Distinction: A Social Critique in the Judgement of Taste* (Bourdieu, 1976) – an unspoken wealth of heritage inscribed into people's bodies and mind at birth and during upbringing – so subtle, fluid and ever-changing that it is difficult to discern, and yet deeply affecting the human being and their interaction with others, especially when in public.

According to Andrew Hewitt's analysis (Hewitt, 2005), gesture contributes to solidify social and cultural identities and conform to norms of behaviour and, by doing so, it sets the preconditions for ruptures and deviations. In this framework, actions such as stumbling or laughter occur at a junction between the mental and the somatic: they are at once anti-social and, at the same time, rely on a social community as their precondition to be perceived as ruptures (Hewitt, 2005, p.231). Hewitt then goes on to identify not only gesture, but specific ways of walking, as a way to contain the body within the boundaries of a social norm.

Similarly, Judith Butler explains[3] how it is through stylized gestures and acts,

[3] In her analysis (1988), Butler quotes several authors in feminist studies including Marleau-Ponty, De Beauvoir, Foucault.

practiced since childhood and through repetition, that gender norms are constructed and perpetuated. In line with Bourdieu and Hewitt, she maintains that what is perceived as physiological or biological dispositions are indeed learnt behaviours and attitudes. For example, women are taught to sit crossing their legs. Quoting anthropologist Victor Turner and his concept of 'ritual social drama'[4], Butler emphasizes how repetition is key to the performance of gender and so is its public nature, and these two combined act as legitimation.

Nonetheless, Butler argues, 'the body is not passively scripted with cultural codes, as if it were a lifeless recipient of wholly pre-given cultural relations' (Butler, 1988, p.156). Here again, I am interested in the tension between internalized codes of behaviour and the possibility of resistance, and how this is manifested through the body. Butler uses the idea of 'script', to explain:

> 'Just as a script may be enacted in various ways, and just as the play requires both text and interpretation, so the gendered body acts its part in a culturally restricted corporeal space and enacts interpretations within the confines of already existing directives' (*idem*, p.156).

Despite the set conditions, the limitations or 'confines' (*idem*, p.521) that the social arena and physical conditioning, the body is 'a continual and incessant materializing of possibilities' (*idem*, p.521) to be continually realised. Later in this thesis, and with reference to the practice research element of this project, I will demonstrate that, as the script of everyday movement is mostly not intentionally performed[5], the very act of pointing to that script – of raising awareness of the body's possibility to divert from

[4] Butler quoting Victor Turner (1974), *Dramas, Fields, Metaphors*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press
[5] 'the performance of everyday's routines, of course, is not really the same as acting a written script, since conscious intent is absent', Kaprow, 2003, p.187

it – constitutes itself a form of resistance.

Butler also theorised the possibility of gesture and everyday movement to become a weapon of outright political protest, collective or individual. She famously exemplified a performative act in Rosa Parks' brave refusal to move seats on the bus in the context of the 1950s African American racial segregation (Butler, 1997 and Butler, 2015). Butler also wrote about mass protest in support of the 2011's series of uprisings linked to the Arab Spring and the Occupy movements, highlighting the force of unitary action of bodies taking over the street (Butler, 2011). Here, Butler explains how the very presence of bodies in a public space - a space where these bodies are not expected to 'appear' (Butler, 2011, p.3) next to the other - causes the distinction between the public and the private sphere to collapse, and therefore constitutes in itself an act of protest. In instances where the body of those who are normally excluded from participation to political action and discourse – the stateless, the occupied, the defranchised (*idem*, p.5) – appears in a public space, a further statement is made through that appearance: that of exercising the 'right to have rights' (*idem*, p.5).

In contrast with Butler's vision of resistance as political rupture, publicly manifested in the streets, Michel De Certeau's idea of creative resistance through everyday movement is intimate, subtle, without declaration, woven into the ordinary movements of daily life. In a passage that is strikingly relevant to both dance and visitor research from *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), De Certeau defines 'turns' or turning as stylistic figures of the act of walking (De Certeau, 1984, p.100) arguing that, through walking, the walker manifests their own 'fundamental way of being in the world' (Idem, p.100). He also equates styles of walking to figures of

speech, to emphasize the possibility of 'going against' the direction of a walk and the meaning of words – with this analogy itself playing with the word 'sens' ('sense' or 'meaning' of words and 'direction' of a movement or walking (*idem*, p. 103).

In the fields of urbanism and psychogeography the possibility of the body – collective and individual – to make a detour and draw 'lines of desire' ('lignes de désir', Bachelard, 1958) outside or beyond the pathways outlined by the city scape marks a possibility for resistance. A vivid example of this is the trail in a public park formed by means of people deciding to walk beside and away from the pre-established pathway. This idea has been taken into the practice and theory of urbanism to develop behavioural architectural modelling. Elena Dorato and Gianni Lobosco from the University of Ferrara in Italy, conceived spatial models which can adapt to preferred behavioural patterns and current circumstances, including the recent Covid-19 pandemic (Dorato, Lobosco, Tait, 2020).

Museum Scores and Normativity

In the discussion proposed so far, I have demonstrated how gesture and code of physical behaviour are deeply embedded in social norms and beliefs. Hewitt's[6] study on social choreography mentioned above, highlighted the normative power of gesture as a social construct of the European bourgeois society, used to 'universalize and naturalize […] the cultural language of a specific class' (Hewitt, 2005, p.81)[7]. To explain this, Hewitt recalls Agamben's interpretation of Tourette's

[6] Hewitt bases this argument on is on Francois Delsarte's observations – a French teacher in acting and singing who influenced Laban's studies on movement (Hewitt, 2005, p.231)

[7] In connection to the idea of excess in protest of a codified system of regulation, performance studies scholar Kelina Gotman (Kotman, 2018) also proposed an important study of how European travellers encountering

syndrome read as a deviation from a codified movement language[8]. The body that produces involuntary twitches, gestures or words, is a body rebelling against the 19th Century bourgeois culture based on a hegemony of verbal communication: spitting out words is to expel them out of the body in an uncontrolled one-person riot. Agamben reads this medical condition as a deviation that exposes the constructed and ideological nature of normative movement.

The area of research of crip studies (McRuer, 2006; Kafer, 2013), moves one step further beyond the concepts of deviation or rupture of normative movement codes. By reappropriating the word 'cripple' (McRuer, 2006), crip studies authors have pioneered an area of study and political activism that values and asserts the complex variety of physical and neurological capacities versus the binary opposition of 'ability' and 'disability'. Moving on from disability studies, which address disability as a problem to be solved, crip studies refuse the normative belief system that produces the category of disability in the first place. In this framework, acknowledging difference and inhabiting a social or public space through non-normative movement constitutes political resistance.

In a conversation between key crip studies scholar Sunaura Taylor and Judith Bulter, as they walk across San Francisco (Taylor, Butler 2010), the pair discusses in what ways everyday body movement may challenge the physical norms of behaviour and unsettle the social arena. Specifically, Butler asks Taylor, who moves across the city in a wheelchair and is affected by a physical disability, whether she feels she has 'freedom of movement' (Butler, Taylor, 2010, 2:40-3:35). Taylor brings the example of

unfamiliar movement from other cultures led to classist/racist/ableist 'othering' and producing a lasting dehumanising discourse to describe bodily actions of anyone who was not an able-bodied white European.

[8] Hewitt quoting Agamben G.(1993) *Infancy and History, On the Destruction of Experience*, London, Verso

carrying a coffee cup in her mouth, rather than with her hand, outside of the standard ways of moving a body, rather than her physical impairment, that creates discomfort in the people around her. Her freedom of movement is restricted by the social norms of physical behaviour, or the material conditions of her physiology.

Crip studies authors have also researched and strongly contested the choreographies and spatial scores of institutional spaces, and especially of museums. According to this vision, institutions strive to adapt their spatial arrangements, pace expectations and sensory environment in an accommodating effort to tailor to the needs of a specific section of the audience, who is nonetheless defined in comparison to a 'typical' or 'standard' visitor. In doing so, the space of the museum remains scripted against a normative able body and, in reproducing these choreographies, museums remain active agents in perpetuating the power dynamics of able-bodiedness. This claim, though emerging from a different political and historical context, strongly connects to my thesis' argument inspired by Lefebvre's theories of reproduction of social space, explored later in this chapter. Similarly to crip studies' authors' proposition, Lefebvre's theory of spatial practice aimed at exposing the reproduction of inequality and power dynamics of institutional choreographies.

Bourdieu's Theory in Museology

For Bourdieu, *habitus* is a set of intellectual preferences and behaviours – 'dispositions' (Bourdieu, 1977) – learnt from childhood which allow the individual to navigate the social arena[9]. Repeatedly performed and reinforced throughout

[9] This is first theorised by Bourdieu in Bourdieu,. P. (1972) *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique; Précédé de*

adulthood, the *habitus* is recognised by other human beings and, as a consequence, it allows them to assimilate or otherwise discern and 'distinguish' themselves from others, thereby asserting their belonging to a social class. It is a mostly unconscious process whereby these preferences are interpreted by the individual as natural dispositions and, instead, are internalised and reproduced through the body.

Bourdieu's vision is central to my research because of its idea of unconscious embodiment of social and cultural norms, a notion that is key to performance studies, too, and has an extended legacy in the field of museology. His work is also extremely relevant to my research both for its methodology and ethos. In *Distinction: A Social Critique in the Judgement of Taste* (1974), Bourdieu follows quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis including questionnaires, to support the political and philosophical argument that taste is not universal, and the appreciation art is learnt since a very young age, rather than being innate to every human being.

Bourdieu's questionnaires for *Distinction* were conducted in France between 1970-72 via national statistical agencies, with questions spanning from the respondents' favourite painter to their favourite car, or their most or least desirable personality traits. Resembling the format of many museum visitors' questionnaires today, Bourdieu's interviews go beyond what today may seem acceptable to ask, linking the idea of *habitus* to details such as whether the respondent makes grammar mistakes in speaking, or their hairstyle or clothes.

Although this method has later been widely questioned, as I will outline below, what it is relevant to my research is its central conceptual premise and, also, its legacy in

"Trois études d'ethnologie kabyle" Geneve: Drox; Bourdieu, P. (1977) *Outline of a Theory of* Practice, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [English trans.] Bourdieu, P. (1980) *Le Sens Pratique*, Paris: Minuit; Bourdieu, P. (1990) *The Logic of Practice*, Polity Press [English trans.]

the field of museum studies. Departing from Kant's *Critique of Judgement*[10], where taste is seen as derived from a natural disposition of the human being, and therefore beauty is considered a universal parameter, Bourdieu identifies an individual's response or their attitudes towards art as socially constructed. This philosophical argument allows Bourdieu to support a political one – to expose and condemn elitism in the art world, art institutions and everyday life in general, and this is also a key line of enquiry in my research.

A Marxist, Bourdieu also formulated the effective term 'cultural capital'[11], which points to an individual's wealth of knowledge and intellectual tools passed on from generation to generation, allowing them to become almost more influential and powerful than through material wealth. For example, Bourdieu explains how a university degree is comparable to a 'nobility title' (Distinction, p. 146): not only does it give an individual the required knowledge and a qualification to access a range of professions, level of income, and selected social circles, but it also provides them with the ability to navigate and forecast current opportunities, and to identify the best strategies for future cultural investments. It is one of Bourdieu's major contributions to Marxist theory to have identified cultural capital as separated from material wealth and in a complex relation to social structures.

In his publication written alongside Darbel and Schnapper, *The Love of Art: European Museums and Their Public* (Bourdieu, Darbel, Schnapper, 1990) Bourdieu

[10] Kant, I. *(*1790) *Critique of Judgement*

[11] Bourdieu then developed the concept, alongside the concept of 'social capital' in the essay Bourdieu, P. (1986) 'The forms of capital', in Richardson, J.G. (ed.) *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education.* New York: Greenwood Press, pp. 241–258

denounces a mechanism through which museums perpetuate and reinforce social dynamics of power through cultural capital. This study argues that museums are sites of symbolic violence because they declare to be open and accessible to everyone and, at the same time, by attributing value to the art of the dominant classes, exclude those who do not have the cultural capital to appreciate the artworks. Those who are excluded are even made to feel 'in lack' (Bourdieu, Darbel, Schnapper, 1990, p.112), as if they were responsible for their own exclusion and for the symbolic violence they are subjected to.

Bourdieu's legacy in the field of museum studies and in museum practice in Europe and North America is significant in the 1980s and 1990s, when numerous studies were modelled on his theory and methodology. Until today, it is a common practice for museums and galleries to commission surveys that explore the perceptions and connotations of museum visiting not only of audiences, but among those who do not visit (often referred to as 'non-visitors'). For example, several US studies were led by Paul Di Maggio on behalf of the National Endowment for the Arts in the late 70s and 80s[12]. A later study conducted in 1991 by Mark Davidson Schuster, applies Bourdieu's model, comparing data from the USA and several European countries, re-shifts the focus from social class or ethnic group to differences in level of income and education.

These later applications of Bourdieu's theory also reveal its theoretical and methodological shortcomings, with the fundamental one being the risk of stereotyping and over-generalizing the artistic taste of specific social or ethnic

[12] For example, Di Maggio, P. Useem, M. Brown, P. (1978) *Audience Studies of the Performing Arts and Museums: A critical review*, Washington: National Endowment for the Arts; Di Maggio, P, Ostrower, F, Francie, A. *Race, Ethinicity, and Participation in the Arts: Patterns of Participation by Hispanics, Whites, and African-Americans in Selected Activities from the 1982 and 1985 Surveys of Participation in the Arts*, Washing, D.C.: Seven Locks Press.

groups. In his lecture as part of the Congress held at UAL in 2014 ‘Taste after Bourdieu’, Tony Bennett points out how ‘although Bourdieu devotes considerable attention to the internal differences of taste within the dominant class and the petit-bourgeoisie, he treats the working class, except in its gender divisions, as largely homogenous with respect to the organizing principles of its tastes, and he defines these, in negative terms, as a lack’ (Bennett, 2014). This led, Bennett continues, to a significant under-representation of the working classes in *Distinction*. As Bennett notices, the reason for this shortcoming, was an ideological one – ‘Bourdieu claimed he already knew what was significant about working class cultural practice: the uniform exclusion from legitimate culture’ (*idem*).

In the UK, some museological studies conducted in the 1990s apply Bourdieu’s methodology, while flagging its determinism and suggesting the possibility of individual agency on taste within socio-economic groups. For example, Nick Merriman’s study *Beyond the Glass Case* (2000), reaffirms the idea of an inevitable bond between museum visiting and a privileged access to education and culture, explaining the increased popularity of museums in the UK since the 1970s with economic growth and expansion of the middle classes. Using Bourdieu’s terminology, Merriman describes museum visiting as almost an initiation rite to a higher social rank and a substantial increment to one’s cultural capital. He however contrasts his theory of ‘the choice of the necessary’ (Bourdieu, 1974, p.389-390) which maintains that the choices available to us are limited and inevitable according to our social class. Gordon Fyfe and Max Ross, conducted in-depth research on a number of families on the traditionally working-class area of Stoke-on-Trent, to investigate how their artistic taste and attitudes towards museum visiting reflect the complex mixture of individual motivations and a sense of belonging to a plurality of

social entities: the working class, the nation, the city itself, the family, and so on.

Although not directly deriving from Bourdieu's methods, statistical studies conducted by museums all over the world today are similar in methodology, and partly, in intention. For example, in 2017 the V&A commissioned market research agency BDRC a major study to understand its audiences and with the intention of reaching out to those who do not visit. The study resulted in identifying 7 'segments' which are still used in the museum's audience strategy today. Although these groupings sometimes include ethnic or socio-economic identities, they aim to classify people according to their attitudes towards visiting and experiencing art [Image 1]. For example, some of the questions entailed: where they are from, their age, what level of education, and questions such as the below [Image 2].

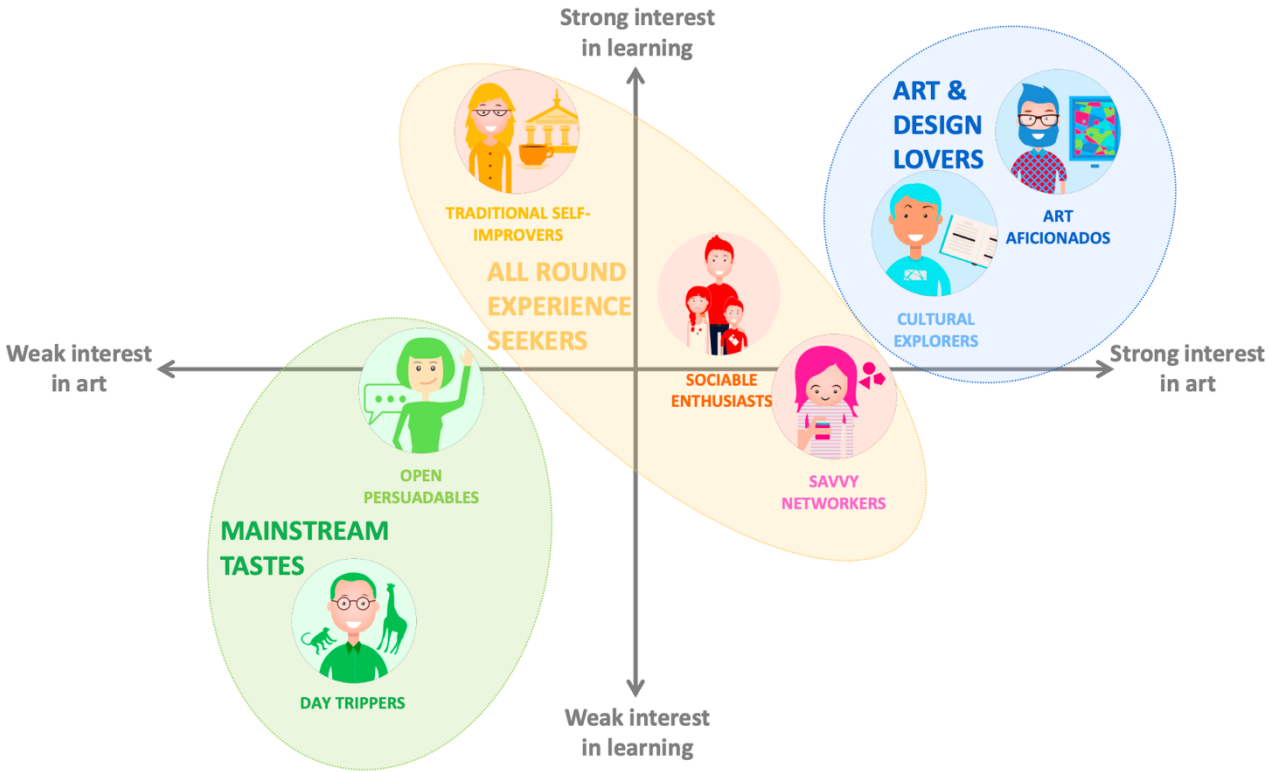


Image 1: V&A Audience Segmentation Full Report, 3rd Aug 2017 (internal document)

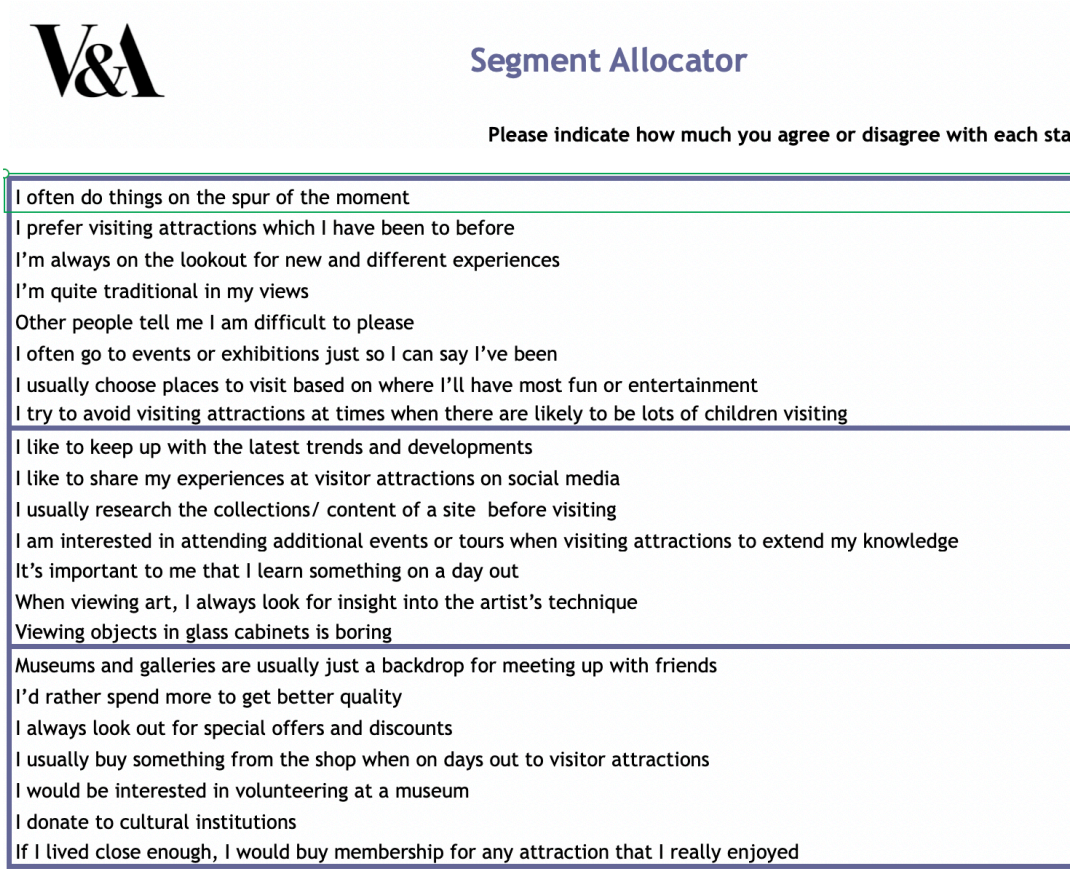


Image 2: V&A Segment Allocator Tool

Despite the similarities between quantitative and qualitative methods used by Bourdieu at his time and those used in museums today, it is important to highlight the differences in motivations and approaches between the two. As mentioned above, Bourdieu's surveys were conducted to support a political and philosophical argument against the perpetuation of elitism and power relations through the art and cultural system, and to explore a socio-demographic context evidencing this argument. Bourdieu famously defined sociology as 'combat sport' (Carles, 2001) to expose that 'things are unequal' (Carles, 2001). Market research studies are partly conducted by museums and galleries today in response to an incredible financial pressure to expand their audiences and to either justify public funding, seek new ways to

increase self-generated income, or subsidize the insufficient public funding.

Public and Private

My research also starts from the understanding that museums are public spaces where we know that we are 'seen' by other people. From the moment we enter a museum space, we are performing. As in any public space, we are aware that we are being seen by others, and our movement is always performed in relation to other people around us.

Several contemporary art works have highlighted the performance of everyday movement in the museum as a public space. In Roman Ondak's 'Good Feelings in Good Times' at Tate (2007), a small group of performers forms a queue where there is nothing to line up for. With humour, Ondak draws our attention to the social choreography of queueing and how this becomes a mirror for the onlookers' desires and expectations, their attitudes around gaining and losing, or around conforming and resisting to social customs.

In Bojana Cvejić's *Spatial Confessions* at Tate Modern (2014), the audience is asked to perform simple movements in response to a series of provocations that reveal their ideas, beliefs and social status. For example, the performer asks the audience to move to a part of the room if they would like to change their job; or 'form a line according to the degree of capitalism of the area' (Cvejić, 2014) they live in. Choreographer Christine De Smedt, who co-produced the Tate piece, notices how the work 'acts as a sort of choreographic survey' encouraging participants to show

through their body movement 'quite literally, what they stand for' (De Smedt, 2014). This work was also an inspiration for the audience ‘score’ I devised and performed as part of the one-day symposium ‘How Do Institutions Choreograph Us?’, as I will discuss in Chapter 2.

I reference the above and other artworks throughout my thesis as research material and I connect with these in the same way I do with academic literature - as investigative tools to emphasise the relevance of visitor movement and of different choreographic modes present in the museum space. I do not intend to analyse how visitors move in relation to these specific artworks.

De Smedt also notices how the museum space makes people aware of their 'performing selves' (De Smedt, 2014) and points out how ‘people take it really seriously, but they also know they can lie’ (De Smedt, 2014). As I have outlined above, Judith Butler also asserts a parallel between the performance of everyday life and theatre as interpretation of a given ‘script’, however, she also underlines that we must acknowledge the difference between the two. Anything acted in an established context of performance creates a framework of fiction and therefore poses a distance between the audience and what it is observed. For example, the ability to say, ‘this is just an act’ or ‘it is only a play’ (Butler, 1988, p. 527), brings an audience to applaud a performer in drag, while the same sight on a bus may cause reactions of fear, rage or even violence.

The performance of the self in a museum space and the complex interplay between private and public dimension reveals itself clearly in certain aspects of museum

visiting. For example, in *A Pedagogy of Witnessing'* (2014), Roger Simon points to the performance quality of visitor comments books. By analysing current and historical examples of museum comments books dating up to the mid-16th C, Simon points out how museum comment books allow one to express thoughts publicly and anonymously, and therefore often includes more uninhibited responses. They are often acts of social positioning or they assert a social or cultural status, working in relation to other commenters, like in the example of the Aldrovandi book (late 16th C), or they may be seen a symptom of fragmented society like in 1962's comment book for the *30 years of MOSKh* exhibition in Moscow during the period of de-Stalinisation (Simon, 2014, p.123).

But most importantly to my argument on the interplay between private and public, is that comment books are often revealing of what is not said, what is self-censured in the public arena. As Simon points out, 'each comment may be understood as a letter, or better, a note written to a presumed unknown reader' (Simon, 2014, p. 129). And, in the case of *Without Sanctuary*, an exhibition about race violence in America (*idem*, p. 128), the comment book is a tool to continue or extend the public conversation on a topic that may provoke intense emotional reactions from the public – where these may either be of distancing oneself from the perpetrators or bystanders of violence or for the comment to mark a performative moment of 'becoming somewhat different than one was before the act of written expression' (*idem*, p.131).

The fact that our behaviour in public spaces is inevitably self-censored, and inextricably linked to the individual's response to social codes of behaviour or an act of social positioning, is also an important and potentially problematic knot for my

PhD’s practical methodology of visitor observations. This method derives from 'fieldwork' anthropological and sociological studies and, as such, carries its inherent conceptual paradox: the researcher’s point of view is bound to their relative cultural, social and historical perspective and, at the same time, it has the intent for the observer to remove themselves and gain a separate perspective from that context. As Gore and Grau point out, fieldwork requires researchers ‘the ability to ‘relativise’ things first by distancing themselves from their own cultural values and presuppositions and, secondly, by learning to suspend their judgements from those of others’ (Gore and Grau, 2014, p.132). This problematic is shared with movement observation practices in choreography, where the observant is present in the same space of the subject observed, and their presence affects the person's movement. I will investigate this problematic further in Chapters 3, in relation to issues of epistemology in social research.

Spatial Practice

In the development of my practice-research of live scoring presented later in Chapter 3, I strongly connect to ideas in the area of research of ‘spatial practice’, and particularly philosopher Henri Lefebvre’s idea of ‘social space' (1974), Michel De Certeau's understanding of 'practice of everyday life' (1984) and Jane Rendell's practice of ‘site-writing’ (Rendell, 2007). I am interested in what bodily practices and behaviours emerge beyond and in between the 'actual' space created by architecture and urban landscape, to observe 'the lived everyday experience of space' (Rendell, 2007). This type of space is produced by an individual's ways of navigating the architectural and urban space in relation to their own interpretations of them, and

through social interaction with others, all of which include the possibility of resisting or disrupting the built environment through physical behaviour.

Henri Lefebvre introduced the idea of a space that is produced by the 'hypercomplex' (Lefebvre, 1974, p.88) interweaving of social interactions. Building from Marx's idea of production of goods and the relations created by it, Lefebvre puts forward the necessity to elaborate a 'critique of space' as something that is not identifiable in a particular person or group, or an object or good, and not even in the material features of an architectural or urban environment. Rather, social interactions at various levels - from the home, street, city to the global level - create invisible spaces or reveal 'inherent' or 'latent' spatial relations (Lefebvre, 1974, p.90). Some examples of these interactions are buying or selling, traveling or moving around the city, working or playing. As I will analyse in more detail in Chapter 3, my methodology of live scoring aims at noticing and scripting these social interactions and 'social space'.

For Lefebvre, fragmenting the study of space into separate disciplines (geography, science, mathematics, architecture, and so on), has failed to recognise the fundamental connection between the various levels of space and, most importantly, its connection with time. Lefebvre acknowledges critical spatial practice to be a somewhat 'paradoxical' and 'outrageous' concept (Lefebvre, 1974, p.92), because it does not focus on space as a specific object of study, but on the relations embedded within it. For Lefebvre, it is precisely by joining up the understanding of space with that of time that reveals inherent relationships of power. In Chapter 3, I will demonstrate how this connection of space with time has informed my methodology conceptually and in the development of my practice of producing hand-drawn visitor

scores.

Following Lefebvre's imprint, Michel De Certeau distinguishes between *spaces* and *places* in the context of his theory of the practice of everyday life. While a place is fixed and relatively stable throughout time - for example, an architectural or urbanistic feature such as a square or a street - it may encompass several spaces. Spaces are connected to relationships between people and between objects and subjects, and they contain dynamic narratives. Spaces are constantly produced and the experience of them changes from person to person – they are subjective because they are dependent on practices. In brief, 'space is a practised place' (De Certeau, 1984, p. 117). This concept has also strongly informed my practical methodology of live scoring presented in Chapter 3, where I aim to discern what spaces emerge in between bodies in space, and in between bodies and the architectural or urban space, and the objects displayed within it. This idea is also fundamental to my research as it allows me to show how each visitor's experience is different and subjective, and it cannot be reduced to the material aspects of the museum as a 'place'.

Similarly, *tours* create or take us through a space while *maps* represent a place. Tours function as narratives as they script a series of actions, while maps describe the characteristics of a place in a particular moment in time. Referencing C. Linder and W. Lubov (De Certeau, 1984, p. 119), De Certeau summarises a map in the statement 'The girls' room is next to the kitchen' and a tour in 'You turn right and come into the living room' (*idem*, p.119). With reference to J.L. Austin's terminology (Austin, J.L., 1976), from a widely influential book in the field of performance studies, we may say that places and maps are constative, and spaces and tours are

performative, where the former report on a condition of reality and the latter produce a reality which may have a different outcome every time they are performed.

Similarly to Judith Butler, who highlights the necessity to ‘re-describe’ (Butler, 1988, p. 530) existing gender identities, Jane Rendell’s practice of site-writing aims at using words to re-build narratives and ‘fill in the gaps’ of ‘objective’ architectural structures with untold, subjective histories. Following Lefebvre’s idea of the social production of space, Rendell aims at describing how a space was used to reproduce social relations, including those of oppression and domination. For example, in *Subjective Space: A Feminist Architectural History of the Burlington Arcade* (1995), Rendell explains how the reflective glass and luxury shop fronts were a mirror to the commodification of women on several levels. On the one hand, wealthy women were sent to shop there as customers to express the status of their husband through their purchases, their clothes and the amount of leisure time spent in the arcade. The staff working in shops were mostly female - milliners, hosiers, hairdressers, jewellers and florists - and referred to as ‘shop girls’ were the focus of sexualized male gaze. Finally, the district the Burlington was famous for gambling and prostitution and the upper-class prostitutes often used the arcade to pick up clients. The shops were hired out to prostitutes or used by the shop girls themselves for prostitution to compensate for their otherwise inadequate wages. Even representations of the arcade in literature, art and magazines were ‘structured around images of the female body’ (Rendell, J., 1995, p. 6).

I am interested in taking Rendell’s approach to reveal hidden narratives of social inequality and perpetuation of gender power relations in the museum space, and to integrate her idea of site-writing as part of my practice in combination with textual

choreographic scoring of visitor movement. Furthermore, Rendell's analysis of the spatial practice of the Burlington Arcade echoes the museum's politics of seeing and being seen.

Another core idea in the discourse on everyday life that this PhD project builds on is the role of day-to-day routines in reproducing power structures and social dynamics. These routines are often so embedded in the everyday work of an institution that they go unnoticed. In his *Critique of Everyday Life* (Lefebvre, 2014), Lefebvre introduces a pivotal Marxist idea: that capitalism reproduces itself through the routines, rhythms and repetitions of daily life, including work. In other words, capitalism does not just survive because of the operations of major infrastructures – factories, banks, or state power. Instead, it survives because it has colonised the most mundane, unnoticed parts of our day. In *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life* (2012) – a text I kept going back to during my period of work at the ICA – Sara Ahmed also speaks about 'institutional habits' (Ahmed, 2012, p. 26) as a means to perpetuate and solidify institutional racism.

Museums and Immaterial Labour

Richard Schechner (Schechner, 1988) describes performance as a wide spectrum encompassing play, sport, ritual and the dramatic arts, all of which have four fundamental traits in common:

1) A special ordering of time

2) A special value attached to objects

3) Non-productivity in terms of goods

4) Rules[13]

A museum is a repository of objects that not only visitors and members of staff, but those who took care of preserving them in the past and traded them to us attribute an incredible amount of value to. Especially for heritage museums such as the V&A, holding a national collection, the value of these objects is considered so high that it cannot be quantified financially, and the objects are protected by law from being sold or disposed of (*National Heritage Act*, 1983). In a capitalist system, taking an object out of the market so that it cannot be sold or traded, attributes it an even higher value. Far from being free from the laws of the capitalist market, museums are an integral part of the system, which attaches special value to material objects.

Looking at the second descriptor in the list, it is indeed not a primary aim of art museums to produce goods in the sense that Schechner intends it. Differently from commercial art galleries, which directly participate in the art market by selling or commissioning art works to be sold, the mission of national museums, in the UK at least, is to make their collections accessible to the widest possible audience and acquire new objects to be preserved and prevented from being sold or traded.

However, museums are not exempt from actively participating in the capitalist economy. The V&A's second strategic objective, as stated on its website, is to 'Focus and deepen the relevance of our collections to the UK creative and knowledge

[13]Schechner (1988), p. 8

economy' (V&A, 2022) — explicitly positioning the collection as a resource in service of economic productivity. While art museums' primary mission is not to produce tradable material goods, the value of collections within the system of commodification of knowledge and cultural experiences is clear and publicly stated.

Although the V&A's position as an active player in the creative has been considerably re-ignited and rebranded in the past 20 years[14], this was indeed a founding principle of the museum at its inception. Its original mission as the 'Museum of Manufacturers' was, in fact, to foster the design industry and the production of applied arts by educating artists and designers (V&A, 2022). And its close and formalised links, then and now, to the neighbouring Royal College of Arts confirm that.

Other UK museums have acknowledged the material and financial conditions of their founding within the capitalist economy. Tate, for example, acknowledges its connection with slavery as a crucial driver of the capitalist and imperialist system from which the Tate gallery originated. The Tate collections were in fact accumulated thanks to the founder's wealth built on human exploitation through Henri Tate sugar refining business (Tate, 2022).

Furthermore, and more importantly to my analysis, art museums today continually create immaterial products: the experience of museum visiting itself is commodified and marketed as a good. Several authors in the fields of museum and curatorial

[14] Since 2006, the 'Victoria and Albert Museum' was rebranded into 'V&A' to attract new audiences. A signature part of the operation of rebranding was the introduction of the programme 'Friday Late' – a late opening of the museum with music, participatory events and alcoholic drinks – which had the specific purpose of increasing younger audiences (17-30 years old).

studies discussed the commercial quality of contemporary art museums[15], described by Clare Bishop as 'populist temples of entertainment' (Bishop, 2013, p.6). Some of these experiences, especially temporary exhibitions, are explicitly priced in the form of entry tickets[16]. Although most major national UK museums, unlike most European museums, do not charge for admission, they market their visitor experience as part of a brand building exercise not dissimilar from what companies and businesses do in the current 'experience economy' (Pine, Gilmore, 2019). Head count is a key factor for museums in reporting to public funding bodies in the UK: each visit corresponds to financial income for the museum. Therefore, even if admission is free, the visit is monetised as part of funding bids.

The commercialization of the experience of museum visiting also reflects on the movement practices of visitors and their mode of attention. In *Is the Museum a Factory?*, Hito Steyerl (Steyerl, 2009) emphasises the immaterial labour performed by museum visitors, who are hyper-stimulated by the multiplicity of the experiences offered, and whose attention is relentlessly stretched and split between different levels of interaction or mediums (film, audio, installation, and the traditional artworks). Visitors are thus drawn into producing and reproducing the cognitive toil of 'actively montaging, zapping, combining fragments - effectively co-curating the show' (Steyerl, 2009).

As Bojana Kunst argues (Kunst, 2015), the museum as part of the post-Fordist model of capitalism is founded on a system of exchange of work with the visitor. This

[15] See Foster (2015), Steyerl (2013), Fraser, A. (2005) Krauss, R (1990), O'Doherty, B.(1986)
[16] Going back to Schechner's frame of analysis, theatre, where tickets are sold, is not classified as producing goods. However this discourse is precedent to the analysis of immaterial labour becoming predominant.

system produces a modality of visiting where the museum does not ‘organise the gaze’ (Kunst, 2015, p.62) and the visit is shaped through ‘endless rearranging […] of paths taken and decision made’ (Kunst, 2015, p.62). What the museum encourages as ‘going with the flow’ (Kunst, 2015, p.62) demands of the audience a social, cognitive and affective ‘effort’ that often results in exhaustion (Kunst, 2015, p.62). In this framework, the ‘audience performs the work and performs the public’ (Kunst, 2015 p.61), and this is ‘a new form of exploitation’ (Kunst, 2015 p.62).

In light of these theories, and to revise the discussion of Schechner’s third point, although it is true that museums’ main mission, unlike commercial art galleries, is not to produce artworks to be sold on the market, they, however, play an active role in the system of production of goods and, equally, they participate in the current experience economy, where goods are immaterial. However, it may still be argued that those experiences are staged as performances, orchestrated by a combination of curatorial, marketing and front-of-house strategies.

When working in Marketing at the V&A, I learnt that the café and the gift shop are a ‘must-stop’ in the majority of visitors’ itineraries and a key added ‘perk’ to the museum visit as a product. As museum marketeers, we identify the ‘visitor journey’ as encompassing the pre-visit (everything that the visitor hears and pre-empts about the visit), the actual visit, and the post-visit (what visitors take home, from souvenirs to brochures to pictures on their mobile phone to stories to tell their friends and family). Although the visit is free, designing the visitor journey is an operating of ‘shaping of affects through virtual or actual contact’ (Heathfield, 2020, p.3).

Looking at the fourth point from Schechner's list, there are certainly rules of behaviour when entering the museum as a visitor. We are all familiar with the 'do not touch' rule, which we are occasionally asked to break for certain types of interactive or participatory artwork. The majority of museums will display a set of rules in the form of signs or panels at the entrance of the museum or of each gallery, for example, 'no food or drinks', 'no photography'. Tate has their rules stated on their website (Tate, 2022). While working as a member of staff dedicated to the care and display of objects, I was made aware that there are precise rules to follow in relation to security, conservation and handling of objects.

Temporality of Museum Visiting

Out of Schechner's four descriptors of performance, its first — 'the dimension of time' — opens onto one of the most complex aspects of museum visiting: temporality.

Schechner characterises different types of performance time as:

1) Event time
2) Set Time
3) Symbolic Time[17]

Any of these three descriptors of time may characterise a museum visit, depending on the curatorial rationale and the visitor's approach to the visit. When a museum's

[17] Schechner, R. (1988), p.8

spatial arrangement is chronological or by style or 'school', visitors may decide to go through it sequentially, therefore committing to complete all the steps before they leave, however long it might take. This type of time frame is close to Schechner's idea of 'event time', typical of other types of performance such as baseball, hopscotch and shamanic rites – or, I would add, most video games – where you have to complete one stage to go to the next and going backwards is rare and only happens if you fail.

Although this type of curatorial arrangement is not often used in museums today, audiences often still expect or imagine their visit to progress in a linear way. When I was working as Gallery Assistant at the Victoria and Albert Museum, even when the exhibition or gallery arrangement was not sequential or chronological, and in fact it deliberately encouraged a non-linear visit, visitors seemed confused and often asked me ‘So, where does it start?’ Visiting exhibitions or galleries during my Bachelor’s Degree in Art History, I felt proud, as I newly discovered myself as an ‘expert’, to have the courage, against what all other visitors were doing, to go back to the first room, or to quickly walk to the last room to begin with, and to then slowly visit the exhibition in the ‘wrong’ order. One of the reasons I was doing this, was that I wanted to check how long the exhibition was going to take me to visit.

Indeed, one of the main causes of ‘museum fatigue’ (Falk, 2013; Davey, 2005) is that we do not know how long it is going to take us to visit, and we do not calibrate our physical and mental energy throughout the visit. Visitors often start with great enthusiasm, to then gradually realise that 30 mins have passed, and they have only visited 2 rooms after reading all the labels in great detail. Partly for this reason,

visitors often decide to assign a limited time for their visit, for example, one afternoon. But also, this is often circumstantial – a tourist who has only one afternoon before they move on to something else, a local who has one afternoon off. This 'set time' corresponds, in Schechner's analysis, to a similar time frame to sports like football or basketball, where the game will end after a certain amount of time, for example, 90 minutes, wherever the score is at.

Finally, a museum visit can also be described as having a dimension of 'symbolic time' in the way Schechner intends it – 'when the span of the activity represents another (longer or shorter) span of clock time' (Schechner, 1988, p.8). While walking through the museum galleries and observing objects produced at very different times in history, we 'pass through' several years, centuries or millennia. The time span of our visit contains pools of expanded time for each object. Art historian and museum theorist Clare Bishop, referring to Didi-Huberman's reading of Aby Warburg's work, describes artworks as 'temporal knots, a mixture of past and present; they reveal what persists or 'survives' from earlier periods, in the form of a symptom in the current era' (Bishop, 2013, p.20). Museum objects may also be seen as time capsules in the sense that each visitor will engage with them for a different amount of time, with some works intended to be experienced for longer (for example, a video presented in a gallery). Additionally, whatever time the artist has intended the work to be experienced for, visitors may choose to stay with it for a different amount of time, depending on their interest in the work and their level of engagement with it.

Schechner also explains how each of these three ideas of time can exist in performance in combination. Similarly, our choice of spending more or less time for

the visit, might be influenced by different factors and also, while we may have decided to spend a certain amount of time in the museum or go through it sequentially, we may then decide to turn around and go through the same pathway twice or more.

Dorothea Von Hantelmann, distinguishes between the time modalities of the 'appointment' (Hantelmann, 2018, p. 3), defining theatre, where audiences have to arrive and leave at a certain time, and that of the 'opening hours' (Hantelmann, 2018, p. 3), which include spaces in modernity such as museums and exhibitions, but also shopping markets and arcades. Hantelmann states how art spaces today constitute a hybrid of these two models: one can attend ticketed or timed events inside a museum, for example, a talk or a performance, or walk in and out at any point within a set time frame, for example, 10am-6pm. In line with Schechner, Hantelmann also analyses this time dimension in art museums to emphasise the connection of this kind of temporarily with ritual in liberal, modern societies which normally 'lean toward a certain anti-ritualism' (Hantelmann, 2018, p. 3).

In the last part of this chapter, I have put forward an analysis of the museum space using key concepts on temporality in performance theory in combination with the discourse on immaterial labour, to come to distinguish possible qualities of visitor movement and related attention modes in museums. On the one hand, I identify a relatively still, sequential, progressive quality of visitor movement. This 'processional glide' (Heathfield, in Wee, 2016) can be associated with a contemplative attention mode, traditionally expected in museum spaces (Bishop, 2018). At the other end of the spectrum, I see a hyperactive, incessant stimulation produced by museums as integral agents in the capitalist system, where the experience of visiting is branded

as a product.

Both modes lead to what could be described as different types of exhaustion (Lepecki, 2006, 2010, 2016). As pointed out both in performance theory (Heathfield, 2016) and in museum studies (Davey, 2005), the slow, gradual pace of traditional museum visiting, where there is an almost obligatory trajectory forward, is unsustainable. After an average of 30 minutes, our body is fatigued and, as a consequence, our mind shuts down (Falk, 2013). On the other hand, as Bishop has noted (Bishop, 2013), the hyper-stimulation and hyper-activity required by visitors in an intensified interactive museum experience does not often entail a deeper engagement with the artwork and, once again, is exhausting.

In addition, the two categories of slow 'processional glide' and of a hyper-stimulated, exhausting movement discussed above, assume a 'standard' or 'typical visitor' that does not account for neurodivergence or diverse physical abilities. Through the concept of 'crip time', crip studies authors (Kafer, 2013; McRuer, 2006) point to the relativity of not only pace – slow and fast – but the different ways in which cognitive and sensory experiences of space and time are perceived across different bodies. This has profound consequences in studying visitor engagement with museum collections through their physical experience in the galleries. The museum's assumptions about pace, dwell time and exhaustion have often been calibrated to a normative body. What reads as slow, contemplative pace to some visitors may constitute significant effort for others. What may be perceived as 'incessant movement' for some visitors, may represent another visitor's experience of calm.

It is interesting to notice how, in many contemporary art museums, and through certain types of art works including installation, video, participatory and performance art, a new temporal aesthetics has emerged whereby the visit becomes ‘a long experiential passage’ (Heathfield, 2014) and the ‘ethics of slowness’ (Lee, 2002) challenges the temporality of everyday life in the capitalist framework. To an extent, this type of aesthetics seems to reconnect to the ‘contemplative’ mode expected in traditional museum spaces.

In *Black Box, White Cube, Grey Zone* (2018), Clare Bishop points out a ‘moral’ assumption associated with the ‘contemplative’ mode – we assume that everything we give our fully-focused attention to, is valuable. Indeed, the traditional museum code of behaviour is that we must be quiet, walk slowly, not interact with other people too much, not take photographs, in a revered and almost religious respect for the artwork. Despite largely criticising the hyper-activity of the today’s museum spaces in her previous writings, in this essay, Bishop analyses how the new modes of attention required by museum or exhibitions which encourage interaction and participation, including performance and dance work, challenge this traditional way of moving and looking in a positive way. For example, from ‘no photography’, we have come to a constant sharing of experiences on social media during the visiting. As she points out:

> ‘Attention exists on a continuum of other states not necessarily attached to the optical, including trance, reverie, daydream, hypnosis, meditation, and dissociation. These internal states were once thought essential to creativity, but today tend to be devalued as nonproductive time.’ (Bishop, 2018, p. 38)

Chapter Conclusion

This chapter presented core ideas in the interdisciplinary discourse on movement in everyday life which my reading of movement in the museum space builds on. In addressing my first research question, 'How can body movement be studied in relation to the ideas of agency and resistance to the institutional choreographies of art museums and its 'scores?' (Research Question 1, p.11), I articulated the idea of 'agency' and 'resistance' to social codes of behaviour and to normative museum 'scores'.

The chapter identifies the theoretical coordinates of the practice research presented in Chapter 2 and 3. I argued that everyday movement is learnt, deeply embedded in socio-cultural norms and formulated through specific codes of behaviour, and explained that this normativity creates opportunities for agency and resistance. I put forward, as I will explore further in Chapter 3, that the very act of drawing attention to and framing everyday movement and scripting it, can constitute a form of resistance.

Through the concepts of *habitus*, cultural capital (Bourdieu), social space and spatial practice (Lefebvre) and social choreography (Hewitt, Cvejić), I introduced the idea, developed through the curatorial practice presented in Chapter 2, that the visitor's and the art worker's body movement is subject to power dynamics that are produced and perpetuated in the institutional space of the museum.

These power dynamics also affect the temporal dimension of the museum visit and are associated with different attention modes and physical behaviours. This idea will be further investigated in Chapter 2 through the symposium's contributions, and in

Chapter 3 through the live scoring practice, which strives to problematise the complexities of everyday and visitor movement and the methods used by institutions in recording it.