

VISITOR, PLEASE, COME... INITIAL REMARKS ON MUSEUM PUBLIC DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

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Based on the empirical research of the National Centre for Culture (NCK), it can be assumed that in 2018 and 2019 a half of adult Poles at least once visited a museum.¹ A similar level of participation (or more correctly saying: lack of participation) applied to Poles visiting libraries. However, museums was observed: by 59% according to Statistics Poland.² This is obviously, first of all, the result of the pandemic situation which challenged us throughout the past year: on the one hand, society feared human contacts and voluntarily isolated themselves from other individuals;³ on the other hand, it was a direct result of a limited activity of cultural institutions which were forced to temporarily close down their facilities. In the last year, a decrease was observed both in the number of permanent exhibitions displayed by museums (from 2.700 to 2.400) and in that of temporary exhibitions (from 5.000 to 3.000), as well as of museum classes and workshops (from 80.900 to 28.400).⁴

However, the response to the question what chance there is for visitors to return to museums is less obvious; it is not clear that if they do, what number of them there will be, what social profile they will represent,⁵ and what expectations they will cherish. Will they be comparable to those from before the pandemic? We are not ignoring media reports which were enthusiastically commenting: *a giant line of people, the queue as long as the eye could see, and crowds lining*

even less frequently they took advantage of the offer of theatres, galleries, art, operas, or philharmonic concert halls. The most frequent forms of participation in culture were going to the cinema, fairs, or folklore events.

In 2020, a dramatic decline in the number of people visiting *up even before the opening hour of the institution*: these were reactions of Warsaw residents to the reopening of the National Museum in February 2021 before another break caused by the pandemic, and also admitting the public to the renewed Gallery of Ancient Art following a many-year-interval; they were also queuing up to see the temporary exhibition called 'Poland. The Power of Images' meant to be displayed for about a fortnight only. Let us not forget, however, that such indicative events cannot form grounds for a prognosis that applies to whole society. And as much as they reveal certain needs and expectations with respect to participation in culture, they do not create the opportunity to penetrate deeper into the motivation structure of the public, nor to understand barriers and fears activated by the pandemic wave, which even when the emotions subside and the health situation stabilizes in the country will most likely stay with us, with varied intensity, for good. In the present paper we would like to take a closer look at these processes, to present argumentation, to refer to certain phenomena which could help us formulate the answer to the question:

will anybody? if so, who?, and, first of all, for what purpose? come back to museums.

The museum public

The reference year for the present analysis is 2019. NCK's research⁶ reveals that in the last year before the pandemic the majority of adult Poles at least once visited a cultural institution or participated in a cultural event (90%). The majority of the respondents declared undertaking such activity more often than every six months (70%). Among those visiting museums the majority visited cultural institutions on average every six months (20% of all the respondents), less frequently than once every six months (16%), and once every two to three months (10%). Individuals aged 25–34 and over 55 did not visit museums more frequently than other age groups. In turn, among Poles with higher education or living in cities of over 200,000 inhabitants the percentage of individuals who did not visit a museum even once in 2019 was lower than for the whole population of Poland. The frequency of museum visits as seen against respective Voivodeships is partially accounted for by the differentiation and density of cultural institutions in respective regions.⁷

Poles relatively rarely associate museums unequivocally with the concept of culture.⁸ Culture raises more promptly associations understood as creativity in: music, theatre, cinema, ballet, opera, architecture, painting, etc. (41%) and as tradition, customs, social and cultural community (39%). Merely 10% of adult Poles listed museums as associations with the concept of 'culture'; the same number considered visiting a museum a quality of a cultured person. The analysis of the motivation of people visiting and not visiting museums allows to observe here, too, a certain stratification in perceiving the role of culture and the role of museums.⁹ In the first group of individuals the reasons connected with knowledge, education, but also aesthetical experience, and an experience of something out of the ordinary were pointed to relatively more frequently. Among the individuals who did not visit a museum even once in 2019, yet undertake other forms of cultural activity, quite clearly motivations connected with entertainment and escaping from every day life were manifested on the one hand, while on the other, the need to enjoy recreation and rest were pointed to.

Analogical results were obtained in the survey conducted in Great Britain in 2018 as part of the *Audience Finder* Project.¹⁰ Those visiting museums, much more frequently than individuals interested in other forms of participation culture, were driven by the desire to learn something (24% vs. 14%), while their most frequent motivation for museum visits was a socializing experience (28% vs. 21%). In their respect, the need to be entertained was relatively low (14% vs. 29%). In the survey four visitor groups were distinguished. Differing not only demographically, but in their declared involvement and behaviour, they were categorized as: Young Creatives, Families, Older Learners, and Culture Tourist. Interestingly, the motivation connected with education applied both to individual needs as well as to the desire to educate others: children and families.

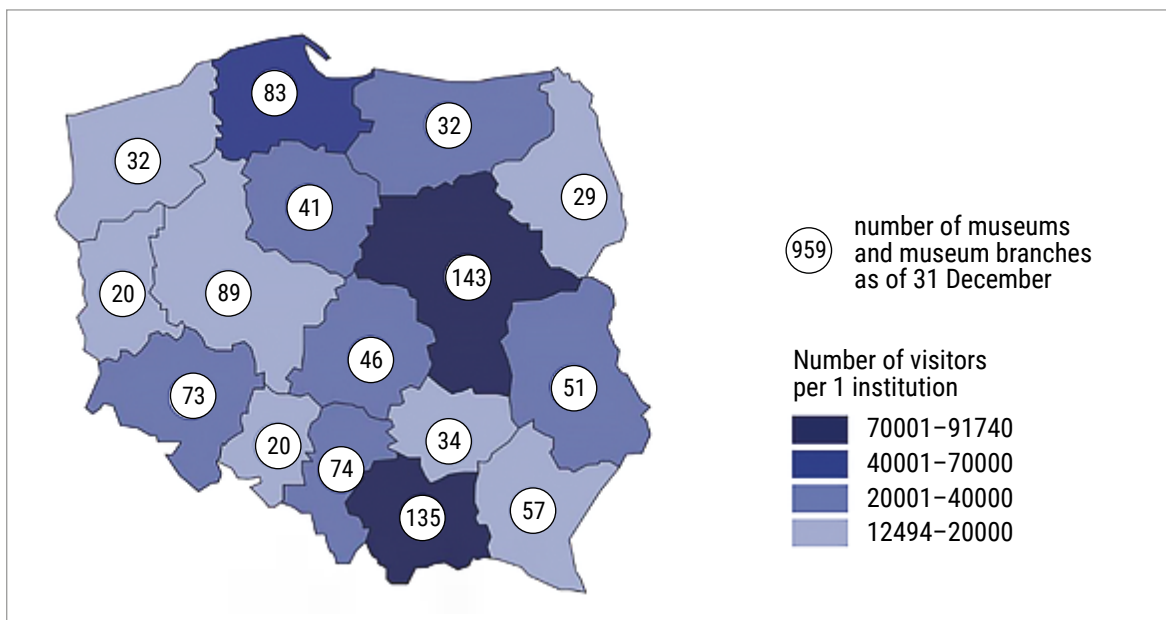
Can the habit of museum visiting be replaced? Prospect from before, during, and after the pandemic

In 2019, the majority of Poles could not imagine that TV or the Internet could constitute a substitute for a museum. Despite the popularity both media enjoyed: 95% aged 15 or over declared that they watched TV, while 76% used the Internet,¹¹ as many as 2/3 of the surveyed claimed that these media could not replace visiting a museum.¹² Interestingly, the percentage of individuals who considered it possible to replace that form of culture participation by any of the media did not exceed 5%,¹³ and was the lowest compared to other forms of cultural activity available in the survey response options.

It is most likely that following the experience of the pandemic and the transformation in many sphere of social life, the current Poles' opinions would differ. The NCK research demonstrates that longing for visiting cultural institutions increased proportionally to the length of the sanitary isolation. Over six months (from June to December 2020) the percentage of individuals who declared missing access to cultural institutions increased (from 60% to 75%). By the end of 2019, every other respondent declared the desire to resume visiting cultural institutions immediately or at least a month after they were reopened; every fourth surveyed declared the desire to return at least three months after they were opened. Only merely 4% of the respondents pointed to museums as their most preferred institution for that. Just for the sake of comparison, 38% of the respondents claimed they would go to the cinema first, 19% to the theatre, and 17% would give priority to a concert or a music festival other than of classical music. On the one hand, this reflects a greater popularity of the cinema as the form of participation in culture (however, not of the theatre, or a concert), but on the other, such an outcome may seem surprising as seen from the perspective of the earlier declaration that physical presence within a museum space cannot be supplanted.

In order to get the bigger picture, let us recall motivations that the surveyed followed in the choice of a cultural institution. Most frequently they pointed to cultural preferences (46%) and accessibility of a given cultural institution (23%). Far less frequently, also in the case of individuals declaring they pertained to the risk group in view of COVID-19, they justified their choice with sanitary and epidemiological security concern (16%). This premise lost its prominence when compared to the results from June 2020, although the concern about the coronavirus remained at a similar level. In December, in total 65% of adult Poles feared catching the disease (23% were very scared).¹⁴ The latest surveys by the Public Opinion Research Center (CBOS) show that social attitudes with respect to the coronavirus have improved, yet still over a half of the grown-up respondents (55%) feared catching the disease, and almost every fifth of them (18%) was badly scared of it.

In 2020, the operations of Polish museums were to great degree determined by the changing epidemiological situation in the country. The main principles of the operations of cultural institutions were updated parallel to morbidity dynamics. Due do COVID-19 half of museums and museum branches were forced to limit their cultural activity



Map 1. Museums and museum branches in 2019 in respective Voivodeships Source: Statistics Poland

targeted at the public.¹⁵ At the same time, the pandemic served as an intense impulse to extend online activities. Intense works meant to make the collections accessible online were launched; resorting to virtual media, e.g., 1.367 exhibitions were opened,¹⁶ streaming curator's tours were held, and social portals conducted extensive informative and educational activity. The www.muzealnictwo.com website presented the list of 38 Polish museums¹⁷ which offered access to their collections online. Quite often other actions were proposed, too; these were to fill in the gap resulting from a limited access to institutions and their staff; e-guides, thematic podcasts, virtual exhibition previews, online workshops, and educational materials to be used at home, or audiobooks. When searching for new formulas, museums invited visitors to attend online stories of sites unknown to them or other puzzles characteristic of a given institution and its collection. It could be observed that similar digitized actions which prior to the pandemic had been conducted by the staff of the educational or communication departments, in the course of the pandemic also involved collection curators, heritage conservators, specialists in various disciplines, and museum directors as well.

Such initiatives would have possibly had found a public and recipients also before the pandemic. It has to be, however, assumed, that they had been more on the margin of museum operations, since in the centre of the institution's interest there had always been the traditional public. Simply because a museum, whose major statutory task is to keep a collection and make it available to the public, offers them a direct contact with an object, an artifact, a work. This contact is thus implemented through the real presence of visitors in museums. The proposal to establish a virtual contact with the public was usually treated as an element completing the visit: for instance, searching for detailed information on exhibits, or possibly when organizing a visit,

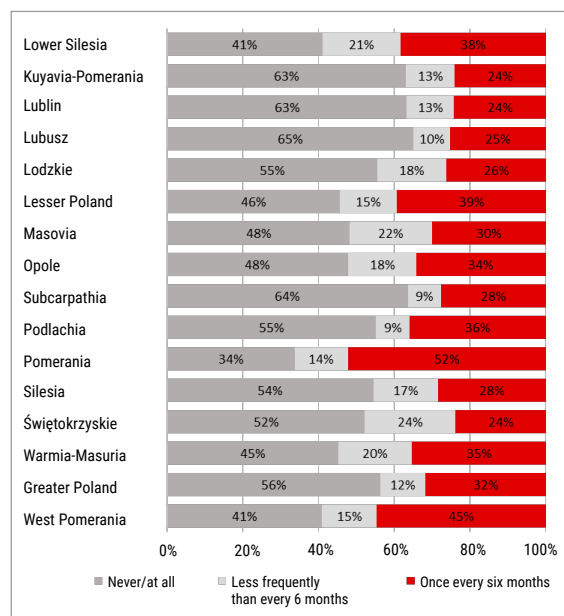


Diagram 1. Frequency of museum visits in respective Voivodeships (N = 1.008)

e.g., information on the collection, opening hours, ticket purchase, and not as the visit's replacement. That proposal assumed that at a certain stage there would happen a direct contact of the visitor with the objects at the museum's disposal. The debate over the importance of collection digitizing and the digital offer of museums, going on for a dozen years or so, did not actually negate the value of a live visit, and assumed more responding to the needs of the visitors who wished to deepen their knowledge, who, however, for various reasons, could not come to the museum, or those

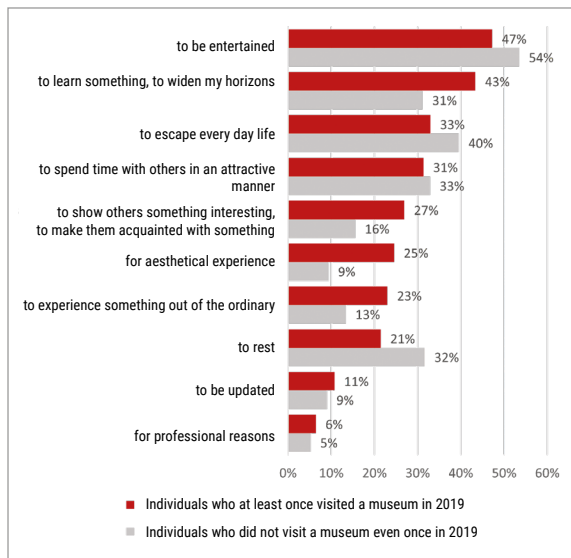


Diagram 2. Motivation for participation in cultural events (N = 911)

implementing popularizing and educational projects. When analysing the transformation which occurred in the world of music due to the pandemic, Barbara Jabłońska emphasizes that apart from new phenomena we have to do, first of all, with an enormous speeding up of the processes already present before thanks to new technologies, such as e.g., globalization and democratization of creative and reception practices, or building interactive relations between an institution and the public through the social media. Furthermore, the Author observes that it was only the fact of ‘imprisoning’ music, or more broadly speaking of culture in the Internet as a global net that made us all fully aware of the existence and the potential of the virtual public.¹⁸

It seems that in the Polish reality of the pandemic we have to do with interesting activities which, however, do not go beyond a certain standard, and which are neither exceptionally genuine nor extraordinary. Meanwhile, the public following the activity of foreign museums could participate in many innovatory, uncommon projects. When commenting on e.g., the experimental visit of penguins to the Nelson-Atkins Museum in Kansas City, Mateusz Bieczyński¹⁹ observes that those projects struck with creativity, *taking on unexpected facets*, yet first of all, they *knocked the public out of their cognitive routines*. Can the museum public, following such an experience, be satisfied with merely visiting a museum? Will museums, as institutions, be capable of facing the challenge of responding to the needs of the public, establishing a dialogue with them, holding debates, conducting interviews, evaluating projects, to the extent of implementing research programmes which are both quantitative and qualitative?

When analysing the results of the research concerning the threats to museum operations in Poland during the pandemic, Łukasz Lipski claims that the biggest danger to the public is their limited direct access to the collection. In the Author’s view, despite the fact that the majority of the institutions he researched boosted their online activity, and

noted an increased entry number on their websites and social profiles, we have to do with a serious challenge in the tasks that museums are facing: *the lack of a direct contact with the collected goods of cultural heritage may result in difficulties in shaping cognitive and aesthetical sensitivity. Virtual reality does not fully compensate for a direct contact and getting to know such basic values for the nation as Polish history, science, or culture.*²⁰ Furthermore, Lipski remarks that elderly people, as compared to young individuals, may experience greater difficulties moving in virtual space, and emphasizes that the introduced limitations had a negative impact on museum proceeds from ticket sale and educational services they provide. As a consequence, the absence in museums may impact the institutions’ capacity to acquire new collections and maintain jobs, implement projects and carry out additional activities, the latter often of educational character.

However, looking further ahead, the Author warns against the effects of a potential winding up of museums: *The phenomenon of the decrease in the number of museums may in the future result in the impoverishment of the offer of museum tourism, and in the limitation of general access to museum objects, as well as a substantial reduction in promoting regional and Polish culture.*²¹ The research of the European network associating museums shows that in the prospect of the two nearest years the biggest challenge will be to encourage the public to return to museums.²² Regardless of the above opinions, one has to point to the antipodic quality of changes in museums as a result of digitizing their collections and remote participation of museum visitors. On the one hand, it may lead to reducing the contact of a visitor with a work of art, while on the other, the universalization process is easily noticeable, as if egalitarianising the access to museum repositories in Poland and worldwide.

Return to the future

The so-far reflections prove that certain segments of the public may find it particularly difficult to return to the traditional participation in culture, also to visiting museums.²³ If we assume that the four key segments distinguished in the *Audience Finder*, namely: Young Creatives, Families, Older Learners, and Cultural Tourists, are a good approximation of the public also in Polish museums,²⁴ in the light of the previously-quoted results we can expect that Older Learners may be postponing their visit to a museum owing to the high concern about catching COVID-19, characteristic of this group. At the same time, it is this very group that is pointed to as potentially most vulnerable to digital exclusion.²⁵ According to Eurostat, in Poland merely 43% of individuals aged 65–74 use the Internet. This is far below the average for senior citizens in the EU (61%) as well as for the country’s average for the group aged 16–74 (83%).²⁶ Quite possibly the Internet will not be an effective communication medium with people past the retirement age, and there is a need for new concepts how to develop communication with this public segment. Lifelong Learning assuming pursuing learning all through one’s life, does not cover only the disciple-master relation in gaining knowledge. The activities of the Universities of the Third Age (U3A) developing before the

pandemic, and other similar initiatives, also museum-affiliated, formulated the goal of their activity as integrating senior citizens, providing them with opportunities for self-fulfilment, social engagement, and the digital realm does not facilitate these. Furthermore, senior citizens were becoming more committed to volunteering in museums, and such actions, too, require a direct contact.

Another group vulnerable to reduced participation in culture are Cultural Tourists. In the past year, travelling restrictions, also border crossing, closing down of hotels and tourist attractions, inflicted great losses on tourism. In Poland, 17.9 million tourists used accommodation facilities, having spent 51.4 million nights at such. Compared to 2019, these figures stood at less than a half.²⁷ According to the UN World Tourism Association, in 2020 the number of international travels fell by 74% compared to the previous year, while the losses were assessed at USD 1.3 trillion, this regarded as the greatest crisis of the branch in contemporary history.²⁸

Bearing in mind the continued restrictions on travelling, an assumption can be made that Cultural Tourists are not likely to shortly return to museums. At the same time, they are a group who should be addressed online proposals, particularly in view of their high IT competences.²⁹ The analysis of the *Audience Finder* points to the fact that these tourists are strongly targeted at educational and development goals. Providing them with a high-quality digital offer may maintain their interest and help them return more easily to stationary visiting forms. However, it has to be observed that social media profiles of museums in Poland are most generally only in Polish. So how can they communicate with an international tourist? Digital museums more and more often offer also an English version of their content, which, however, is rare and requires high financial outlays. A good solution in this respect seems to be uploading podcasts in foreign languages meant for audio-guides; still, a question can be asked about the form and best means of promoting such accessibility. This might contribute in an interesting way to international digital cooperation, at the same time allowing to present the attitude assuming museums' social role and the impact of their responsibility.

It is the individuals from two remaining segments: Young Creatives and Families, that seem the easiest to 'be recovered' in the sense of returning to the traditional stationary museum visiting. The transfer of many activities and relations to cyberspace caused a peculiar Internet 'satiety'. Digital fatigue affected people who e.g., experienced remote learning (students, parents) and teaching. As observed by the authors of the Report *Remote Learning and Adaptations to Social Conditions during the Coronavirus Pandemic: Some students, parents, and teachers clearly manifested symptoms of the abuse of digital media. Fatigued, overloaded with information, reluctant to use the computer and the Internet, and annoyed with a continuous use of ITC technology: these are the most frequent symptoms of digital fatigue*.³⁰

In their case the return to museums without a remote intermediary may even seem a necessity. A stationary visit may, first of all, respond to educational and social needs which, according to the *Audience Finder*, were important reasons for museum visits to those two public segments. It will be a huge challenge for museum staff to make sure that this return is satisfactory. As already mentioned, the

Internet as a global net allows a wide access to museum exhibits from almost all over the world, which may relativize the worth of meeting with the objects available locally. Among the proposals, one could find high-end innovative forms of being in contact with museum objects, which may also alter the expectations of individuals entering a museum, and increase the risk of disappointment if the museum happens to be the same as before the pandemic. In order to secure a turnout success, it is worthwhile turning the return into an extraordinary event, if only by means of small gestures emphasizing the value of a direct encounter with museum objects and staff. Long before the pandemic, museum visitors throughout the world had shown themselves to be searching for community, engagement, and discussion in museums. Museum curators, instead, willingly emphasize that museum success cannot be judged against turnout data only, but also based on the number and quality of participatory actions, those involving the public as well. Forming a museum offer assuming the public's involvement quite obviously assigns new responsibilities to museums. Possibly in the future positive effects may contribute to permanent changes favourably shaping both museums, museum curators, and associations of friends of a museum which gradually more often develop also in Poland.

At the moment, it is worth pointing to one more significant group of museum public in Poland, namely educational institutions: schools which before the pandemic had willingly organized museum classes. Resorting once more to the report from the introduction, we have to realise that the number of museum classes and workshops fell to 28.400 from 80.900 in 2019.³¹ Securing appropriate conditions allowing the return to stationary museum classes makes museums face quite a lot of responsibilities, taking into account also expectations and needs of teachers and tutors coming to a museum with their students. The return of such groups, constituting the majority of visitors to museums before 2 pm, may provide workload to educators usually employed under civil law contracts. The school could seize such visits as an opportunity to leave their premises, this being so important for pedagogical and educational reasons, while providing museums with the chance to form conscious responsible recipients of their offer. On the other hand, however, the proposal of online museum classes allowed new public to participate in them: individuals living abroad, mainly Poles, as well as schools located far away from a given museum, or such people who have not as yet managed to come to visit this particular museum. Maybe this is an opportune moment to ask whether for such a shift in thinking about the public and the offer we really needed the pandemic? Will the keynote in museums focusing mainly on objects and a traditional contact continue to dominate?

Obviously, the period of the closure of museums worked as a catalyst for the actions that museum curators claim they had been planning, which, however, until then they had had neither time nor resources for. Another positive move in communication can be seen in the fact that spots, videos, and reports from museum events feature more and more subtitles and translation into the Polish Sign Language. Museums had had trainings and had reflected on the needs of people with disabilities. The barriers, however, having been lack of determination and capacities to implement

various solutions within the organization. Perhaps among new concepts for museum operations and together with the ideas that accompany post-pandemic openings, projects for a wider well-analysed manner of making exhibitions and the educational offer accessible both in a digital and in stationary form to people with special needs will appear.

It goes without saying that the COVID-19 pandemic significantly disturbed museum operations in Poland, yet, on

the other hand, it also provided an impulse to speed up the digitizing and to use the Internet for educational purposes to a greater degree. The digital experience deconstructed the to-date relations between the public and the museum, extending the time-space of the museum public. Understanding those changes and preparing an offer adequate to visitor needs, these continuously evolving, is of crucial importance for the future of museums and their position in the struggle to attract the attention of conscious and engaged culture audience in the post-pandemic era.

Abstract: The issue of the return of the public to museums after the experience connected with the COVID-19 pandemic is discussed. Furthermore, the results of research related to participation in culture and public's motivations focused on museum visitors is analysed. The activities undertaken by the institutions desiring to maintain communication with

the public and wishing to enable them contact with museum exhibits despite the sanitary restrictions are presented. The authors have initially diagnosed the impact of the pandemic on the institutions' relations with their public, pointing to both negative impacts and benefits, e.g., speeding of the digitizing process and extension of educational functions.

Keywords: museums, public, participation in culture, pandemic, digitization.

Endnotes

- ¹ *Gotowość do podjęcia aktywności kulturalnej po zniesieniu ograniczeń epidemicznych. Raport NCK* [Readiness to Resume Cultural Activity Following the Lifting of the Epidemic Restrictions. NCK Report], Warszawa 2021.
- ² *Działalność muzeów w 2020 r.* [Museum Activity in 2020], GUS, Warszawa 2021.
- ³ In December 2020, Poles' fears most frequently concerned health (51% of the respondents). The respondents feared health deterioration or any disease (20%), the COVID-19 pandemic and its results (16%), or the direct COVID-19 infection (13%). The frequency of mentioning health-related issues grew in proportion to the respondents' age. See: *Komunikat z badań 155/2000; Obawy Polaków w czasach pandemii CBOS* [Report on Survey 155.2000: Poles' Fears in the Times of the Pandemic. CBOS], Warszawa December 2020, https://www.cbos.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2020/K_155_20, PDF
- ⁴ *Działalność muzeów w 2020...*
- ⁵ CBOS's analysis from the 1st half of 2021 shows that the level of fear of the infection correlates, first of all, with respondents' age. The lowest level of concern characterizes young respondents (under 34). The older the respondents, the more frequently and strongly they worry about the possibility of infection. The highest fear level is characteristic of individuals over 65.
- ⁶ *Gotowość do podjęcia...*
- ⁷ The research conducted by The Audience Agency for British Museums shows that the majority of museum visitors are the individuals who live close to the institution: in the distance of 30-minute-drive, see *Museum Audience Report*, 2018, <https://www.theaudienceagency.org/resources/museums-audience-report>
- ⁸ *Uczestnictwo ludności w kulturze w 2019 r.* [Participation of the Population in Culture], GUS, Warszawa 2020.
- ⁹ The analysis does not take into account individuals who in 2019 did not participate in either of the proposed activities even once.
- ¹⁰ *Museum Audience Report...*
- ¹¹ *Uczestnictwo ludności...*
- ¹² 65% for TV, 69% for the Internet.
- ¹³ 4.5% for TV, 3.5% for the Internet.
- ¹⁴ Report No. 9/2021, *Obawy przed zakażeniem koronawirusem i ocena działań rządu w styczniu* [Fear of Coronavirus Infection and Assessment of the Government Activity in January], CBOS, Warszawa 2021.
- ¹⁵ *Działalność muzeów w 2020...*
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷ Number as of 30 June 2021, <http://muzealnictwo.com/2021/03/muzea-zamkniete-ale-zapraszaja-do-sieci/>
- ¹⁸ B. Jabłońska, *The Virus as a Catalyst for Culture? Sociological Reflections Using as Example the Musical Practices during the COVID-19 Pandemic*, 'Kultura i Społeczeństwo' 2021, No. 65(1), pp. 145-164.
- ¹⁹ M. Bieczyński, „Szok kulturowy” – *działalność muzeów w czasie pandemii* ['Cultural Shock': Museum's Activity During the Pandemic], 'Muzealnictwo' 2021, No. 62, pp. 23-29 – www.muzealnictworocznik.com, DOI: 10.5604/01.3001.0014.8573.
- ²⁰ Ł. Lipski, *Przeciwdziałanie zagrożeniom w funkcjonowaniu muzeów w Polsce podczas pandemii COVID-19 w 2020 roku w kontekście roli muzeów w tworzeniu tożsamości kulturowej oraz zabezpieczenia dziedzictwa kulturowego* [Counteracting the Risks in Museum Operations in Poland During the COVID-19 Pandemic in 2020 in the Context of the Role of Museums in Creating Cultural Identity and Protecting Cultural Heritage], 'Rozprawy Społeczne/Social Disertations' 2021, No. 15(1), pp. 97-112; DOI:10.29316/rs/135342.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

- ²² After: *Follow-up survey on the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on museums in Europe*, Network of European Museum Organisations (NEMO), January 2021.
- ²³ In the report of the survey conducted by the Art Fund among 427 British museum directors and professionals in 2020 it was judged that the slowest to return would be the core audience of many museums, especially older visitors, tourists, and schools, <https://www.ribaj.com/culture/post-pandemic-design-museums-and-galleries-nissen-richards-stanton-williams-aoc-jamie-fobert-natural-history-museum>
- ²⁴ We purposefully do not refer to Polish research into museum public segmentation owing to the lack of analyses studying the question in the national perspective.
- ²⁵ Among the reasons, the following are listed: no access to the Internet, costs related to services and fears of or lack of skills to use new technologies.
- ²⁶ After: <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-eurostat-news/-/edn-20210517-1>
- ²⁷ After: *Wykorzystanie turystycznych obiektów noclegowych w 2020 roku. Informacja sygnałowa* [Use of Tourist Accommodation in 2020. Signal Information], GUS, Warszawa 2021.
- ²⁸ After: <https://www.unwto.org/news/2020-worst-year-in-tourism-history-with-1-billion-fewer-international-arrivals>
- ²⁹ See R. Wiśniewski, *Transgresja kompetencji międzykulturowych. Studium socjologiczne młodzieży akademickiej* [Transgression of Cross-Cultural Competences. Sociological Study of University Students], Warszawa 2016, pp. 17-20.
- ³⁰ G. Ptaszek et al., *Edukacja zdalna: co stało się z uczniami, ich rodzicami i nauczycielami?* [Remote Education: What Happened to Students, Their Parents, and Teachers?], Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne, Gdańsk 2020, s. 29.
- ³¹ *Działalność muzeów w 2020...*

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Word count: 4 493; **Tables:** –; **Figures:** 3; **References:** 31

Received: 07.2021; **Reviewed:** 08.2021; **Accepted:** 09.2021; **Published:** 09.2021

DOI: 10.5604/01.3001.0015.3122

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Competing interests: Authors have declared that no competing interest exists.

Cite this article as: Bąk A., Wiśniewski R.; *VISITOR, PLEASE, COME...* INITIAL REMARKS ON MUSEUM PUBLIC DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC. *Muz.*, 2021(62): 246-253

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