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Does education contribute to the creation of sustainable art cities?

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ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to investigate the debate about the role of education, particularly developed in the panel “Regulation and protection of heritage and landscape between globalisation and localism” held at the Conference *Città d’arte 3.0. Il futuro delle città d’arte in Italia* at Palazzo Te, (2016, Mantua). Among the issues discussed, the fundamental role of education, which indeed should be included in the development of both art cultural policies and of protection systems at all levels, from schools to universities, was specifically underlined. The main question that this paper intends to answer is: how does education contribute to the creation of sustainable art cities? My methodology will investigate international and national case studies, which provide evidence on education as a supportive element in policies regarding cultural sustainable development. It will analyse core themes (some of them interconnected) that I will try to address.

Keywords:

education,
sustainability,
readability of
cultural heritage,
museum as
educational place,
collective
patronage for
education

1. Introduction

Global attention on the contribution of education both for sustainability and for the development of cultural heritage has increased in the last fifteen years (e.g., Du Cros, 2001; Foster 2001; McKercher & Du Cros, 2002; Fien, 2004; Tweed & Sutherland, 2007; Alexander, 2010; Cullinford & Blewitt, 2013; Sterling & Huckle, 2014; Gadotti, 2016). On the one hand some studies investigate the relationship between sustainability and education, focusing on the challenges that education has to face for a

sustainable environment. On the other hand different research reflects upon the importance of education as sustainability, since “the relation between education and sustainability cannot be an external, still less an instrumental one. Sustainability means humans, as individuals and societies, consciously trying to go with the grain of nature” (Foster, 2001: 153-165).

However, the goal of this paper is to focus on the contribution that education could give to the creation of sustainable art cities in Italy, and how education could be a sustainable element in and of itself.

I will frame my analysis starting from the panel *Regolazione e tutela del patrimonio e del paesaggio tra globalizzazione e localismi* held at the conference *Città d'arte 3.0. Il futuro delle città d'arte in Italia* at Palazzo Te (12 November 2016). Such a panel, fundamental source of inspiration for this paper, particularly reflected upon: 1) the definition of art cities, 2) the multiplicity of interests at stake considering the potential possibility of their conjunction, 3) the tools used to define art cities - even though Italian legislation has not yet elaborated a proper legal definition, the speakers underlined that art cities must be perceived as solid integral entities. Such unities have to be taken into account in urban development, construction, planning and tourism. Additionally a multidisciplinary approach has to be employed in the development of legal definitions. Such an attitude already lies within Italian legislation because the law cannot give content without involving other sciences.

The multiplicity of interests, the second issue raised, is the cornerstone to cultural heritage due to conflicting challenges, such as valorisation, protection and conservation, and poses problems of governance. Indeed, it is the State's duty to solve difficulties related to managing art cities.

The third issue constitutes the fundamental topic which regards the defining mechanisms or effective strategies of management. In this direction, three main categories of tools available were identified:

1) institutional or organisational tools;
2) procedures to determine or to analyze the different interests;
3) elaboration of implementation mechanisms (e.g., applicable to management of UNESCO World Heritage sites). Govern and substantiate conceptual paradigms (safeguarding and valorising culture and landscape) need to interact, employing an interdisciplinary approach, addressing such issues as follows:

- professional and qualified administration;
- interaction between public and private sectors;
- development of technical capacity;
- technological innovation;
- the creation of conditions under which new potentials can be revealed;
- sublimation of knowledge from different disciplines applicable to cultural heritage protection;
- increase of cooperation among diverse public actors to prevent fragmentation of expertise;
- employment of the capacities of different communities.

The public sector has to be the driving force in development, whereas problems as bureaucracy and ineffective procedures should be eliminated.

Among the issues discussed, the panel indicated the need to elaborate:

- the relevance of the involvement of the communities;
- the necessity of creating places of dialogue as bridges between citizens and protection forces;
- the management of generational *clivages* and the importance of both an historical diffused education and of a narrative capacity;
- the responsibility of universities especially in an international research network.

Among them particular emphasis was given to the fundamental role of education which should be included in the development of both cultural policies and of protection systems at all levels, from school to university.

Starting from this last point I will conduct my research by framing a reflection on education, understanding how it helps to build an identity of a city, which values it addresses and whether it is a unifying element across generations and across different people with diverse backgrounds. I will then identify which goals education may be able to accomplish, through which tools, the innovative practices it realised, possible applicable strategies, and how the UNESCO agenda worked for art cities. Additionally, I will consider how education could be a link to research and to creating sustainable art districts. Finally, I will conclude by identifying the strategies to support education programs for the safeguarding of cultural heritage, also involving local communities.

2. Education, a tool that builds a city's identity

The debate on the role of education in the Conference in Mantua made me reflect on the international framework on such a topic, especially regarding its power in the construction of national identities along history. Some studies show evidence of political identity using education as a main tool. For example this was the case during the Enlightenment, in totalitarian regimes (Sü, 1997), in rebuilding war torn nations (Bacevic, 2014), or for creating policies of multiculturalism and integration (Shimizu & Bradley, 2014). In particular, a study published in 2008 underlines the binomial education-identity that I am analysing: "Family environment and education can be at the root of the process of identity formation" (Aspachs Bracons & Costa-Font, 2008: 434). Indeed, language, religion and traditions have been transmitted and developed through education, especially through school teaching, before the diffusion of universities. Europeans believed in the power of this tool:

Education was one of the key elements of the Enlightenment Programme. A belief in the efficacy of education and in the desirability of its universal application formed one of the programme's early and key tenets. Subsequently, it was through educational institutions – the universal national elementary school and the expanded and upgraded university – that its wider beliefs and practices were to be spread across Europe and beyond in the course of the nineteenth century (Coulby & Jones, 1996: 171).

Education, therefore, spread belief and over the years revealed to be a key instrument for nations to build an identity. I claim, thus, that if education creates identity we shall consider it also as a possible

value in the realisation of sustainable art cities, due to its social function. Education is a value process, because aims, ends, goals, objectives, or purposes are involved (Romine, 1949: 153-154). It is a social function, which derives its value broadly from the society in which it exists and which it serves (Romine, 1949: 153-154). Indeed, if it is a social function, cultural policies should be determined to guide the growth and the awareness of the individual on the cultural heritage present in the city, contributing in this way to creating the so-called “cultural public” (Polveroni, 2007). The cultural public is the art public that museums, foundations and, more generally, cultural institutions are trying to raise. It is the main target looked for exhibitions, performance and for events. The cultural public, I claim, is also the main target through which policy of sustainability of art cities should form. Education as tool that builds identity and as social function is not enough to create an art public able to sustain art cities. There is something missing. Identity has to bring together a deep sense of belonging. In this way art cities would feel like home to citizens, and any international studies have analysed the importance of this. For instance, *Cultures of the city: mediating identities in urban Latin/o America* (2012) takes into account the process of ritualisation of cultural belonging in Havana. *How arts and cultural strategies create, reinforce, and enhance sense of place* (APA, 2011) observes, instead, how identity is reflected through the character of the community or the sense of a place. If the sense of a place is deep, the cultural heritage present in the city is perceived as the city’s own. This sense of belonging, I believe, is fundamental in order to make citizens willing to support art cities, because it makes them responsible toward the art/historical beauty of their city.

Since I claimed so far that education is a tool that creates identity, I wonder whether cultural education is also a unifying element across generations, across different people with different backgrounds. One international example that provides evidence on how education is a unifying element is the *Migrantour* project (http://www.mygrantour.org/wpcontent/uploads/2014/09/Migrantour_ENG_light.pdf). It demonstrates how much migration could contribute to the enrichment and transformation of the European art cities. Turin, Milan, Florence, Rome, Marseille, Paris, Valencia and Lisbon let visitors experience a new kind of urban tourism. Citizens of non-Italian origin are proposed an unprecedented journey, emphasising new aspects of the cultural heritage locally present. A different national example related to immigrants is the Italian initiative of the FAI committee in Bolzano: in 2011 the project *With new cultures. A city for all* (Comitato Fai di Bolzano, 2011) started to collaborate with the Italian Cultural Department, FAI Delegation of Bolzano, Società Dante Alighieri et al. It aimed at instructing immigrants on the cultural heritage of Bolzano. Guided tours explained the city in the different native language of the groups of migrants.

These projects, I claim, provide evidence on how education is a unifying element across multiethnic people with different backgrounds. Such projects build multiculturalism and bring exchange and innovation, components that could help to reflect upon new strategies for the sustainability of art cities.

3. Goals of Education: Application of Practices and Possible Strategies

As was recommended during the Mantua conference, the immense role of youth and education should have a particular attention in the cultural policy development. Education systems should encompass, therefore, the dimension of culture, cultural heritage, and preservation at all levels starting already from schools. I will now try to reflect on some entangled objectives that education systems should accomplish.

Readability of cultural heritage

The first goal that education should achieve is the readability of cultural heritage. Italy, besides the solid programs of art history already taught in schools and in universities, should develop, in order to achieve this goal: 1) new cultural programs and 2) the use of new technologies to teach past culture.

1) New cultural programs should aim for the valorisation of the cultural heritage present in art cities. Such programs should be mandatory for schools that are in art cities, and optional for other Italian schools. The main consequences of such plans should be not only to incentivise tourism as a form of economic gain, but also the enhancement of the community sense of art cities. I will now clarify what I mean with a community sense of a place, and which advantage it brings itself:

A community's sense of a place is not a static concept; rather, it evolves and develops over time, reflecting the spectrum of social values within and around the community. In this way, the community character of a city, county, town, or neighbourhood can be seen as a story or narrative of a place. Planners and community members can come together to reveal and burnish this narrative through (...) the implementation of policies, regulations, and incentives that support and enhance this evolving identity. (...) Awareness of community identity and character is strengthened by the consideration of all community interests in decision-making processes; the integration of arts and cultural resources with civic visioning programs; and the balancing of the inherent conflicting nature of past, present, and future social values (APA, 2011).

In front of these possible advantages the importance of the readability of cultural heritage is evident. The question to address today in order to strengthen policy of readability is thus: how could education contribute to transmit something that is perceived as old and dead? In this regard, the artist Michelangelo Pistoletto already in 1992 wrote a contribution for the conference proceedings of *Convegno Rota* (Turin). He indicated this problem claiming that culture is the art that is born today and that our past will be considered only if people believe in a life of art that continues through present, instead of a history seen as a burden on our shoulders (Pistoletto, 1992: 113). In front of this reflection I thus wonder how the main institutions of education such as schools could raise interest in the past, which tools do they have and which issues do they face for the transmission of heritage in this globalising era. For instance, one central issue is how museums could benefit from the virtual

dimension that new technologies have brought. Indeed, cinema screen, television and Internet seem now to be the most attractive tools for the new generations through which to acquire knowledge (Spracklen, 2015; Kappas & Krämer, 2011; Seiter, 2005) for the so-called *Millennials*.

2) New technologies could be a great instrument to teach history, and art history. For instance, some private Italian schools are already using the method of the *Smart Board*, recognising that image and interaction are fundamental elements in the process of learning. A Canadian research defined and emphasised the importance of such an instrument:

The Smart Board, an interactive whiteboard, can be used for assessment and instruction. It is a place for collaborative learning communities to work, and it provides oral language practice and opportunities to scaffold all areas of literacy instruction. The Smart Board is capable of giving specific, timely, and accurate feedback to learners as they interact with this technological tool. The Smart Board allows teachers to incorporate digital text into their everyday teaching in a meaningful way and, best of all, it is engaging and fun! (...) Anything that an excellent teacher would normally do can be done even better using a smart board (Peterson, Booth & Jupiter, 2009: 47).

Unfortunately many Italian public high schools do not use yet such methodology (Bia, 2014): its development should be a first step in a new education policy for the perception of art history as something alive, and for humanistic subjects in general.

Museums as educational places

The second goal that education should strive for is the creation of educational places. According to some of the research published from 1997 (e.g., Gilbert & Priest, 1997; Hooper-Greenhill 1999; Hein 2002; Falk, 2016), museums proved to be important educational places:

The trend toward lifelong learning has expanded and redefined the role of the museum educator. No longer do museum education departments focus narrowly or only on school programs. Expectations of personal growth and learning and the needs for 'mid-career' and 'mid-life' information by the adult population, have expanded the concept of museum education (...) (Glaser & Zenetou, 1996: 238).

I believe that such a function should be further strengthened and oriented in the policy development of sustainability of Italian art cities. Some recent cases should be taken as examples: *Uffizi 3D. Da Giotto a Caravaggio* and Peter Greenaway's visions.

The exhibition *Uffizi 3D. Da Giotto a Caravaggio* held at *Fabbrica del Vapore* in Milan in 2016 is an example of didactic purpose. Curators brought the Uffizi collection through a 3D dimension offering both an immersive interactive experience as well as another more ludic and didactic experience with the technology *Uffizi Touch®*. A rich calendar of events and workshops for families' kids and for every

level of instruction was planned for this initiative: from drawings, games based on artwork, to theatrical representations and comics. *Uffizi 3D* thus proved to be an innovative practice for the knowledge of cultural heritage. Indeed, *Uffizi Touch®* let viewers focus on details otherwise impossible to see with the human eye due to the state of conservation of the masterpiece.

A singular example that conveys an attempt of developing a technique for the readability of art masterpieces and of monuments is Peter Greenaway's language. Through his visions, works of art acquire a new interpretation and at the same time become alive, attracting many more visitors (Carra, 2015). After seeing Greenaway's vision viewers can enjoy the original masterpieces with his interpretation in mind, conceiving thus the monument or the artwork as a storyteller, as part of his life. Indeed, Greenaway through the so-called "Classic Paintings revisited series" (Lectio Magistralis UC Berkeley, 2010), endeavoured to address his visions to the laptop generations, willing to create a dialogue between the "visual literacy of cinema and the visual literacy of paintings" (Dalle Vacche, 2012: 10).

Another example of didactic experience is that planned by museums. These guide the public to approach several forms of artistic expressions offering a critical key to interpretation, examples include these institutions:

- Museo del Novecento, Milan;
- Pinacoteca of Brera, Milan;
- Galleria Civica, Trento;
- Mart, Rovereto;
- MAXXI, Rome;
- Guggenheim Museum, Venice.

In these cases museums actively contribute to the education of the cultural taste of our age (Rivetti, 1992). *Museo del Novecento* in Milan, for instance, participates in initiatives such as the *National day for Families at Museum*, or laboratories of creative writing for kids, realised in collaboration with the *Great Fabric of Words*. Since 2014 *Museo del Novecento* is part of the project *My friend museum*, a museum network born with the goal of gathering the best of the cultural offering found in Milan for kids, aiming to propose a path that along the year conducts parents and kids to the discovery of the wealth of museums in the city. In addition, *Museo del Novecento* participates in the program called *Sky Arte HD for Museums*, for children between seven and twelve years old. It is a new way of living museums through a free App which helps viewers discover artwork in Italian museums in a ludic way. *Pinacoteca of Brera*, instead, started the project *A Brera anch'io* (I'm in Brera too): it bases its roots in the already embraced reflection of some European countries. Such thought about the role of museums as a cohesive element is based on the contribution that museums can offer for a critical comprehension of the world, for a constructive dialogue between individuals and diverse cultural communities. The main purpose of *Pinacoteca* is to transform its cultural heritage in a real place of reflection and dialogue. Among the *Pinacoteca of Brera* goals, special attention is given to educational vocation. Indeed, on the website it is possible to read:

- education of citizens to the knowledge and to the responsible use of cultural heritage;
- education to listen and to dialogue as occasion to approach some characteristics of the culture

of belonging;

- acquisition of knowledge of *Pinacoteca of Brera* and of some of the conserved artworks, in order to learn them and to use their richness as instruments and occasion for growth and comparison;
- acquisition not only of knowledge but also of competences, or of behaviours that could be then brought to different context of museums, that could be absorbed by students;
- a stimulus to reflection and re-reading of the didactic routine for teachers.

These two museums, *Novecento* and *Brera*, are models of how didactic activities have been developed to improve the readability of cultural heritage. In this regard, there are many other examples that go in this direction. *Mart of Rovereto*, for instance, proposes programs of learning for a diverse public such as prisoners or the mentally ill. *MAXXI of Rome*, instead, offers themes of architecture to primary and secondary schools in order to make children literate about the creative process of architecture. The *Galleria Civica of Trento* instead takes artists into the schools. This last practice is quite diffused also abroad (e.g., in the United States). In New York, for example, kids of Clinton Middle School, a school attended by selected students interested in the arts, participates every week in workshops promoted by non-profit organisations such as *More Art* that take famous contemporary artists into schools. Starting from an early age students, therefore, learn to read art and to involve it in their daily routine.

A special practice that sometimes museums propose is to move an exhibition for its fruition. *The Guggenheim Museum of Venice* brought its show in *Cariverona Foundation*, thus letting students of Verona get the opportunity to enjoy it. However, moving a show does not let the viewer experience the architecture of the museums in which the show was originally planned, a dynamic that often contributes greatly to the didactic experience of the exhibition. The building of the Jewish Museum in Berlin, for instance, holds the deepest meaning of the dramatic history of the Jewish population, which is communicated through a sensorial perturbation of stimuli, as Adriana Polveroni notes in *This is Contemporary!* (Polveroni, 2007). She claims that the almost bothersome aspect of the misaligned floor, the zig-zagging trajectory, the empty and dark *Tower of Holocaust* and the claustrophobic and inclined *Exile Garden* prepare the visitor to an emotive adhesion to embrace the drama (Polveroni, 2007: 83).

All these points, I claim, provide evidence on how the didactic sector radically increased in the most recent years. According to Polveroni the didactic thus reveals itself to be an essential component also for the balance sheet of museums, since it contributes to the process of cultural radicalisation in the public that sustains museums, opening a path of cultural growing (Polveroni, 2007: 82-83). Finally, it seems also that architecture has an important role in the readability of cultural heritage, contributing to consolidate the responsibility of museums as educational places.

4. UNESCO: programs for the sustainability of cultural heritage in Italy

For an art city, being a UNESCO site brings a lot of advantages, not only in terms of tourism, but also in terms of decisions of strategies (Cochrane & Tapper, 2006; Kostchial 2008; Sadiki 2012; Poria et al, 2013). In Mantua, for instance, UNESCO promoted a fundamental study for the requalification and valorisation of Gonzaga's gardens revealing its importance in stimulating research and knowledge that look to the future. Not only in Mantua, but also in other parts of Italy UNESCO acted. For instance, the region of Veneto has BRESCE, Regional Bureau for Science and Culture in Europe. It is the only regional UNESCO center in Italy. Among its goals it is possible to see:

- development of scientific research;
- formation and synergic exchanges among different States pursuing values of sustainable development in order to create a better management of the territory;
- promotion of a responsible and sustainable tourism;
- undertake programs aiming at intercultural dialogue.

All BRESCE programs and initiatives want to safeguard the cultural and naturalistic heritage of Venice and its lagoon. Another initiative proposed by UNESCO in Italy was the program *Cities leverage UNESCO Designated sites to contribute to sustainable development*, a capacity building workshop which convened in Turin from 1 to 6 December 2016. In particular, its second edition, aimed at advancing the institutional and professional capacities of managing authorities and relevant operators of World Heritage properties, Creative Cities and Biosphere Reserves, in order to achieve the 2030 SDGs (UNESCO Venice Office, 2016):

The Academy, through all its international partners, acts as a real learning and knowledge sharing community, and serves as support to all its members to promote occasions of strengthening networking and international cooperation among sites for the implementation of projects aimed to engage stakeholders and build and reinforce local capacities towards a sustainable dimension of development. The community currently includes representative from 69 World Heritage Sites, Biosphere Reserves and Creative Cities Network from 39 countries (CSS, 2016).

In this workshop, the following subtopics were developed: urban heritage as driver of change; cities as incubators of creativity and innovation; cities and rural areas as cooperative systems. The first and the second subtopics are particularly interesting because they underline the role of cities as drivers of local and inclusive economic development that promote cultural diversity through sustainable practices. Indeed, "New approaches toward urban heritage conservation and management are a major challenge to build up a sustainable development perspective into the processes of the World Heritage Convention, and other relevant standards" (UNESCO Venice Office, 2016). In addition, in the same workshop the role of cities as networks for incubating and disseminating sustainable development practices, based on creativity and innovation, was emphasised.

A further noteworthy example whose model could be applied for cultural initiatives of education was the project *Teachers from learners to thinkers. Ark of Inquiry trains Italian educators in IBSE methodology* (2016). Teachers from the provinces of Naples, Vicenza and Perugia began their journey as trainees under the EU-funded Ark of Inquiry project, implemented in Italy by BRESCE. Through three separate yet interrelated modules (*Teachers as Learners; Teacher as Thinkers; Teachers as Reflective Practitioners*), these training sessions for teachers from across 12 European countries tried to achieve the vision of creating a “new science classroom”. I suggest that the same project should be organised to create “new artistic classrooms for sustainability in art cities” in Italy.

5. Higher education: university and research

In the globalisation era education faces more and more challenges (Jones, McCarney & Skolnik, 2005), especially in higher education, fundamental to promoting economic growth and sustainable human development (Bloom, 2005: 21). Indeed “Knowledge and access to knowledge have become vital determinants of national wealth (Bloom et al, 2003). So far, however, the developed world has had a virtual monopoly on the production of knowledge” (Bloom, 2005: 25). Due to such a context there is a great movement of ideas, especially both for the diffused practice of Erasmus and Overseas for students, and for teaching exchanges too. Developing countries are taking advantage of this flow of knowledge, facilitated by advances in information and communication technology. Because of the increment of the speed at which ideas are brought to fruition, postgraduate fellowship, lecturing exchanges, joint research projects and workshops have been implemented, thus facilitating the brain exchange instead of the brain drains. In this global framework, I claim that the brain exchange should be considered as a fundamental element of enrichment to open new perspectives for research in order to create innovative practice for the sustainability of art cities. Indeed, one of the last Italian university policies worked in this direction (e.g., *Brain Drain, Brain Exchange e Brain Circulation. Il caso italiano nel contesto globale*, Milio et al, March 2012). In this way international cross-institutional networking will bring enhancement in the sustainability of art cities. Besides this of course, national cross-institutional networking should also be encouraged, especially among universities in the same territory to develop a network of specialised researchers capable of addressing the developmental requirements of that area. For instance, the universities of the Lombardy region in Italy should foster not only research for institutions consultancy or enterprise, but also for the sustainability of the art cities in which they are located. Some recent cases are leading examples of the cooperation between academic institutions and the territory. First, the plan to create the *Bicocca District* in Milan for culture and innovation, which saw the involvement of 14 partners. Among them Università Milano-Bicocca, Municipality of Milan, Pirelli Foundation, Hangar Bicocca Foundation, Deutsche Bank Italy and Siemens Italy. From a cultural point of view such a project strengthened the collaboration between Università Milano-Bicocca and Hangar Bicocca Foundation in the exchange of competences related to *education through art* and to the *art based research*. The idea was to identify the area as symbol of contemporaneity and as place of culture, research and innovation. Particular attention was given also to communication support and collaborations with academics in programming exhibitions of contemporary art (UNIMIB, 2016).

Second, the agreement between the municipality of Genoa and Università degli Studi of Genoa, for the collaboration and consultancy in scientific and formative area. Such a research, among its goals, aimed for the development of culture as an economic factor. From these examples, connections between universities and education seem, therefore, to be very important. Indeed, this relationship is a link to the creation of new ideas which contributes to the increment of wealth (McCarney, 2005: 214-215):

Governments as well as institutions of higher learning, are seeking reliable connections between higher education and the creation of wealth. (...) The opinion is emerging that universities must provide a suitable return on public investment by producing greater volumes of high-skilled labor and the innovation necessary to refresh the economy. (...) The creation of new ideas, and their commercial exploitation for creation of wealth is at the centre of the debate over the role of the university in the new knowledge economy (McCarney, 2005: 214-215).

Because of the advantages and the economic productivity of such collaborations, I suggest that long-term partnerships between institutions of higher education and Bank Foundations should be realised for sustainable programs of art cities (e.g., Fondazione Sistema Toscana; Strasbourg University).

6. What art cities can do for education?

Art cities are complexes featuring a convergence of different problems with ambivalent dynamics related to conjunct culture, tourism and citizen expectations within of the context of cultural heritage safeguarding. Pursuing such a safeguarding of art cities could help education. In this regard the first point that I will indicate is that art cities should be used as classrooms since students should feel the city in which they learn as a classroom. In Mantua for instance its university invited experts of urbanism, engineers, and art economists to give lectures in Mantegna's rooms.

Professors and cultural operators are not solely responsible for creating strategies to benefit cultural education, but also architects and designers. Looking abroad, the case of Montreal in Canada could give some suggestions in looking to interdisciplinary perspective to create advantages for education. Harry Parnass, Instructor in the School of Architecture at the University of Montreal, was one of the developers of the concept of Metro/Education, which utilised Montreal's new Metro transit system as the basis for city-wide learning centers (Wurman et al, 1972: 45-48). The basic concept of the Metro/Education project was related to the performance level of the infrastructure of the city, increasing as a result the performance level of the people who live and work in that city. Performance in this case, according to Parnass, meant self-realisation: "achieving something, a sense of joy, of fulfillment, all the reasons why we live in the cities. If you talk about infra-structures in the city, and increasing performance level, one of the first things that comes to mind, is efficiency" (Wurman et al, 1972: 46). He believes that cities would have been miniaturised, increased their density, having richer lives as a result. In the Metro system they had cinemas that could handle groups of from 99 to 300 people. They were empty, therefore, instead of building new auditoriums and classrooms for students,

they went to speak with developers, property owners and cinema owners, and said they would have brought children there, in just thirty minutes, every morning for class. I believe that this model could be applied in those art cities where transportation is in planning. Such a plan should try to connect schools to cultural heritage sites. For instance students could sit for class some days at school while on other days in theatres or in museums. In this way I claim such spaces will become part of students' daily life.

These thoughts are suggestions also for designers that are committed to redesign and rebuild art cities. In order to make urban areas sustainable some of them tried to “fuse the living and the learning places” (Wurman et al, 1972: 47) especially around installations of contemporary art that become permanent “monuments”. Architects, designers and engineers should be trained to conceive the artistic space of the city of art, not just as a space, but as advanced form of space (Guerrieri, Belli & Birignani, 1998: 75), something more than the physically dry Aristotelian concept of a place occupied by bodies (as Fustel de Coulanges underlined in his essay on the ancient art). Research on urbanism is moving in this direction reflecting particularly upon a new approach to the urban design decision-making process, and to the urban environmental quality, using IT infrastructure for supporting multidisciplinary urban planning (Cooper, Evans & Boyko, 2009).

7. Collective Patronage for Education

The last element that I will take into account, as a suggestion for strengthening the role of education in the creation of sustainable art cities, is *Collective Patronage*. In the Mantua Conference, in the initial *Plenary Assembly*, the audience was reminded of the role of *Collective Patronage* that brought along the history to the renewal of art cities. Siena, for instance, renewed its urban texture due to its Collective Patrons. In Mantua, Gonzaga decentralised and expanded the urban area for the benefit of all citizens. Without Patronage cities often degraded or became obsolete as happened in Pienza.

Because of the importance of Patronage all over the history of art cities, I claim that special programs of education could propose to form not only citizens as *Patrons for the Arts* but also as *Patrons for Education*, creating thus a proper *Collective Patronage for Education*. In art cities *Collective Patronage for Education* should focus both on didactic programs of innovation and on empowering local units of cultural education. Such a Patronage should be sponsored either by financial institutions such as banks, regional development banks and funds, or by other international institutions such as the *European Investment Bank*. In addition, such financial institutions could also provide sectorial assistance including education, such as the World Bank did (UNESS, 2008-2013: 48).

8. Conclusion

In order to conclude my paper I will touch on some points indicated to suggest further research. Firstly, identity proved to be a fundamental element to emphasise the contribution that education gives and could offer in the creation of sustainable art cities. In this perspective tourism becomes, therefore, not only one of the main points of arrival, but also a point of value and of wider interests. For instance, two

years ago the Italian Cultural Ministry promoted free access to museums the first Sunday of every month. This plan had an extremely positive impact from both a quantitative and qualitative point of view as the table below shows.

PUBLIC ITALIAN MUSEUMS	ART CITY	TOTAL NUMBER OF VISITORS YEAR 2016	TOTAL NUMBER OF VISITORS YEAR 2015
Galleria degli Uffizi	Florence	2.010.631	1.971.758
Venaria Reale	Turin	1.012.033	580.786
Galleria Borghese	Rome	527.937	506.442
Castello Scaligero di Sirmione	Brescia	280.493	234.435
Palazzo Ducale	Mantua	363.173	243.740
Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Venezia	Venice	344.904	298.380
Museo Archeologico Nazionale	Naples	452.431	381.632
Reggia di Caserta	Caserta	683.070	497.197

TABLE 1: VISITORS OF PUBLIC ITALIAN MUSEUMS – YEARS 2016 AND 2015.

Source: own elaboration of the web page of the Italian Cultural Ministry
http://www.beniculturali.it/mibac/export/MiBAC/sitoMiBAC/Contenuti/MibacUnif/Comunicati/visualizza_asset.html_892096923.html

Secondly, readability of cultural heritage should be one of the main goals of education from cradle to adulthood, where such readability lets one perceive art history as a living element, and as a builder of our identity today. Further strategies should have as a second goal the enhancement of museums as educational places, improving also the use of digital technology as tools for learning. In addition, to favour readability of cultural heritage, artistic-historical spaces in art cities should be viewed as classrooms. In this regard experts of urbanism, designers and architects should be key figures for such development in the process of planning infrastructures, transportations and in the requalification of urban areas (e.g., Bicocca District, Milan).

Thirdly, UNESCO proved to be a fundamental element that reinforces strategies of high standards

teaching methods, for the creation of innovative perspective of sustainability. The initiative promoted by UNESCO indicated the need to affect culture and education at all levels because of the multiplicity of interests at stake. Collaborations between universities and cities, instead, revealed to be further elements for the development of sustainable art cities. Such cooperation support the creation of art cities as hubs of innovation, and as laboratories of culture, involving also the community in the decision making process. Finally, *Collective Patronage for Education* could be a new strategy to develop in art cities.

To summarise, this paper lays out a framework for future research, drawing lessons from the mentioned cases and both from studies and cases on the relationship between education and the capacity of innovation. Finally, it identifies key issues and strategies for policy makers to create sustainable art cities, claiming that if education is reinforced, mentality could be transformed, especially in those cases of bureaucracy immobility.

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Culture Center as a space for cognitive personal discovery among peoples

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ABSTRACT

What does it mean “Culture Center” and what is a role of culture center in a local life? We use very different terminology and have different expectations. In this time of different crisis in the society is important to have a possibility to meet people from different countries and continents to know each other better. There is a big role of local cultural centers to initiate, support and organize events to educate people by practical examples directly in the locality. In many countries we can find a national networking, a lot of centers are active in European networks, but it is still not enough. There are a lot of centers who still have no contacts on a national or international level. How we can help them to understand a role of co-creator of a well-being? What are the barriers for the international cooperation in the locality?

Keywords:

international,
local culture,
culture center

1. Culture Centers and networking

1.1 Introduction

We can find a lot of different activities in the regions of our countries. Often it can be a combination of activities for a creativity, an education, art and culture events, free time activities and also business activities which are going on in Culture Centers. There are different models of their work. There are also very big differences in their activities. The important part of work of cultural centers is a development of their cooperation and exchange of experiences. We can talk about cooperation at local, national or international level. In many countries local, regional and national networks of culture centers were created for to share skills and knowledges and for to cooperate. People in villages and small towns should also have a possibility to find out more about people and life in different countries. Without an education and a personal experience of everyone it is not possible to move forward, people will not understand each other, will be afraid and aggressive to each other.

1.2 Terminology

A Culture Center (CC) we can define as a building or a space where art, culture and social events are going on. These events can be theatre performances, musical concerts, exhibitions, free-time culture, artistic and educational activities and also community meetings. We should mention the terminology in international context first. In Denmark, for example, they talk about Culture Houses, which is the most common in many European countries too. But in many countries the term Culture House has a negative connotation. Particularly in post-communist countries where Culture Houses were a part of a plan how to develop a socialism and in that case were built in almost every place to present the communist ideology. Culture Houses were intended to show the program according to the plan approved in advance by the communist bureaucracy. In that case the audience stayed passive. If people would like to do some activities which we now call community activities, they had to be organised under the roof of culture houses or in the framework of an official socialist organisation, so still under the control of the official political power. Now we use a lot the term Culture Center, mainly for the space for the audience coming to see performances and don't participate in arts but we can see that there are many kind of activities. We should mention also the term Creative Center used for centers where is a strong motivation to participate in art and creativities organised there by professionals. We can also find Community Center or Center of Informal Education.

2. Business - yes or no?

For all of those kind of activities is very important to have money, enough of finances to be able to give to the people more then they expect, to work on fields of audience development. Business activities are very important because it is necessary to offer new services to visitors and to the audience. The second reason for to look for more business activities is the financial profit which can be used for culture activities. Many centers can be inspired by new types of business activities. Funding sources do not increase for years, but during last ten years a lot of new organisations was based. Revenue

from the sale of tickets doesn't increase too. It's very important to find new possibilities to have new financial sources. But there are more barriers. Some legal forms of culture centers cannot do businesses as they would like to. For example if they are municipality founded, it can be a legislative problem. Many centers are managed for a long time by the same people. The main person is a general manager who determinate results by his skills, knowledges and interests. There is a long tradition of running culture institutions and a lot of them work the same way for many years. The law is almost the same for a long time. It is hard to change something. Also people in the new generation would like to work with more freedom, in another system then a traditional hierarchical system and regular working time. The new generation prefers free working time, home working etc. But the society is in many cases not prepared to accept it and directors and managers too. Strong and enthusiastic people create their own private Culture Centres as freelancers or as associations. They are in very bad position in case of finances compared to the municipal Culture Houses so they look for the new models to run culture centres. If we talk about business models, it's not just about finances. The most important for culture centre is to know why my organisation exists, what it wants to offer to the people and also to have the self-motivated and skilled people.¹

3. Situation in the Czech Republic

Culture Centres or Culture Houses are located in almost every small town or village and are usually the best place for many kind of culture and social activities. In post-communist countries Culture Houses more than 80 % are financed by municipalities in as we can find out also in Creative Lenses research.² By the legal system Culture Centre in Czech Republic can run as a commercial company and as a non-profit organisation. The other way to split Cultural Centre to groups is connected with a founder. Non-profit organisation can be based by people and also by municipality, but there is a big difference how it works. Municipality organisation has a leader but the main decision is made by the municipality. Unfortunately there is also one very complicated form which we could describe as half municipal and half private. We can say that the first barrier is a legal status and a link between different laws. Culture Centre can work on as a municipality organisation or as an organisation based on a civic activity, both of them in both of mentioned basic legal forms - commercial or non-profit. In this point we can talk also a lot about an independence. But we have to know that we talk about the political and ideological independence, we usually cannot talk about the financial independence. Private centres without any legal connection with the local government also ask for different kind of a municipality support, mainly financial. But political independence is very important, in particular, in the post-communist countries.

There is also the problem with creating databases of visitors. It is really hard to work on audience development if we don't have information about our audience, we don't know who are they and what they like. There are only personal contact in many cases. Now we can see a big role of a social networks where you as a culture organisation can make new contact with an audience. But it is still not

¹ Paul Bogen, Creative Lenses project, Forum Helsinki, 17. 11. 2016

² Paul Bogen, Creative Lenses project, Forum Lund, 17. 3. 2017

possible to have serious information for to make a quality database, the audience segmentation etc. It looks simpler in the local space because of more personal contacts, but using the old structure in the organisation it does not work a lot.

For the simple research I used a short questionnaire for random respondents in Czech Republic. We can see some basic results, which have to be clarified in the following part of the next phase of the research. It is interesting that respondents see the international cooperation of culture centres as more important than local cooperation. But there are still about 20% of respondents who do not visit any culture facilities.

Question 1: Who should run a local culture centre/culture house? (Possibility of more than one answer)

ANSWER	RESPONDENTS
municipality	69,12 %
organisation	54,41 %
NGO	22,06 %
freelancer	13,24 %
business company	8,82 %
don't know	2,94 %

TABLE 1. ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION 1.

Source: Own elaboration.

Question 2: If you would be looking for a new place to live, would you be interested if there is cultural house, theatre or some other possibility to meet live art?

ANSWER	RESPONDENTS
yes	17,65 %
probably yes	20,59 %
I don't know	16,18 %
probably no	25,00 %
no	20,59 %

TABLE 2. ANSWERS TO QUESTION 2.

Source: Own elaboration.

Question 3: Do you think that in the cultural sector at local level some kind of cooperation between different cultural houses/institutions is useful?

ANSWER	RESPONDENTS
yes	30,88 %
probably yes	32,35 %
I don't know	33,82 %
probably no	1,00 %
no	1,00 %

TABLE 3. ANSWER TO THE QUESTION 3.

Source: Own elaboration.

Question 4: What can be an effect of an international cooperation in culture at local level?

Interesting comments:

- cooperation in the area near the borders of a countries is more common and more appreciated;
- people would be less racist and xenophobic;
- both, positive and negative.

ANSWE R	RESPONDENTS
positive effect	44,12 %
don't know	33,82 %
minimal effect	13,24 %
no effect	4,41 %

TABLE 4. ANSWERS TO QUESTION 4.

Source: Own elaboration.

3.1 Nová síť - the first network in Czech Republic

Nová síť was based as a NGO in 2004 for to support the culture marketing of regions of the Czech Republic. It is a small, closely cooperating network of a few cultural organisations in the regions. They present themselves: "We connect people and organisations to make creative art and live art an organic part of everyday life. By supporting creativity and free action, we are helping to develop

contemporary art and civic society in the Czech Republic and abroad.”³ The main objective is not primarily cooperation of culture centres, but mobility of independent artists and groups performing the certain selected projects. They support performances in the regions of the Czech Republic, in culture centres who are members of the network. In the early days of its existence the organisation was very close to the theatre Alfred ve dvoře. In 2015 there were 13 partner organisations throughout the Czech Republic connected in Nová síť. In the office four people work in full time. The network presented its ideas as follows: "The mission of the association Nová síť is to support non-profit organisation and individual artists to put their creativity and live art become part of the common life". Free hearing aid and development in the regions and civil society in the Czech Republic and abroad." The activity is essentially even. Partners are independent cultural centres and also one museum. In early work was the base pressure, but also to the new form of cooperation was bigger, even if the network was very informal. After the first five years, stabilised in this number of the organisation and to solve the problem of competition and its position in the Czech Republic. Each year a new call for the project to be open. The members of the network from subsequently entered theatrical projects that receive direct financial support of Nová síť for the implementation of the regional cultural facilities or residential stay. A separate project is a Malá inventura. That is a festival which offers productions currently selected to aid in the form of showcase, organizers of the Czech Republic can, according to their own interest. Malá inventura festival is also being happening in regions of Czech Republic in Jičín, České Budějovice, Opava, Jihlava.

Every two years Nová síť presents the Czech Theatre DNA award for support, contribution and development of the field of new theatre, provides advice and consultations (production issues, grants, financing) and consulting in the field of non-profit organisations and mediation, for example et negotiation with municipal administration. A long-term program supporting the young artists in the field of New theatre is New Blood on the Stage. Nová síť also offers workshop of the technical skills and stage management in form of the program ART GATE behind the scene.

Annual report for the year 2015 talks about consultation activities, sharing experiences, organisation of the networking, art projects, monitoring the current situation of culture in general and to about organising citizen's initiatives, residential schools, cultural mediation, coaching and activity in the cultural practices. They also mentioned a presentation the Czech culture abroad and cooperation with a number of institutions and professionals from the artists, creative production, education, culture and other areas for stimulating.

There are four people working for the association. There had also been strong discussions on the new Association of Independent Theaters as a competitive organisation. Now Nová síť has also four partners abroad - in Slovakia, Hungary, Germany, Poland and Lithuania. The main financial supporters are Prague capital and the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic. Nová síť has become twice a successful European applicant in the EU funding receiving support from the EU program Culture.

³ www.novasit.cz

3.2 Antena - the Slovak network

Antena is an association of independent cultural centres in Slovakia. Since 2009 it connects similar organisations who are active in contemporary in Slovakia. Antena promotes a cooperation and an exchange of experiences at local, national and international level and is a member of Trans Europe Halls (TEH), an international network of independent culture centres. The system of a membership is similar as in TEH. Centres can be a member of the association, but also an associated Partner or a Friend - Supporter. Ordinary members may be legal persons not established for the profit, professional and all year-round, using a space for cultural events and initiatives. The member has not to be established by the civil administration or government. Associate may be a non-profit organisation working professionally in the field of Slovak culture and does not exercise his main activity for the purpose of profit. Other organisations can ask to become a Friend.

Antena wants to bring an independent art in a society and to improve its position in the cultural policy. It was also one of the first activities of a public debate on the cultural policy in Košice connected with the project Košice ECoC 2013. The network currently has 16 members - independent and alternative culture centres in Slovakia. Some of them are very active, especially Stanica based in Žilina, A4 - space of contemporary arts based in Bratislava and association Publikum based in Trnava. The network has one coordinator. In addition to cultural and cultural-political activities and the active involvement in Trans Europe Halls network Antena organised workshops focusing on stage management, in particular lighting and light design. Projects are supported by J&T company and Slovak Ministry of Culture.

3.3 European Network of Culture Centres (ENCC)

The organisation based in Brussels was founded in 1994. There are 14 national networks from 12 countries included three sub national networks from Belgium plus 10 associated members - local networks and individual cultural centres. Together they represent 3000 cultural centres with more than 15000 employees, thousands of volunteers and 40 million visitors per year. "ENCC takes a unique position in the global field of European networks: Representing a large range of local cultural institutes, in rural, urban and metropolitan areas; Supporting networking between cultural centres on all levels and build bridges between cultural workers. What all members have in common is the commitment to arts and culture as a possibility for individual and communal development in society and the belief that networking in support of this development brings strength and solidarity to organisations across borders - be they local, regional or national."⁴ ENCC is an international association of cultural houses and centres and their local and national networks. It focuses in particular on the support of smaller operators to develop their activities in different places and areas, rural included. This is very important do not forget about those place which are a bit isolated from the main stream. That is a question if activities go well if they are the same for represent ants of the network and for people from a concrete centres. In case of the network its necessary to do another

⁴ www.encc.eu

step and be able to communicate in ENCC and also inside the group of its own members. We can find ENCC members in Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Spain, Great Britain and now in the Czech Republic. The administrative board is composed of eight persons, executive board team has five members in the central office. Two positions of the five executives are young women from Poland. The last general assembly in Segovia (Spain) was in April 2017. Four new board members were elected. One member in an expert, so there are five members. In every case there is not enough of PR activities and advertising. Activities could be very helpful for a lot of centres, but they don't know about this network. There is a big space for growing up.

ENCC is a platform for cultural centres with the general idea of cultural houses as the building where cultural and community activities are going on. At first impression glance ENCC work seems a little conservatively. The internet presentation, membership and activities give the picture that a little bit late compare to the rapid evolution around. But on closer examination this is not so bad. Cultural houses in smaller towns and villages don't work on very high level. The conservative principles of state and municipalities have set up in those organisations usually not well professionally educated managers who have almost no training opportunities. Municipality are usually not interested and cultural operators working in culture centres and people who work there for a long time don't have any special need as an education even they don't know what does it mean. As they work there for a many years, they know everything well by their own opinion. It is important to facilitate basic information about theoretical knowledges, practical skills, for example in the form of meetings and discussions. ENCC offers the possibility of personal development and at the same time an international cooperation. This is something new in local cultural facilities. ENCC works on programs, projects and activities. Bridge between Culture Centres (BECC) is an example. The main goal is a support of an international mobility of cultural managers until 35 years of age. This is a long-term project. From 2008 by 2015 were 94 people and 70 cultural centres from 13 European countries involved into the program. 20 participants and 20 cultural centres from 12 countries were involved in 2016.

One of those programs is also Traveling Academy. Cultural operators are coming to different places around Europe for to discuss the issues. The first meeting took place in Krakow, the next one will take place in October 2017 at the University of Hildesheim (Germany). The subject will be "Culture for Shared, Smart, Innovative Territories – Towards 2020 European Regional Development". It was also the subject of a two-day meeting held in Olesnica (Poland) in October 2016.

Activities are focused on the research in related areas. There are mainly one active now - RECcORD provided by ENCC and the University of Aarhus in Denmark and collects information about cultural centres, supports staff exchange and informal education. The project is supported also by the resources of the ECoC Aarhus 2017. In May 2017 was the very important meeting in Aarhus. The first results of the RECcORD project were presented by the different researchers and also participants of the project activity were present there and were involved to talk about their experience. That activity was the staff exchange. Project RECcORD is not focused in economy or numbers of the audience. The main point is a participation - looking for new methods and ways to run culture centres. Goal of

RECCORD is defined as Participation as research topic and research method, but also as a collective issue to be reflected on throughout the project process and in future initiatives. They try to say what is the participation and when is the research method participatory. Key forms of participation by RECCORD project research are Attention, Education, Co-creation, Co-decision, Publics, Co-inhabitation. Then effects are Feeling of togetherness, Social inclusion, Wellbeing, Learning, Cultural and Political reflection, Empowerment, Aesthetic intensity, Sustainability, Local development. Finally there were presented the system of types of culture centres. By this theory it is the one woman centre, the artist/activist centre, the neighbourhood centre and the new creative hub. The big discussion was done about using the term Independence if there are many kinds of Independence. The suggestion was to use the term Autonomy and also the definition of different kinds of Autonomy were classified as Institutional, Participant, State and Artistic. Reasons for to use some model of participation for cultural organisation by participation in culture and for participants to participate through culture were filled by talking about possible bad effects of participation. In case of Aarhus 70% citizens engaged in voluntary activities, 25% regularly participate in culture activities and only 12% are cultural inactive.⁵

There are also projects with the social innovation methods focused at Combining disability and performance is a strategic way to reduce stigma around disability and increase social & artistic inclusion. A lot of ENCC network activities and projects are supported mainly by EU funds. Also the new project Cultural Networks strand (2017-2021), it will start in September 2017.

3.4 Trans Europe Halls (TEH)

In March 1983, an independent cultural centre, Les Halles de Schaerbeek, organised a weekend of discussions in Brussels to enable European independent cultural centres to exchange experiences and participate in events under the theme of “adventures of the rediscovered ark”. This three-day forum focused on the alternative culture emerging in rehabilitated industrial buildings, and how to assert its identity despite the reservations of political authorities.

Seven centres from seven European cities took part in this initial meeting that gave birth to Trans Europe Halls (TEH): Halles de Schaerbeek (Brussels, Belgium), Huset (Copenhagen, Denmark), Kultur Fabrik (Koblenz, Germany), Melkweg (Amsterdam, The Netherlands), Ny Scen (Gothenburg, Sweden), Pali Kao (Paris, France) and Rote Fabrik (Zürich, Switzerland). After this initial meeting, delegates from these centres decided to keep on gathering in order to support each other and develop their ways of working.⁶

Trans Europe Halls (TEH), the international association of cultural centres is located in the Swedish Lund. Today the cultural centres bring together 90 of 24 European countries, including Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Austria, Slovenia, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, France, Germany, Hungary, Greece, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Norway, Spain, Holland, England, Ukraine, Belarus and Kosovo. Membership is divided into three categories - the full membership, the

⁵ Dr.Leila Janovich” Why participation matters - in cultural centers, institutions and capitals, RECCORD conference, 18.5.2017, Aarhus.

⁶ www.teh.net.

partnership and the ambassador. A member must meet all of the specified conditions, i.e. the organisation with legal personality based on the citizens' initiative, support the development of and interaction between the arts, must operate in preference to the original industrial building (construction).

Program must offer local traditions at least at regional level. Program must be able to cooperate at international level and have a positive access to address social issues in society. Cultural Centre, which does not meet all the conditions may apply to be partner. The ambassador is a supporter of network may participate in actions. The difference in rights for a member and for a partner is in an opportunities to participate in decision-making, to vote and to be elected. This means that partner has the right to participate in general assembly but shall not vote and shall not be elected to the institutions of the association. The right to participate in projects, activities and researches are the same for both groups. Obligations differ in the amount of the annual membership. That's made according to the annual turnover of members and ranges from 300 to 1750 Euros per year. A fee is fixed at a flat rate of 200 Euros per year. The membership or the partnership must be recommended to the executive committee and the membership base. The new members and partners usually present their organisation on a regular meeting, where the final decision should be done.

The executive Committee consists of a minimum of five and a maximum of eight people, and is elected for two-year terms. For 2017-2019 is composed of eight people. Only two people - general manager and her assistant - worked in the central office for the part time until 2016. The growing number of activities spread the number to four position in full time. There are also one project manager and manager for PR and communication. Next step is to have more one person

Czech members and partners is now five – Moving Station Plzeň, Cooltour Ostrava, KD Mlejn Praha, Studio Alta Praha, Plum Yard Malovice (sorted by date of entry into the network, KD Mlejn as partners because of the connection with the municipality). Membership is rapidly increasing and the number of members and discuss changing the TEH. organisation. The initial intention was combine cultural and non-state (profit and non-profit) engaged post-industrial or similar spaces for cultural and artistic activities. This vision is still valid, the association is very active, supports its members in the form of regular meetings twice a year. For participants it is not only allowing the contacts, exchanges of experience and the establishment of cooperation, but also educational and research activities, practical workshops etc.

TEH is an active partner or leader of several long-term international projects supported from the Creative Europe. Until now TEH realised about 18 project. From 2015 they run three long term projects funded by EU funds and one regional pilot initiative created to support cultural operators in the Region of Skåne, Sweden, is just finished. The operation of the business model is at the heart of one of the currently implemented international project called Creative Lenses: Business Models for Culture (2015-2019). This project investigates and tests new business models for cultural organisations without compromising their artistic integrity, mission and values. Creative Lenses project has a lot of activities where is possible to participate, to see and hear new outputs during meetings in

different culture centres - project partners are based. The first outputs were published in November 2017 and confirm for example the fact that culture in the post-communist countries are significantly underfunded compare to the other areas of Europe. The next projects are Factories of Imagination. Investing in Cultural Changemakers (2017-2021) aims to support non-governmental cultural centres in becoming more resilient and internationally connected and Europe Grand Central (2015-2017) a unique digital platform that connects audiences through narratives about the act of crossing borders.⁷

Very good activity is also TEH Academy, which was created many years ago when old factories buildings were illegal occupied by social and culture activists. TEH Academy started to help people to learn how to run a culture space and started to support networking, staff exchange and a lot of forms of cooperation. Now there is a training program for to improve professional knowledges and skills, staff exchange program open for professionals and also for volunteers, and EVS. TEH also cooperate with important networks Culture Action Europe, European Music Council, European Choral Association, Fresh Art Coalition Europe, International network for contemporary performing arts (IETM), The Network of European Museum Organisations, On The Move, Res Artis, European Network for Opera and Dance Education. After more than 30 years TEH probably starts to cooperate also with ENCC.

4. Conclusion

There are many different forms of culture centres work. In many cases it's only one possibility to have a personal emotional experience of visiting a cultural event. There are two examples of national networking in post-communist countries and two examples of international European networking. Generally we can say that the maintenance of the cultural houses and centres is the municipal interest in many points and all depends on cultural policy. The leadership in the culture house has no preferences next to many problems in social, education and many different areas. Culture has no lobby strong enough. But if culture will not get a basic level of attention, it probably won't be possible for most people felt their behaviour in the civic context. Use of existing cultural house as actual municipal cultural and community centres offers one of the easiest way to educate people through emotional experiences, artistic self-expression and similarly affect level of culture in the community and in the society. Social networks cannot replace social activities and, in particular, the development of the virtual world of alienation and cultural houses should just first in line to support meetings, shared experiences and civil cohesion. That being said, it should be the interest of the municipality, its support and initiative; it is essential to political leaders recognised the importance of cultural events. Local culture influence had been very important also for communist regime by the possibility to influence many people. In a democratic society culture should have very positive influence on the local population. This is a turn of cultural operators and active people who have a creative power in their hands. They can help to increase a quality of life by cultural activities and also by talking with the local politicians about this topic which is forgotten very often.

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www.teh.net.

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Heritage-led Growth in Europe: *an die Freude* of Economics and Marketing

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ABSTRACT

National growth is affected by culture and cultural tourism. Macroeconomic data can give evidence of the heritage-led-growth. The Government spends for heritage (public expenditure for culture). Citizens and tourists generate the private expenditure for culture. International tourists lead growth thanks to flows of *Made in*.

Heritage promotion can improve thanks to marketing. Marketing and branding put in touch places and organizations with visitors and tourists, helping them to know and understand each other.

The purpose of the paper is to highlight differentiated patterns of growth thanks to cluster analysis of EU-27 data for GDP, public and private expenditures for culture, international tourism receipts and foreign trade. The most crowded cluster is *An die Zauber-Freude* with the highest GDP growth, the second highest public and private expenditure for culture, international tourism receipts and increasing exports. Here, the competitive advantage is supported by marketing and Unesco branding which enable the heritage-led-growth.

Keywords:

culture, tourism,
heritage, growth,
marketing

1. Introduction

Tourism, cultural and creative tourism (Richards, 2014; Dallaire & Colbert, 2012) can positively affect the recovery of European economies, as it can result as an added value and an *exit strategy* out of the latest financial and real crisis (Gil-Alana & Fischer, 2010; Lee & Chang, 2008; Balaguer & Cantavella-Jorda, 2002). While macroeconomic literature and macroeconomic policies emphasize different exit strategies, from fiscal to monetary ones, culture, tourism and foreign trade can be listed among flows, which can re-foster growth from the 2008s crisis. Cultural tourism is the broader concept for tourism with a cultural motivation and it includes heritage tourism, which refers to monuments and other visual arts, events, tangible and intangible heritages, cultural capitals, world sites so that the range of motivations and attracting factors is multiple (Cetin, 2016). Heritage-led-growth can be, as a consequence, estimated thanks to the private expenditure for culture of citizens who are experiencing culture in their domestic country and thanks to international tourists' expenditures for culture and for collateral travel and hospitality industries, which are included in ITRs (International Tourism Receipts).

After having experienced culture and creativity abroad, international tourists go home and they buy goods from visited countries, from material culture to gastronomy, from design to fashion. It is not excluded that they imported from cultural destinations before holidays, for an *ex-ante* tasting of destination *made in*: the so-called *made in* Italy or in any other country. Exports and imports can, therefore, refer to the trade of creative goods, food, craftsmanship, design and *Made in*, whose first experience takes place before, during and after the holiday and journey with a cultural motivation.

The attractiveness of tangible and intangible heritage and any good which is traded before, during and after cultural journeys can, as a consequence, affect growth and development. Implications for development are not here investigated, though it must be considered that heritage tourism contributes to the development of local economies but under specific, complex sets of conditions and factors (Murzyn-Kupisz, 2012; Lazrak et al, 2014; Li & Hunter, 2015) and with issues and challenges linked with sustainability, social responsibilities, community engagement, welfare states and implications. Communities profit by heritages and contribute for their potential development, which is an issue very present in world-wide literature of both scholarly nature and published by international organizations such as UNESCO (e.g. heritage and creativity, heritage and social capital, identity etc.). Sustainable development has implications for growth and cultural tourism can positively affect both development and growth, as it matters openness of economic systems with international tourists' flows (Capello, Fratesi & Resmini, 2011; Robison & Pickard, 2006).

The macroeconomic and marketing approaches will here prevail, as for available macroeconomic data and considering that cultural destinations are stimulated to implement their reputation, image and branding, so that they signal qualities of their creativity (from craftsmanship to design, from fashion to any attractive *made in*). This marketing-led and branding-led creativity affects tourism, international trade and growth. Macroeconomics data can detect this growth.

As a consequence, some macroeconomic data can be meaningful for this analysis. Expenditures,

which are generated by public administrations (public expenditure for culture), citizens, tourists' experiences and post-experiences, will determine economic growth and they will accrue resources for safeguard of heritages, for strategies and policies as concerns place marketing and branding. Main consumption at destinations and following exports will, as a consequence, positively and comprehensively boost economies. Public and private expenditures for culture, together with positive balance trade, further stimulate growth. Real GDPs (Gross Domestic Products) will, as a consequence, grow.

The experience is granted by heritage marketing. Heritage consumption can increase if heritage managers courageously approach marketing skills, implement and mature them. Marketing, next to fundraising and branding, especially destination branding, they all support the promotion of tangible and intangible values. Indeed, if destinations develop a clear, and unique positioning by branding the destination experience, they offer tourists new and interesting reasons to visit the area.

Above all, brands can be delivered by national (flags) and international (UNESCO, for example) organizations according to standards and rankings that grant for reputation. Branding can refer to local destinations and to networks of destinations, too. Marketing skills should, therefore, be enhanced in order to mature and consolidate signalling properties of national and international brands, face competition and playing leading roles in the competitive arena.

Development and growth implications are not excluded. If it is considered that tourists' expenditures and marketing proficiency can be converted in the heritage safeguard and preservation, tourism flows can impact growth, taking into account tourism, trade and ... also their incentive for the State to spend for culture.

The aim of the paper is a cluster analysis of public and private expenditures for recreation and culture as shares of public and private expenditures, growth of foreign trade, international tourism receipts as percentages of total exports, real and annual GDP (Gross Domestic Product) growth percentages. This cluster analysis will allow to separate, profile and classify mature and emerging economies of EU 27. World Bank and Eurostat databases will be the main sets for available data from 2009 to 2013, when the real and financial crisis hit European countries at the most. This analysis will also consider the implication of marketing and branding, for example, of Unesco *flags*, prevailing in nations with the best performances.

In applied economics, cluster analysis is very useful, in order to classify industries, districts, networks, strategic groups and any other aggregate that reveal significant and differentiated patterns (Hair et al, 2007; Breschi & Malerba, 2005; Wiggins & Ruefli, 1995; Harrigan, 1985). From Punj & Stewart (1983) for a pivotal marketing approach, cluster analysis is leading empirical segmentation of clients, tourists, audiences and countries with leading tourism economies (Fodness, 1990; Fodness & Milner, 1992; Loker & Perdue, 1992; Roehl & Fessenmaier, 1992; Yavas, 1992; Lang et al, 1993; Lieux et al, 1994; Mo et al, 1994; Cha et al, 1995; Cho, 1998; Prentice et al, 1998; Jang et al, 2002; Dolnicar, 2004, Segarra-On et al, 2013).

This research is a first attempt to verify differentiated EU countries growth according to the heritage tourism- led growth. Three significant and separate profiles (clusters) will emerge. The most crowded cluster reveals the most significant performances and growth. Marketing is supporting this growth.

2. Growth in Europe: when tourism, culture and cultural tourism matter

The EU recovery and growth are affected by the trade in goods and services, as well as through financial flows and movements of persons. Service industries are increasing, especially, as regards expenditures for culture and tourism. Taking into account these trends, international tourists' arrivals grew from 25 million in 1950 to 278 million in 1980, 528 million in 1995 and 1087 million in 2013. Europe led the tourism growth in absolute terms, welcoming 29 million more international tourists in 2013 and raising the total to 563 million. In 2013 EU tourism growth was 5 percent, double the average for the period 2005-2012 (2,5 percent per year).

Tourism can influence growth with several evidences: it increases employment, personal incomes, taxes, investments, foreign exchange, GDPs. Lanza & Pigliaru (2000) were first to investigate the link between tourism and economic growth and following researches confirmed the same evidence (Adamou & Clerides, 2009; Brida & Pulina, 2010). They observed that countries with relatively large tourism sectors show two relevant features: they show higher than average rates of growth and they are small. The positive relationship between tourism and growth has been found in empirical studies for large and international datasets, different approaches, geographical boundaries, flows, impacts on national and regional growth and for significant results (Brau, Lanza & Pigliaru 2007; Blake et al, 2008; Sequeira & Nunes, 2008; Arezki, Cherif & Piotrowski, 2009). Some research concerns from specific countries to regions (Tang, 2013; Cortes-Jimenez, 2008; Dritsakis, 2004; Gunduz & Hatemi, 2005), from cultural and creative industries to clusters, from cultural capitals to world heritage sites, from events to community-based performances (Arezki, Cherif & Piotrowski, 2009; Salazar, 2012), human capital and the impact of information and communication technologies (Di Liberto, 2013). Economies of scale and scope can be boosted next to exports, above all, after holidays, when tourists recall experiences and import goods, design, food, they have tasted during holidays (Pinna, 2011; Gil-Alana & Fischer, 2010; Dwyer & Forsyth, 2009; Lee & Chang, 2008; Weng & Wang, 2004; Balaguer & Cantavella-Jorda, 2002). Tourism added values can be national and international. International tourism is investigated thanks to the tourism receipt with particular concern about the meaningfulness of this variable (Belloumi, 2010; Tang, 2013). As a matter of fact, a country can count millions of tourists' arrivals and modest tourism receipts, so that receipts are much more significant than the absolute number of arrivals. If the tourism-led growth is a strategic issue for different countries, tourism receipts can include different purposes.

Cultural and heritage tourism has been investigated for a few years. Contents, attracting factors, motivations, preferences, emotions and the search for authenticity have been concerns (Bravi & Gasca, 2014; Io, 2013; Ramkissoon, Uysal & Brown, 2011), in order to profile the cultural and heritage

tourist, whose experiences range from events to cultural capitals, from creativity to innovations in creativity, from art exhibitions to world heritage sites (Teodorescu et al, 2015; Liu, 2014; Patuelli, Mussoni & Candela, 2013; Di Lascio et al, 2011). Growth is boosted at a local and national level: heritage tourism is leading the local community-based growth, when the community is engaged and believes in culture, tourism and their promotion above all, their marketing and their impact as an exit-strategy out of crisis (Salazar, 2012).

This growth can be further stimulated by EU integration of economies like Bulgaria and Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania (Cappello & Perucca, 2015). Growth can be relevant at national and local level (Tubadji & Nijkamp, 2015; Lazrak et al, 2014; Perucca, 2014; Batabyal & Nijkamp, 2013). Focus of this paper remains the national level with consideration for an emerging and integrated Europe.

The national expenditure for culture can be private and public. Some EU data can be meaningful. Plenty of data are available at Eurostat Statistics for tourism: motivation, duration, expenditures, though time series for expenditures for holiday, leisure and recreation are available only from 2012. The concern is here about the latest financial and real crisis, from 2009.

If the household expenditure refers to any spending done by a person living alone or by a group of people living together in shared accommodation and with common domestic expenses, it includes expenditure incurred on the domestic territory by residents and non-residents for the direct satisfaction of individual needs and covers the purchase of goods and services, the consumption of own production (such as garden produce) and the imputed rent of owner-occupied dwellings. Despite of the crisis, the household expenditure for recreation and culture constantly grew from 2009 in Europe, from 606 billions of euros in 2009 to 648 billions in 2012.

From 2005 total household expenditure grew by 14,1 percent and the share for recreation and culture grew 8,7 percent. Recreation and culture played a significant role in the daily life of Europeans, by occupying the fourth place in the household budget, after expenses such as housing, water, electricity, gas and other fuels (24,1 percent), transport and food and non-alcoholic beverages (13 percent) in 2012 (Eurostat, 2015). With 37,9 percent recreational and cultural services are the biggest share of the expenditure for recreation and culture by consumption purpose in comparison with audiovisual, photographic and information processing equipment 16,1 percent, newspapers, books and stationery 13,8 percent, package holidays 6,9, other recreational items and equipment, gardens and pets 21,8 and other major durables 3,4 percent.

Considering the expenditure for recreation, culture can positively affect the growth (Richards, 2014; Keitumetse, 2014; Dallaire & Colbert, 2012; Loulanski, 2006). Culture can increase specialization with significant economies of scope, it can stimulate public spending in several arts, from performing to visual ones, it can support initiatives and campaigns for national branding, it can generate positive externalities both on the demand and supply side and it can optimize prestige and reputation. From the point of view of macroeconomics, public expenditure for culture can give evidence of the cultural

engagement of Government, public and community administrations (Richards, 2014; Garibaldi, 2014). Public expenditure for culture is modest in EU countries, though it still resists. From the lowest percentage of Italy less than 1 percent of total expenditure to 2,1 percent of Estonia in 2013, it must be recalled that most of public expenditures today concern the repayment of debt, central government and social protection.

Tourism and non-residents expenditures for recreation and culture are antecedents to exports, because experiences generate propensities for Made in, especially, after having been abroad. The EU-28 accounts for 16 percent of world imports and exports in 2013, with 2.415 billions euro for exports and 2.188 billions euro for imports. The greatest share of exports is *Food & Drink*, which is often imported after tourism experiences in a creative economy, where tourists appreciate culture, design and above all, gastronomy of cultural destinations (Richards, 2014). The greatest share of import is *Energy* (Eurostat, 2016).

All data, from tourism to cultural (and heritage) tourism, from public expenditures to private expenditure for culture, in and among countries (more exports than imports), they can influence growth as concerns the most traditional item of macroeconomic empiricism, GDP.

Having here detailed about data for the whole EU 27, k-means cluster analysis will allow to cluster, profile and classify countries of EU 27 according to the latest data (Eurostat and World Bank for International Tourism Receipts) from 2009 to 2013, taking into account implications of marketing and branding.

3. Marketing and branding of heritage: an opportunity for growth

When referring to cultural and heritage tourism, there are no clear and agreed-upon definitions, but according to several Scholars (Silberberg, 1995; Chhabra, 2010; Timothy, 2011; Park, 2013), heritage and culture tourism are almost overlapping concepts, involving both tangible, and intangible heritage. The first are the morphological characteristics of the area, the landscape, the built heritage, ancient remains, the facilities and services, the products, manufacturing and brands, size and characteristics of the local market; the second, the intangible elements, refer to the *spirit and the sense of place*, the living culture, the contemporary art, the genius loci and the identity of a territory and communities that characterize the vocation of a specific geographic area.

Cultural heritage is generator of growth, but also a cornerstone of local, regional, national identity, and an essential element of social cohesion and urban revitalization. Cultural heritage could be the base for sustainable development, and particularly in crisis time to support growth and revenue increasing, places can focus on the promotion of their heritage to attract national and international tourists, detecting what tourists are searching for and delivering it. This is possible adopting effective cultural heritage marketing strategies.

According to the American Marketing Association (AMA), "*marketing is the activity, set of institutions, and processes for creating, communicating, delivering, and exchanging offerings that have value for*

customers, clients, partners, and society at large" (AMA, 2013). This definition means that marketing is an activity, rather than an outcome, and that it consists of tools, practices, and approaches, aimed to provide value to various stakeholders, such as clients, customers, partners and to the broader community.

Marketing helps organizations to achieve overall corporate goals creating and/or developing suitable products that provide benefits and solutions to stakeholders. Furthermore, marketing refers to both profit and non-profit organizations, and for these reasons, it is suitable to cultural heritage.

Cultural heritage marketing puts in touch places and organizations, that are working with heritage, with stakeholders, especially visitors and tourists, helping places and organizations to know and understand stakeholders' needs. Based on these insights, organizations deliver products and services and design experiences (Schmitt, 1999; Pine & Gilmore, 2011) which *fit* them (Dibb & Simkin, 2002), considering the need of protections of parts of a heritage site or historic property. In fact, marketing activities are designed to stimulate demand and satisfy visitors and tourists but not to the detriment of that which needs to be preserved for future generations (Misiura, 2006).

In essence, marketing is what you do to get your message or promise to customers, while your brand is how you keep the promise made through delivery to customers and colleagues.

Considering cultural and heritage tourism, heritage marketing, thanks to its customer-centric orientation (Kotler & Levi, 1969; Goldsmith, 1999), represents a strategic approach to develop tourism in the destination (Park, 2013). So, cultural heritage marketing and place branding can help managers and policy makers to reach the objective to develop cultural and heritage tourism, being careful to protect, preserve, and in the same time to valorize, the heritage (Misiura, 2006). In fact, the main goal of heritage marketing is to set strategies to allow places gaining a competitive advantage (Kotler, Bowen & Makens, 2010) in an effective, responsible and sustainable manner. As aforementioned, one of the most important activities of heritage marketing, is to know and understand the customer/tourist, but it is not to be forgotten the broader role of marketing in shaping needs, making customers aware of existence of products and services which they did not know that could be interesting, useful or enjoyable to them, shaping their preference.

Furthermore, heritage marketing needs to consider the point of view of citizens, because tourism volume and composition have of course spatial and socio-economic consequences for residents such as, for example, noise, crowding effects, local entertainment (van Leeuwen, Kourtit & Nijkamp, 2013; Neuts & Nijkamp, 2012; Murzyn-Kupisz, 2012).

It is therefore, important to investigate the perceptions and preferences of residents in a tourist place from a much broader perspective that is geared toward their total complex view on their living environment.

This is why managers and policy makers have to set appropriate segmentation process, in order to depict residents and tourists' features, to pinpoint the target, and finally match the target, that is

prospective or exiting customers/tourists with the touristic offer of the place, that is the *product*. The touristic offer has to provide a clear unique proposition considering the residents' needs. Furthermore, it has to be attractive and consistent with the cultural values accrued in the place. In fact, cultural heritage is the essence of tourism in many areas worldwide, and tourists are motivated to learn the heritage and culture associated with a particular site (Ch'ng, 2011; Chhabra, 2009). So even if, cultural heritage could sometimes be seen only as an added value and it could not be the only reason why tourists visit a place, nevertheless, in a context of increasing globalisation, cultural heritage offers tourists uniqueness, character and distinctiveness.

This is why, managers and policy makers must fully understand the expectations and perceptions of consumers in terms of their demand for heritage tourism, and offer them authentic and inimitable experience (Kolar & Zakbar, 2010; Pine & Gilmore, 2011), in order to positively influence tourist demand, offering a "product" including many cultural aspects among which, for example, history, gastronomy, music, arts and crafts, or traditions.

Referring to goals of heritage marketing strategies and according to Buhalis (2000), at strategic level marketing has to: enhance the long-term prosperity of local people; delight visitors by maximising their satisfaction; maximise profitability of local enterprises and maximise multiplier effects; optimise tourism impacts by ensuring a sustainable balance between economic benefits and socio-cultural and environmental costs (Buhalis, 2000); increase the use of technology, as the digital era and Web 3.0 make tourists more proactive, and so heritage managers has not to ignore interactive media or virtual worlds that suits the taste of a wide range of audiences (Ch'ng, 2011).

Applying cultural heritage marketing approach, managers and policy makers must take into account the opportunity of building and promoting a unique heritage place identity through a branding process (Morrison & Anderson, 2002; Knox, 2004) that differentiates it from its competitors. The place brand identity has to include and express the heritage values, and in the same time, has to consider the aspirations, needs, and motivations of prospective and regular tourists (Misiura, 2006).

Besides marketing, heritage branding is a powerful tool that helps companies and organizations to communicate what customers and prospects want to know about heritage.

Brand goes beyond a purely marketing approach to heritage. Brand is a crucial resource (Balmer & Gray, 2003; Balmer, 2012), it expresses identity, conveys values and signals the level of quality attributed to the heritage sites.

In an even broader perspective, not only is brand about heritage, it is also about its stakeholders. In fact, brand is the result of a co-creation a process (Gregory, 2007), that is a collaborative, creative process between producers and brand users, respectively heritage sites, and visitors and tourists, that aims to generate value for the involved stakeholders (Prahalad & Ramaswamy, 2004).

From the perspective of the brand, value is not created only *for* the consumers, but *along with* the consumers, as they play a more active and engaged role in shaping branded contents and offerings

(Roberts, Baker & Walker, 2005). Furthermore, brand is the result of the expectations and dialogue with and between stakeholders. This gives the concept of brand a contractual nature (Balmer, 2012).

On the heritage side, brand becomes a rare inimitable intangible economic asset, generating brand equity, that constitutes the heritage essence and creates expectations the stakeholders' mind. It is the promise, the covenant with stakeholders (Balmer, 2012). Brand helps to create relationships and economic value and contributes to a clear heritage positioning. On the stakeholder's side, brand allows them to do an instantly assess of the heritage offer, as it represents what stakeholders think and say.

Branding heritage imply heritage site awareness, heritage site obligation and, consequently, visiting likability and the willingness to pay (Petr, 2009). Site awareness is related to the ability of residents, visitors and tourists to recognize the name and the iconic pictures of a heritage place, being familiar with the heritage site; heritage site obligation implies some compulsory behaviors that lead tourists to include the heritage place in their bucket list, that is the list of places all tourists have to visit at least once in a lifetime (Bull, 1991; Petr, 2009).

Cultural heritage marketing should be planned on heritage brand positioning, personality and values, spreading the *heritage site DNA* through heritage communication and reinforcing place's competitive identity over time, allowing stakeholders to raise awareness of cultural heritage and territories' values, and it is important for place to succeed.

To understand how brand could be important to cultural heritage promotion, it is necessary to consider the meaning of the term in its usual context. The concept of brand, indeed, refers usually to a corporate brand, and especially it is about customers' feeling and thinking a company, and/ or its products or services. According to Balmer & Gray (2003: 972) brand is "one of the most fascinating phenomena of the business environment in the twenty-first century".

The brand identity incorporates values, soul and personality of an organization and according to Levy (1959), Escalas & Bettman (2003, 2005) and Raimondo (2012), the brand can give meaning and identity to its user.

The key elements of a heritage branding strategy are history, tradition, recognition, familiarity, loyalty, quality, value, trust and dependability (Misiura, 2006). Managers and policy makers must take them into when plan marketing communications to build a long-term relationship with the customer, and in case of place, tourists.

Branding should be approached in a holistic manner, considering the area in its entirety and involving as many stakeholders, as possible. The objective is to focus on authenticity and quality of the place and on preservation and protection of resources and heritage. Nevertheless, in brand building, managers and policy makers must not forget to find the fit between community and heritage tourism and to create condition to support the collaboration between community with tourism managers (Law & Wen Pan, 2004).

Under these conditions, marketing and branding can really contribute to protect heritage and in the same time to develop local economies, resulting in positive outcomes for places and local communities.

According to many Scholars (Morgan et al, 2002; Pike, 2004; Baker & Cameron, 2007; Ekinci et al, 2013) branding is essential for cultural heritage places to establish a unique identity and differentiation point to which tourists can be attracted and which also provides sustainable advantage in the competitive tourism *market*.

Clarke (2000) highlights the role played by branding in tourism. Branding can: reduce the choices available to consumers, making the decisions process easier; help offset the effects of the intangibility of the tourism product, especially if combined with positive past experience.

Branding implies a precise marketing plan (Dinnie, 2011) and according to Doyle (2001) the success of brand requires investment in marketing.

Especially Integrated Marketing Communications (Burnett & Moriarty, 1998; Sirgy, 1998) allows heritage managers to influence target audiences, thanks to a well-combined and cross-functional promotional mix, like, for example, advertisement, direct mail, public relations, and word-of-mouth.

Brand communication makes attractive a place and its cultural heritage, and it can persuade tourists to choose it for their travel. Many heritage sites practice branding strategy to carry out this goal effectively (Pike, 2005). Consequently, from the marketing perspective, branding helps heritage destination *sell* its products and places.

Building a strong brand helps cultural heritage places, not only to attract tourists, but also to tie long-lasting and valuable relationships, as well as to foster a long-term growth.

In fact, a strong brand generates credibility, positive reputation, and allows destinations to communicate more easily with different stakeholders, to gain the esteem and consideration of investors, and other potential consumers. On the one hand benefits of branding are external and beyond tourism development, they, among others, consist of investment attraction, partnerships building, and *market origin* effect (Middleton, 2011). On the other hand, benefits of branding are internal, because branding could support in achieving community development, reinforcing the identity and the community's sense of place, generating community empowerment.

Anyway, it must not to be forgotten that promoting and branding heritage are activities that imply complex, and multidimensional efforts. Among others they require to assume heritage marketing as strategic approach in managing the touristic destination. Then it is important to engage key stakeholders and build strategic alliances or effective partnerships between public and private organizations, and tourism associations. According to Pike (2008) these activities imply issues of coordination of various interests of stakeholders, research for consensus among all the stakeholders involved, and are prevented by limited funding.

Finally, it must consider that to help ensuring the long-term success of heritage marketing and branding, it is important also pursuing economic, social, environmental and cultural sustainable objectives.

4. An empirical test of heritage-led growth for EU-27

For all items of public and private expenditures, receipts, exports, imports and GDPs, we investigated World Bank, OECD and Eurostat Database for time series from 2009 to 2013. At the time of the research, the most comprehensive database for the inclusion of 2013's data was Eurostat for EU-27. International Tourism Receipts were collected from World Bank database, instead. We collected percentages of public and private expenditure for culture and recreation and international tourism receipts ITRs, as shares of total exports in 2010, 2011, 2012 and 2013, annual and real GDP growth, export and import annual growth beginning from 2009. Public expenditure is calculated as share of total public expenditure. The same is for private expenditure for recreation and culture as share of total private expenditure.

According to the World Bank, International tourism receipts are expenditures by international inbound visitors, including payments to national carriers for international transport. These receipts include any other prepayment made for goods or services received in the destination country. If 45 percent of these receipts include hotels, restaurants and transport, 5 percent is for recreation and culture, 11 percent for gastronomy, fashion, craftsmanship and other 'made in' (Manente, 2012).

Cluster analysis in time series was chosen in order to rank and classify significant groups of countries with average performances (Hair et al, 2007; Breschi & Malerba, 2005; Tuma, Decker & Scholz, 2011). In time series cluster analysis can be a significant methodology in order to recognize patterns of macroeconomic growth (Bohdan & Stanickova, 2016).

Having clustered with JUMP Statistical Software, we obtained 3 clusters (Tables 1, 2 and 3).

CLUSTERS	Public	Public	Public	Public	Private	Private	Private	Private
Cluster 1	1.31	1.27	1.3	1.31	9.78	9.68	9.58	9.38
An die Zauber-Freude with UNESCO flags	1.28	1.21	1.17	1.17	8.44	8.3	8.25	8.2
Cluster 2	0.96	0.93	0.86	0.83	6.66	6.4	6.43	6.46

TABLE 1. CLUSTER MEANS FOR EU-27 PUBLIC AND PRIVATE EXPENDITURES FOR CULTURE (%).

Source: own elaboration

CLUSTERS	ITR	ITR	ITR	ITR	EXP	EXP	EXP	EXP
Cluster 1	4.12	4.17	4.17	4.19	+0.12	+0.08	+0.01	-0.02
An die Zauber-Freude with UNESCO flags	6.88	6.49	6.39	6.46	+0.23	+0.18	+0.04	+0.01
Cluster 2	21.33	21.75	22.10	21.25	+0.18	+0.17	+0.07	+0.05

CLUSTERS	IMP	IMP	IMP	IMP	GDP	GDP	GDP	GDP
Cluster 1	+0.13	+0.11	+0.02	-0.00	+2.14	+2.17	-0.47	+0.72
An die Zauber-Freude with UNESCO flags	+0.21	+0.17	+0.04	-0.01	+2.08	+2.75	+0.79	+1.14
Cluster 2	+0.08	-0.02	-0.04	-0.06	+4.13	-3.5	-4.5	-3.4

TABLE 2. CLUSTER MEANS OF EU-27 FOR INTERNATIONAL TOURISM RECEIPTS (ITR) AS PERCENTAGES OF EXPORTS, 2010-2013, EXPORTS (EXP) AND IMPORTS (IMP) ANNUAL GROWTH, REAL GDP (GD) ANNUAL GROWTH (VARIATIONS FROM 2009, %)

Source: own elaboration

CLUSTERS	Composition of clusters
Cluster 1	Belgium, Denmark, Ireland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Finland, Sweden
An die Zauber-Freude with UNESCO flags	Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Germany, Estonia, Spain, France, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, Austria, Poland, Romania, Slovenia, Slovakia, United Kingdom
Cluster 2	Greece, Cyprus, Portugal

TABLE 3. COMPOSITION OF CLUSTERS

Source: own elaboration

Thanks to cluster analysis we inferred that positive and parallel growth of items can give evidence of heritage (with tourism and foreign trade)-led growth. The most crowded is *An die Zauber-Freude* for GDP growth with the highest positive variations in the whole period. The public expenditure for culture is never less than 1,17 percent on average and the private expenditure for culture is never less than 8,2% on average. ITRs are the second highest of the sample and never less than 6,3 percent of total exports. Exports are always increasing and imports show a very modest downgrade -0,01 in 2013. Exogenous contingencies can affect macroeconomic performances. Nevertheless, these countries give evidence of increasing cultural spending, increasing tourism and increasing exports. Some of these countries have lately integrated into Europe, for the adoption of euro, too. Most of these countries are particularly concerned with their heritages. It is significant how many UNESCO heritage are here (above all in Italy, France, Spain, Germany) listed and continually promoted thanks to the previously mentioned heritage marketing and branding (Mercy & Domzalska, 2016). Heritage branding is both a public and a private issue: Unesco Days, shows, exhibitions, calls for listing of tangibles and intangibles, central and local administrations engage in with communities, grant-making foundations, private associations and sponsors.

The cluster 1 counts seven countries whose public and private expenditures for culture are the highest ones of the sample. With the smallest performances for ITRs and Exports in the whole period, GDPs are not always increasing, though +0.72 in 2013, on average.

The smallest cluster 2 with Cyprus, Greece and Portugal shows a declining GDP together with the lowest public and private expenditure for culture. ITRs are the highest of the sample and Exports show

the highest increase in 2012 and 2013, on average. Though with declining imports, GDPs suffer anyway. With the most modest expenditure for culture of the sample, GDPs fall.

Figure 1 shows main analytical steps and results: public and private expenditures for culture are significant for growth. Summed up with these expenditures, tourism receipts include expenditures for culture (as for a comprehensive definition, from gastronomy to made in of design and material culture) of international tourists. These expenditures can be multiplied thanks to foreign trade and increasing exports (more increasing than imports) stimulate growth. GDPs grow in crisis times for available data, from 2010 to 2013. This growth allocates new resources for marketing, branding and cultural policies, which grant heritages with money, in-kind and signaling brands like UNESCO.

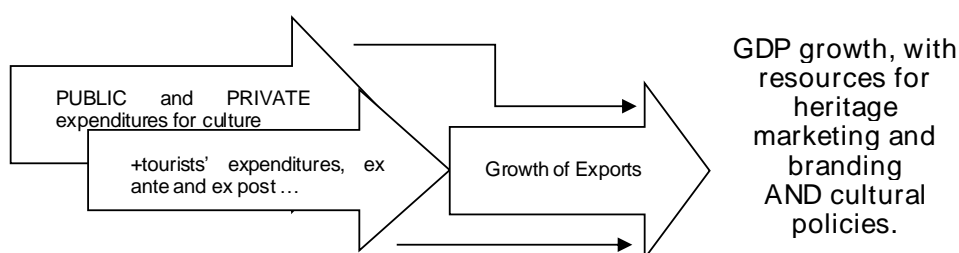


FIGURE 1. FROM EXPENDITURES FOR CULTURE TO EU GROWTH

Source: own elaboration

Figure 2 shows how much significant is the expenditure for holiday, leisure and recreation purpose in EU tourism flows according to available statistics from 2012: (in Cluster *An die Zauber-Freude*) France, Germany, Italy, Spain, United Kingdom and Austria are still leading economies together with growing economies like Poland, with cultural policies particularly concerned for development (Murzyn-Kupisz, 2010) and Austria, too. Above all, from 2014 to 2015, tourists' expenditure grew for Germany, Italy and Spain. These latest trends confirm the cluster analysis for previous crisis years and they suggest that the heritage-led-growth can be an *exit strategy*. Available resources for cultural policies, marketing and branding can further foster this growth (Cluster *An die Zauber-Freude*) as they enhance the long-term prosperity of local people; delight visitors by maximising their collaboration, willingness-to-pay and satisfaction; maximise profitability of local enterprises and maximise multiplier effects; optimise tourism impacts by ensuring a sustainable balance between benefits and costs; increase the use of media and intangibles in the digital era.

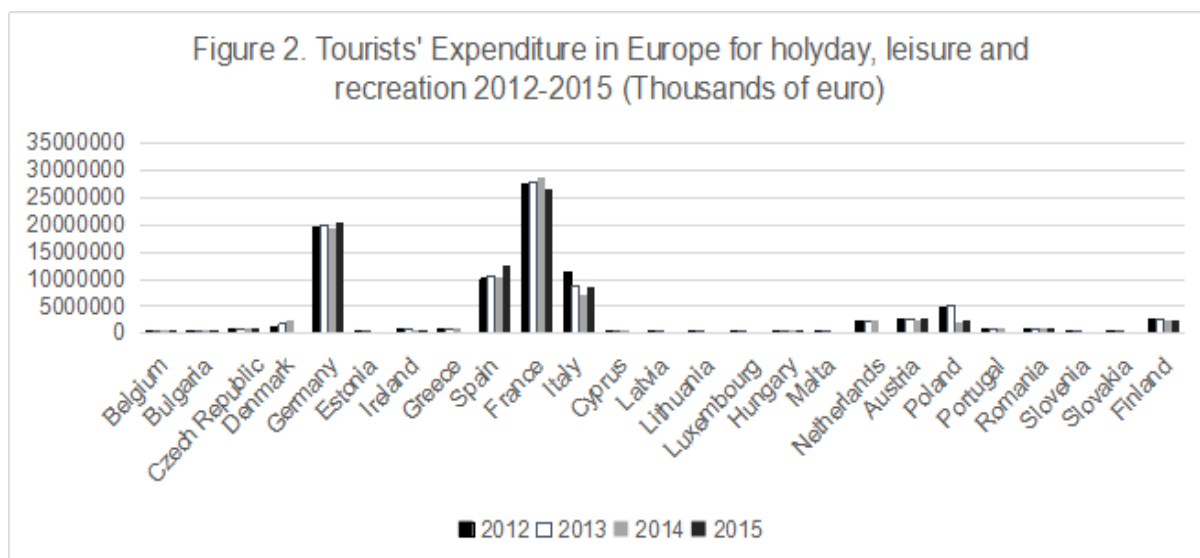


FIGURE 2. TOURISTS' EXPENDITURE IN EUROPE FOR HOLIDAY, LEISURE AND RECREATION 2012-2015 (THOUSANDS OF EURO)

Source: own elaboration

5. Managerial and policy implications

Consumption, public expenditure and trade can affect GDPs in crisis times. Expenditures for culture by the State, private households, national and international tourists can foster recovery and growth.

The cluster analysis of the investigated sample confirms that the best GDP performances refer to the most crowded cluster with significant cultural tourism, international trade performances and the support of mature marketing and branding. Cluster analysis can be further implemented, in order to investigate performances of strategies and policies in time series. Cluster analysis can segment tourists and, also, residents according to their willingness-to-pay or willingness-to-donate for heritages.

Marketing and branding heritage are keys for cultural heritage destinations to succeed. Kania (2001) argues that branding is the most important element in any marketing plan, it is at the very heart of destination marketing strategy (Pike, 2004). Branding creates an emotional connection with consumers, a two-way process, and this relationship is important for tourist destinations for many reasons, including the changing tourism environment and consumer behavior. In fact, competition is increasing and tourists are becoming increasingly sophisticated and discerning, and places have been required to find new ways to differentiate themselves from the competition and to establish connections with consumers. (Baker & Cameron, 2008). Even if the customer orientation is vital, marketing and branding have firstly to satisfy residents, who have to be actively involved in place branding as they are part of the marketing mix (Howie, 2003; Baker & Cameron, 2008).

Managers and policy makers must consider these options to spend for culture, stimulate and develop territories, communities, local and national economies and to boost cultural and heritage tourism. Managers and policy makers must be aware that, in order to be competitive at the level of marketing,

destinations need to build a brand and brand positioning that are in keeping with the sense of place, and that reflect its identity.

As aforementioned, marketing and branding have diverse positive effects, if they are carried out taking a sustainability approach into account.

If it is considered that tourists' expenditures and marketing proficiency can be converted in the heritage safeguard and preservation, tourism flows can for sure impact GDP growth, taking into account tourism receipts and exports of cultural and creative destinations.

Impact on local economies' growth and on residents as for uses of heritages will be issue of future research, above all, where UNESCO flags can signal emblematic benchmarks of cultural policies, marketing and branding.

Nevertheless, marketing and branding require significant endeavors, in term of funding, public and private investments, community involvement and stakeholders' engagement, to promote public-private partnerships that are essential for the implementation of the process and in order to ensure its success.

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The effect of globalisation on culture and cultural heritage

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ABSTRACT

Globalisation is a phenomenon of our time that can be viewed from various angles. There are sociological, historical, political, cultural and economic aspects of globalisation. There are also different ways of looking at globalisation, such as taking the theoretical approach or analysing different views of various authors engaged in the research of this area. The purpose of this paper is to elaborate the impact of globalisation on culture and cultural heritage, as well as the interdependence of globalisation, in the field of cultural tourism taking Istria as an example. Istria, a region that has witnessed centuries-long and diverse European cultural influences, is now regarded as the meeting place of different cultures and traditions. In elaborating the theory of globalisation, it is possible to be in touch with regionalisation, as a response to global processes and modes of preservation of tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Of course, the correlation between globalisation and cultural identity affects the creation of the so-called cosmopolitan identity, where in creating cultural identity, today we meet a mix of old given elements and newly-built elements. The last part of the research focuses on the combination of traditional and modern elements in the multi-dimensional social process of globalisation.

Keywords:

globalisation,
globalisation of
culture,
cultural heritage,
cultural identity,
Cultural Tourism,
Regionalisation

1. Introduction

Globalisation is a term that has been posing a challenge for nations, companies, workplaces and people's lives from the 1980s to the present. Dragičević (1996) argues that a free transnational flow of ideas, information, knowledge, people, goods and capital creates a new overall development course, which also implies the contemporary management of cultural policies in Europe and worldwide. In this day and age, we can speak about cultural globalisation related to the term “cultural contact”. Natural cultural exchange has existed since times immemorial through the creation of the correlation of two cultures. The said contact, the correlation, also generates assimilation of some values of other cultures that are adopted and implemented into the existing culture. For instance, during the rule of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy (1867-1918) the Croatian region of Istria was “enriched” with cultural tangible and intangible heritage that was assimilated, transformed, adapted and finally integrated into people and territories, customs and traditions. It is nowadays considered to be a part of the overall cultural landscape of the Istrian territory.

The situation regarding the implementation of globalisation of religious culture, specific culture globalised with more difficulty, is somewhat different, although it has also been present from the earliest times. It can be said that there is a segmented distribution in the interpretation of globalisation. According to Mendis (2007), the earlier framework of global influences – ranging from religious preachers to conquerors and trade – similarly depicts the modern leaders in governments, religious institutions and multinational trading corporations. Today's situation is complex with many global actors in every domain: religious groups of multiple denominations, various governmental leaders in different countries and at numerous levels, global institutions for all human affairs, billions of consumers and millions of tourists. These are interdisciplinary typologies of globalisation because each of them is based on the globalisation of economy and culture through migrations of people.

The notion of globalisation is significantly linked with Americanisation, the expansion of a specific worldwide culture in every way, from the economic, sociological and political to the cultural aspect. American culture represents the sum of all cultures from Europe, the Old Continent. However, American culture also managed to encompass the newly-created, where the original characteristics becoming distinguished and recognisable with the fast lifestyle brand and the fashionable fast food, art trends and a vigorous economic and political background which in time became the strongest world force in all segments of human activity. Consequently, the relation with different world cultures throughout the centuries affected the way of life, mentality and creation of different cultural identities. A good example of the response to globalisation in terms of the Americanisation in the food and beverage sector is undoubtedly the emergence of the Slow Food movement in Italy, “Mother of Good Food” (in response to Fast Food made in America), for purposes of preserving the originality of local foodstuffs produced at “0 kilometres” and traditional recipes, where it is possible to eat food with all five senses.

On the other hand, Europe is still unique for its aesthetics of culture. This is primarily explained by the fact that culture, in this case, intangible culture, greatly depends on the territory as the main factor of

belonging. Metaphorically speaking and using a simple example, the gastronomic heritage of Istria cannot be equally experienced, tasted and smelled in New York or in Rovinj, although it is prepared using the same recipes and indigenous products. The consumption of Istrian wine and gastronomic delicacies in the American way and on the American soil will be lacking the Mediterranean atmosphere that is not only created by people but by the environment, even by tangible cultural heritage, in this case representing added value to the creation of experience increasingly used in the sector of cultural tourism in addition to the last link: natural heritage.

Furthermore, a positive side of globalisation of culture and cultural heritage is certainly the fact that local, regional and national cultural goods are turning into world cultural heritage. However, globalisation of cultural industry keeps popularising American culture and American lifestyle, a global lifestyle characterised by similar tastes and inclinations. If it follows world trends, Europe will find itself in a state of uncertainty, because it is not easy for nations to opt for either globalisation or localisation (working on preservation and promotion of local values, tradition and customs), centralisation or decentralisation of the system, as well as homogenisation (in terms of the market) or fragmentation. Another positive aspect is the internationalisation of some practices like distribution systems, marketing and development of new products and services, which is also reflected in today's faster and faster growth and development of cultural tourism, followed by the enrichment of knowledge, flow of information and, of course, sharing of values.

On the other hand, Robertson (2000) claims that the use of term of globalism in the contemporary world as a negative comment on what has, with equal pejorativeness, been described in ideological terms as "one-worldism" or "cosmopolitanism", is not uncommon in political and other campaigns, and of course there is a quite long genealogy of such terms. However, this is only a fragment in reading the significance of the meaning of globalisation today, because if we follow the historical line of research, we will run into various theories about the beginning of the process of globalisation. For instance, the origins of European globalisation are linked with the first transatlantic discoveries/research and territorial conquests, while the so-called Americanisation of the world is put in the context of the USA as the leader on the international scene after the Second World War, when the entire planet craved "the American way of life".

We can say that modernisation itself is the process of balancing and re-enchantment of the world of traditional communities in contact with rational western culture and the military, political, and economic power (Milardović & Njavro, 2001). The notions of modern and global are quite different, but at the same time there are linked, particularly in terms of cultural heritage. Modernisation of society means the advent of progress, whereas globalisation has a more encompassing meaning in terms of connecting the world, including all segments of development, where global can also mean modern, and the term modern can also mean global. In the world of economy, modernisation can also be explained through innovations in micro and macroeconomic flows. Innovations produce an increase of profit and market competitiveness. In this way, new products and services form and shape cultural tourism creating comparative advantages for the territory.

In considering the notion of globalisation, such as within cultural tourism, it is necessary to preserve cultural heritage with traditional values and typical features of the territory at the same time emphasising a modern note brought by the process of globalisation, particularly through a fast flow of newly created knowledge and information which produce new market and consumer trends in tourism. A quick flow and exchange of information creates a modern and globalised economy. According to Mendis, “modern participants of globalisation are fuelled by the information revolution” (2007: 20).

Globalisation has become the magical world of our everyday life. Although the adjective “global” was previously used to denote the entire globe, the use of the word “globalisation” is reserved for the modern era. “Developmental processes are based on internationalisation of all human activities where the world of flows has replaced the world of places. Political and cultural identities are detached from the territory, and mankind moves from the production of the thing in space towards the production of space which creates a new and global context of human existence and creation in which we determine our personality, cultural identity and life” (Galić, 2001: 177). Furthermore, in Galić's view (2001: 178), globalisation encompasses all cultures, civilisations and societies, and, though based on economic liberalism, functioning of the market and standardisation, it is above all a varied and complex process. Global culture can be seen as contemporary, modern and open, a common good. Culture that comes from without must be adapted locally due to the phenomenon of cultural dualism with national culture on one side, a traditional and unchanging culture, and postmodern culture turning into global culture on the other side.

Culture represents the identity of human community. The advance of globalisation, trade, travel and migrations produces an expansion of knowledge and various cultural influences. In recent times, this process called “westernisation” has been producing global cultural identity through global culture, the identity interpreted as a new and advantageous identity by younger generations. New generations are not obsessed with the creation of national identities as they are sociologically part of the global village, citizens of the world, cosmopolites. There is a formula of modern global identity individualisation. It is a combination of national identity and modernisation with the addition of innovative thinking, whose result is manifested in the phenomenon of cultural dualism. The question “Do cultural identities dissociate themselves from territories and merge into a “global village” identity?”, touches the segment of politics, sociology and culture of our times. Nations, people or individuals must be given wide opportunities of finding their own identity following the authentic culture of respect and dialogue, because culture is an essential element that makes up the identity of the individual and the community. If local culture keeps losing its fundamental value, it is the proof of poor homogenisation of globalisation in the respective territory.

Mixing cultures and the creation of cultural diversity are phenomena multiplied through the creation of the process of globalisation, so that the wish for global unification has produced some unwanted, at the same time unavoidable negative consequences. Bhabha (2008) claims that cultural differences must not be understood as the free play of polarities and pluralities in the homogeneous empty time of the national community. He continues to speak about cultural differences, as a form of intervention,

participate in a logic of supplementary subversion similar to the strategies of minority discourse (Bhabha, 2008: 10).

For instance, the Istrian region is rich in cultural diversities of peoples who have inhabited the territory for centuries. Today they make up a wealth of minorities. Among other things, we now have the globalisation of gastronomy. To emphasise and preserve their regional and local identity and their intangible eno-gastronomic cultural heritage, regional and local administrations have implemented the policy of development and protected it through various projects and conservation programmes. This has given the regional and local gastronomy a distinctive place and strengthened and intensified its importance, which gave the territory an added value, particularly in relation to the development of cultural tourism of destination Istria. Economic development of the territory is in this case based on developmental strategies of the Region of Istria following global trends, at the same time preserving the tradition and customs of the territory towards sustainable development. In this regard, the school programme is aimed at preserving Istrian tradition and customs through the so-called regional heritage education through which children in nursery and elementary school learn about their language, the Glagolitic script, traditional children's games through stories and legends, i.e. oral history, to the topic of modernisation of society, a teaching unit taught in the final stage of primary education. For example, in the Japanese elementary schools (although society is modern, innovative; in the time of digitalisation), children are actively included in the work of their school canteen from the early stages of their primary education. They actively learn about Japanese food (culture and traditions of food) and prepare food together with their teachers, but also, traditional gastronomy is one of the school subjects in which they receive an annual grade.

2. Interconnection of globalisation and cultural tourism

Global transformation is progressing. We recognize that because everything changes. We are introduced to a new terminology in a new economy. Yesterday, we had sustainable, green and digital economy, whereas today, it is circular and sharing economy. The latter is very important in the transportation and tourism sectors which simultaneously create new jobs, reduce costs and accelerate service delivery with more satisfied customers (who spend less and get more free time).

On the other hand, today's migration crisis and migration in general will change the demographic picture of many European countries, with a significant influence on tourism. Migration and fluctuations of the world's population have always existed as a consequence of wars, economic, political and religious reasons, as well as climate changes. Migration will undoubtedly increase in the future. We will have a "new population" of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers all over the world. Migrations related to various national territories are also changing in many ways.

At the same time, migrations have always been related to the origins of tourism. Human mind is exploration-oriented, wishing to discover new places, peoples, cultures and traditions. People explore today's world in the form of tourism, sightseeing (visiting) various localities/destinations worldwide, satisfying their need for new findings about both distant and close cultures, peoples and

territories/spaces, as well as the need for a “continuous migration” (i.e. current changes of the place of residence) and exploration. Cultural tourism is increasingly developing in the direction of tourism of experience. Today’s tourist is at the same time becoming the co-creator of the local cultural offer which is gradually transformed, changed, getting closer to and adapted to the tourist/consumer. The tourist therefore acquires multiple roles upon his/her visit to a destination. Authors Sohn and Yuan (2013) in one of their researches of the needs and the typology of culinary tourists, visitors to food and wine festivals, define the tourist the idealist, achiever, explorer, “belonger” and innovator, depending on his/her character traits and the needs they satisfy by themselves upon visiting various wine and food events. In his works, analysing the individual’s psychological persona, Freud often defines it as a personal combination of character and culture of each individual. On the other hand, for instance, tourism and anthropology scholar Burns (1999), classifies tourists/visitors in a more encompassing manner arguing that “tourists may be classified in a number of ways (typologies) including the extent to which their trips rely on a series of existing institutions, personality type, and purpose of travel where many of these typologies are simplistic, not based on empirical evidence and have become less useful over time in analysing tourist behaviour and motivation” (Burns, 1999: 51).

Furthermore, we realise that the globalisation process enriches the tourism and cultural offer with various programmes; it is getting more modern and contemporary, more competitive, and hence we can say that the overall cultural and tourism offer is turning into an offer of active, at the same time exploratory and modern tourism. In this regard, the connection of globalisation and cultural tourism is firm, it is meaningful and it keeps up with the times; the times of quick changes and adjustment to the global market, creating market niches to differentiate among numerous products in the market, in order for the territory/destination to be more competitive. In terms of selling the package of cultural tourism and tourism of cultural heritage, the sector of marketing and promotion clearly plays the most important role. The segment of marketing that sells a specific form of tourism is definitively the segment related to authenticity, i.e. authenticity marketing (Cova & Cova, 2001). Cova and Cova discuss “a culture of nostalgia” with the following marketing meaning in contemporary spending: “a continuation or beginning of production and commercialisation in the identical way (based on the original); designing a kitsch product which would integrate elements of the original product to satisfy “the thirst” for authenticity “on sale” for particular clients (identical to the original, but much cheaper); which is followed by designing the product that reinterprets differentiating elements of the original product into a coherent original copy to fulfil the need for a “double/square authenticity” for the more specific customers whose demand is oriented towards getting that additional something (Cova & Cova, 2001: 107).

Socioeconomically speaking about globalisation in relation to a growing development of the tourism sector, there are internal migrations of population that affect the economy (with the related improvement of human resources, creation of new workplaces, work-related changes to the place of residence). Therefore, discussing migrations of local inhabitants within the limits of national territory, we increasingly encounter the phenomenon of repeated “ruralisation.” Consequently, in the past, we met the process of urbanisation, when the rural population migrated from the countryside to the cities.

Today we have a reverse process in developed countries, the process of “ruralisation” (the return of people to the ground, to the source; where new generations are those who are looking for healthier and freer lifestyle). The process also creates the preconditions for the development of rural tourism which belongs to alternative tourism, where the tourists/explorers can stay in rural holiday houses surrounded by preserved natural environment and “old style” ambience (i.e. accommodation without contemporary commodities; with rainwater tanks situated in front of the house; with wood burning for heating and cooking; domestic animals freely roaming the meadows and woods and producing milk, cheese, eggs; or the vegetable garden and orchards providing chemical free fruits). These belong among the cultural heritage of the territory and are marketed as a tourism brand. If we take a deeper look, globalisation has produced these consequences in the tourism sector as well, with a number of visitors in search of peace and quiet in harmony with nature and healthy lifestyle, with use of renewable sources of energy aimed at increasing environmental awareness.

However, let us return to the relationship of globalisation and cultural tourism, where the culture is used as a commodity on the market, according to author MacLeod (2006), who also claims “that there is an underutilisation of culture by some destinations, and that policymakers and others are missing aspects of culture that could give advantage to certain regions and their local population. Not only does this correspond to their understanding of the concept of culture, but also to their expectations of market demand” (MacLeod, 2006: 71), which is certainly not a positive element for the development. Culture creates the image of the destination and it can be the primary or joint resource for shaping the strategy of territorial development which the local, regional or national potentials in addition to the human potential factor, turn into a cultural tourism destination by means of promotion/marketing. Culture is a segment that comprises places, spaces and people, spheres that we meet in practice through cultural tourism.

When it comes to the issue of globalisation of culture and connection of globalisation and cultural tourism offer, what we get is the creation of a more quality, global cultural offer in destinations that will attract a large number of visitors, art lovers. For instance, the city of Rovinj, Croatian pearl on the Adriatic, situated on the west coast of Istria, has been offering top quality exhibitions of world renowned painters presented at the Heritage Museum of Rovinj with great success for four consecutive years (in terms of the number of visitors, especially for such a small coastal town with around 15 thousand people). In fact, a private Croatian company organised an exhibition of Dali’s works in 2014 (lasting from April 2014 to January 2015) with 27.000 visits. The following year, in 2015, Picasso’s works were exhibited (April – October 2015) with 12,900 visits. Last year saw the exhibition of Chagall (April-October 2016) with 16,700 visitors, while this year features an exhibition of graphics by Miró (staged in April 2017 and lasting by September this year, so that the data is not yet available). Culture is hence becoming a commercial resource, a product offered in the market as a part of the overall package comprising all kinds of services, from accommodation and hospitality facilities to transportation and entertainment. In Burns’ words (1999), it is necessary to consider a special co-relation existing between tourism and culture: “the cultural dynamics, systems and structures that make meaning between visitors and the visited possible”. Because “culture can be seen as a

commercial resource, especially culture that is perceived to be unique or unusual by actors including tourism marketing specialists and planners; and understanding the links between tourism system and culture might help prevent or minimise negative impacts on a host culture occurring through the act of receiving tourists” (Burns, 1999: 58). On the other hand, it is also necessary from the marketing and promotion standpoint, to network all the subjects of the destination, i.e. hotels and catering facilities, as well as organisers of cultural events, thus creating a unified co-branding potential of place and private industry, although they might have different, event conflicting interests. Seaton & Alford (2001) define this type of promotion “unique tourism destination concept.” Moreover, in order to use the existing resources, to renovate them and put them in the global market, certainly shows a good example from practice in terms of cultural tourism projects in rural areas, Book town tourism and the EU BookTownNeet project (the second one is partly financed by the European Commission’s information technology Directorate, DG XIII – partners: Hay-on-Wye, UK, Bredevort, The Netherlands, Redu, Belgium, Montolieu, France and Fjaerland, Norway; to target a specialist tourism niche market book buyers, supplied by SMEs). Furthermore, regarding the Book town tourism project, “they create economic purpose for older, unoccupied buildings, generally without extensive or expensive restoration, thus contributing to the conservation of architectural heritage. In tourism terms, they provide a significant impetus to the local economy through the recovery of the local hotel and catering industry” (Seaton & Alford, 2001, p. 116). Surely, by authors, “book towns have enormous potential of branded destination attraction for educated visitors and market for antiquarian books across the Europe, for special travel, when we talk about motivation” (2001: 116).

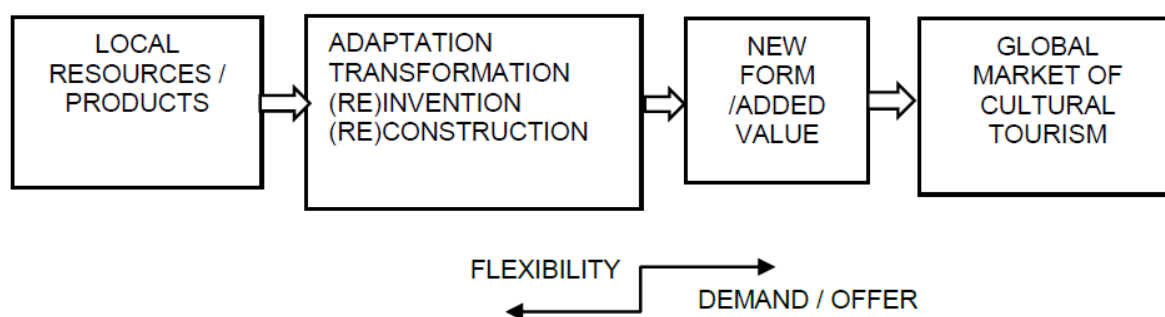


FIGURE 1. TRANSFORMATION / RECONSTRUCTION OF EXISTING LOCAL RESOURCES FOR THE GLOBAL MARKET.

Source: Own elaboration.

Figure 1 shows the process of using culture in capacity of local resources in creating new products for the global cultural tourism market, which generates profit for the territory. The said process witnesses the creation of adaptation, transformation, (re)invention and (re)construction of the existing cultural heritage, which creates new forms and new products that represent added and new value for the destination. The process is accompanied by flexibility, which adapts the newly created products, mostly through following world/global demand trends and modelling and creating the offer based on it. However, today’s process is increasingly reversed, which means that different offer attracts tourists-explorers and consumers of cultural heritage tourism hungry for novelties and innovative packages.

3. ISTRA – Individual cultural globalisation on a small scale

Globalisation enables small territories and regions to have visibility at the global level, while at the same time weakening the local values and traditional cultures that are modernising and becoming more and more contemporary in today's turbulent times, and this is certainly a positive side of the influence of the globalisation on the local and regional level for faster growth and development. We can therefore say that globalisation also denotes a dynamic economic, political and cultural process made possible by a rapid development. The consequences of globalisation are reflected in the fact that national states are too small for big and too big for small problems. Regionalisation therefore simplifies the solution of problems and the homogeneity of problem implementation. If we analyse Soros (2002), we realise that "globalisation nevertheless made the world more interdependent and increased the extent of damage that internal problems can cause to individual nations. It is therefore not sufficient to develop better plans for the distribution of public goods on the global scale; we also have to find a way of improving political and social conditions within individual countries" (Soros, 2002: 27), or within the very regions.

Historically, globalisation is a cyclical process, which is particularly seen in the Istrian territory due to its turbulent past that witnessed numerous wars. At the same time, we are witnessing the strengthening of social relations worldwide as well as connecting distant places, so that local events are shaped by the global ones. This in turn leads to new findings formulated into new ideas, which standardises cultural life throughout the world, starting from the local level and leaving space for the individual cultural globalisation on a small scale.

Istria has achieved great success in developing projects in the field of cultural tourism, in collaboration with European regions of the neighbouring countries, i.e. Slovenia, Italy, Austria, and with the Western Balkans regions. These are examples of good practice of international collaboration (e.g. collaboration of Istria and the Italian region of Tuscany in relation to the revitalisation of Završje (Piemonte d'Istria) as well as the project of protection and preservation of autochthonous products of the territory and the culture of the dining table or the collaboration between Istria and the Veneto Region based on protection and preservation of monuments from the era of the Serenissima – Legge 16, '94). A lot has been done on interregional and international networking of cultural institutions and tourism entities for the purpose of joint promotion of newly developed programmes and projects (e.g. the international project SeeNet, South Eastern Europe Network financed by the Ministry of the Exterior of the Republic of Italy with the Italian regions and the Western Balkans regions as partners for the period of 2003 – 2010, with Istria as the leading partner for the countries of former Yugoslavia in charge of coordinating cultural tourism projects and local and regional development).

Improvement of culture and tourism professionals is one of shared long-term objectives that is still successfully carried out through a series of activities, seminars, internship (Erasmus), exchange (Eurodysey) to create modern human potential with new findings that summarise interdisciplinary teaching about culture and tourism, which was undoubtedly influenced by the globalisation process. We can say that globalisation is pushing the establishment towards continuous and permanent

education. Keeping up with the times means acquiring new knowledge. Nussbaum (2003) mentions culture which, according to Seneca, is based on a liberal education concept, creating free citizens, “citizens who are free not because of wealth or birth, but because they can call their minds their own” (Nussbaum, 2003: 293). As stated by Nussbaum, “in this way, they hope to advance from the cultural narrowness into which we all are born toward true world citizenship” (Nussbaum, 2003: 294). Programmes like Erasmus and Eurodyssey relate to intercultural education. The issue was discussed by Shaules (2007) who mentioned the importance of intercultural education (intercultural communication training, language education and global issues education). He also speaks about “intercultural adaptation – examining the characteristics that are shared by people who learn to function well in a new cultural environment” (Shaules, 2007: 84), which is very important for successful cultural learning about new cultures. The process of “intercultural adaptation” is also important when tourists get to know a new cultural and tourist destination.

Professional staff is therefore one of the key factors of success. Nowadays human resources, along with other potentials of the Istrian territory, are the foundations of new development on the principles of flexibility, possibilities of adaptation and sustainable and, most of all, responsible development. Planning human potentials is a more recent skill and business technique that contributes to the advent of changes and realisation of competitive advantages and profitability, particularly for the development of cultural tourism which is specific by itself. It is exactly for this reason that “the man-plan” as defined by Sikula (1976) in his book about personnel anticipates future activities of business environment and a relative human power adapted to given circumstances. Adaptation and acquisition of new knowledge in today’s globalisation process are the only solution for successful growth and development, competitiveness and a differentiated offer in the global market.

Another important factor related to “individual cultural globalisation” (in this case the Region of Istria) is definitely cultural identity. The sociocultural significance of cultural identity is one of the most important elements of preservation of genuine cultural values of the people and the territory, as an authentic element of society in general. In the globalisation context, numerous scientists and scholars focused on the issue of identity, which adds to “global individualism” felt in Istria. Do Croats, and hence the inhabitants of Istria, feel like Europeans after the entry into the EU and do they have a single or multiple identity (European, national, regional, local) is the issue studied by Cerutti (2004). He argues that a new supranational identity may only gain momentum if people feel that some of the decisions affecting their lives are now being passed in Brussels and that they are made by leaders who represent the citizens democratically and responsibly, which touches on the political, economic, social and cultural segment. Moreover, in modelling the brand of cultural tourism of Istria, we are also touching on a possibility of “globalisation of identity on a small scale”, especially when we look at the fact that the Istrian historical and cultural identity includes all, until now, autochthonous assimilated cultures and their values that have left their traces on the peninsula (Histrians, Liburnians, Celts, Romans, Slavs, Venetians, Habsburgs, Illyrians, Austro-Hungarian period, Italians, Yugoslavia, until Croatia), while the contemporary cultural identity of Istria within the Croatian cultural context is based on “cross-border identity” and belonging to the European cultural circle. It is therefore not surprising

that Hofstede (1997) maintains that “culture refers to the cumulative deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, notions of time, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving” (Hofstede, 1997: 279).

4. Regionalisation as an answer to global processes

According to the theory of globalisation, the world is moving both towards globalisation and in the direction of regionalisation, fragmentation or splitting in respect of cultural diversity and preservation of cultural heritage of various nations. The result for the Istrian Region is that we now have “the Istrian Region in the Europe of regions.” On the other hand, in terms of culture, regionalisation is a normal response to current global processes, especially when it comes to the “sale” of cultural heritage on the European and world tourism market.

Cultural heritage is world treasure belonging to the mankind. Preservation of cultural heritage through the UNESCO is well-planned and aimed at providing protection, particularly historic, distinguishing various periods of times and territories (in tourism considerations, destinations acquire such status owing to their creating the image of the territory) of man’s activities worldwide. As far as regional protection of cultural heritage is concerned, the heritage protected as UNESCO world cultural heritage in Istria comprises the Episcopal Complex of the Euphrasian Basilica in the historical core of Poreč, along with intangible world heritage two part singing and playing in the Istrian scale (two part not-temperate singing usually performed accompanied by the typical Istrian woodwind instruments, the small and large *sopile*) and Rovinj’s *batana* boat (as an example of “live art”) with a museum dedicated thereto. However, do tourists even care about the authenticity of the cultural offer? It largely depends on the interpretation of authenticity. An undoubtedly important factor for the visitors is satisfying the need for culture and their authentic experience of the destination when they are in touch with the facilities and the local population (subjective experiences of the cultures and places). The subject was explored by the American author MacCannell (1973) who wrote about the significance of authenticity in tourism. He distinguished between the experience of authenticity and the actual authenticity of the place, facilities and events experienced by the tourists, and he described authenticity as a “primitive concept” which remained undefined. Tourists hope they will experience authenticity upon encountering the authentic. However, what they encounter is the “staged authenticity” of the tourism offer as presented by the local and the tourism sector, which is not satisfactory. Therefore, the creation of cultural and tourism products primarily relies on the inter-sector collaboration of culture and tourism, particularly on the collaboration among the local population, the creators of the strategies and the tourists, with the objective of making the best possible use and optimal presentation of natural and cultural resources in creating the economic profit for a particular territory. Presenting authenticity is not simple and experiencing the authenticity of culture of a particular place differing from one’s own culture is even more complex. It is therefore necessary to present authenticity as close to the original as possible. Maitland (2007) provides another dimension to the visitors’ encounter with culture and space of the destination in relation to tourist experience

satisfaction. He argues that “a more satisfying visitor experience may be had from places that are not so familiar, for which there are fewer preconceived images or which offer a different mix. These may be no more “authentic”, but they may be experienced by visitors as more distinctive, and thus valued” (Maitland, 2007: 27).

The offer creates the market, which in this case concerns the protection, preservation and development of authentic products in all segments of development; ranging from culture to production of typical products and agriculture (growing old fruit and vegetable varieties), accommodation capacities (i.e. architectural heritage) and hospitality industry (gastronomic cultural heritage). By the same token, tourist and cultural destinations with cultural heritage included in the UNESCO world heritage list become world-known and therefore acquire more significance in the global tourism market. Consequently, these destinations are visited and explored by a growing number of tourists, which in turn creates the need to make sustainable development plans for the territory in order to preserve the territory and the use of natural and cultural resources against the invasion of mass tourism.

In fact, cultural tourism is one of the most vigorous representatives of selective forms of tourism, as it is related to cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible, which reaches all areas of human activities; from tradition and customs, to music, theatre, arts and film culture, to architectural culture, the culture of living, eno-gastronomy and fashion industry. Cultural tourism also known as cultural heritage tourism creates the profit and added value in the economic sense where culture and all of its sub-forms become the products of global spending in today's economy of culture. Until recently, all programmes and projects have almost exclusively been financed by local, regional or national funds, or by various international cultural associations and foundations and large hotel companies. However, today's culture has become profitable and it generates revenue for the tourist destinations, so that projects and programmes become self-sustainable. For instance, in the Istrian Region, regionalisation in culture calls for various ways of creating cultural packages and introduces novelties such as public-private investments in the cultural industry and entertainment, which undoubtedly facilitates the work and creativity of cultural workers engaged in planning the said programmes and projects. Developing projects related to particular territories, designing them regionally and implementing them using the domicile culture and the expert human potential is certainly the right way and the development that will prevent the tradition and the customs from being extinguished (i.e. regional cultural development strategy).

Regionalisation can also have the meaning of “cultural separation” and estimating and creating one's own “cultural product,” resulting in the preservation of its own and non-interference of other cultures into the regional or national culture or even cultural industry. This is surely exemplified by the Indian film industry, the only film industry along with the Egyptian not to have embraced Hollywood, and rather opted for, according to Allemant & Ruano-Borbalano (2005), “Bollywood”, one of today's best-known audio-visual and film production centres in Mumbai. The authors argue that “the case of India truly illustrates the limitations of influences of industrial cultures of the West.” Furthermore, India is a country that “produces one thousand films every year, whose obviousness keeps growing

internationally.” On the other hand, through TV screens, India also absorbs “a mosaic of cultures, religions and languages and ‘digests’ all external influences” (Allemand & Ruano-Borbalano, 2005, p. 109), whereby the authors refer to Anglo-Saxon films and TV programmes followed by a minor part of the Indian population. We can therefore say that “the apparent cultural homogeneity is less considered as Americanisation, and more as a process of concentration of cultural and communication industry, American and other” (Allemand & Ruano-Borbalano, 2005: 108).

However, when it comes to global culture, we can say that it is the product of a certain era of modernisation prompted by Europeanisation and Americanisation or the predominance of Western culture. The meaning of territoriality is slowly disappearing as a paradox with the creation of the element of organisational principles for social and cultural life. A society without borders is created in which economy, politics and culture work together in a new world system. If we consider Dragičević’s opinion, we reach a completely opposite theory where the author states that “a globalised world should imply accepting the existence of a society and culture where the stronger one becomes a global player, and others learn and adjust to the game of the global player. This is the beginning of competences and races and globalisation is seen as a project of western (non)liberalisation” (1996: 147).

As a region within the Republic of Croatia, Istria started creating its image back in the 1990s, the time of national independence, under the slogan “the Istrian Region in the Europe of regions”, most of all in the cultural sense. At the same time, it worked on positioning the territory in the segment of economic and political activity using the existing civilisational values of multiculturalism and multi-ethnicity of the territory. It may be said that a classical manner of looking upon the national concept of culture and identity is acquiring new forms of meaning both regionally and locally, by creating some completely new identities which become global based on the typology of their application and implementation and their all-encompassing meaning. Moreover, based on the created tourism-cultural product entitled “Istria – Cultural Region” with cultural tourism as the epicentre and the strongest link of development, Istria is today one of the leading regions in the Western Balkans, and it is starting a serious race with Western European regions (in the sense of development of tourism in general). Furthermore, if we consider the meaning of regionalisation, we can now conclude that it is a normal response to global processes, especially in terms of the “sale” of cultural heritage in the European and international market, although preservation of cultural heritage and traditional values are constantly being worked on. Such “products” offered in the market are becoming a global good without frontiers on the global stage of culture, where the borders of the possible and the impossible are being deleted, in the sense of possibility and openness to the tourism market.

On the other hand, regionalisation is always related to politics, administratively for the most part. This is particularly reflected while considering the issue of decentralisation related to the cultural sector and tourism. By the same token, regionalisation can be seen as a side-effect of internationalisation and globalisation of cultural and tourism world which is becoming unified. However, it is at the same time such a rich and diverse assembly of different cultural values of various peoples which becomes unique and universal in terms of togetherness, and “branched out” and diverse in terms of special features of

the territory.

It is precisely for this reason that regionalisation can also be related to cultural diversity in the sense of challenges of cultural, educational and tourism policy. For instance, “preservation of cultural diversity, as well as regional promotion, holds great significance, and it is a challenge of sorts to the European Union, who’s each expansion turns it into an increasingly more diverse assembly of unique identities. The slogan of the European Union, “united in diversity” points out the guiding spirit of all its strategies, policies and guidelines, i.e. the attitude to a unique community of various identities sharing equal rights and obligations” (Jelinčić, Gulišija & Bekić, 2010). Yet, if we consider the issue of cultural diversity from the sociological standpoint, Dragičević Šešić & Stojković (2013) argue that “cultural diversity of contemporary European countries is multidimensional” and that it encompasses “diversities which are in the first place socio-cultural and concern the national, religious and regional affiliation and belonging to the linguistic community.”

5. Merging the traditional with the modern

According to Steger (2005) “globalisation refers to a multidimensional set of social processes that create, multiply, expand and strengthen interdependences and exchange around the world, at the same time fostering a greater awareness of the increasingly more profound relations between the local and the distant.” On the other hand, it is argued that “the advocates of globalisation want to turn the world into a big global market” (Fox, 2001). As a result, globalisation reduces the power of some countries to control their own destiny, and the main decisions are increasingly made at a higher, global level. The said process also transforms the organisation of social relations, with the resulting creation of transcontinental flows and activity networks. How to survive the global seas? The key lies in returning to the origin of the formula of today’s global development, i.e. starting from the global to the national development and through regional to local development.

“Postmodernity as a cultural context of global capitalism therefore necessarily had to end up as world culture – as a unity of cultural differences of all (global) national-regional-local cultures” (Paić, 2005). In the complex globalisation process, tradition must remain authentic, particularly on the local and regional level. The market must be offered final products containing both the elements of tradition as well as modernist elements, especially when it comes to attracting cultural tourists who foster contents imbued with history and authenticity. The contemporary story-telling approach is the American and Anglo-Saxon manner of valorisation of cultural heritage, which undoubtedly has great significance and weight, especially on the Old Continent. In fact, each town, village or hamlet in Istria or any other European territory has a heritage rich with events, stories, legends and myths. These stories make up a wealth of diversities and belong among products of the tourism of experience sought after by today’s guests and tourists/visitors.

The strengthening of diversity at the lowest level restores faith in tradition and customs of the territory and offers a vision of free non-global way of development and presentation of the people and the space. The promotion of tourism and cultural products in the European and global market is

increasingly asking for presenting special features related to a particular territory, which is considered to be its added value. Cultural heritage is a part of the final product which, depending on the creators/users of the offer and/or demand can but does not have to change its authenticity, its “basic ingredient” when it is presented on the global stage, which greatly depends on the manner of promotion and marketing (i.e. “the wrapping” of the overall product), especially when it comes to cultural tourism selling tangible and intangible heritage of the destination. Cultural and historic segments and basic/primary product contents remain unchanged and depending on their typology, they “tell the story” and are marketed and sold in their best light, without changing its basic and primary part. These cultural heritage products can be adjusted to the reality in terms of modern presentation with the inevitable spirit of the past. In other words, it is possible to merge the traditional with the modern by turning the tradition and the customs towards contemporary models of advertising and presentation in line with the world trends, with a contemporary educated and destination management, as well as all other players (i.e. human potential) in the sector of tourism and culture using modern technology, i.e. introducing digitalisation. For instance, museum holdings are presented using multimedia and virtual reality, a practice used in numerous Istrian museums, galleries and other public and private institutions. There is also the other side to using tradition – its integration into modern items such as clothes, where trendy fashion accessories are instantly connected with the retro style evoking the past and the authenticity of the origin. This is done to modernize tradition and bring it closer to the customers and today’s tourists. For instance, using various decorations of bygone times in the finished product, we get modern clothes with folklore motifs. The same refers to intangible cultural heritage, for example, if we look at the gourmet scene in Istria, which uses the traditional recipes presenting the food on the plates in a contemporary way. Such gastronomy can be competitive in relation to global cuisine, especially due to the quality of typical products, with the use of molecular technique of food preparation. All of these examples classify Istria as a modern, European but also world territory globalised in terms of trends, with separate attention to preservation of culture and tradition in all segments of human activities, with a separate emphasis on sustainable development, and with preservation of natural and cultural heritage.

Cultural heritage is a national wealth. It is the trace of human activity in time. Therefore, if we take the socio-cultural approach to the family and see it as a unit which passes down the customs and values of living in the territory to younger generations, we can say that cultural exchange is happening between these two generations, with the creation of an imaginary point of contiguity between the two cultures, the traditional and the modern. These cultures are assimilated into one, and as the final result, they enrich and transform the cultural identity into something completely new for the next generation. Speaking about multi-ethnicity and multi-culturalism and the contiguity of various cultures, cultural exchange and interpolation of cultures, we must mention the interesting example of the city of Brussels (the second most cosmopolitan city in the world) with 183 nationalities daily using over 100 different languages. These are the positive sides of globalisation, the interpolation of the old and the new in the process that creates a new and even richer cultural identity. Unconsciously, slowly, through various forms of migration, from the economic and religious to the war-inflicted, we are turning to globalised cosmopolites, the citizens of the world.

Cultural globalisation (Steger, 2005: 69) “refers to strengthening and expanding cultural trends throughout the planet, while culture is described as the entire human experience.” These are the foundations of the Istrian trajectory as well, where the presence in the world cultural and tourist market is presented by a modern region rooted in tradition. According to Foglio (2005), “it is very important for the national culture to manage to be integrated as well as possible to be able to respond to globalisation, accepting globalism, at the same time keeping traditions, specific local features, as well as nationalisms contained by each culture. The same issue is studied by Beck (2001), who claims that “there are differences within the sociologic consideration of globalisation”, which he labels as Culture 1 and Culture 2; with the first concept of culture referring to a particular form and the second term, Culture 2, denoting the process of trans-local learning. We can say that Culture 2 equals the place or tourist locality opened up outwards, and Culture 1 closed within.

A fruitful consequence of globalisation is a surely greater expansion of global culture, which does not mean that global culture will replace and annul local and national cultural diversities. Quite the contrary – globalisation strengthens the local cultural offer, endowing it with a wider context – the “global context”. In the global market, both culture and cultural management hold great responsibility in the development of the globalisation process, which is supposed to imply the growth of possibilities of communication and integration among various areas of the world. In terms of globalisation, it is clear that we are facing an unstoppable phenomenon, which is still positive, though opposing it would mean that we have failed to understand the times in which we are living and that we are missing multiple possibilities of growth and development that globalisation has to offer.

6. Conclusion

In general, today's benefits of globalisation are global production and global consumption with a free market where people begin to take their fate into their own hands. If we look across the line of economy development from the internal market and through the common market, we now have a global market which will depend in the coming decades on new technologies and innovations creating a new model of competitive economy. The said process is mostly reflected in the development of tourism, the fastest growing segment of economy. In fact, innovative, modern and trendy course of development can be found in the fast-growing development of cultural tourism or cultural heritage tourism, creating cultural and tourism packages sold to tourists, visitors/guests/consumers/explorers, now increasingly turning into co-creators of the destination. Culture and cultural heritage of a city, a region or a country, as well as the entire industry of culture (plans and programmes), are becoming and being increasingly used as a primary development resource through development institutions and creators of development strategies. This type of tourism clearly affects educational resources (in its capacity of creating expert human resources), socio-cultural, natural and ecological resources, in addition to strengthening industries and services closely related to tourism. This particularly refers to transportation and connections, accommodation capacities, agriculture, small and medium enterprises, entertainment and arts.

Tourists' cultural influence on the destination is discernible and short- or long-lived. For instance, in

former Yugoslavia in the 1970s and 1980s, tourists were the engine of Westernisation, later Americanisation; a means of changing and modernising the way of thinking for the local population, creating a “global mentality” open to acquisition of new knowledge, lifestyles and culture of the West. In the said period, tourists kept bringing the modern, the new, the unknown and the cosmopolitan. On the other hand, if we look at the arrival of tourists with lower purchasing power from the less developed countries to developed countries, we will encounter the phenomenon of a more intense acquisition of new knowledge of the destination of the arriving guests. Today's situation is completely different. All around the world, and regardless of their purchasing power, tourists are looking for tourism of experience and acquisition of the culture of destination and turning into co(authors) of the overall development of future development strategies.

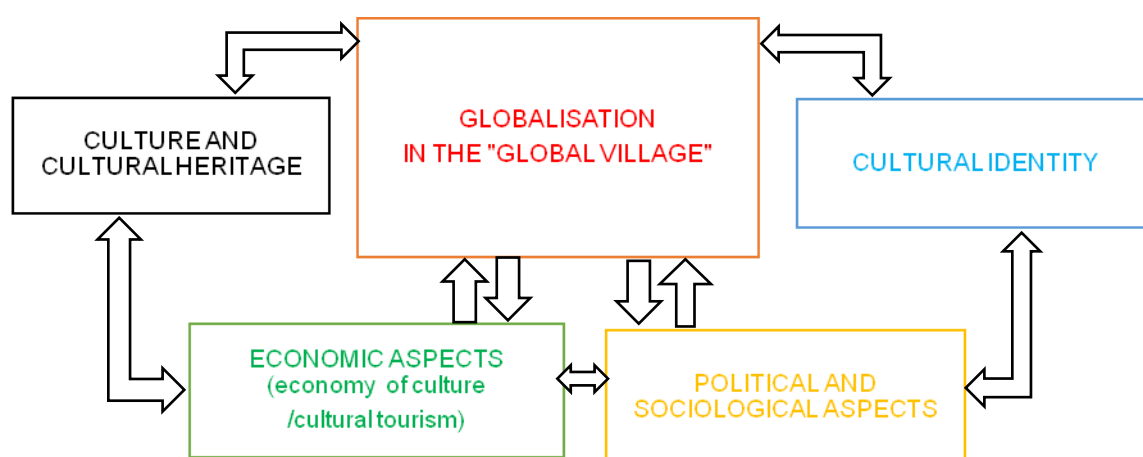


FIGURE 2. INFLUENCE, (INTER)CONNECTION AND ASSOCIATION OF GLOBALISATION, CULTURE, POLITICS, ECONOMICS AND SOCIETY

Source: Own elaboration

Figure 2 shows a vast and strong influence of globalisation on culture and cultural heritage which at the same time has a significant influence on forming new cultural and cosmopolitan identities of our time thus creating “a global village” where we are now living. The co-relationship of economy and politics occurs in the globalisation process. It is a process that creates different socio-economic parameters and new roles, the roles of “big financial players” in the world. An economy is either in or out in relation to business worldwide. By the same token, the use of culture as a creator of added value, profit and growth of local economy can produce changes brought about by the use of the economy of culture.

Culture is a medium of creative expression of the mankind. The language of the nation is the medium of expression of that nation. Languages change, improve and adapt, enriched and expanded with newly created words for contemporary objects/products and phenomena that did not exist in the past. Language is a “living tissue” that gets modernised. On the other hand, if we look at the overall culture as a market product, it denotes the object for commercialisation and creation of profit. Where are the

limits of good taste, what is culture, and what is the object of material wealth? It must lay in the preservation and protection of the original state (e.g. the state before the restauration of cultural goods), the shape of cultural goods. The financial segment is also important whereby cultural heritage is “kept alive” in time. However, we can perform restauration, e.g. in architecture, through interpolation of the old and the new; the traditional and the modern, where the borders of the old and the new are visible. This is the technique of keeping the original shape alive.

A combination of traditional and modern is possible and needed in a way that traditions and customs are turned to contemporary models of presentation, using global management trends and contemporary technology, especially regarding cultural tourism and the management of regional cultural and tourism policy, which is also the theme of this paper. But, the same model of tradition and tradition can be used in all sectors related to culture: the world of fashion, gastronomy, etc., creating the new world, the world of innovations. Cultural globalisation refers to the strengthening and spread of cultural flows across the planet as the culture is described as a whole human experience.

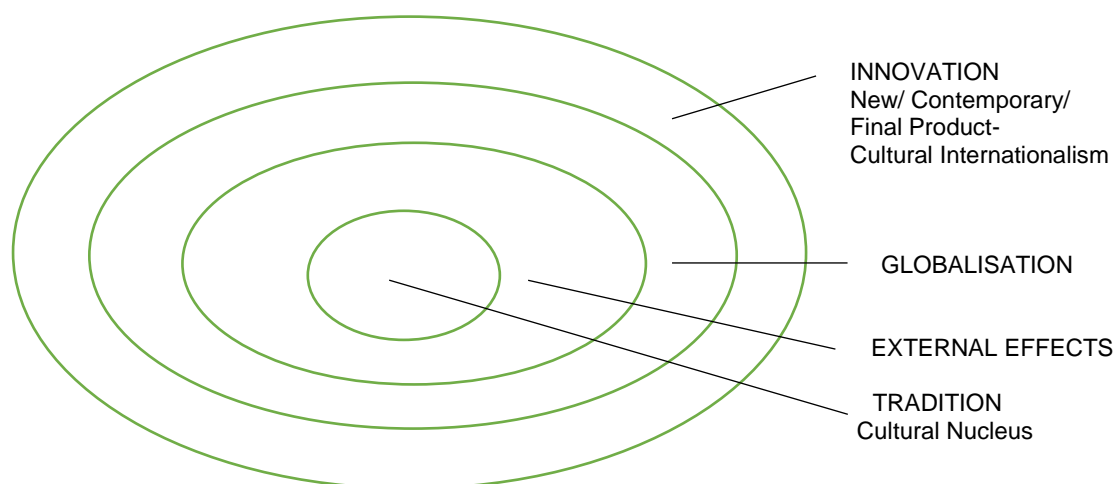


FIGURE 3. THE DIMENSION OF CULTURE: CORRELATION AND INTERDEPENDENCE OF TRADITION AND MODERN CULTURAL ELEMENTS

Source: Own elaboration

Figure 3 shows the dimension of culture in terms of correlation and interdependence of traditional and modern cultural elements in creating new cultural tourism products passing through the globalisation process with various external effects, i.e. adjustment to the market, saturation with the old and the guests' need for new products; global tourism trends and safety of destination (terrorism and war-affected zones worldwide). If we look at the above diagram based solely on culture and its transformations, from traditional to innovative, we can say that the external effects are much stronger. This particularly concerns the influence of other cultures, today more aggressive and based on unifying culture into a single one, without many differences and deviations. Yet, this is not so simple. Cultures have their common grounds and pass through the process of adaptation, and still manage to

remain “unique in diversity.” It is very important for a national culture to be able to integrate well in order to respond to globalisation, accepting globalism that includes modernity, but at the same time preserving tradition, locality and nationalism of each culture because the consequence of globalisation is strengthening the expansion of global culture, which does not mean that global culture will replace and overcome local and national cultural diversity, but instead, globalisation strengthens local cultural offer, endowing it with a wider context of the world as mentioned above. We all become citizens of the world, cosmopolites, and it is therefore very important to keep cultural diversity.

Our society is facing the unstoppable phenomenon of globalisation. Ignoring globalisation means lacking time and opportunities that globalisation can provide. The same occurs in tourism. Globalisation changes tourism. Trends and duration of holidays are also changing. Cultural tourism is even more specific than other forms of selective tourism. For instance, upon visiting European cultural tourism destinations, holidaymakers from distant countries like America, Australia, Japan or China want to visit as many cultural destinations at once. Their holidays in Europe are more than fifteen days long and mostly based on cultural heritage tourism. On the other hand, European holidaymakers wishing to learn about the culture of the neighbouring/other nations opt for “fragmented” holidays and several long weekends throughout the year, meaning several tourist seasons (e.g. in the Adriatic which has a mild climate and many sunny days a year), the season starts earlier and ends later. We can say that Istria has launched the creation of pre- and post-season, as opposed to tourism in July and August only, which is supported by a varied offer of culture of the territory in all forms and segments of development. An increasingly wider offer produces an increasingly greater number of visitors. As far as Istria is concerned, this is certainly additionally spurred by numerous new flights from the city of Pula (with around 70,000 inhabitants and the regional airport) towards major European cities and capitals in Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Russia, Serbia, Poland and Switzerland, in addition to the national lines.

The sector of gastronomy has always had a very important role in creating the image of Istria. A lot is invested into restaurants, catering facilities and new menus using products that are typical for the destination, which creates a strong and competitive wine and gastronomy scene marketed as a part of the overall offer of cultural tourism of the region (a stronger link of marketed cultural and tourist package through which storytelling is rooted in tradition). At the level of global gastronomy, we can use the example of passage from traditional culture of food preparation, through modernism and innovations to molecular cuisine which did not survive but was partially interpolated, due to experience of consumers’ experience, so that we are now facing a globalised gastronomy that merges tradition and contemporaneity. This is the case with an interesting way of consuming food, the “street food” movement (quick preparation; fusion of cuisine of the East and the West using streets as venues; tasty, efficient and differentiated). Globalisation changes and transforms food culture. Americanisation leads to “fast food.” The return to tradition and old recipes and preservation of intangible gastronomic cultural heritage leads to the phenomenon of “slow food” on one hand (hedonistic enjoyment of the so-called slow food processed like in the old days the way our grandmothers used to, when stew was cooked for a few hours), while on the other hand there is a new movement and a new way in the food

culture striving for a healthier life, the so-called “raw food” advocating the consumption of uncooked food (see figure 4).

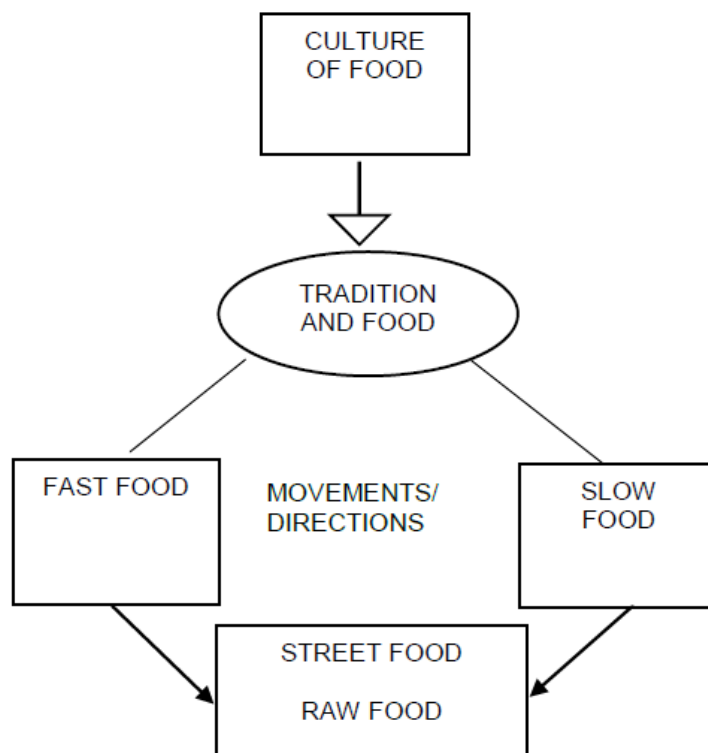


FIGURE 4. THE CULTURE OF FOOD: OLD AND NEW EMERGING CULTURAL GASTRONOMIC MOVEMENTS

Source: Own elaboration

Judging from the above facts, we can say that culture is the greatest human value. Culture is always and only a subject, of any kind of social, political or other type of events. Tradition leaves its imprint on the territory, the nation, the tribe, the region, the city, the village, the school; in general, on the family, the smallest man's nucleus from the standpoint of sociology. Innovations in culture leave an imprint on contemporaneity and modernism. Globalisation is a positive process, a process happening in time and lasting uninterruptedly. Globalisation is the need of the 21st century man, a civilisation that is rushing towards innovations and a digitalised world. Each generation introduces something new and adds a new brick to the already existing foundations of tradition. Tradition comprises the past, the present and the future in a specific way and it can be said that it is not limited in terms of time. This is positive, especially for the increasingly stronger development and understanding of the contemporary culture of tourism.

In the final consideration of the subject matter of this paper, globalisation of culture, it is important to underline an example of good practice: successful inter-sector collaboration of culture and tourism and creation of the cultural policy of the Istrian Region based on the contemporary approach to the economy of culture and creation of a unified offer of culture and tourism.

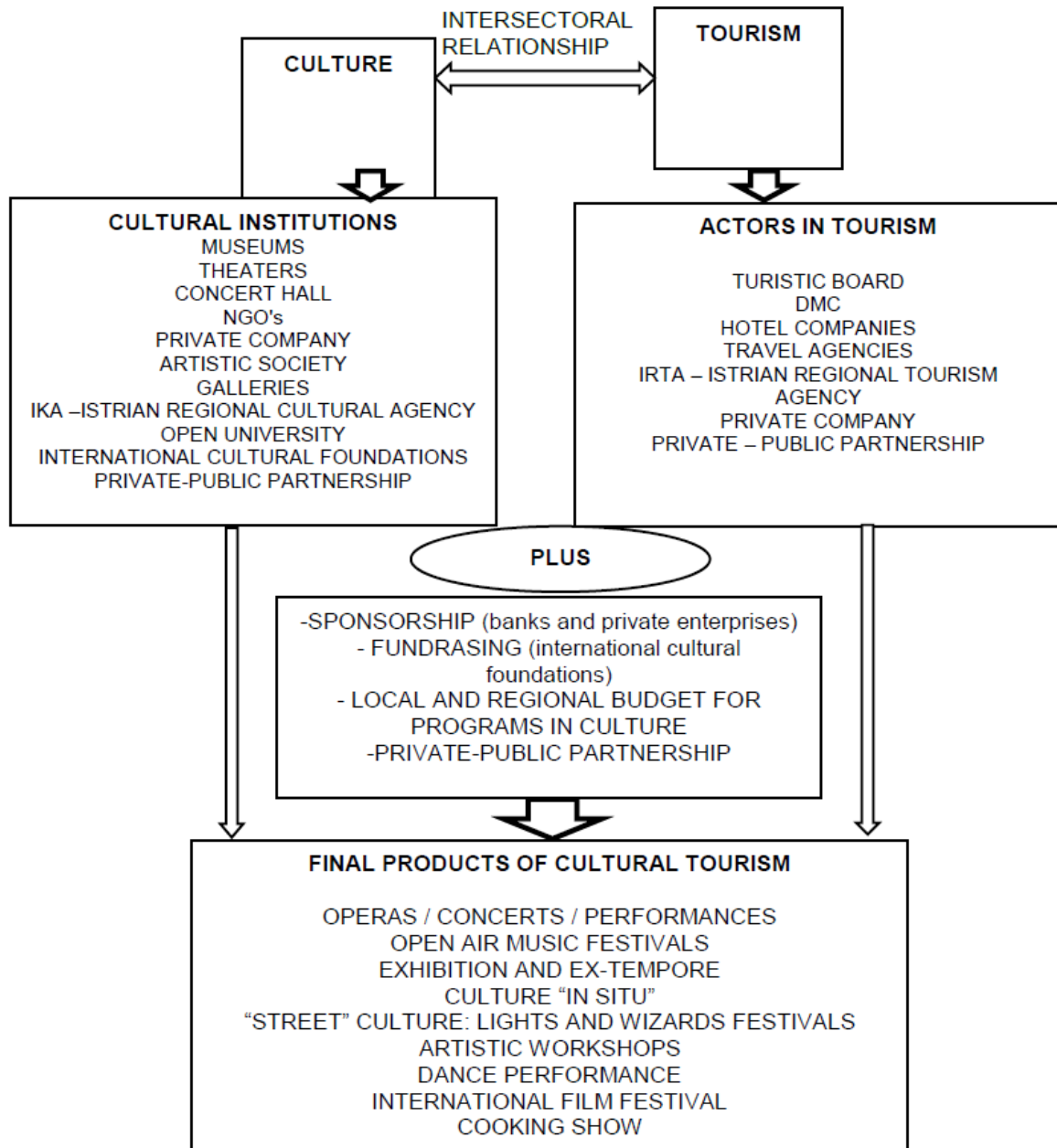


FIGURE 5. INTERACTION AND INTERSECTORAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TOURISM AND CULTURE IN PRACTICE (EXAMPLE OF ISTRIAN REGION)

Source: Own elaboration

This is the example that illustrates strong inter-sector collaboration, particularly in the creation of the cultural tourism product. Joint investment of the two sectors of culture and tourism (with all stakeholders) into cultural and tourism products/packages that are also financed through institutions, local and regional administration, various cultural foundations and sponsors enrich offer of the destination and imply added value for the space, the inhabitants and the tourists. They also keep the tradition and introduce global trends. These products invigorate the territory, create financial revenue and new workplaces for the indigenous population, which greatly contributes to the overall

development of destination Istria (see figure 5). It must be pointed out that the income from ticket sale is reinvested into programmes and cultural tourism projects through cultural actors, which is confirmed by the interest of regional authorities in culture. Today the increasingly present international and interregional collaboration in culture is a result of many years of work with European and world names in the world of culture and entertainment, artists who gladly perform at the Amphitheatre in Pula, the biggest Istrian city.

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Building bottom-up networks for the integrated enhancement of cultural heritage in inner areas.

Towards new paths

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ABSTRACT

The Faro Convention definitively recognises the value and potential of cultural heritage “as a resource for sustainable development and quality of life in a constantly evolving society” (Preamble). Sharing this assumption, the current research aims at understanding the role of museum networks both for the conservation and enhancement of local cultural heritage and for the promotion of sustainable development in inner areas. After discussing the scientific literature on cultural networks, the paper examines the state of the art of museum networking in Italy. Subsequently, it focuses on Marche’s inner areas affected by the earthquakes that hit the Centre of Italy between 2016 and 2017, analysing a case study in-depth (“Rete Museale dei Sibillini”). The research results classify different typologies of networks and levels of cooperation, highlighting emerging trends in cultural networking. Finally, taking into account issues and opportunities arising from the European context, new perspectives are suggested to promote local sustainable development.

Keywords:

cultural heritage,
inner areas, place-
specific assets,
local museums,
museum networks

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In a period experiencing a fresh wave of globalisation, diversity of place and polycentrism play an increasing part in people’s aspirations and development opportunities. Italy is particularly well placed: there is no need to strive for polycentrism – it just needs to be maintained (*A Strategy for Inner Areas in Italy*, 2014: 42).

1. Introduction

The series of earthquakes that struck Central Italy between August 2016 and January 2017 has damaged many villages characterised by a widespread distribution of cultural heritage. This peripheral cultural heritage is still unknown to the general public and not yet adequately studied. However, it is highly relevant to understand the historical, cultural, social and economic dynamics that first determined the development and then, in the modern age, the progressive depopulation of the Apennines. As a consequence, in the planning of interventions for the restoration and reconstruction of inner villages and buildings, it is necessary to rethink the current model of development and the management of cultural heritage, identifying innovative strategies able to overcome the persistent economic and managerial weaknesses, and thus to ensure the survival of cultural heritage for future generations.

According to the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, signed in Faro in 2005 and by Italy in 2013, the participation of local communities is an essential factor for the success of these interventions (Petraoia, 2010). By accepting an open and inclusive, dynamic and interactive notion of cultural heritage, the Faro Convention underlines the need to involve citizens in the identification, study, interpretation, protection, conservation and presentation of cultural heritage. This approach has been also highlighted by the MiBACT High Council for Cultural Heritage and Landscape in the motion “Cultural heritage is the future of territories struck by the earthquake”, approved in an extraordinary meeting in Matelica (Marche Region, Italy) on the 20th of March 2017. Following the same path, the Siena Charter “Museums and Cultural Landscapes” has stressed the need for a participatory logic, recognising our responsibility as individuals and as a community in the interventions for the protection, conservation and understanding of landscape “within

a participatory logic and a sustainable development perspective” (ICOM, 2014: art. 1). Finally, nowadays this approach is widely confirmed and even supported by the scientific literature in so far that an increasing number of scholars has applied concepts as “value co-creation” and “community engagement” to the management of cultural heritage (Bakhashi & Throsby, 2010; Simon, 2010; Waterton & Watson, 2011; Scott, 2013; Golinelli, 2015). As argued by Loulanski (2006), the conceptual focus has shifted from monuments to people, from objects to functions and from preservation *per se* to purposeful preservation and sustainable use and development.

This is an important achievement for a country as Italy, that could be considered as an open air museum where “heritage communities” (Council of Europe, 2005: art. 2) live in close contact with cultural heritage. This cultural heritage is mostly preserved in inner areas, which are “areas at some considerable distance from hubs providing essential services (education, health and mobility), with a wealth of key environmental and cultural resources of many different kinds, which have been subject to anthropisation for centuries. Around one quarter of Italy’s population lives in these areas, which cover sixty per cent of the total national territory, and are split into over four thousand municipalities” (*A strategy for Inner Areas in Italy*, 2014: 7). Many villages hit by the earthquake exemplify represent the positive and negative peculiarities of these areas.

The deep and wide fabric of cultural heritage diffused in inner areas is not yet organised as an effective system. Among the main weaknesses there are the managerial shortcomings that affect museums and cultural heritage all around Italy in small centres and marginal areas: lack of mission statements, regulations and autonomous budgets; lack of adequate professional figures and, consequently, poor quality of services (starting from short opening time); ineffectiveness of security systems.

Given this context, the current paper aims at developing the previous research on museum networks (Cerquetti, 2008; Cerquetti & Montella, 2015) and on cultural heritage in inner areas (Capriotti & Cerquetti, 2016), in order to highlight some emerging trends and issues, lights and shadows, stimuli and resistance to innovation. After discussing cultural and economic needs for building museum networks, it examines the state of the art of museum networking in Italy. Subsequently, the research focuses on the area affected by the earthquake, trying to draw a classification of networks and of levels of cooperation. In order to highlight emerging trends in cultural networking, a case study is analysed in-depth, presenting a recent project, the “Rete Museale dei Sibillini” (Sibillini Museum Network), started in 2013. Finally, taking into account issues and opportunities arising from the *National Strategy for Inner Areas in Italy*, new perspectives are suggested to promote local sustainable development.

The field research was performed according to the principles of qualitative research (Patton, 2005) and through the triangulation of different sources of evidence (Yin, 2003). In particular, the overview of museum networks in inner areas was carried out analysing public documents, reports, data, websites, etc., while the case study also included the visit to the exhibition “Capolavori dei Sibillini. L’arte dei luoghi feriti dal sisma” (Masterpieces from the Sibillyne Mountains. Artwork from earthquake-stricken

areas) and an interview to the director of the museum network “Rete museale dei Sibillini”, in order to highlight strengths and weaknesses of this recent initiative.

2. Theoretical framework or a short history of network strategy

Over the last twenty years the role of networks in the cultural sector has been widely investigated, underlining its cultural and economic benefits in promoting social inclusion, intercultural dialogue and sustainable development (Innocenti, 2014, 2015). Cultural networks have fairly recently broadened in meaning to include information networks, social networking, international cooperation and cross-cultural exchanges and interactions, thus progressively shifting from the mere collaboration among cultural institutions to participatory processes involving citizens and other stakeholders.

However, if analysed through the lens of management, the word takes on a more restricted meaning than the emerging one. Managerially speaking, a network is a net of non-competitive relationships between autonomous entities without control or unified management, aimed at achieving objectives that are not attainable by individual organisations. Since the beginning of the 1990s, the role of networks has been highlighted by the resource-based view, a strategy identifying resources and competences as the main source of competitive advantage as well as of differentiation opportunity for a company (Grant, 1991; Porter, 1996). According to the VRIO framework (Barney, 1991), a resource/capability could be a source of sustainable competitive advantage if it is: (1) *valuable*, when the organisation is able to exploit an opportunity or neutralise an external threat with the resource/capability; (2) *rare*, when the control of the resource/capability is in the hands of a relative few; (3) *inimitable*, when it is difficult to imitate and there will be significant cost disadvantage to an organisation trying to obtain, develop, or duplicate the resource/capability; and (4) *organised*, when the organisation is organised, ready and able to exploit the resource/capability. Developing this approach, scholars have focused on the advantages of the specialisation on core-activities and the outsourcing of non-essential activities, strengthening the need for inter-company collaboration and business networks (Grant, 2005).

Subsequently, networks have been also identified as an effective strategy to promote the sustainable management of cultural heritage, in conjunction with the emergence of culture-driven processes for local development. Since the end of the 1990s, in Italy, scholars have focused the attention on their possible contribution to the development of cultural institutions, especially of small and local museums, with huge structural, economic and financial constraints, but tightly related to the territory that hosts them and its diffused cultural heritage (Bianchi, 1996; Zan, 1999; TCI, 2000; Bagdadli, 2001; Montella, 2003). Given the territorial conformation of the peninsula, especially in the regions of Central Italy, museums are spread in many small towns and villages, even located in peripheral areas, not only in the centres that have experienced a great industrial development. As a consequence, networks can become a means to achieve qualitative and quantitative objectives that cannot be achieved by individual organisations. Embracing this perspective, since 2003, Montella has strengthened both cultural and economic reasons to build museums networks in Italy.

From a cultural point of view, museum networks could enhance the distinctive features of Italian cultural heritage, linking local museums to their context, and providing more information about the territory as a whole. In a nutshell, according to the territory-oriented strategy for museums (Dragoni, 2005), they could add greater value to single museum institutions. In actual fact, the specific traits of Italian cultural heritage are not represented by UNESCO cultural sites and masterpieces preserved in the most important and biggest Italian museums of a few cultural cities attracting international tourism flows, like the Colosseum in Rome, the Uffizi Gallery in Florence or the Academia Galleries in Venice; they are primarily in the all-encompassing and endless extension of cultural heritage in space and time (Toscano, 1998). Developing the analysis made by Golinelli (2008), this potential competitive advantage could be synthesized in 4 Cs: (1) *continuity*, that is the deep historical stratification of cultural heritage and the uninterrupted evidence of humanity and its environment through time; (2) *capillarity*, meant as the pervasiveness of cultural heritage distribution on the national territory; (3) *contextuality*, thanks to the deep cultural and historical relationship between museum collections and the local context – not only squares, roads, monuments and countryside, but also works of art preserved beyond museum doors, in churches, convents, monasteries, and other historical buildings and open spaces; (4) *complementariness*, in so far that each museum refers to other ones as in “snakes and ladders”. For this reason, Chastel (1980) called Italy a “threefold natural museum”, where the collection, the historical building where it is preserved and the town in which it is located are mutually linked in an exemplary manner as three different aspects of the same museum.

From an economic point of view, networks allow to achieve the efficient boundaries of the various museum activities, thus solving the dimensional problems affecting small institutions. In particular, small museums could achieve better results in the three areas identified in Moore’s Strategic Triangle (Moore, 1995, 2000; Moore M.H. & Moore G.W., 2005): (1) *operational capacity*, achieving economies of scale, scope and learning, exchanging information and equipment, and saturating the productive capacity of resources, through the allocation of fixed costs and the reduction of transaction costs; (2) *public value creation*, building more qualified projects, widening the range of museum services and raising high levels of quality, thus achieving museum mission; and (3) *legitimacy and support*, getting a better competitive position and image, “thereby ensuring that resources and authority will flow” (Weinberg & Lewis, 2009) (fig. 1).

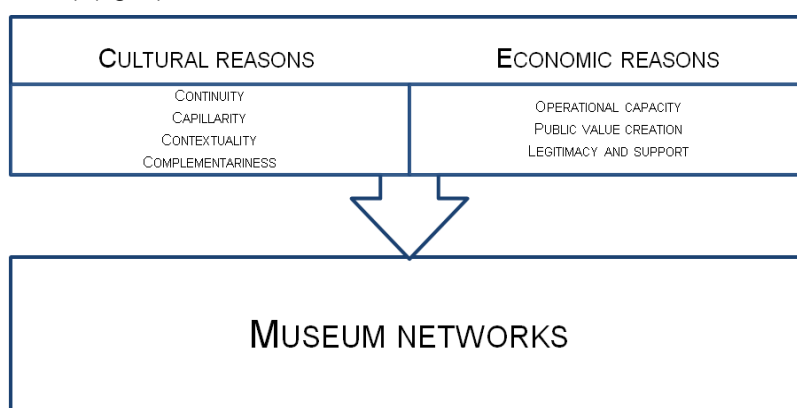


FIGURE 1. CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC REASONS FOR ITALIAN MUSEUM NETWORKS.

Source: author’s elaboration.

3. State-of-the-art of museum networking in Italy

Considering both cultural and economic needs for museum networks, it is time to take stock of the state of networking of Italian museums, considering its shortcomings and progresses. In Italy, the first museum networks and systems⁸ were born at the beginning of the 21st century, when Italian Regions promoted policies aimed at creating more or less formalised and institutionalised regional and sub-regional museum networks or systems (Alberti, 2005; Collodi et al, 2005; Montella, 2014)⁹. Even though the access to European funding programmes was the main incentive for creating networks (La Monica & Pellegrini, 2009), other motivations have to be mentioned such as economic efficiency, isomorphism, legitimacy, visibility and the complementariness of resources (Bagdadli, 2001; Aspen Institute Italia, 2013).

With a few rare exceptions, today these networks could be considered at a first stage of evolution, where cooperation – promoted by local administrators – is a tool to achieve a sufficient level of quality in providing the main public services in small museums (Alberti, 2005). However, in many cases these organisations have not been able to satisfy all the range of the abovementioned cultural and economic needs, failing in improving the quality and the amount of museum services (Cerquetti, 2008; Pencarelli & Splendiani, 2011). For that reason, Seddio recently underlined the need to provide network projects with integrated management plans for enhancement activities, aimed at clarifying the project placement and the capability to activate and regenerate over time the conditions for achieving the variety of expected results (Seddio, 2013: 84). This would also prevent the proliferation of networks whose management is unsustainable. On this point, as already suggested by Montella (2002), a possible solution could be identified in the adoption of *variable geometry networks*, providing different networks depending on the critical mass needed both to provide museums with adequate materials and services – also by means of outsourcing – and to deliver various museum services. If maintenance, security, and fire-fighting services can be conveniently shared only by close institutions, information services can be extended to a larger area. On the other hand, editorial activity finds the organisation's efficient boundaries on a regional scale, while rights management requires an even larger dimension.

In other cases, valorisation strategies have included all the place-specific assets, promoting the integration of the material and immaterial cultural heritage with all the local resources and production processes within a geographic context with well-defined boundaries, according to a district approach (Valentino, 2003; Sacco et al, 2015). Given that the district approach is not the focus of this paper, it is sufficient to remember that it considers cultural heritage as one of the factors to promote local policies based on place-specific values and resources. This strategy is based on the interaction between: (1) the *cultural weave* of places, understood as the formative matrix of local identities and as an active tool for local development; (2) the service system and production chains that gravitate around it; (3) the activation of network policies (Carta, 2004). Within the framework of pluralism and cooperation underlying all forms of networks (Cammelli, 2011), in this case, a policy action is needed to define

⁸ "Networks" and "systems" are considered as synonyms, even though *stricto sensu* a network is a means to build a system.

⁹ A wide analysis of regional policies for museum system is available at: <<http://sistemimuseali.sns.it/>>.

relatively stable forms of cooperation between public and private actors with non-converging interests, bringing together resources to achieve a common goal (Hinna & Seddio, 2013).

4. Field research

4.1 Inner areas: a new scenario for an ancient territory

Inner areas, that cover most of the Europe's territory, have undergone a process of persistent marginalisation since the post-war period: far from services and communication routes, they are today a European emergency, because of depopulation and aging population, low levels of employment and scant industrialisation – with the exception of some typical food and wine productions.

In Italy, the depopulation has been hugely increasing since the 1960s, as a result of the industrialisation of the mid-valley and coastal areas, emphasising problems of hydro-geological instability and economic imbalance that today endanger the survival of cultural heritage and landscape:

The population of Inner Areas tends to be very elderly, with various and significant consequences:

- a) when the proportion of the elderly and very elderly population (over 65) accounts for over 30 percent of the population, it is said to be at a “demographic point of no return”, in the sense that it lacks the endogenous capacity to survive; it would take substantial immigration from outside the area to trigger a process of demographic vitality;
- b) with such high numbers of elderly and very elderly people, the provision of a widespread and appropriate care system becomes a priority;
- c) houses grow old along with their inhabitants, leading to the creation of housing stock, often larger than required, lacking any assurance of crucial upkeep, leading to significant deterioration in older properties (*A Strategy for Inner Areas in Italy*, 2014: 43).

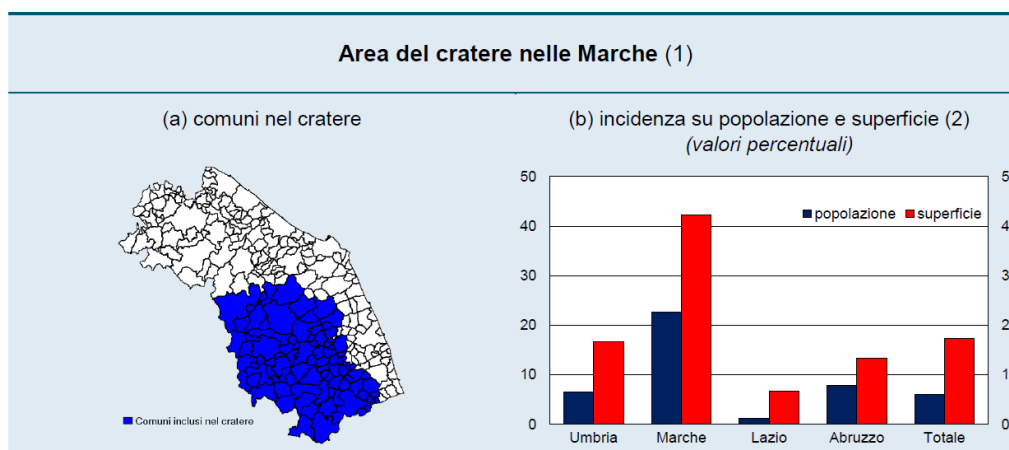
Almost the half of this territory is a mountain territory, and more than the 4/5 of the national mountain territory is in inner areas¹⁰. As already argued, it is a fragile and vulnerable landscape, but also the spine of Italy's skeleton (Toscano, 2011; Tarpino, 2016; Borghi, 2017; Marchetti et al, 2017), rich in environmental (water resources, agricultural systems, forests, natural and human landscapes) and cultural resources (archaeological sites, historical settlements, abbeys, small museums, craft centers) (Lucatelli, 2016). The main strength of these areas is the dual nature of their diversity, both natural and cultural, changing in each location and including agricultural and building practices and traditions. In the globalised world, this diversity of place and polycentrism is a great opportunity, that could attract a new and increasing, but still unsatisfied, demand for authenticity in tourism and consumption (Grayson & Martinec, 2004; Pine & Gilmore, 2007; Cicerchia, 2009; Baverland & Farrelly, 2010).

¹⁰ There is a conceptual and semantic differentiation between a “mountain area” and a “inner area”. The former is identified according to criteria of height and longitudinal slope, and has been recently modified to include social, economic and morphological factors; the latter is identified according to its distance from hubs providing essential services (education, health and mobility) (Marchetti et al., 2017: 32).

Trying to catch opportunities arising from a globalised world, in 2014, Italy adopted the *National Strategy for Inner Areas* for its National Reform Plan, in order to counteract the demographic decline and relaunch the economic recovery and services of these areas through ordinary and European community funds. A top priority was given to natural and cultural heritage and tourism development, “retaining the youthful population in situ, valorising them as repositories of territorial historic and cultural heritage, by giving them valid reasons to stay. Setting up local systems to improve daily life on one hand, and existing networks on the other, should constitute attractive preconditions for making young and adult populations want to stay” (*A Strategy for Inner Areas in Italy*, 2014: 44).

As already argued, cultural heritage in inner areas is a *proximity heritage*, because of its local dimension, which tells the local culture and identity (Buratti & Ferrari, 2011). Its fragility derives from economic, political, demographic and ecological events that have led to the gradual abandonment of mountain areas (from an economic point of view, generating unused land capital). The contribution that this heritage can give to local development is subordinate to the ability of local communities to recognise it as an expression of identity and collective memory. As a consequence, the challenge is to identify valorisation paths that can broaden their market and economic development opportunities (Salvatore & Chiodo, 2016).

The field research focuses on inner areas located in the South of Marche, a wide area affected by the earthquakes that hit the Centre of Italy between August 2016 and January 2017. The “crater surface”¹¹ extends altogether for approximately 8,000 Km², 17.4% of the total area of the four regions affected. Half of the “crater area” is in Marche Region, where it covers over 40% of the regional territory and affects four provinces of five. In the region, there are 87 of the 140 municipalities of the crater, more than half located in the province of Macerata and a quarter in the province of Ascoli Piceno. In Marche Region, there is about 60% of the population of the entire crater, corresponding to 22.7% of the regional one (Banca d’Italia, 2017: 48-49) (fig. 2).



Fonte: elaborazioni su dati Istat.
 (1) Comuni inclusi nel cratere ai sensi del D.L. n. 189 del 17 ottobre 2016, convertito in legge, con modificazioni, dalla L. n. 229 del 15 dicembre 2016 e successive integrazioni. – (2) Percentuale di superficie e popolazione residente nei comuni nell’area del cratere al 1° gennaio 2016 sul totale regionale.

FIGURE 2. The “crater area” in Marche Region.

Source: Banca d’Italia, 2017: 49.

¹¹ This definition was provided by Law No. 229/2016 and subsequent additions.

In this area of investigation there are two of the inner areas identified by the *National Strategy* (fig. 3). All the municipalities included in these areas have been affected by the earthquake¹². The main economic activities in these two inner areas are agriculture and tourism¹³. An important role is covered by the “Parco Nazionale dei Monti Sibillini” (Monti Sibillini National Park)¹⁴.

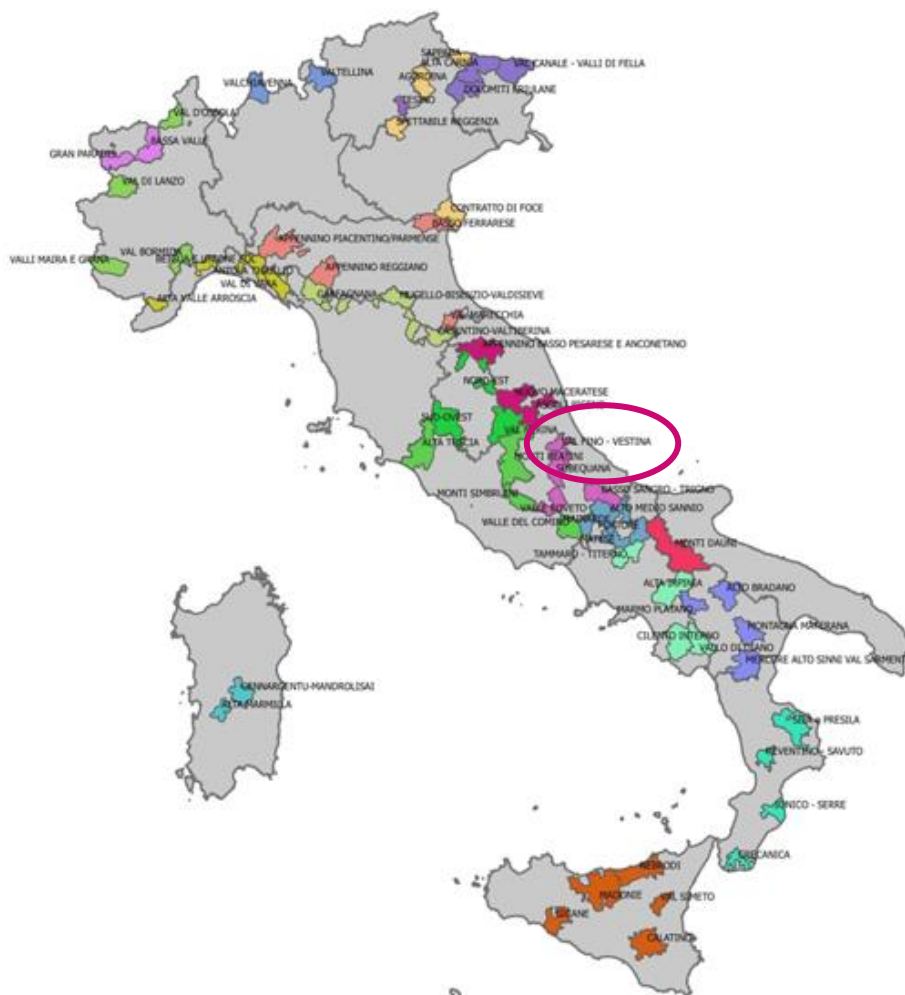


FIGURE 3. Inner Areas in Italy (the circle identifies the area of investigation).

Source: Lucatelli, 2016.

4.2 Twenty years after. A rest in museum networking?

In Marche Region, in the inner areas of the “crater surface”, most of the museum networks were created at the beginning of the 21st century to access European funding, in many cases after the earthquake that affected Marche and Umbria Regions in 1997 and according to principles established by the Regional Law No. 6/1998, “New rules on preservation and enhancement of Marche’s cultural

¹² Inner Area “Macerata” (Municipalities of Acquacana, Bolognola, Castelsantangelo sul Nera, Fiastra, Fiordimonte, Monte Cavallo, Muccia, Pievebovigliana, Pieve Torina, Serravalle di Chienti, Ussita, Visso Cessapalombo, Gualdo, Monte San Martino, Penna San Giovanni, San Ginesio, Sant’Angelo in Pontano, Sarnano); Inner Area “Ascoli Piceno” (Municipalities of Comunanza, Force, Montedinove, Montemonaco, Rotella Acquasanta Terme, Arquata del Tronto, Castignano, Montegalfo, Palmiano, Roccafluvione, Carassai, Cossignano, Montalto delle Marche, Offida).

¹³ Manufacturing industry is developed in the local work system of Comunanza.

¹⁴ See: <<http://www.sibillini.net/en/>>.

heritage and organisation of the diffused museum in a system” (Cerquetti & Montella, 2015). In line with strategies aiming at enhancing the specific features of Italian cultural heritage, the main purpose of this law was the organisation of a “Sistema Museo Diffuso” (Diffused Museum System) including museums, collections, warehouses and laboratories, historical houses and eco-museums, archaeological parks and areas, monuments and diffused cultural heritage, to be organised in order to guarantee its public use. European Community fund, available through the “Doc.u.p. Marche 2000-2006”¹⁵, a single planning document, in conjunction with the law, accelerated the creation of network experiences, aimed at obtaining funding for the structural restoration and functional adjustment of local cultural heritage and to promote the enhancement of the diffused museum. The actions addressed to museums supported the improvement of museum facilities, and also promoted a “network building” capability, but at a first stage, just for the reduction of installation costs (for infrastructure projects), not to decrease ordinary management costs. Given these limitations, the following planning document, the “Por Fesr Marche 2007-2013”, shifted the focus of cultural actions from conservation to enhancement, from single institutions to territories (Priority 5), paying more attention to the productive vision of a cultural system, its enhancement for social development and integrated cultural actions.

Focusing on networks created in Marche’s inner areas affected by the earthquake between 1997 and 2013, we can identify four typologies of networks (tab. 1):

- 1) *networks created to access public funding* (Regional Law No. 6/98), with different levels of cooperation. In addition to the restoration and re-designing of its museums, the network “Musei Piceni” (Piceni Museums) has started a joint communication (e.g. coordinated corporate image, website, etc.) and shared some projects that are now concluded, i.e. “Museo e territorio” (Museum and territory) and “Museo aperto per lavori” (Open museum for works). Far from it, the “Rete dei Musei Civici e Diocesani del territorio di Camerino, Castelraimondo e Visso” (Network of Civic and Diocesan Museums of Camerino, Castelraimondo and Visso) has not been implemented after the restoration of museums, nor a website is available on line;
- 2) *provincial systems*, institutional networks aimed at supporting local museums (e.g. cataloguing museum collections) and organising promotional activities (e.g. website, events, etc.). One of the first network born in the Region with this purpose is the “Sistema Museale della Provincia di Macerata” (Museum System of Macerata Province), including many museums of the inner area of Macerata. In 2013, the Province of Fermo promoted the “Rete Museale Provinciale ‘Musei Comuni’” (Provincial Museum Network ‘Communes Museums’) with similar purposes. The analysis of the websites reveals that the activities carried out by these networks have been at a standstill since 2014, after the reorganisation of local administrative functions started by Law No. 56/2014, “Provisions on metropolitan cities, provinces, unions and mergers of municipalities”;
- 3) *multi-unit networks*: they are not networks meant as non-competitive relationships between autonomous entities, but relationships among the different hubs of the same organisation. An

¹⁵ See in particular: Doc.u.p. Marche 2000/2006 – Axis 3 – Measure 3.2 “Recovering, enhancing and promoting the historical and cultural heritage” – Sub-measure 1 “Diffused Museum System: Integrated projects on a territorial scale” and Measure 3.4 – “Sub-measure 3.4 Digital services to support cultural itineraries”.

example is provided by the “Musei Sistini del Piceno” (Piceno’s Sistini Museums), a network of ecclesiastical museums, and the more recent “Rete Museale Civica Macerata Musei” (Macerata Civic Museums Network), that links the civic gallery and the civic cultural sites of the town of Macerata;

- 4) *thematic networks*, such as the “Rete dei Musei Scientifici della Provincia di Macerata” (Network of the Scientific Museums of the Province of Macerata), with a mainly marketing function.

Networks created to access public funding	Musei Piceni
	Rete dei Musei Civici e Diocesani del territorio di Camerino, Castelraimondo e Visso
Provincial systems	Sistema Museale della Provincia di Macerata
	Provincia di Fermo: Rete Museale Provinciale “Musei Comuni”
Multi-unit networks	Musei Sistini del Piceno
	Rete Museale Civica Macerata Musei*
Thematic networks	Rete dei Musei Scientifici della Provincia di Macerata

* network created after 2013

TABLE 1. MUSEUM NETWORK TYPOLOGIES IN THE AREA OF INVESTIGATION (1997-2013).

Source: author’s elaboration.

In conclusion, networks created during this period¹⁶ have been a useful tool for optimising resources in the restoration of historic buildings and in re-designing museums and, in some cases, also for launching a joint promotion activity (Cerquetti, 2008). However, as in other cases in Italy, these networks still have too little capability to achieve the aforementioned economies and to saturate the productive capacity of resources, which could ensure the museums’ survival and development as well as their contribution to the sustainable innovation of local tourism: in the best case, they do not share qualified personnel to increase the quality of museum services yet; in the worst, they are drawn on paper, but still to be implemented in practice. Up to this time, in Marche Region, local museum networks have not gone beyond the simple goal of marketing communication through events, guided tours, brochures and guides, and they are still too weak to be able to succeed in innovating the services their museums offer. In particular, they do not respect the same opening hours and reveal a weak network cooperation and visibility. Moreover, they have not generated local employment increase, nor the development of new economic activities and entrepreneurship in other sectors.

4.3 Emerging trends and age-old issues. A case study

In 2010, the Regional Law No. 4 (“Rules on cultural goods and activities”)¹⁷ established that Marche Region organises unified and integrated services to support cultural institutions and areas, and promotes territorial or thematic networks and systems, in order to guarantee sustainable management and development of cultural institutes (article 16). In line with this purpose, in 2011, the institutions

¹⁶ See: <<http://www.regione.marche.it/Regione-Utile/Cultura/Musei#Reti-e-Sistemi>>.

¹⁷ The Regional Law No. 4/2010 replaced the Regional Law No. 6/1998.

participating in the self-evaluation promoted and supported by the Region were differentiated between museums, which offer a public service, and collections, which are not open to the public. In 2012, the Region also established criteria to finance development activities in order to enhance the quality of museum services through two actions: 1) a premium for institutions possessing all the minimum equipment and performance requirements to improve public services, especially communication tools, e.g. ICT, labels, road signs, etc.; 2) regional financial support for museum/collection security, e.g. fire system certification, anti-intrusion system, etc. (Cerquetti & Montella, 2015).

This new context has provided small museums with the need and support for the progressive adaptation to minimum standards and the constant improvement of service quality. Within this framework, in 2013, the Municipalities of Montefortino, Montefalcone Appennino, Smerillo, Amandola and Montelparo created the “Rete Museale dei Sibillini” (Sibillini Museum Network)¹⁸. In the following years, while the Municipality of Amandola quit the project, other municipalities joined the network: Montalto delle Marche and Monte Rinaldo (2015), and Loro Piceno and San Ginesio (2016). The network currently involves eight municipalities and covers an area including three provinces: Ascoli Piceno, Fermo and Macerata (fig. 4).

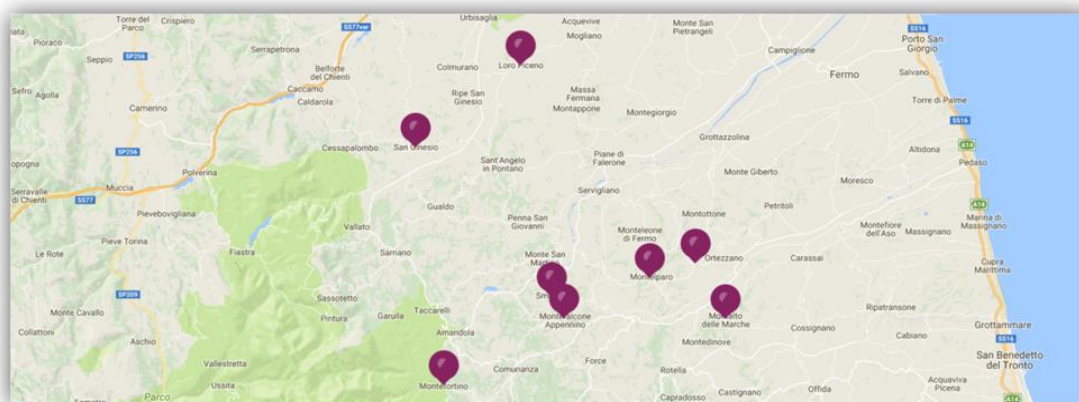


FIGURE 4. Municipalities of the “Rete Museale dei Sibillini”.

Source: <<http://www.retemusealedeisibillini.it/>>.

The museum network involves artistic, scientific and archaeological museums¹⁹ (tab. 2).

LORO PICENO	<i>Castello Brunforte / Brunforte Castle</i>
	<i>Museo delle attrezzature e degli utensili per il vino cotto / Museum of equipment and utensils for “cooked” wine</i>
	<i>Museo interattivo della tradizione locale / Interactive museum of local tradition</i>
	<i>Museo delle due guerre / Museum of the two wars</i>
MONTALTO DELLE MARCHE Polo museale Città di Sisto V	<i>Museo etnografico l’acqua, la terra, la tela / Ethnographic museum “Water, earth, canvas”</i>

¹⁸ See: <<http://www.retemusealedeisibillini.it/>>.

¹⁹ See: <<http://www.retemusealedeisibillini.it/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/guida-ai-musei-della-rete-2017.pdf>>.

	<i>Pinacoteca civica / Civic art gallery</i>
	<i>Museo delle carceri / Museum of the prisons</i>
	<i>Museo archeologico / Archaeological museum</i>
MONTEFALCONE APPENNINO	<i>Museo dei fossili e dei minerali / Museum of fossils and minerals</i>
	<i>Museo dell'Alamanno / Alamanno museum</i>
	<i>Centro di educazione ambientale / Environmental education centre</i>
MONTEFORTINO Polo museale Palazzo Leopardi	<i>Pinacoteca civica Fortunato Duranti / Fortunato Duranti civic art gallery</i>
	<i>Museo di arte sacra / Sacred art museum</i>
	<i>Museo dell'avifauna dei Monti Sibillini / Museum of the birdlife of the Sibillini Mountains</i>
	<i>Centro visita Parco Nazionale dei Monti Sibillini / Visitor centre to the Sibillini Mountains National Park</i>
MONTELPARO Polo culturale Sant'Agostino	<i>Deposito di arte sacra / Sacred art deposit</i>
	<i>Museo degli antichi mestieri ambulanti / Museum of ancient pedlar crafts</i>
MONTE RINALDO	<i>Area archeologica "La Cuma" / Archaeological area "La Cuma"</i>
	<i>Museo civico archeologico / Archeological civic museum</i>
SAN GINESIO	<i>Pinacoteca civica Scipione Gentili / Scipione Gentili civic art gallery</i>
	<i>Pieve collegiata / Parish collegiate church</i>
	<i>Teatro Giacomo Leopardi / Giacomo Leopardi theatre</i>
	<i>Centro Internazionale Studi Gentiliani / Gentiliani studies international centre</i>
SMERILLO	<i>Museo di arte contemporanea MACS / MACS contemporary art museum</i>
	<i>Museo dei fossili e dei minerali / Museum of fossils and minerals</i>

TABLE 2. MUSEUMS OF THE "RETE MUSEALE DEI SIBILLINI".

Source: author's elaboration.

As stated by the agreement for the associated management of the network museums (art. 1), the Sibillini Museum Network has the following purposes:

- to strengthen the role of museums participating in the network such as cultural institutions and territorial facilities, able to integrate knowledge, safeguard and communication of museum collections and diffused cultural heritage;
- to ensure a better protection and use of cultural heritage and promote research, in order to qualify and strengthen museum collections and institutions;

- to ensure the achievement of minimum standards of quality and accessibility for all the network museums, according to the national scientific and technical criteria for museum management and development and to the objectives set by Marche Region;
- to coordinate the management of museum institutions through the adoption of technical standards and common services;
- to provide joint cultural services according to the international and national guidelines on museum professions, identifying as a priority a director responsible for museum collections and activities;
- to promote all the actions to capture external resources from provincial, regional, national and European funding programmes;
- to activate joint cultural services.

These objectives are achieved through: the provision of suitable operational tools – i.e. museum regulations, loan regulations, and service charters; the coordination of the activities carried out by groups, cultural associations and volunteers in network museums; and the link with research and high education institutions.

The municipal authorities and the director of the network participate in a steering committee, which discusses and approves annual programmes, actions and projects to be promoted, the yearly budget and the management report. The Steering Committee meets at least three times a year. The sessions are valid with the presence of at least two thirds of the members and the decisions are taken by the absolute majority of the participants.

The director of the network is appointed by the steering committee and is in office for 5 years. The director ensures the technical and operational support to the network museums and the integration and technical coordination of participants.

The associated municipalities give an annual financial support for the management of the network (max. €4,000 per municipality), broken down proportionally as follows: €1,000 as a fixed membership fee, €0.90 per inhabitant, €15 per km². European, national, regional, provincial and other funding could be added.

The museum network uses a strong brand (Sibillini²⁰), that is not only a museum brand, but also a territorial brand, a factor of identity and social cohesion for the local community. Thanks to the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development 2007/2013, and through the support of the Local Development Plan of the “Gal Fermano Leader” – Sub-measure 4.1.3.7 “Territorial promotion and area certification”, the network has promoted a project aimed at creating a coordinated corporate image for the museums participating in the network, including a uniform for the network staff. In the first phase, the project has financed the creation of a network logo, tickets and brochures; in the second step, the network website (in Italian and in English).

Network museums have the same opening hours and there is the possibility to visit all of them with a

²⁰ Sibylline Mountains are a mountain group in Italy, situated between eastern Umbria and Marche Region. They are part of the central Apennines.

single ticket. Visits could be booked on line. Each museum entrusts an external company with the ordinary management, without a tender procedure, that is not required because of the low amount of the mandate. Formally, the staff is not shared; however, the network has a coordination function and almost all the museums have entrusted the management to the same company (“D&P Turismo e cultura”²¹). This allows the promotion of a joint, integrated and unitary image of the territory and its cultural assets. In addition, the educational activities are coordinated and presented under a common brand²².

After the earthquakes that struck this area in 2016, the museums experienced the unavailability of a local deposit that could be used to secure museum collections²³. For this reason, in November a memorandum of understanding was signed between the Municipality of Osimo, the Campana Institute for Permanent Education, the Marche Region, the Marche Superintendence for Archeology, Fine Arts and Landscape and the Sibillini Museum Network, for the temporary transfer of works of art from the network museums to the city of Osimo (Province of Ancona, Marche Region). In February, an exhibition “Capolavori dei Sibillini. L’arte dei luoghi feriti dal sisma” (Masterpieces from the Sibillyne Mountains. Artwork from earthquake-stricken areas)²⁴ was inaugurated in Osimo, to present an anthology of the masterpieces from the network museums that have been already restored. The exhibition is divided in six sections corresponding to different areas and themes covered by the museum network: 1) Montefortino; 2) San Ginesio; 3) Moltelparo, Montalto Marche and Monte Rinaldo; 4) Loro Piceno; 5) Montefalcone Appennino and Smerillo (scientific section dedicated to the two museums of Fossils and Minerals); 6) a restoration laboratory open to the public. Thanks to the exhibition, the network has soon become the pride of Marche Region and other municipalities have expressed their will to join the network.

As confirmed by its director, one of the main strengths of the network is its bottom-up organisation, “the result of the joint effort of the municipal authorities to put together their cultural assets in a single project that can empower museums as a tool for cultural development and social cohesion”²⁵, promoting and raising awareness of local *milieu*, its art, history, environment and productions. The network was not created thanks to a policy action nor to access public funding, but to improve the quality of museum services, thus to promote cooperation in all museum activities and to coordinate their ordinary management. As a consequence, it does not fall within the previous categories and could be considered a real managerial network. Moreover, it involves not only museum institutions, but also the diffused cultural heritage (e.g. churches, cultural centres, etc.) under the same, strong and easily identifiable brand. Finally, the experience made thanks to the exhibition mounted in Osimo after the earthquake has contributed to the involvement of external communities through voluntary donations, thus developing new social networks.

However, some concerns have to be highlighted about museum staff. The low amount of the financial

²¹ See: <<http://www.depturismoecultura.com/>>.

²² See: <http://www.retemusealedeisibillini.it/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/15x15_laboratori_didattici_18.pdf>.

²³ A territorial hub for the recovering of museum collections and development of cultural and educational activities is currently being studied.

²⁴ See: <<http://www.capolavorisibillini.it/>>.

²⁵ <<http://www.retemusealedeisibillini.it/en/>>.

contribution provided by local authorities for ordinary management does not allow museum operators to have a stable employment, but a low salary, even though they have acquired high professional skills. If a network has to help participants to achieve objectives that are not attainable by individual organisations, the Sibillini Museum Network is far from approaching this goal. In Italy, this is an age-old problem in the cultural sector still compromising the sustainability of small museum management. Therefore, the innovation process started by the network could not be considered as already accomplished; indeed, it has to be implemented. A wider reflection has to be made at regional and national levels, in particular if the Sibillini Museum Network has the potentialities to become a jewel in the crown of regional cultural policies.

We are now experiencing a new phase both globally and locally. At a European level, a new place-based approach is underpinning the European Planning 2014-2020 (Angelini & Bruno, 2016; Mantino & Lucatelli, 2016). This approach is based on three assumptions: (1) new knowledge (innovation) is the main source of development, both growth and social inclusion; (2) only an open, heated and informed debate delivers it; (3) the development of a place is generally prevented by rent-seeking local elites (Barca, 2009). As a consequence, development policy has to promote integrated projects for the institutional change and investment through the interaction and creative conflict among exogenous and endogenous actors and among endogenous actors able to break the economic and social balance. The conflict has to be organised and driven by a multi-level governance. This strategy also underpins the *National Strategy for Inner Areas*, that recognises culture and tourism as factors of local development. On the other hand, at a local level, the earthquake has reset previous strategies and actions and activated energies and networks among citizens and local stakeholders: an example of a new and increasing *place awareness* (Becattini, 2016). These two processes should now meet in order to promote a real change for the sustainable future of cultural heritage in inner areas.

5. Conclusions

This paper has provided an overview of museum networks in Italy, discussing both the scientific literature on this matter and the state of the art of museum networking. Grounding on previous research on the same topic, a short theoretical and empirical history has been outlined, focusing on Marche's inner areas recently affected by the earthquake. The research is still a work in progress and in-depth analysis is strongly required, widening the field research through interviews to other actors operating in the museum and cultural sector at a regional level, in order to better analyse the current situation and policy and their possible development.

However, some first guidelines could be given for the development of museum networks in the era of place-based strategies and participatory processes. The research results reveal a rest in museum networking: with a few exceptions, networks experiences started at the beginning of the 21st century could be considered suspended or interrupted, even finished, in some cases almost never born. Set up to access European funding and to carry out infrastructural interventions or to promote small museums belonging to the same province, these networks have been experiencing the reform of Public Administration and a new European approach. The situation suggests that the network

approach still necessary, but networks also have to re-examine their role, mission and structure in order to overcome the persisting managerial lacks. Some positive inputs are coming from the recent experiences, acting towards a real improvement of museum standards. However, latest projects also show that a wider consideration has to be made at a regional and national level to make museum networks really sustainable.

An effective implementation of variable geometry networks is strongly required, in order to provide museums with qualified and stable personnel and building an operative system for the ordinary management of museum services. Criteria and standards have to be established at a national and regional level, to define the dimension of the networks for different services, the equipment and payment of personnel and curricula of museum professionals. Moreover, in the light of problems emerged after the earthquake, the first priority is the study and implementation of preventive and programmed conservation plans that guarantee the survival of cultural heritage, included the equipment of heritage deposits *in situ*. Finally, the multiple connections between museums and the diffused cultural heritage are to be valued, through thematic paths and the use of appropriate technological solutions. More generally, in line with the Strategic Plan for Tourism Development 2017/2022, as well as with the Faro Convention and the subsequent documents mentioned above, policies and actions addressed to cultural heritage and local development should aim at the integrated enhancement of all place-specific assets, through the collaboration with universities and the interconnection with the tourism and agri-food chains (Montella, 2009; Cerquetti, 2014). This approach could allow the attraction both of young generations and of new experiential tourism flows, and thus guarantee the real revitalization of territories that risk further depopulation.

In a nutshell, the evolution of museum networks in Marche Region could be summarised in two steps: the first one (1997-2009), characterised by a low level of cooperation for the setting up of museums and joint promotional activities, and a second one (since 2010), experiencing an advanced level of cooperation, aimed at improving the quality of museum services through bottom-up networks such as the Sibillini Museum Network. In order to holistically accomplish a process that is not yet well developed, a third step would be strongly desired, bridging top-down and bottom-up approaches (fig. 5).

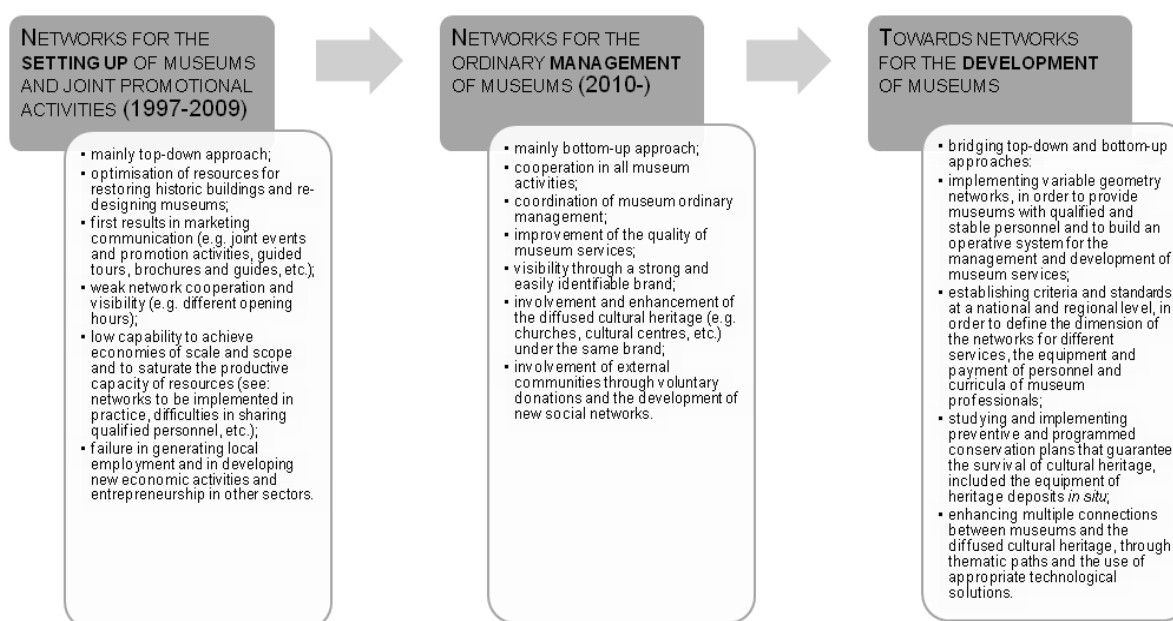


FIGURE 5. The evolution of museum networks in Marche Region.

Source: own elaboration.

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White Paper: unlocking the economic potential of the cultural and creative sectors in Romania

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ABSTRACT

The cultural and creative sectors (CCS) have gained a significant increase in Romania, contributing to national economic and social development. These sectors are creating value added, employment and turnover, leading to a positive dynamic of the entrepreneurship in this field and appearance of a large number of new companies. Due to its increasing economic and social importance, the current policies, strategies and funding started to consider these sectors. Moreover, in 2017 the Government signed a Memorandum for supporting the economic potential of CCS in Romania.

Keywords:

economic contribution, IPR, policy making

1. Introduction

The contribution of the cultural and creative sectors (CCS) from Romania has been growing substantially both in terms of social importance and economic impact. Recent studies carried out by the National Institute for Cultural Research and Training have shown positive and increasing trends of the main economic indicators, such as share in GDP, total turnover, employment, profitability or external trade. As example, the total turnover of the companies operating in CCS has reached € 8,7 billion in 2015, increasing from € 6,8 billion in 2011, therefore proving the existence of a high market demand. Also, the total number of employees in the private sector exceeded 200.000 employees in 2015, compared to 162.000 employees in 2011. In macroeconomic terms, this means an increase of the CCS employment in total economy from 3,7% in 2011 to 4,5% in 2015. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that these sectors are a great opportunity for starting business and enlarging entrepreneurship initiatives in Romania, as the number of companies increased by 45% in 2015 compared to 2011, and over 91% of them are microenterprises (with maximum of 9 employees).

Although the CCS have acquired an important role in the Romanian society and economy, there have been no explicit regulations and/or strategies/policies up to now regarding the *cultural and creative sectors* (CCSs). There are special laws governing certain segments of the cultural and creative sectors, however these regulations are not systematically structured, which creates confusions and conceptual and methodological difficulties. So, there is a need of explaining in a clearer way the role of these sectors, who they are (meaning what kind of economic activities) and what policies and strategies, including here funding, are the most suitable for them.

In this context, in 2016 a comprehensive study has been initiated under the name *White Paper for Unlocking the Economic Potential of the Cultural and Creative Sectors*, elaborated by a team of experts with extensive experience in various fields, such as sociology, economics, policy making in the sector of culture and intellectual property. The objectives of the White Paper consist of: *i) definition of the cultural and creative sectors; ii) description of the current state of the CCS; and iii) highlighting the economic and social potential of the CCS*. The *White Paper* aims to unlock the potential of the economic and creative community in Romania towards articulating a mechanism designed to provide creators with a complete set of opportunities with respect to: free and stimulating cultivation of the

creative potential; building of credible institutions, capable to handle circulation, reception and evaluation of creative and cultural products; the functioning of a mechanism to encourage fair and satisfactory reward and compensation of the creative work.

Launched officially in March 2016, the White Paper needs a clear mechanism for monitoring and follow-up of its goals. The document puts together ambitious, yet necessary guidelines, which need the elaboration of an Action Plan to be implemented by policy makers and other public and private stakeholders from this field. The document stipulated the following guidelines:

- establish a cross-cutting framework for public policies at the government level, to support *cultural and creative sectors*;
- describe of the new competencies the CCSs need or are expected to need in the near future;
- encourage a wider systematic collaboration between the network of public cultural institutions and the network of private organizations, academic and scientific institutions and public-private initiatives to support creative initiatives;
- create the conditions required to facilitate access to banking and non-banking financing;
- catalyse the spill over effects of the CCS in as many economic and social contexts as possible, and in particular at local level.

The future actions to be carried out must consider a series of key performance indicators (KPI) both on short and long-run. In fact, the document refers to various national strategies and financing programs that address directly or include by their nature the CCS. Most of them refer to the interval 2014 – 2020 and include various indicators. A coherent and harmonized strategy for these sectors would need to specify the KPIs, time interval and also the necessary actions and funding to accomplish them. For instance, what is the desired CCS turnover and employment over the next 10 years and what is necessary to do in order to reach these targets.

2. The definition of the Cultural and Creative Sectors

During the many years of research of the economic contribution of Cultural and Creative Sectors to Romanian economy, various methodologies and approached have been used. The most used are WIPO methodology and ESSnet-Culture methodology. However, recently another approach has started to be taken into consideration, i.e. the UNESCO methodology. Therefore, it is important to shortly present all these approaches and make some notes on how and when they were used.

The WIPO methodology groups the sectors under four categories of industries, i.e. core copyright industries, interdependent copyright industries, partial copyright industries and non-dedicated support industries.

According to WIPO Guide on Surveying the Economic Contribution of Copyright Industries, 2015 Revised Edition, “The core copyright industries are industries which are wholly engaged in the creation, production and manufacture, performance, broadcasting, communication and exhibition, or distribution and sale of works and other protected subject matter. Interdependent copyright industries

are industries which are engaged in the production, manufacture and sale, and renting or leasing of equipment. Partial copyright industries are industries in which a portion of the activities is related to works and other protected subject matter and may involve creation, production and manufacture, performance, broadcasting, communication and exhibition, and distribution and sales. Non-dedicated support industries are those in which a portion of the activities is related to facilitating broadcast communication and the distribution or sale of works and other protected subject matter whose activities have not been included in the core copyright industries.”

The ESSnet-Culture methodology groups the CSS on the following sectors: Heritage; Archives; Libraries; Books & Press; Visual Arts; Performing Arts; Audiovisual & Multimedia; Architecture; Advertising; Art Crafts. According to the Green Paper document, “creative industries are those industries that use culture as an input and have a cultural dimension, although their outputs are mainly functional. They include architecture and design, which integrate creative elements into wider processes, as well as sub-sectors such as graphic design, fashion design or advertising. At a more peripheral level, many other industries rely on content production for their own development and are therefore to some extent interdependent with the CCIs. They include among others tourism and the new technologies sector”.

The UNESCO methodology is based on the 1986 UNESCO document called Framework for Cultural Statistics, Eurostat working group has defined the cultural sector as being organized through eight domains: Cultural heritage; Archives, Libraries; Books and press; Visual arts; Architecture; Performing arts; Audiovisual and Multimedia. According to UNESCO, cultural sectors “combine the creation, production and commercialization of contents which are intangible and cultural in nature. These contents are typically protected by copyright and they can take the form of goods or services”. An important aspect of the cultural sectors, according to UNESCO, is that they are central “in promoting and maintaining cultural diversity and in ensuring democratic access to culture”.

The WIPO methodology was used in the first researches of the economic contribution of copyright based industries to Romanian economy (Darasteanu et al, 2008). Two consecutive studies were realized to underline the beneficial results in terms of gross value added, employment, turnover or profitability. They covered the period 2002 – 2009. Following the ESSnet-Culture initiative and related report published in 2012 with financial support from the European Commission, the research undergone in the White Paper (Croitoru et al, 2016) has used the methodology presented in this report. The goal was to compute results and indicators that could compare with those of the other UE member states. This work covered the period 2011 – 2015.

In conclusion, based on the above mentioned approaches, the White Paper uses the definition of the cultural and creative sectors as established under the ESSnet-Culture model, but adapted to the specific conditions in Romania and in line with the strategic vision that we propose in this document. The proposed model includes three types of sectors: cultural, creative and transversal, with the following eleven sub-domains: 1. Libraries and archives; 2. Cultural Heritage; 3. Art crafts; 4. Performing Arts; 5. Architecture; 6. Book and Press; 7. Visual Arts; 8. Audiovisual and multimedia;

9. Advertising; 10. IT, software and electronic games; and 11. Research – development. The explanations of this classification are as follows. The first three sub-domains are characterized by non-industrial cultural and artistic activities and are collectively referred to as culture and arts. The following three sub-domains have as a result the cultural expression and are regarded as cultural sectors. The following two sub-domains are functionality-oriented, but they have a cultural dimension and are deemed creative sectors. Finally, the last two sub-domains, known as transverse sectors, rely on creativity and innovation, are focused on functionality, but they are mainly used as support for the other sub-domains.

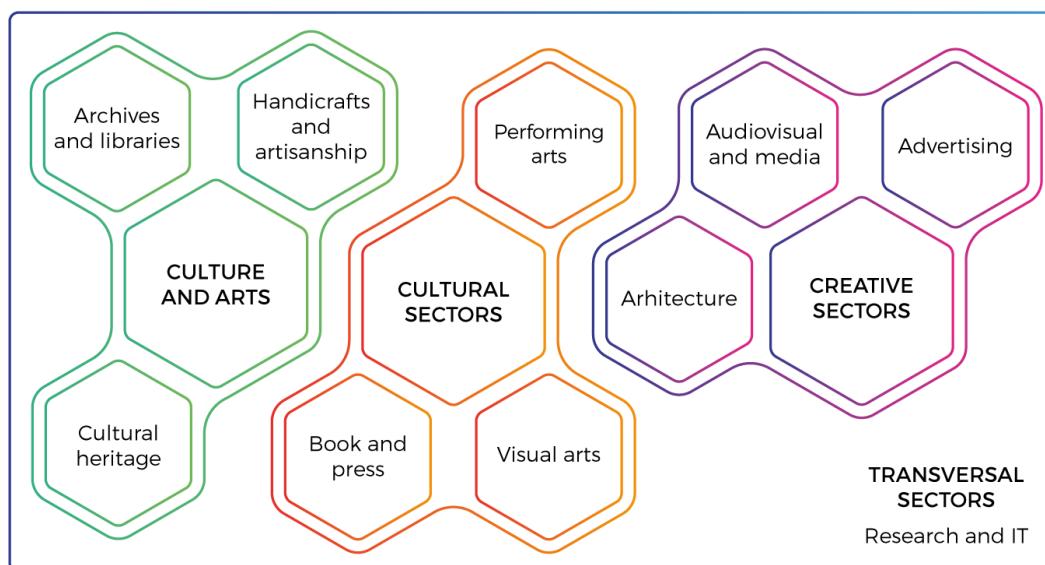


FIGURE 1. DIAGRAM OF CULTURAL AND CREATIVE SECTORS

Source: White paper for unlocking the economic potential of the cultural and creative sectors

3. The economic contribution of Cultural and Creative Sectors to Romanian Economy

3.1 Financial and economic performance

While the social role of the culture in the development of the society is unanimously recognized, the awareness of the economic role has just recently increased in Romania. The studies proved that the cultural and creative sectors are an important source of economic growth, especially in the context of services volumes multiplication and diversification, as well as of entrepreneurial initiative development. The cultural services provided significantly by the public sector are substantially joined by the private initiative, leading to a significant increase of the financial and economic indicators. According to the latest studies on this topic, the contribution of these sectors to the GDP has been growing constantly in the period 2002-2008, from about 4% to about 7%, with a slight decrease in 2009, possibly due to the economic depression (Cojanu et al, 2015).

As effect of the growing economic importance, these sectors have become an *important source of creating and multiplication of the number of companies*. It is worth mentioning that the highest number of the companies consists of small and microenterprises, which proves the fact that the entrepreneurial initiatives are developing as we speak. I.e., if in 2011 the number of CCS companies was just a bit higher than 42.000 firms, in 2015 this number exceeded 60.000 firms, which is an increase by 45%.

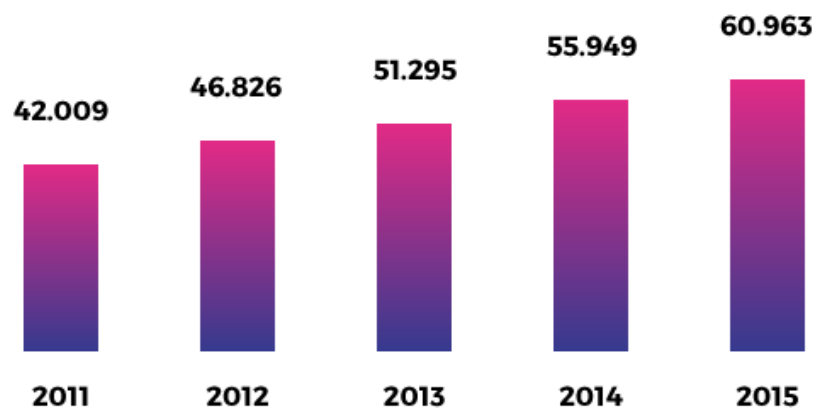


FIGURE 2. EVOLUTION OF NUMBER OF COMPANIES IN SCC

Source: Borg Design Database, NICRT data processing

The increase has occurred both across CCS as a whole and in each and every subsector. The largest number of companies is recorded in the Software, IT and electronic games subsector, where the number of companies has reached to 12.705 by 2015. Obviously, some subsectors have seen a higher growth compared to CCS average. This is the case, for example, of the companies operating in the Archives and libraries subsector, which have recorded an increase of 207,8% in 2015 compared to 2011. This excellent result is largely explained by the emergence of companies in the document archiving domain (including electronic filing). Performing Arts follow suit in the ranking, with a growth of 188%. Much of this ascending trend has been driven by the significant increase in the number of performances, exhibitions, fairs and recreational activities.

The turnover has been constantly on the rise, going up from €6,8 million in 2011 to €8,7 million in 2015, i.e. an increase of 39,5%, which fully demonstrates the expansion of the cultural and creative sectors. The growth has been recorded in each of the years of this period, with no decline in any of the considered year, which indicates a nationwide increase in the demand for cultural and creative goods and services.

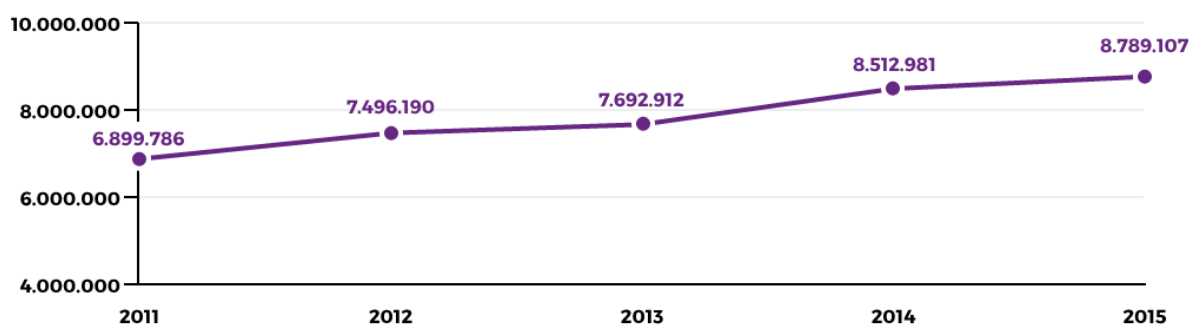


FIGURE 3. EVOLUTION OF TURNOVER IN SCC (IN EUROS)

Source: Borg Design Database, NICRT data processing

The growing demand may be attributed to the increase recorded in household consumption, and in particular to the emancipation and the higher income of the population, coupled with an increase in exports of cultural and creative goods and services. The rise of demand as well as of population's income is proven by the data of the National Institute of Statistics from Romania. The monthly income per household increased from €536,6 in 2011 to €636,0 in 2015. In the same time, the money allocated to recreation and culture increased from 3,3% out of household's budget in 2011 to 3,6% in 2015. Even though, this doesn't seem to be a tremendous increase, in fact computed for the total population, this means a raise of total population expenditures for recreation and culture of over €529 million.

Indicators	2011	2015	% change
Population (thousand inhabitants)	20,20	19,87	-1,6
Population income (€/household)	€ 536,6	€ 636,0	18,5
Total annual income (thou. euros)	45.116.466	57.815.002	28,1
Share of budget allocated to recreation and culture	3,3%	3,6%	9,1
Total annual expenditure on recreation and culture (thou. euros)	1.315.000	1.844.000	40,2
INCREASE OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURE ON RECREATION AND CULTURE (thou. euros)	529.000		

TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE ON RECREATION AND CULTURE

Source: Romanian National Institute for Statistics Data Processing

In terms of turnover share by subsectors, IT is by far the best performing subsector, accounting for a great share of 41%. Book and Press (13%), Advertising (13%) and Audio-visual and Multimedia (11%) are also showing good results. The Book and Press sector has grown owing also to the increase in export demand for these goods. However, IT sector shows a growing trend both in absolute and in relative figures. Thus, in 2011 the turnover of this sector increased from €1,967 million to €3,713 million Lei. The share of IT turnover out of the total CCS turnover has grown from 28,7% to 41%. This

has led to the decrease in the turnover share of the other sectors out of total turnover. For example, in 2011 Advertising had a share of 28% and Book and Press accounted for 16% of total turnover.

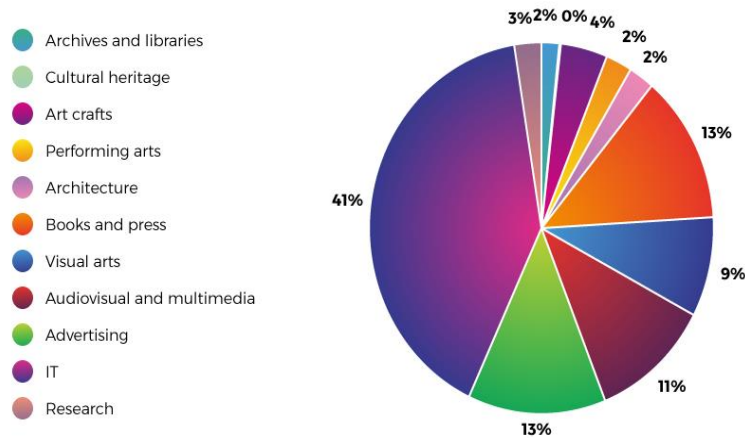


FIGURE 4. SHARE OF SCC TURNOVER BY SECTORS IN 2015

Source: Borg Design Database, NICRT data processing

The profit recorded by the CCS has also seen a positive trend in the period under consideration, from €264 million in 2011 to €804 million in 2015, representing an increase of over three times, which indicates the outstanding performance of these industries. The net profit increase recorded in 2015 is noteworthy, with the profit growth exceeding by far the increase in turnover. Thus, the comparison between the year 2014 vs. the year 2015 shows 1,79 times increase in CCS net profit versus a 1.09 times increase in turnover.

In terms of employment, after a fluctuating tendency recorded during the period 2002-2009, when the sectors saw the largest number of employees in 2005, i.e. 177.450 persons (Becut et al, 2011), in the period 2011-2015 employment rate exceeds by far the level recorded before the onset of the economic crisis. This demonstrates the social effects of culture, besides the economic ones, because employment rate is reflected by increase in the amount of taxes paid to the public budgets, as well as in consumption growth rate, social status, quality of life and social cohesion.

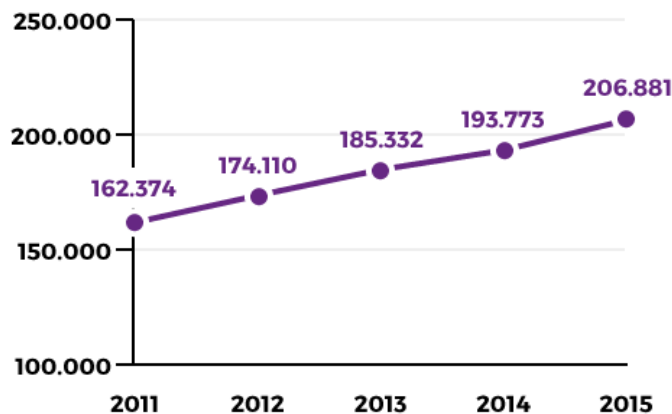


FIGURE 5. EVOLUTION OF NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES IN SCC

Source: Borg Design Database, NICRT data processing

Analysing the number of employees at national level, we notice an increase of the CCS share of the total, from 3,7% in 2011 to 4,5% in 2015. As such, the growth rate of the CCS in terms of employment is higher than the national employment growth rate.

Indicators	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Total number of employees in SCC	162.374	174.110	185.332	193.773	206.881
Total number of employees at national level	4.348.739	4.442.865	4.443.554	4.507.729	4.611.395
Share of SCC employees in total national	3,7%	3,9%	4,2%	4,3%	4,5%

TABLE 2. CONTRIBUTION OF SCC TO TOTAL NATIONAL EMPLOYMENT

Source: Borg Design Database for CCS employment and Romanian National Institute for Statistics for National Employment

The annual employment growth rate is higher in CCS in every year of the analysed period. Thus, in 2012 the total number of employees at country level rose by 2,16%, while in CCS employment grew by 7,23% (more than three times the national employment rate). The difference is even greater in 2013: while the increase in number of employees across the overall national economy has been extremely small (only 0,02%), employment in CCS has seen an increase of 6,45%.

Another extremely important achievement of the CCS is that they created 44.507 new jobs, compared to the national economy which generated 262,656 new jobs during the period considered. *Thus, the share of new jobs created in the CCS during the period 2011-2015 accounts for 16,9% of all the new jobs created for the whole economy, which again highlights the great importance and contribution of these industries to the growth of the national economy.*

Apart from the above mentioned indicators, it is important also to depict the financial efficiency of these sectors. For this purpose, *the labour efficiency* has been calculated as the ratio between turnover and number of employees. This means how many euros of sales are generated by the activity of one employee.

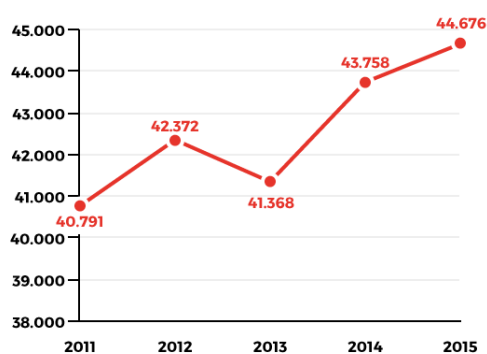


FIGURE 6. LABOUR EFFICIENCY (EUROS/EMPLOYEE)

Source: Borg Design Database, NICRT data processing

Labour efficiency records an increase of 10% in 2015 compared to 2011. This is explained by the facts that such activities involve a lot of creativity and less fixed assets as in the case of industrial sectors. The figures show an efficient use of labour resources, managing to record a steady increase throughout this interval (with the exception of 2013). In terms of structure by sectors, the most productive ones were Audio-visual and Multimedia, Advertising, and Visual Arts. What is surprising this time is that IT sector is no longer occupying the top position as determined by the absolute value indicators (turnover, net profit and number of employees). One possible explanation for this state of affairs is that, while the three subsectors specified above are almost entirely services, the IT domain comprises a significant production component, as well as mass production, while the others record a relatively higher financial margin.

3.2 International trade

The analysis has been performed for a series of cultural goods and support goods, resulting five main categories: 1) *Printing* (with the following components: *Books, Journals and other periodicals*, and *Pictures, engraving and postcards*); 2) *Musical instruments*; 3) *CDs, DVDs and other optical instruments*; 3) *Instruments for design and architecture*; and 5) *Equipment used in audio-photo industry*. Taking into account the availability of data, the research covered the interval of time 2010 – 2014.

The data shows an increase of total exports of cultural goods and support goods, from €525.237.011 in 2010 to €612.733.515 (16,6%). Together with a decline in imports, this led to an improvement of the trade balance. Even though it is still negative, it is worth noticing the decrease of the trade balance for the mentioned goods from 246,2 million euros to -68,7 million euros. This shows the international improvement of competitiveness of the respective goods. Following goods contributed to this result: Printings, CDs, DVDs and other optical storage instruments, and Equipment used in audio-photo industry.

The most important partners are by far the countries from the European Union, followed by China, U.S.A., Republic of Moldova and Russian Federation.

Category of goods	2010			2014		
	Imports	Exports	Trade Balance	Imports	Exports	Trade Balance
Printings	€ 113.742.436	€ 38.315.033	-€ 75.427.403	€ 80.200.691	€ 76.175.257	-€ 4.025.434
Musical instruments	€ 11.644.613	€ 10.021.458	-€ 1.623.155	€ 15.260.850	€ 11.043.381	-€ 4.217.469
CDs, DVDs and other optical instruments	€ 206.496.000	€ 63.360.000	-€ 143.136.000	€ 97.998.000	€ 49.027.000	-€ 48.971.000
Instruments for design and architecture	€ 6.126.000	€ 5.616.000	-€ 510.000	€ 8.387.000	€ 5.748.000	-€ 2.639.000
Equipment used in audio-photo industry	€ 433.535.053	€ 407.924.520	-€ 25.610.533	€ 479.620.052	€ 470.739.877	-€ 8.880.175
Total	€ 771.544.102	€ 525.237.011	-€ 246.307.091	€ 681.466.593	€ 612.733.515	-€ 68.733.078

TABLE 3. SCC INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Source: Romanian National Institute for Statistics

As they represent core cultural goods, it is important to analyse the results obtained for printings. The data from the following figure shows a high increase of the exports joined by a decline of the imports, leading to equilibrium of the trade balance in 2014, with a deficit of only -€4.025 thousands. The highest exports increases are recorded for *Books* (from 8,4 million euros in 2010 to 21,4 million euros in 2014) and *Newspapers and other publications* (from 4,4 million euros in 2010 to 22,5 million euros in 2014). For both categories of goods, France is placed on the first rank as destination of exports with 20% of the total. As the imports regard, Great Britain holds the first place with regards to books and Serbia with regard to newspapers and other publications.

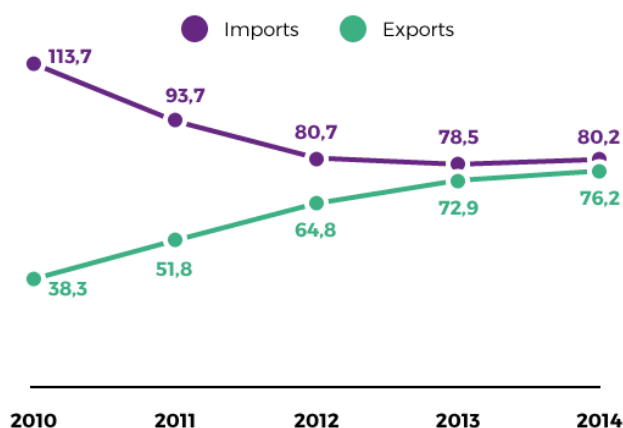


FIGURE 7. IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF PRINTED MATERIALS

Source: Romanian National Institute for Statistics

4. Intellectual property rights (IPR)

The *intellectual property rights (IPR)* are extremely important, if not vital in this field. Not only it protects the work of artists and other categories, but they also confer the ground of getting funding more easily either through projects or by presenting them as guarantee for getting microcredits. It creates also a high potential for raising the number of spinoffs and start-ups, especially if R&D is involved, where the research results could be scaled up only by such entities.

Intellectual Property, with its two components, namely copyright and industrial property, is the essential tool for the economic, social and cultural development of Romania. This seems to be a statement that is easily taken for granted, without taking into account the true complexity of the matter and the difficulties the economic development, the international trade and the new ITC technologies are, in fact, creating in the efforts to build a proper system designed to safeguard the rights resulting from artistic creation and innovation and to enable the monetization of the results of creative work, while at the same time granting the equal rights of all individuals to the benefits of scientific developments and from access to information and culture.

Because of their intrinsic characteristics, each of the two branches of the intellectual property is covered by a distinct protection and regulatory regime, both internationally and at Community and

national level. Industrial property includes patents, trademarks, geographical indications, industrial designs, utility models, topographies of semiconductor products, while copyright covers the rights of authors in their literary, artistic or scientific works and the rights related to copyright, i.e. the rights of performers over their artistic performance, the phonogram producers rights over their fixation (recordings), the rights of producers of audio-visual records over their own recordings and the rights of radio and television organisations in their own broadcasts and programs. The competent public authority in charge with implementation of the industrial property laws and regulation and the drafting of secondary regulations is the State Office for Inventions and Trademarks (SOIT), while copyrights fall under the jurisdiction of the Romanian Copyright Office (RCO).

The first National Strategy on Intellectual Property was developed by State Office for Inventions and Trademarks and Romanian Copyright Office and approved by the Government for the period 2003 - 2007, followed, in 2011, by a draft strategy for the period 2011/12- 2015, whose endorsement has not yet been completed²⁶. Two objectives are drawing the attention: 1) *Promote a culture of intellectual property*; and 2) *Integrate intellectual property as a management component in the business strategy of SMEs and public research units, to facilitate sustainable economic development*.

However, apart from these objectives, and taking into account the specific problems of CCSs, which were also highlighted by the Good Practice Report "Towards More Efficient Financial Ecosystems: Innovative Instruments to Facilitate Access to Finance for the Cultural and Creative Sectors (CCSs), prepared by the working group on cultural and creative sectors, a future Intellectual Property Strategy shall have to be adjusted to respond to the needs of the CCSs for maximization of the use of intellectual property rights portfolio by developing tools to identify and assess the portfolio of rights in order to use it as collateral for securing loans.

5. Policy making and public bodies

5.1 The Ministry of Culture and National Identity

The Ministry of Culture and National Identity is the specialized body of the central public administration that initiates policies and strategies in the field of culture. The Ministry of Culture and National Identity initiates, develops, substantiates and ensures implementation of the strategy and the policies in the field of culture, thereby guaranteeing the safeguarding and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms: i.e. freedom of expression and creation, unrestricted, unrestrained and equal access culture, including to cultural heritage for the present generation, protection and conservation of the cultural treasures of the nation for the future generations, participation of all citizens to cultural life, including to the formulation of cultural policies, the right to cultural identity and the right to cultural and linguistic diversity. Among the policymaking objectives, the following ones are drawing the attention: i) development of the cultural economy by providing an effective and stimulating legal, economic, financial and fiscal framework that meets the specific needs of creators, producers and intermediaries,

²⁶ Available at www.osim.ro/legis/initiativelegi/proiect_Strategie_FINAL_6_12.doc, accessed on 9.07.2016.

public cultural institutions, NGOs and SMEs in the cultural and creative sectors, as well as the needs of the consumer/general public; ii) support the contemporary artistic creation and stimulate the development of cultural sectors and the circulation of cultural goods; iii) develop and implement, first as pilot projects, a public policy that gives priority to the development of cultural tourism, as a foundation for sustainable development at local level; iv) use the European funds dedicated to the cultural sector mainly for: restoration of historical monuments, rehabilitation of historic centres, encouraging/promoting traditions and crafts, cultural tourism, cultural and creative sectors and training.

As we understand from the objectives listed above, the Ministry is considering a trans-sectorial approach, whose main goal is to initiate and formalize partnerships with the Ministry of Education, Research, Youth and Sports, the Ministry of Regional Development and Public Administration, the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Business Environment, though no such partnership has been established so far.

Over the time, the Ministry of Culture and National Identity has developed programmatic documents dealing with sectorial or sub-sectorial strategies or public policies. For example, sectorial strategies have been developed under various chapters dealing with culture and cultural heritage (and film industry) contained by the National Development Plans 2004-2006 and 2007-2013, as well as a draft Strategy on Culture and National Heritage for 2016-2020, whose general objectives include²⁷:

1. Entrepreneurship development in CCSs;
2. Draw on competitive advantages for CCSs development;
3. Increase commercial activity on foreign markets of the Romanian operators in CCSs.

It is worth noting that, ever since 2004, these strategy documents emphasize the importance of cultural and creative sectors and the need for a regulatory framework and financial and fiscal framework that encourages them to grow. According to the synthesis document on medium-term, The Ministry of Culture and National Identity has developed budget policies and programs for the year 2016 and the 2017-2019 perspective, with programs and sub-programs to be managed within this time horizon.

The funding of these objectives is done from the state budget. In 2016, the Ministry of Culture and National Identity launched two important funding schemes in the field of CCS: *CultIn Funding Scheme*, which is designed as a funding instrument that addresses the needs of cultural and creative entrepreneurs, personal initiatives organized by companies, cultural hubs, project and incubators and creative studios; *ACCESS Funding Scheme*, which provides support cultural actions and projects in the following domains: visual arts/architecture, print culture, film/audio-visual, performing arts, intercultural dialogue and intangible heritage/movable cultural heritage.

²⁷ The version under public debate is available at <http://cultura.ro/page/407>.

5.2 The Ministry of Economy, Trade and Business Environment

This Ministry is responsible for policy making in the field of national economy, providing strategies and funding for industry, non-energy mineral resources, trade, tourism, small and medium enterprises, cooperatives and business environment, all in line with the market economy and driven by the need to encourage the initiatives of economic operators. As a consequence, it influences directly the activities of SMEs from CCS. According to its strategies, there are two objectives of importance for this field: *sustain the extensive and intensive growth of the SME sector*, with a focus on increasing the number of SMEs that are active on both domestic and on relevant foreign markets; *increasing the density of SMEs, particularly in areas where their density is below the European average*, in order to reduce the current regional disparities.

The Ministry develops various programs, which are presented in the White Paper. One representative example is the Programme “Competitive Romania: a project for a sustainable economic growth” started in July 2016. With regard to cultural and creative sectors, the program plans to harness creativity as a catalyst for structural economic change and increased share of contribution to the GDP of high added value goods and services, with a target increase to 10% of CCSs’ contribution to GDP by 2020²⁸. The Program provides for the following areas of intervention: 1) Build a proper institutional framework to support CCSs; 2) Develop cross-cutting governmental public policies, defining and supporting CCSs; 3) Optimize and facilitate CCSs’ access to finance; 4) Support CCSs through specific programs.

The general strategy of this Ministry identifies the creative domains, which are believed to be of great interest in the attempt to foster the start-ups and development of SMEs, such as, for example, publishing, motion picture production, video and television programs, audio recordings and music editing, information technology services, architecture and engineering, research and development, advertising, arts and performing arts, libraries, archives, museums and other cultural activities, including leisure and entertainment. However, a closer look at this important strategic document reveals the marginal place occupied by the CCSs in the overall picture of the SMEs development initiatives, reflected by the absence from the strategy of measures addressing the specific problems creative people and businesses are confronted with.

5.3 The local governments

The local governments involve to a rather little extent in the development of CCS. Such activities are financed mostly by the Structural Funds. As example of local governments implication, according to the survey Analysis of the Capacity and Financing Needs from the perspective of the Sectorial Strategy on Culture and National Heritage for 2014-2020, out of the total number of local public administrations surveyed, 45% reported they had financed from their budgets less than 10 cultural projects in the period 2011-2012 and 81% admitted to have financed less than three projects from the

²⁸ Working Paper – Competitive Romania: A project for a sustainable economic development of the cultural and creative sectors (CCSs), 2016.

funding schemes dedicated to cultural and creative sectors. Awareness about CCSs funding schemes was very low in 2013, with less than 10% of the local public administrations representatives stating that they were familiar with the national and European funding programs.

Despite the low interest and little support from the local public authorities, the cultural and creative sectors continue to evolve. The proof is the top position occupied in the cultural vitality ranking by towns where budgetary support was very low in 2010²⁹.

Local authorities may allow tax incentives in connection with: *historical monuments and the buildings located in the protected area adjacent to historical monuments and in protected built areas*, including buildings used by non-profit organisations exclusively for not for-profit activities; *land used by non-profit organisations, used exclusively for not for profit activities, lands belonging to associations and foundations used exclusively for the non-profit activities, land owned by economic operators*, under State aid/*de minimis* schemes that comply with the state aid rules, land plots located outside the city in archaeological sites, undeveloped lands classified as historical sites and protected areas, land located in areas of protection of historical monuments and protected areas, lands affected by archaeological research, through the entire duration of such research; *the fee for the issuance of certificates, permits and licenses to carry out maintenance, repair, preservation, consolidation, restoration and enhancement of historical monuments, due by individual owners who carry out all or part of these works at their own expense; works designed to maintain the physical integrity and the built or natural environment of the historical monuments*, funded by the owners of buildings situated in the protection area adjacent to historical monuments, in accordance with the provisions of the spatial planning documentations drafted according to the law; works comprising urban regeneration operations coordinated by the local administration, during the duration of such operations; *various activities developed in the film industry*, to finance film shooting and filmmaking sets, except in the case of buildings owned or run by local authorities as well as film shooting inside such buildings in the case of Romanian film productions or co-productions.

5.4 Transversal policies

Transversal policies ensure the general background for the operation of the cultural and creative sectors (CCSs). The most relevant are those relating to education and training, intellectual property rights, regional development and social cohesion policies. We need to emphasize right from the start the importance of linking the different cultural strategies and policies which, though not directly addressing the cultural and creative sectors, they include objectives, courses of action and measures conceived to support of CCSs.

Education and training represent one of the most important transversal policies, because it provides the qualified human resources required to develop CCSs. the Ministry of National Education and Scientific Research has developed a number of policies and strategies aiming at guaranteeing a

²⁹ Research Report "The Cultural Vitality of the Cities in Romania", CCCDC 2010, available at http://www.culturadata.ro/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/3_Vitalitatea_Culturala_a_Oraselor_2010.pdf.

consistent approach to education and training, in line with the relevant European and national documents. The four most relevant strategies for this document are the Strategy for Education and Training in Romania for 2016-2020, the National Strategy for Lifelong Learning for the period 2015-2020, the National Strategy for Tertiary Education for 2015-2020, and the National Research, Development and Innovation Strategy for 2014-2020.

The common objectives of these strategies, which are harmonized with the objectives of the Europe 2020 Strategy, are: support the economic growth (increasing employment rate, increasing R&D budget allocations) and enhance social inclusion (reducing school dropout and the number of people at risk of poverty or social exclusion).

National strategies are based on the conclusions of the Council of the European Union on a strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training, summarized by the following four strategic objectives³⁰: *Making lifelong learning and mobility a reality; Improving the quality and efficiency of education and training by growing the level of basic competences; Enhancing trade-specific competencies, regardless of personal, social or economic circumstances; Encouraging creativity, innovation and entrepreneurship at all levels of education and training; and facilitating the acquiring of digital, cultural and entrepreneurial skills.*

A particular feature is the considerable attention paid to tertiary education, vocational training and research and development and a small attention to primary and secondary education, though the latter are of a vital importance for the transfer of the basic competences. In the short term such an approach may prove instrumental, given that it will help the rapid harnessing of the existing human capital, from an economic and a social perspective, but in the long run, the focus should shift towards developing basic and transversal competences of the people, starting from their early age. The tertiary education plays a crucial role in the advancement of the cultural and creative sectors, being considered as the economic growth driver. Particular attention is paid to correlation of the tertiary education with the demand of the labour market in terms of transversal competences, promoting participation in tertiary education of vulnerable groups (young people in rural area, poor population and ethnic minorities) and international mobility.

Discrepancies across the educational system in Romania in terms of performance level are both quantitative and qualitative, related to the development of basic and transversal competences tailored to the needs of employers. While in certain sub-sectors the training providers, the civil society or the companies active in CCSs are trying to remedy these discrepancies by specific programs, in other sub-sectors initiatives of this kind are very scarce. It is suggested in this regard the involvement of specific guilds, professional associations and private operators in monitoring the professional insertion of graduates, working in collaboration with educational institutions and teachers, in the process of transition from graduation to working life.

The discrepancies in the degree of development across the different CCSs sub-sectors, including

³⁰ Available at <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/RO/TXT/HTML/?uri=URISERV:ef0016&from=RO>.

differences in employing the latest TIC advancements, generate further gaps between labour market realities and the current occupational standards. As such, it is recommended a regular revision of the Classification of Occupations in Romania and the updating of occupational standards to match the labour market dynamics.

Territorial development of the cultural and creative sectors is one of the objectives of the Territorial Development Strategy of Romania, approved in 2016. From the CCSs perspective, the most relevant strategic objectives are³¹: increase the attractiveness of urban and rural areas through improvement of residential functions, development of quality public spaces and of transport services adapted to the local needs and specificities; setting up some smart urban centres, to act as international poles and, and their connection to the European urban network; development of some specialized and smart urban centres with vocation of international poles and their efficient connection to the European urban network; encourage the development of functional urban areas around the towns and cities playing a polarizing role in the territory; protection of natural and built heritage and the exploitation of territorial identity elements; preserve the cultural and promote actions dedicated to natural capital regeneration; protection of heritage and the promotion of natural capital regeneration; protection and rehabilitation of built heritage for the purpose of preserving the national identity and increasing the attractiveness of cultural spaces with special tourism potential.

As we have mentioned earlier, besides their spill over effect on economic growth, cultural and creative sectors are also playing a *significant social role in the development of the country*. Insertion on the labour market helps to improve social and cultural status, increase quality of life and the degree of social cohesion. The way culture and creativity can contribute social cohesion programs and policies are a topic that has long been theorized and social intervention models have been successfully applied internationally. Cultural intervention in Romania is still in its early stage. However, implementation, with the support of the National Cultural Fund Administration, of several projects that have brought this issue to the forefront is worth mentioning here. Measures devoted to support the vulnerable groups have also been included in the Human Capital Operational Programme 2014-2020.

From CCSs' perspective, of a particular relevance is the *National Strategy on Social Inclusion and Poverty Reduction for the Period 2015-2020*, which focuses on strands dedicated to vulnerable groups: children and young people, inhabitants in rural areas, groups at high risk of poverty, people with disabilities and elderly. The strategy comprises a territorial dimension as well, dealing with social policies and interventions targeting poorer regions, rural areas, small towns and marginalized areas.

Social cohesion and inclusion, seen in relation to Cultural and Creative Sectors, should pursue the following goals: *inclusion of vulnerable groups in the CCSs labour market; involvement of vulnerable groups in cultural and creative work and events; use and enhance creative talent and potential in the activities run by organisations (public or private) in CCSs; provide social protection measure for artists and creators who are at high risk of poverty.*

³¹ Available at www.mmssf.ro/j33/index.php/ro/2014-domenii/familie/politici-familiale-incluziune-si-asistenta-sociala?id=3916, p.13.

Increased tolerance and reduced discrimination will create an environment that is conducive to developing creativity and trigger the spill over effects to the economic sphere. Mobilization of guilds and professional associations in CCSs in order to reduce the risk of poverty among artists and creators and their inclusion in dedicated sectorial strategies should become a priority for the upcoming period.

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Emerging International Networks in Arts and Culture Research and Education

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ABSTRACT

The research paper presents an assessment and analysis of the state of networking and networking discussions among and between several of the principal transnational and international collectives that represent arts and culture researchers and educators in the field of higher education. These organizations and entities include the Association of Arts Administration Educators (AAAE), Taiwan Association of Cultural Policy Studies (TACPS), the China Arts Administration Education Association (CAAEA), and the European Network on Cultural Management and Policy (ENCATC). The authors have undertaken interviews of current and past leaders (both board and staff as appropriate) of these organizations to explore motivations for networking collaborations, purposes and goals of collaborations, challenges to effective collaborations, and collaboration outcomes. The authors also examined primary documents that reference international network collaboration from the various

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arts networks,
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organizations. From their research, the authors have painted a picture of the path to, current state of, and prospective future for international collaborations among these arts and culture networks. To the best of their knowledge, the authors know of no similar research that has as yet been undertaken.

1. Methodology

The methodology used in conducting this research is qualitative content analysis. Each subject was interviewed using an online teleconferencing service (Zoom) or by email response to interview. The researchers extracted text data from the subject interviews and analyzed the content for meaning, themes and patterns that can illuminate the social construct of emerging networks of networks and its relevance to the theory and practice of arts and culture management education and research. Each interview subject was asked the following questions:

1. Please tell us the name of the network you are affiliated with, your position or title within the network, how long you have been in this position, and the mission and/or goals of the network.
2. Please identify your key stakeholders. Who does your network serve?
3. In what ways has your network collaborated with or attempted to collaborate with other similar international or transnational networks?
4. What, in your opinion, are the reasons and motivations for such collaborations?
5. Is/are the collaboration/s formal or informal?
6. If formal, is there a stated agreement or memorandum between the parties?
7. What are the goals, objectives, and activities of each collaboration?
8. In your opinion, has/have the collaboration/s been effective? Have they served the needs of your members or your network's mission/goals? How has/have the collaboration/s changed your network? Please provide examples.
9. In your opinion, has/have the collaboration/s been successful in fostering improved international/transnational communications, shared goals, shared programs/activities/services, and better understanding? Please provide examples.
10. Do you feel such network collaborations foster cross-cultural collaborations among the members of your network? Please provide examples.
11. Do you feel that such collaborations foster better international/transnational relationships between people and societies? Please provide examples.

The subject population of this research comprises the leaders of several networks that serve arts and cultural management educators and researchers.³² They are:

1. Feng Dong, Associate Professor, Nanjing University of Arts, President of the Board, China Arts Administration Education Association
2. Sherburne Laughlin, Hurst Senior Professorial Lecturer Department of Performing Arts, American University, President of the Board, Association of Arts Administration Educators

³² Representatives of Canadian Association of Arts Administration Educators, International Association of Arts and Cultural Management, and Fachverband Kulturmanagement were invited to participate in research but did not respond to questions.

3. Jerry C. Y. Liu, Associate Professor of Graduate School of Arts Management and Cultural Policy, National Taiwan University of Arts, President, Taiwan Association of Cultural Policy Studies
4. Alan Salzenstein, Director of Performing Arts Management, DePaul University, Immediate Past President, Association of Arts Administration Educators
5. GiannaLia Cogliandro Beyens, Secretary General, European Network on Cultural Management and Policy

In addition, the researchers examined a variety of source documents related to the various associations' efforts to build networks between and amongst them.

2. Introduction

Beginning in 2012, members of the boards of directors of the Association of Arts Administration Educators (AAAE) based in the United States and of the European Network on Cultural Management and Policy (ENCATC), based in Europe, began discussing the possibility of sharing information, promoting international research and each other's annual academic conferences, and expanding each association's governance practice by placing a member on each other's board. The discussions were led by Alan Salzenstein, then president of the board of AAAE. Out of these conversations a protocol of understanding (POU) was created and signed by the two associations, describing a new relationship in international arts and cultural management. This 2016 POU has prompted further conversations among a larger group of international associations. How these initial and subsequent conversations developed, how the various associations were engaged, the outcomes of these conversations and prospects for future collaboration between networks are the subject of this paper. The authors hope that this research will provide not only an analysis of the history of these network collaborations but also insight into the developing global cultural phenomenon in arts and cultural management education of *network of networks*, a benchmark for future collaboration, and a record for future researchers.

This paper will initially examine the development of the relationship between AAAE and ENCATC as the two largest international associations, and then look at the emergence of conversations among the other associations with whom interviews were conducted. A number of source documents and the interviews themselves will be referenced throughout the paper and concluding with the authors' theoretical speculation about the future of network collaborations and the idea of a network of networks.

3. AAAE and ENCATC

Established in 1992 with funding from its members and the European Union, ENCATC "is a network of more than 100 member institutions and professionals in over 40 countries active in education, training and research within the broad field of cultural management and policy." (ENCATC - About Us, 2017) According to the AAAE website, "The Association of Arts Administration Educators (AAAE) consists of more than 150 member programs, all training and equipping students in arts leadership, management, entrepreneurship, cultural policy, and more." (Association of Arts Administration Educators, 2017)

AAAE was founded in 1979, with two primary roles – “to define an emerging area of professional practice, policy, and public action, and to develop the teaching, research, and service capacity to move it forward.” (Laughlin, *Defining and Transforming Education: Association of Arts Administration Educators*, 2017)

AAAE and ENCATC have a history of shared individual and institutional members. Between 2008 and 2014, Dr. Richard Maloney, currently Clinical Associate Professor and Director of the Performing Arts Administration graduate program at the Steinhardt School of Culture, Education, and Human Development at New York University, served on the boards of directors of both ENCATC and AAAE, creating a link between the organizations and regularly reporting on the activities of each organization to the other’s board. But this link was primarily informational and did not represent substantive formal collaboration between the associations. In the early 2010s the need for closer cooperation became a more important agenda item for both organizations. At its annual meeting in June of 2012, AAAE Board President Doug Borwick stated “The world is globalizing and we have to be there. If not, we will be increasingly irrelevant.” (AAAE Annual Meeting Minutes, 2012) In 2012, the leaders of ENCATC and AAAE began formal conversations to discuss collaborative activity, including offering discounts on conference fees to each other’s members and the possibility of a joint academic conference. (Minutes of the August 8 Meeting of the AAAE Board of Directors, 2012)

A rapidly growing consensus emerged after this 2012 meeting, inspired by the acknowledgement of leadership within both AAAE and ENCATC of the need to integrate global experience into pedagogy, of a strong interest to explore issues of similarity outside of one’s own borders, of the desire to learn from international colleagues, and the need to increase benefit and value to the membership of each organization. (Salzenstein, 2017) In 2015, leaders from AAAE and ENCATC began a conversation to create a formal collaborative relationship between the two associations. One exploratory aspect of this conversation was a formal panel featuring representation from major arts and cultural management education networks at the AAAE conference in Portland, Oregon on April 18, 2015. According to the AAAE Board President Alan Salzenstein, “I envision the session to be fairly straightforward, focusing on the values and challenges of global connections/collaborations. I think it will be interesting to hear from the ENCATC, ANCEP, AAAE perspectives – how they compare, especially the challenges.” (Salzenstein, email: International Session at AAAE, 2015). The proceedings created significant momentum in the development of a formal document that defined the nature and outcomes of their international cooperation and collaboration, to ultimately be signed by both associations. The Protocol for Exchange and Understanding Between ENCATC and AAAE was formally adopted by each organization in July of 2016. Four ³³areas emerged in which the two associations looked to “formalize and strengthen their cooperation:” governance, communication, projects and activities, and research.

Within the governance area, the Protocol formalized the establishment of a board position for each association filled by a member of the other. In the case of AAAE, the position was subsequently determined by a by-law amendment to be an *ex officio* (determined by the person’s office) board

³³ The document states five primary areas of cooperation but only four are enumerated in the body of the document.

position and in the case of ENCATC, by an international correspondent board member. The Protocol established the communication between the two associations would be facilitated through six initiatives:

1. Exchange of information, materials, publications, call for papers, conferences, workshops, seminars and symposia;
2. Exchange of periodicals published by the two institutions, such as bulletins, journals, newsletters and others;
3. Promotion on reciprocal basis, through their respective information channels, of each other's projects and activities, and dissemination of related information;
4. Cross promotion of website links for each organization, when suitable;
5. Exchange of knowledge and innovative best professional practices;
6. Dissemination of information on current research and members' publications. (Protocol for Exchange and Understanding , 2016);

Projects and activities would focus on a series of five commitments:

1. Encourage participation by their members in each other's conferences, seminars and other educational and research activities;
2. Offer to their respective members a *member discount* for registration to ENCATC and AAAE conferences and, if previously agreed, to other ad hoc activities;
3. Where appropriate, actively contribute to each other's projects and activities;
4. Help finding suitable partners for projects involving each other's members;
5. Encourage other means to foster mobility that improve professional practice. (Protocol for Exchange and Understanding, 2016).

The area of research contained no specific actionable items but only a commitment to “to encourage the exchange of cutting edge research on cultural management and policy.” (Protocol for Exchange and Understanding, 2016) According to AAAE President Sherburne Laughlin “these collaborations have been effective in cementing what was already occurring between our networks. In addition, for ENCATC for example, the collaboration increased digital cross-promotion of conferences and calls for papers; established corresponding board seats from ENCATC on the AAAE board; increased accountability of the AAAE seat on the ENCATC board; the close working relationships that have developed among the board and staff leadership have expanded understanding of each other’s work and organizational goals. Further, these collaborations have placed AAAE more on the world stage and cemented our leadership among the international networks.” (Laughlin, 2017)

The impact of this protocol on both associations has been largely successful, with the swap of board members, competitive conference fee pricing for members of the associations who attend the other's conferences, and invitations for network leadership to speak at each other’s conferences on various subjects of mutual interest, most particularly the expanding internationalization of the networks themselves. But even before the adoption of the protocol, ENCATC and AAAE were advancing

expanded international engagement. GiannaLia Congliandro Beyens stated that non-European nations have formed the largest contingents at ENCATC conferences since 2014. Study tours for network members began with a joint ENCATC – AAAE tour to New York City in 2013 and have continued each year, with new and differing collaborative partners for ENCATC’s subsequent tours of Shanghai (2014), Barcelona (2015 and 2016), and United Arab Emirates (2017) and again with AAAE in Boston (2016). (Beyens, 2017)

Despite these demonstrable successes in expanded internationalization, conference research presentations that are co-authored by members of the two associations have been very small in number. There has been substantive discussion of a joint conference, most recently in the planning for the AAAE conference in Edinburgh in May of 2016. The entities mutually agreed, however, that the timing was not right, primarily due to the upcoming anniversary year of ENCATC. Instead, AAAE and ENCATC held a gathering of several leaders of associations while in Edinburgh, which included representatives from AAAE, ENCACT, and TACPS. The result was a draft “Brussels Manifesto” which is slated to be discussed and approved by these organizations’ board leaders prior to the September, 2017 ENCATC Congress.

4. TACPS

According to TACPS President, Jerry Liu, Associate Professor in the Graduate School of Arts Management and Cultural Policy at the National Taiwan University of Arts, the mission of the Taiwan Association of Cultural Policy Studies is “to create an open and accessible knowledge sharing platform, and to develop a public sphere that would facilitate cultural collaborations, dialogues, engagements and rational debates among different agents, including academia, NPOs, cultural enterprises, creative industries and governmental cultural institutions in Taiwan and abroad” (Liu, 2017). TACPS has actively pursued collaborative networking opportunities with other associations “to connect Taiwanese cultural policy studies with the East Asian, American, European, and global networks.” TACPS has been an active convener of international forums, symposiums and workshops and has signed Memoranda of Understanding with ENCATC and the Korea Culture and Tourism Institute (KCTI). The 2017 MOU with ENCATC follows the same protocol as the anticipated Brussels Manifesto (see below) while TACPS understanding with KCTI is more specifically focused on co-hosting of academic meetings, the promotion of co-research, co-hosting academic faculty training and exchange, and support for consulting projects.

5. CAAEA

According to its Chairman, Prof. Dong Feng of the Nanjing University of Art, the purpose of The China Arts Administration Education Association (CAAEA) is:

1. To strengthen the academic exchanges and resource sharing of art administration education in China, including the fields of management, education, communication and organization of visual art, performing art, musical art, dance art and film art.

2. Under the guidance of the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China, provide formal industry, curriculum, teaching standards and codes of conduct for members and their institutions.
3. Encourage and support the research, publication and academic exchange of member institutions in the field of art administration to strengthen the understanding and practicality of the core issues in the field of education and art administration (Feng, 2017).

CAAEA's networking activities have been informal, relying more on its member institutions to collaborate with international partners and institutions rather than acting on behalf of its members, focusing on study abroad activities and presentations by members at international academic conferences. The field of arts administration is less than 10 years old in The People's Republic of China, and until recently CAAEA was more focused on learning about European and American arts management education curricula and pedagogy. In recent years, however, CAAEA is looking more to the creation of collaborative projects with international partners.

6. Expanding the Network of Networks

The Brussels Manifesto marks the first step away from bi-lateral agreements between international associations towards a more encompassing multi-lateral framework. As the opening states, "This Manifesto is a next step in the creation of a network of networks as a platform of exchange and dialogue between educators and researchers, practitioners and policymakers in different parts of the world." (The Brussels Manifesto (Draft), 2017)

The manifesto highlights six areas of concern for this new network of networks:

1. We believe in the significant contribution of arts and culture to society, and in the power of arts and cultural management education to enrich arts organizations and practices, making them more effective and sustainable. Through sound management, policy, and research approaches, we wish to unlock the significant potential of arts and culture to strengthen and invigorate different frames of understanding.
2. The ever-shrinking world demands awareness of the global context and requires international competencies that can be transmitted via education programs focused on cultural management and policy in order to preserve and enhance the specificities and diversity of our respective cultures.
3. Globalization is propelling the field toward varying approaches in policymaking and education on cultural management and policy around the world. This evolution is taking place in a variety of ways, via different means and rhythms of engagement, thus reflecting the specific contextual circumstances of local (regional and national) need. ENCATC, AAAE and TACPS wish to use our distinctive platforms and connections to stimulate and support this global evolution with local opportunities and accessible resources.
4. Cultural management and policy are fields that operate within the intersection of different

disciplines, offering significant opportunities to bridge educators, practitioners and policymakers. Therefore, we call for an understanding that arts and cultural education can act as an incubator for innovative methodologies and ways of working that attracts and generates current and future investments in the arts and cultural sector.

5. After several decades of investment in education professionalizing the arts and cultural sector, there is a growing commitment to research in cultural management and policy that is practice-based, comparative and interdisciplinary. This evolution should be viewed as an ongoing deepening of understanding of how arts and culture correspond to different contexts and how we can synthesize learning across those contexts. Such research needs to take place at a global level to maximize benefits and then must be available to all. Networks (such as ENCATC, AAAE and TACPS) wish to provide continuous opportunities to maximize these opportunities and benefits.
6. Education in cultural management and policy should explore how different organizational forms and collaboration models of arts and culture can be renewed in order to transform society. These new ways of collaborating creatively offer considerable inspiration and value to societal and business sectors, warranting ongoing attention and support (The Brussels Manifesto (Draft), 2017).

According to GiannaLia Cogliandro Beyens, the manifesto will be the “first joint declaration ever from the educational sector to policy makers aimed to make visible the place of cultural education in the shaping of a better society.” (Beyens, 2017) Of particular note in the document is the mention of collaborations that are distinctly global in nature: a focus on international competencies, globalization in policymaking and education, the desire to use a network of networks to spur innovation and investment in the international field, and the expanding global context for research. Much of the rest of the manifesto references universal best practices in the field or concepts of shared concern. It should be noted that at this writing the manifesto has been presented to the boards of AAAE and ENCATC but not yet adopted. Language and intent may be modified as the document moves to ratification.

6.1 What is Motivating Expanded Collaboration

All of the interviewees cited increased international dialogue or exchange between their associations as an important factor in motivating network collaboration. The dialogue, however, appears to be mostly a facilitation of other needs. Each of the interview subjects cited a need of their association and members to be informed each other's activities as a learning tool arising out of expanded international collaboration. Jerry Liu of TACPS and GiannaLia Cogliandro Beyens refer to the importance of knowledge transfer between members, with Liu calling this an opportunity to create “a long-lasting forum for the transfer of knowledge.” (Liu, 2017) GiannaLia Cogliandro Beyens framed this as a need of members to learn from each other about best practices and trends in the field. Both Alan Salzenstein of AAAE and Dong Feng of CAAE described this motivation simply as a desire to “learn from each other.” All interviewees see building relationships between their members is an equally important motivator. GiannaLia Cogliandro Beyens stated that international collaboration offers

ENCATC members “the possibility to expand their contacts and create strong links with colleagues in other world regions” (Beyens, 2017) and others viewed new research opportunities generated by expanded international relationships as an important motivating factor.

And while none of the interviewees sees such dialogue as a springboard to global policy-making, engagement does help organizations “stay aware of international trends and culture shifts.” (Laughlin, 2017) The need to stay informed of research and the opportunities for research collaboration for association members are at the fore for the interviewees. The primary instruments for this are the various academic conferences in arts management and policy and each interviewee reinforced the importance of increased international conference participation.

6.2 Successes and Obstacles

The creation of memoranda of understanding is viewed as a significant achievement by the interviewees and there is an increased desire among associations to formalize relationships through these memoranda. For ENCATC and AAAE, the exchange of board members is one of the clearest signs of the success of the relationship between these two networks. However, the exchange of board seats proved to be one of several insurmountable obstacles in the creation of an MOU between AAAE and the Canadian Association of Arts Administration Educators (Differences in organizational governance structures and differing measures of success for the MOU made a workable model unattainable) and those discussions have been suspended. And while there is increased dialogue between various associations, not all are moving toward formal understandings. The relationship between the Chinese Arts Administration Education Association and other networks remains informal, as is the relationship of more established networks and the newly emerging German association, Fachverband Kulturmanagement. AAAE has been more successful in creating an agreement with Social Theory, Politics and the Arts³⁴ to serve as a fiscal agent for its conference registrations. The Brussels Manifesto, while not establishing a formal relationship between any of the signatories, does lay out a rationale and framework for expanded collaboration.

6.3 The Future

The Brussels Manifesto is the most recent and the most expansive statement between the three networks that created the document: AAAE, ENCATC and TACPS. The document expresses a mature acknowledgement among the drafters that globalization is a driving force in international collaboration. The document lends muscle to the creation of a global structure: a formal network of networks. But it also recognizes that such a network must tread carefully. As the draft document states, “We wish to utilize our collective voice as those who support and enable arts and cultural management and policy education to amplify the essential need to balance local needs with global challenges.” (The Brussels Manifesto (Draft), 2017) Beyond the network of networks, the Manifesto also positions the field of arts management education and research for recognition on a larger

³⁴ STP&A is a conference convener and not a member association

international arena, such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. The United Nations indicia would mark a milestone for the field as it continues to progress in both professionalism and scholarship. But with or without such recognition, networks within the field will most certainly move toward greater collaboration in an increasingly globalized world.

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Nordic transcoding in Italy: the case of a publishing house through its networks and translation

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ABSTRACT

The paper investigates one Italian publishing house's unique capabilities as a broker and translator. It is a qualitative and exploratory study on the small, independent publishing house Iperborea, which for 30 years has specialized in translating and promoting Northern European literature in Italy. In order to analyse the company's business model and evolution as a knowledge broker, a concept from Network Studies, its translation strategy is highlighted. The idea is that the theoretical framework from Translation Studies contributes to the analysis of Iperborea, and especially for the strong transcoding function it holds as a broker. The company's development is discussed in relation to how Nordic culture has been conceived of previously and how its literature has been translated and diffused in Italy. Finally, the author proposes Iperborea as a useful example on how small companies in the cultural sector might find success by creating business models focused upon translation between cultures.

Keywords:

translation,
publishing sector,
knowledge
brokerage,
cultural exchange,
business model

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to analyse one particular Italian publishing house specialized in Nordic literature as a broker with a specific use of the transcoding function. To stand out as a successful small independent publishing house is quite difficult in the Italian publishing sector, a market that has often been characterized by a poor readership. Furthermore, the sector was remarkably affected by the economic crisis in 2008, an impact that would continue almost a decade afterwards (Italian

Publishers Association, 2015). Historically there has been an appealing curiosity for Nordic translated literature, especially centered between the 1890s-1950s (Culeddu, 2016), an era characterized by numerous and diverse *relay* translations (Culeddu, 2016; Ringmar, 2012) with writers such as Henrik Ibsen, Sigrid Undset, August Strindberg and Knut Hamsun. Still, after the 1950s the rich interest started to fade away for various reasons like that of a post-reaction of the strong fascistic censorship. Consequently, the second half of the 20th century became characterized by a lack of Nordic literature with very few translations (Nergaard, 2004; Culeddu)³⁵.

In 1987 Emilia Lodigiani founded Iperborea with the vision to spread knowledge about Northern European literature to an Italian audience³⁶. Considering all the risks and uncertainties in a rough sector, it became a remarkable choice to decide to focus on Nordic literature, also because at its time there was marginal knowledge about it among the readership. Knowledge brokerage is a field in Network Studies that describes how actors use their networks to transfer flow of knowledge, based on different orientations and functions (Burt, 1992; Obstfeld, 2005; Foster & Ocejo, 2015). However, most interestingly is the translation strategy the company created and developed as a broker in the way of selecting, editing and publishing the works. Although some research has been conducted on publishing houses' evolvments as brokers in their networks (Boari & Riboldazzi, 2014), there has not yet been a deeper study concerning the publishing houses' translating capabilities seen together with the transcoding function. This paper seeks to fill the gap in the literature on this topic by bringing two concepts from two different frameworks together through the case study of Iperborea, and its special business model evolving on the diffusion and translation of Nordic literature in Italy.

2. Methodology

The methodology applied to this study is a qualitative approach based on interviews and data collection, as it seemed the most adapt method for answering the research topic. Especially, in-depth-interviews were made with the key personnel of Iperborea (the founder, Emilia Lodigiani, the current publisher, Pietro Biancardi, the editorial director, Cristina Gerosa, the editor, Cristina Marasti, the press officer, Francesca Gerosa and the event manager, Anna Oppes) between May and October 2016. Being on average one-hour-long, the interviews used a mix of open-ended questions, probing, and following-up questions, taking into account the role of the interviewee, and covering altogether the various aspects of the company.³⁷ In this way, the idea was that more of the nuances in Iperborea had the conditions to emerge and could be studied more thoroughly parsed through in order to define and contextualize their brokerage and translation aspects. At the same time, the writer of this study worked for Iperborea between May-July 2016 as an intern in its Press Office. This equipped the writer with a deep and holistic insight into the internal organizational structure and work methods, and enforced

³⁵ Based on information from the articles by researcher Sara Culeddu that are soon to be published, among others "The Finder of Hidden Treasures: Giacomo Prampolini as a Mediator of Scandinavian Literature and His Translations of Pär Lagerkvist" in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale Translating Scandinavia. Scandinavian Literature in Italian and German Translation 1918-1945*.

³⁶ Taken from the publishing house's website http://iperborea.com/chi_siamo/ - translated from Italian: Iperborea è stata fondata da Emilia Lodigiani nel 1987 con il preciso obiettivo di far conoscere la letteratura dell'area nord-europea in Italia.

³⁷ Such as the history, the editorial process and catalogue, the network relations, the marketing, the side-activities and more.

knowledge of the company's external features in vision and identity. The internship provided furthermore precious material for the data collection, which otherwise includes access to the archives, internal reports and press releases.

3. Analysis of the publishing house Iperborea

To analyse Iperborea's thirty years of history in the publishing sector as a broker and translator becomes in this paper a reflection on how the company's business depended upon projecting a certain image of the North. In many ways Iperborea constructs a *translated* image of Northern European culture that it offers to its readership via published books. Being the *knowledge* the company brokers and *gives* to its readership, and it depends a lot of the ruling ideas linked to what Nordic culture actually is. There lies a huge difference in how the North was perceived as a cultural phenomenon in Italy during the end of the 1980s and today. In fact, with few translations in the era after the 1950s (Culeddu), there seemed to be a vague idea and ignorance about what Nordic culture really represented and it was often "(...) perceived as one '*Il Grande Nord*'" (Nergaard, 2004: 62-63), a phenomenon that unites the whole North (with cultural differences between the Nordic countries) into one united category. Despite its vagueness, this cultural category is seen as something exotic and very different. An idea that is further emphasized by Fulvio Ferrari, who describes *Il Grande Nord* as an exotic place in a far away land (Ferrari, 1987). However, it all begins with Emilia Lodigiani, who went to France after graduating in English Literature and Language at the University of Milan. During her stay she discovered a wide range of Nordic translated literature (which enforced her passion) compared to the current situation in Italy. Also, Lodigiani discovered the French publishing house Actes Sud and its book shape and style inspired her and Iperborea constructively. Yet, the beginning and development after Emilia Lodigiani's decision to establish the company is presented in the following table, inspired by the one presenting Kappa (Boari & Riboldazzi, 2014: 683-695)³⁸, composed of information and data from the interviews. This very first phase can be defined as the *Preparatory and groundwork (1981-2000) phase*:

Year	History & Catalogue	Quotations
1981-1986	Emilia Lodigiani in France	"After being in France (...) I came back to Italy in 1986 to discover that none of the Northern European classics were translated to Italian. It was a nice moment with many small publishing houses, and one year later I founded Iperborea."
February - October 1987	Research and networking	"For six months I studied how to become a publisher by reading only Nordic literature, and learn from others practical issues and concerns in the industry, talking with specialized actors as distributors, booksellers, publishers."
October 1987	Foundation of Iperborea Emilia Lodigiani obtains book rights at Frankfurt Bookfair	"At the Book Fair in Frankfurt I was by miracle taken seriously, although lacking experience from publishing, I achieved some desired book rights, there was a great relief that someone finally wanted to bring Nordic writers to Italy."

³⁸ From *How knowledge brokers emerge and evolve: The role of actors' behaviour* the case of the small Italian comics publishing house Kappa is presented together with its development of brokerage roles with a table taken as inspiration.

October 1988 First books published:Scandinavian & Finnish classic and contemporary literature		
1991-1996 Catalogue includes literature from the Netherlands, Belgium, Estonia and Iceland		
1988-2011	Iperborea is driven by three positions: publisher, press officer, commercial manager	"For almost 25 years Iperborea is a two and a half company; me, the commercial manager and the press officer who worked part-time."

TABLE 1. PREPARATORY AND GROUNDWORK PHASE

Source: author's elaboration.

With the aim and vision to spread knowledge about Northern European³⁹ literature, Iperborea had to first of all create themselves a literary identity as a publishing house. Meaning that an editorial and *translation strategy* had to be defined by what to select of book titles and *how* to translate them, next to eventual characteristics in marketing the publishing house. Something that Emilia Lodigiani would have a great freedom to do, as no one in Italy at this point had really specialized in publishing North European literature (Nergaard, 2013; Lodigiani⁴⁰). In a way, Iperborea had to first of all *put* the North on the map, thus presenting and introducing it among all the ambiguous ideas that existed around its culture. The Nordic literary landscape that was first published and introduced seems to hold a certain mythical image, next to resembling a perception of an *exotic North*. The company's name and etymology refers to the Hyperboreans: a people in Greek mythology who lived far North of the continent "(...) beyond Borea and beyond the cold wind" (Menghi, 1998), carrying an unknown presence among their lives. "A-far-away land" lies within the publishing house's name; *Iperborea*, in the way that it creates a connotation to the Hyperboreans' northern and *mysterious* lands. However, the first six publications did not enforce this mythical image, presenting various stories that questioned important philosophical questions with authors such as Sven Deblanc, Per Olov Enquist, Torgny Lindgren, Peter Seeberg and Johan Borgen, a quite random choice of titles that reflects the personal taste of Emilia Lodigiani. Yet shortly afterwards between 1989-1990 *Il libro dell'estate* by Tove Jansson and *Gli uccelli* by Tarjei Vesaas were translated and published, which were much closer to stories that enforce that mythical image of the North, with protagonists stating a certain "symbiotic relationship with nature and silence" (Nergaard, 2004) on a Finnish island and in a Norwegian forest. In the beginning Iperborea would publish not more than 5 titles a year and it wasn't before 1994 with *L'anno della lepre*⁴¹ (Pasilina, 1994) that Iperborea would experience its first bestseller and break even with the costs.

³⁹ Here we refer to Northern European as stated on their web page, although in its very beginning Iperborea was promoting and specialized in *Nordic* literature. From http://iperborea.com/chi_siamo/: transl. Iperborea was founded (...) with the precise objective to make Northern European literature known to an Italian audience.

⁴⁰ From http://iperborea.com/chi_siamo/ - translated from Italian: (...) we had the chance to do it with great freedom of choice and within a high-quality production, which spans from the classics and Nobel Prize winners, either unpublished or replicated in new translations, to voices of contemporary fiction.

⁴¹ For more details about the book: <http://iperborea.com/titolo/40/>

However, a feature that would soon be very characteristic was Iperborea's highlighting of authors' geographical and linguistic origin both in the catalogue and in its communication channels. It became the company's special approach (Gerosa, 2016)⁴², a subtle feature that fitted well with the vision in specializing itself in only Northern European literature, but also it seemed to be a request both from the readers and the stakeholders (Lodigiani, 2016)⁴³. In a way, this categorization is creating a unifying and homogenous system between the books (Neergard, 2013), which means that they are arranged by where the authors come from, giving them the same value based on their cultural belonging and not necessarily only by the genre or themes of their texts. It becomes Iperborea's own sorting system, a natural choice together with their vision in a period of ambiguity for the North. A vague perception seems also to be observed within Iperborea as to what is categorized to be the North or not. In its vision statement today Iperborea refers to *Northern European* literature, but during the first two years its book authors were from Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Finland, so literature from *Nordic* countries⁴⁴, which was the initial intention of Emilia Lodigiani. Interestingly enough, from 1991 and on Iperborea expanded its geographical literary areas by publishing the Dutch writer Cees Nooteboom and continued with writers from Belgium, Iceland and Estonia. These countries except for Iceland are culturally more distant to the *Nordic North*, however, now all of these countries go under the same category of Northern Europe. A choice in Iperborea's literary identity that might have enforced the step to "put" the North on the map, although it might be questioned if the cultural differences among the Nordic countries really emerge this way. On the other hand Iperborea's categorizing system might create an opportunity to make them appear more in its categorization of the authors' origins, and thereby emphasize the different origins as emphasizing the diverse countries. This aspect raises an essential question in the analysis of Iperborea's translations and publications:

Is an author from one country really representing the culture from that country?

Iperborea aims to spread knowledge about Northern European culture through its books, assuming they are representatives for the cultures they come from. If this is true, it seems that Iperborea supports the idea of Andersson's *Imagined Community*, something that Siri Nergaard points out:

(...) there is no reason to say that literature produced in one country is the expression of that same country. The idea that literature written in a certain language automatically can be seen as representative for a nation and a national literature is a construction, it is, to use Benedict Andersson's term a construction of an *imagined community*, based on the illusion of some essential origin. (Neergard, 2013:12-13)

In a way Iperborea constructs a Culture of the North by publishing translations from countries that are

⁴² From interview with Cristina Gerosa 18 July, 2016: "(The geographical categorization) ... came from an old way of organizing lists of fiction, but at the same time it has been the peculiarity, I mean it has always been our different approach. We have readers who are more interested in seeing what is inside Norwegian literature for instance, since we have both classic and contemporary literature. In a way you can explore a country towards its literature."

⁴³ From interview with Emilia Lodigiani 23 September 2016, she explained why they had this specific geographic emphasis, especially in the catalogue and "(...) it was a request from the bookshop owners, it was useful for them to know more about these writers' countries."

⁴⁴ By definition it refers to Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, from <<http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/nordic>>

supposed to represent them and thus give life to people's ideas regarding the national and cultural identities. Cultivating the phenomenon of an *imagined community* as the concept of a national identity is formed in relation to representations with "produced meanings in a system of cultural representation" (Nergaard, 2004). Something that in our case became the translation of being a representative of where it comes from and at times even enforced the idea of *otherness* and foreign elements (Sengupta, 1995). Iperborea is considered to be the main coordinator in constructing an image of the literary North as the only publishing house in Italy with its specialization and unique way of marketing and curating translations. Moreover, Iperborea becomes *partial* in its translations when deciding the various features for its publications. As neither language nor culture can be identical to another language or culture, every translated text needs to adapt to the language and culture of arrival in order to be understood by bringing some new cultural elements with it into the translation, as a so-called "socio-political influence" (Tymocko & Gentzler, 2002). Iperborea convey this partial, cultural phenomenon through its various choices of which books to select, and thereby what to represent of the North and its image, next to a marketing emphasis around a geographic and linguistic area, to how the editors translate and curate the texts. Furthermore, the *paratext* in Iperborea's books is the material added in a specific way in order to curate the translation. Ever since the first publication, Iperborea has given importance to including the *introduzione*, a foreword to each book, which functions as a part of the paratext; being more precisely a *peritext*⁴⁵, an element added to the text but within the book itself. With the foreword, Iperborea holds the reader by the hand in his or her meeting with another culture (Nergaard, 2004). By holding "the reader by the hand" it is assumed that the reader does not know either the author or story, nor the cultural background. A description is given in the paratext via anecdotes about the author and the relevant literary themes (Nergaard, 2004). For instance, in *Il libro dell'estate* there is a foreword by the translator Carmen Giorgetti Cima presenting the author Tove Jansson and possible interpretations of the story in relation to Jansson's own childhood in Finland. The foreword is a special feature for Iperborea, as opposed to other publishing houses in this period that would not give it the same importance. By founding Iperborea Emilia Lodigiani decided to go against the vague perception and lack of knowledge of Nordic culture that circulated in Italy during the preparatory and groundwork phase. After the years in France she got access to the North and became the first one "(...) to see when knowledge developed and used in one industry has potential value elsewhere" (Hardagon, 1998). In our case within the publishing sector's industry, the knowledge "developed and used" is conceived as translated Northern European literature abroad. A vision further explained by Lodigiani in *Liberiamo*⁴⁶:

"My intention was to publicise those European countries with similar roots to us, but in a wider perspective to create a small injection of what are the values and mentality of the North."

How actors such as Emilia Lodigiani use their networks to transfer flow of knowledge, thus being *brokers* can be defined as an "actor mediating the flow of knowledge and information between two unconnected actors" (Burt, 1992). In our case the knowledge is perceived as the *translated* image of

⁴⁵ The "peritext" is referred to as those elements surrounding the text, but that are situated within the text itself. Whereas the "epitext" is situated outside the text it is concerning (Genette, 1987: 7-11).

⁴⁶ From *Liberiamo*, 11 Dec 2012, interview with Emilia Lodigiani.

the Northern European culture that Iperborea constructs and offers to its readership via published books. In this, the group of readers can be perceived as an actor previously disconnected from this knowledge. When mediating knowledge, Iperborea brings it from the Northern European cultural publishing sector in a field of their own and finally to their audience, which gives them the brokerage role as a *gatekeeper* (Gould & Fernandez, 1989). In this role, Iperborea belongs within the organization of the Italian Cultural Publishing Sector, referring to the Italian stakeholders needed to publish Iperborea's translated works in a cultural Italian world with actors involved in publishing. Hence, Iperborea connects the knowledge to the other actor: the Readership, a target defined as one culturally and literary interested segment; the knowledge derives from outside the field of the Italian Cultural Publishing Sector from the North European Cultural Publishing Sector. An organization consisting of a wide range of actors such as authors, literary agents, North European publishers, even North European public and other cultural institutions. Connecting them to Iperborea grants access or *gatekeeps* between the Readership within the Italian Cultural Publishing Sector, and to Northern European literature and culture. The gatekeeping role was enforced in the first phase, considering Iperborea's exclusive monopoly as the only publishing house specialized in the North and with "a great freedom" to develop its translation strategy; a strategy that demonstrates the company's strong *transcoding* function (Burt, 2004) producing and presenting meaning by meaning making activities for an Italian readership, who in the end become aware of the "interests and problems of the other side", thus the culture of the North is seen through the translated and partial image of the North.

When it comes to Iperborea's motivations as a cultural broker, meaning how the company bridges the structural holes and if they do it for their own interests or for others (Foster & Ocejo: 406-410), the *tertius iungens* seems to be the most apparent motivation. Thus, "the third who connects" classifies Iperborea in its pro-social motivations in *connecting* as a less self-interested actor when building bridges between Italy and the North via literature. In the first phases there was no profit in the book sales and a lot of free labor was given by Lodigiani herself⁴⁷, an example on the effort behind the pro-social motivations in Iperborea's general wish to spread knowledge about the North for a culturally interested audience. Moreover, Iperborea holds a *transferrans* orientation as a translator and *intercultural mediator* in its explicit meaning-making involving the translations from Northern European languages to Italian. Yet, the publishing house does not model selfish behaviour, but again rather a pro-social attitude when translating and "constructing a culture" of the North in the image presented to an Italian audience. No closure in Iperborea's network is desired in the common wish to spread knowledge of the North. On the other hand it must be taken into account that this image is *partial* in its construction, an aspect questioning the knowledge's authenticity. Regardless of how much *iungens* lies in Iperborea's motivation, there will always be the company's own interpretation in its "transposition" (Nergaard, 2004) of the knowledge provided. Still, as the gatekeeper bringing the translated literature from Northern Europe, founded on an *iungens* motivation, Iperborea was soon to work among prestigious and passionate actors in a friendly network. Something that had been characteristic ever since the beginning:

⁴⁷ Interview with Emilia Lodigiani, 23 September, 2016, translated from Italian: "(...) the first ten years....I worked for free, it was not before *L'anno della lepre* that we would break-even and start."

I would say that with all suppliers and partners there has always been a friendly relationship, which appraised us and gave a reciprocal collaboration of quality. I was in the center of all these passions, finding people who were passionate of their work and I gave the tool that could act to arrive in the bottom. (Emilia Lodigiani)

When Lodigiani talks about the "tool"⁴⁸ she refers to a certain passion among readers and authors, and that she as the *publisher* and gatekeeper reached and channelled through the network of actors between the Northern European and Italian Cultural Publishing Sector and finally to the Readership. Being in an environment with passionate actors must have been an advantage for creating friendships within this tight-knit group. In addition, these friendly relations seem to have created a "reciprocal collaboration of quality". In fact, the aspect of personal and friendly relations between Iperborea and its actors is something that has been important ever since the first phase. In the role as a small, independent publishing house specialized only in the Northern European literary world with fewer assets than other big publishing houses, the network became crucial as it would lead to benefitting resources for the company and thereby compose its social capital (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). As pointed out in the interview with the editor Cristina Marasti, it was considered, as it is still today, an informative asset for discovering new "super novels"⁴⁹. Also, another interesting aspect of Iperborea's *personal* being is that it is even resembled in the way they translate, curate, and edit the books as explained:

It is more personal in Iperborea, and every single book is followed like your child. The relationship between publishing and the author is one where you really go inside the book. Sometimes in other publishing houses you're in a hurry, there is not time, but here it is smaller. (Cristina Marasti, Interview October 2016)

In a way Iperborea does not only maintain personal relations with the actors and partners in the networks, but even in the process of editing and producing the translated books. A feature not only noticed in the content, but also in the visual layer of the cover and book shape. A style copied from Actes Sud with a distinctive narrow, but elegant size being one "not tiring the eye when reading"⁵⁰.

3.1 Continuing and "differentiating" Iperborea

In the following stage *Continuing and differentiated phase* (2000-2008) an effort is shown by Iperborea to develop its identity as a publishing house. As a relationship with the readers has been established together with a literary identity, the company now aims to differentiate its work in changing the catalogue and some features in the translation. Firstly, that previous image of the North as an exotic

⁴⁸ A definition Emilia has referred to many times, both in the interview 23 September 2016: "*Io ero in centro da tutte queste passioni, davo lo strumento che potessi agire per arrivare in fondo.*" as from the interview with Rai Letteratura: "*Per Emilia Lodigiani infine l'editoria è un catalizzatore di passioni: la passione di chi scrive e la passione di chi legge.*"

⁴⁹ Interview with Cristina Marasti 25th of October: "(...) since we publish only this Nordic literary world, for us is very important to have at all levels good contact, the feeling to know perfectly what's going on there, good relationships with literary agents, the translators, for us it is important to keep a strong relationship with them, in order to have this network working well, if this *super novel* comes out and we miss it, if we know these actors personally, we know about the existence of this novel before the others."

⁵⁰ From interview with Emilia Lodigiani, 20 May 2016.

and mythical one gets replaced by more shades, with publications such as *La fame dell'occhio*⁵¹ by Tove Nilsen and *Naif Super* by Erlend Loe new urban realities are presented through the protagonists' stories (Nergaard, 2004). Other important writers participating into this broader and more contemporary image of the North are Björn Larsson and Kader Abdolah, with tales including adventures and multicultural perspectives, as illustrated in, for example *La vera storia del pirata Long John Silver*⁵² (Larsson, 1998) or *Il viaggio delle bottiglie vuote*⁵³ (Larsson, 2001). One distinctive feature in Iperborea's paratext is the change observed in 1999 in *La rivolta di Guadalajara* the first book including an afterword instead of a foreword. With the same characteristics as the foreword in introducing the text (Nergaard, 2004), the contrary placement demonstrates the fact that Iperborea's literary identity is more established and developed, along with a more illuminated readership on Nordic culture.

3.2 Transition

However, it is in the *Transition phase* (2008-2014) that shows a remarkable shift in external as well as internal organizational changes, in order to lay a foundation to the current company and how it works today.

In a way, it becomes the phase in which Iperborea as a *brand* transforms into a more contemporary iteration, yet holds a consistent brand image (Loden, 1991). Their main vision is strongly present in the modernizing process with different steps and new initiatives to organize events. Also, it is the point where the work is appraised by extraordinary prizes given to Emilia Lodigiani, such as in 2010 and 2011 when she becomes an Honor of Knight both for the Netherlands and Finland, next to the *Premio Lo Straniero* and *Premio Aldo Manuzio* in 2009 given to chosen books.

Year & Key actors	History, Catalogue & Side-events	Quotations
2008-2014 Emilia Lodigiani Pietro Biancardi Cristina Gerosa	New directorial staff Modern shift - internal -external	"So, when I arrived with Pietro, (...) the first thing we had to deal with was how to transform a one-person-based-office in a shared-information-office. (...) It was a long process, almost two years in building up a modern way of working, so with a new work flow, shared information and archives. (...) In changing our brand there was a lot of potential in Iperborea, but we thought that with a modern contemporary switch." - Cristina Gerosa-
2008-2014 Anna Basile [MA Pub. & Translation] Cristina Marasti [Editor experience ISBN, Minimum Fax, Saggiatore]	New employees with strong CV backgrounds	"More or less all of us came from Literature Studies. (...) We looked for people with a specific character, [fit for a specific work environment] and the good relations we all have with one or another." - Cristina Gerosa-
2009 & 2010	Iperborea asked to collaborate with 1st & 2nd edition Festival di Letteratura Olandese	"For Caffè Amsterdam we helped the organizers [NLPVF] in finding venues, authors, and even with the press work." -Cristina Gerosa-

⁵¹ For more info about the book: <<http://iperborea.com/titolo/83/>>

⁵² For more info details: <<http://iperborea.com/titolo/75/>>

⁵³ For more info about the publication: <<http://iperborea.com/titolo/96/>>

2010 E-book introduced to catalogue	Ombre, a thriller series is published	
2012	Iperborea becomes main organizer of a Danish literary festival	"After the previous festival success we realized we were capable of organizing festivals which resulted in our own Caffè Copenhagen." - Emilia Lodigiani-
2012 Anna Brannstörms [Swedish prof. University of Milan, Freelancer]	Iperborea starts organizing language courses in Swedish, Norwegian, Danish & Icelandic	"Our language courses started in a shy way, we set a little group with our contacts, put the news on fb and the class was full after one day. (...) After two years we made a partnership with Anna Brannstörms [and] Anna is in charge of professors, quality and didactic strategies." - C.Gerosa-

TABLE 2. TRANSITION PHASE.

Source: author's elaboration on her interviews.

In 2008 and 2009 Cristina Gerosa and Pietro Biancardi, Lodigiani's son, were employed while still collaborating with Emilia Lodigiani. In a company that has become quite acknowledged for its work, they both aim to continue the same vision, but have also started a rebranding process. Both will have an important role in the decision-making and intention to slightly change the value proposition and what is offered to the customer segments, while still holding to the same editorial and translation strategy in selecting and translating the books, next to maintaining Iperborea's prestigious reputation. This work starts after an internal update of the one-woman-company model with a "two and a half"-person crew, to one with a new, skilled staff, along with a rearrangement of the office structure⁵⁴. The skills the new employees bring are not only relevant knowledge in literature, but also multicultural skills and languages, which is an important aspect in Iperborea's hiring strategies, considering its cultural transcoding function concentrated on the North and Italy.

3.3 The festival iungens

In 2012 when Iperborea became the *main organizer* of festivals and side-activities it created a shift in the brokerage roles by expanding them from being a gatekeeper to a *liasion*. This happened next to enforcing the transcoding function with a translated image provided with a new and more interactive form of paratext. Holding various brokerage roles over time as a company is a natural aspect of a broker, and in Iperborea's new initiative it becomes a liasion exactly in the bridging of "distinct groups without any prior allegiance to either" (Foster & Ocejó, 2015). For instance, in order to organize events, Iperborea bridges festival actors from the Northern European Cultural Publishing Sector⁵⁵ and the Italian Festival Actors⁵⁶, and the knowledge arrives in the field of Italian Cultural Publishing sector's readership and audience. Most interestingly is how Iperborea behaves even stronger as a *cultural intermediary* by connecting various actors to different fields in between varied codes and

⁵⁴ From interview with Cristina Gerosa: The big thing we did is that we didn't change the editorial strategy, but we rather tried to valorize all these big potentialities from the Iperborea catalogue (...). From interview with Cristina Marasti: "When Iperborea started to grow, they couldn't manage to do everything. (...) That is why Emilia needed help and Pietro called me. In the beginning I worked very close to her, I had to do the same thing and work in the way she did, so to learn the Iperborea carma; the way of editing."

⁵⁵ Composed by among others: authors, Nordic institutions, Scandinavian Literary funds and more.

⁵⁶ Such as festival venue directors, theatres, cinemas, music groups and other stakeholders.

languages. In the sense that meaning-making increases in the transcoding function, which naturally also enforces the *transferens*' strategic orientation. The festival and language courses' rich programme demonstrate Iperborea's enforced broker function that can change attitudes and beliefs towards their audience (Foster & Ocejo, 2015), along with the new image of the North projected through the events. These side-activities seem to enforce the *iungens* orientation (instead of the self-interested *gaudens*) in the wish to create a cultural exchange. Although defined as a long-term investment with high costs for the company⁵⁷ aimed to increase popularity, book sales and future revenues, it is still a rather creative initiative and strategy to rebrand the publishing house and enforce the social impact in creating cultural openness between the North and Italy. The side-activities circulated around the Iperborean books, which would not lose their prominence, became a new phenomenon in the company's gatekeeping and a partial way to translate the culture through literature, "partial" in the sense of the way Iperborea curated the festival content along with its marketing that at times could resemble the idea of a far-away-world and a mythical image. Nonetheless resembling a kind of *otherness*, which is created by translation's *power in constructing* "cultures" through certain representations (Nergaard, 2004; Venuti, 1998). An example on this, is the representation of the language course posters that illustrate mountains and fjords, saying "Iperborea, explorers of the North".

Yet, the side-activities resemble how the company's social capital (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998) has grown in volume both in network size and capital, in addition to ties that were once established by Lodigiani and developed further. With the right partners and actors to collaborate with within its network, the Iperborea team could almost "feel"⁵⁸ a certain request and maturity to establish these new initiatives promoting the North.

3.4 The contemporary and current Iperborea

In 2014 the transition phase ended when Pietro Biancardi became the officially Publisher and CEO, Cristina Gerosa the Publisher Director, and Emilia Lodigiani continued as the founder by managing their network ties and partners as well as elaborating texts and covers. With this formal management shift, it also signaled that the former strategic changes were more or less concluded, and a foundation was laid for continuing the work and expanding the team. Most of the work methods, strategies and cultural products remain the same⁵⁹, but to demonstrate their wish to expand and rebrand as a company there are two interesting changes to observe; a new graphic book design and festival concept.

In 2015 Iperborea decided to change the graphic design of the books, while at the same time keeping the highly characteristic and recognizable book format, which was considered an important physical image of the company's identity. After 28 years of using the same features, it was felt a need to

⁵⁷ From interviews with Cristina Gerosa and Pietro Biancardi.

⁵⁸ From interview with Cristina Gerosa.

⁵⁹ Confirmed in interviews with both Francesca Gerosa and Anna Oppes, September, 2016 and with Pietro Biancardi July, 2016

recreate the image and a strong use of a cover image and colour would still keep their importance⁶⁰. At the same time the material of the book changed to a softer paper to make the reader experience more comfortable, while "The publisher's opinion" was moved to the first page on the left side, which also stretched the cover out over the whole book. When it came to the festivals that were held by Iperborea as the main organizer, such as Caffè Copenhagen or Caffè Helsinki, they were all made to promote *one* Nordic culture. However, in 2015 a fusion took place as the previous festival editions culminated in *I Boreali*, gathering all Nordic culture involving various writers and more into a festival programme that took place in Milan. The new festival was quickly concluded as a success and the year afterwards *I Boreali* expanded in its concept, becoming a travelling festival going from Milan to other Italian cities. In many ways, Iperborea can be defined as a "modern invention factory" (Hardagon, 1998), as it shows a unique way to adapt and be creative in the initiatives to organize events and especially festivals. Generally, in the writer's opinion, Iperborea's work in promoting and spreading knowledge of the North in Italy goes way beyond the normal perception of what a publishing house does and offers. In the rebranding process various inventions are observed, while at the same time Iperborea seeks to keep to the vision once set by Lodigiani.

However, the translated image of the North Iperborea brokers currently give to the readership is seen with more nuance as a result of the development from the various phases. In a way it stills resembles a mythical image of the North, but on the other hand the catalogue has expanded with titles from contemporary and classic writers to also new genres, while also resembling other nuances from a contemporary Northern European society with multicultural, ironic, adventurous and philosophical stories.

4. Conclusion

This paper has aimed to investigate Iperborea's translating capacities seen through brokerage processes with an analysis of the company's history done with a qualitative approach. Iperborea was founded in 1987 with the vision of translating and publishing Nordic literature in Italy - a quite special choice considering all the risks and uncertainties in a rough sector, next to the generally marginal knowledge of Nordic literature. However, today the small, independent publishing house can be considered quite successful both financially and socially, boasting a prestigious network with a strong social and cultural capital. The business model is based on projecting a certain image of the North where Iperborea constructs a translated image of Northern European culture that it offers to its readership via published books. This is the knowledge the company brokers to its readership, a process happening through its specific translation strategy with a strong *transferens*, but also *iungens* motivation. In a way it is unavoidable that Iperborea will become partial in its translations of both books and festivals, as a cultural construction takes place in the translation act (Nergaard, 2004). By dividing the company's history in various phases the idea is that the translation and brokerage processes will

⁶⁰ "Abbiamo cercato di utilizzare due: l'utilizzo dell'immagine molto forte in copertina e l'utilizzo del colore (...) per facilitare e rendere più comodo la lettura." From the promotional video *La nuova grafica Iperborea*, published in January 2015 at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aFE_qegY02o.

emerge more clearly in their development. Since its beginning, Iperborea has acted as a *gatekeeper*, with its role and vision to bridge and spread knowledge of the North to an Italian readership. Also, through the phases, the translated image of the North has been a result of the company's developing translation strategy, as demonstrated by their way of selecting, editing and publishing the works, next to the particular marketing with a focus on the authors' geographical and linguistic origin.

Today Iperborea provides more than just stories enforcing the mythical, exotic image of the North. As the readership developed together with Iperborea's literary identity, the catalogue expanded and became more varied with titles criticizing society and in this way, presenting other shades of Northern European culture. Although there has been a management shift in recent years, the main objective is still to spread knowledge of Northern European literature in Italy, but with some changes in the editorial strategies and with initiatives involving side-activities. Once Iperborea began to organize side-activities such as festivals, it started to act as a *lisation* broker next to its gatekeeping. This became one of many aspects stating Iperborea's capacity to build a more contemporary brand, an ongoing process of a currently growing company, which expands the notion of the publishing house itself as well as what it represents and translates from the North. Indeed, what makes Iperborea unique is its innovative translation strategy, as well as its fascinating development in its broker roles and orientations, reflecting a constant and strong aim to bring knowledge of the North to Italy. Iperborea might become an inspiring case for similar companies with its cultural exchange and work as a specialized, small, independent publishing house finding success with a business model translating between cultures.

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How can precariousness save theatre?

Sustainability initiatives by and for Madrid fringe theatre

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ABSTRACT

The landscape of Spanish independent theatre has changed dramatically over the last decade. Although precariousness has imposed itself as the common way for theatre making, the number of independent theatre venues and companies has tripled over the last five years. Precariousness has encouraged the creation of professional associations, generated a sense of community in the business and has created a fertile ground for proposals to legitimate individual works and the theatre sector as a whole. My report will focus on Madrid fringe theatre and will explain the managerial and audience dynamics over the past decade in relation to precariousness. I will also explain current sustainability initiatives coming from the fringe sector, aimed to mitigate the devastating effects of the financial crisis. Finally, this report will suggest ways for capitalizing the added value of a strong fringe theatre environment by other economic agents, which can also be profitable for artists and exhibiting venues.

Keywords:

sustainability, precariousness, Madrid fringe theatre, added value, cultural management

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1. The financial crisis: new managerial and audience dynamics

1.1 The consequences of public funding cuts

The profound restructuring within public economies, due to the financial crisis, has affected all Western activities as a whole, but the arts, an especially fragile sector, has particularly suffered from public funding cuts. In Spain, since the ruling Popular Party came into power in 2011, the state budget for the arts has dramatically decreased.

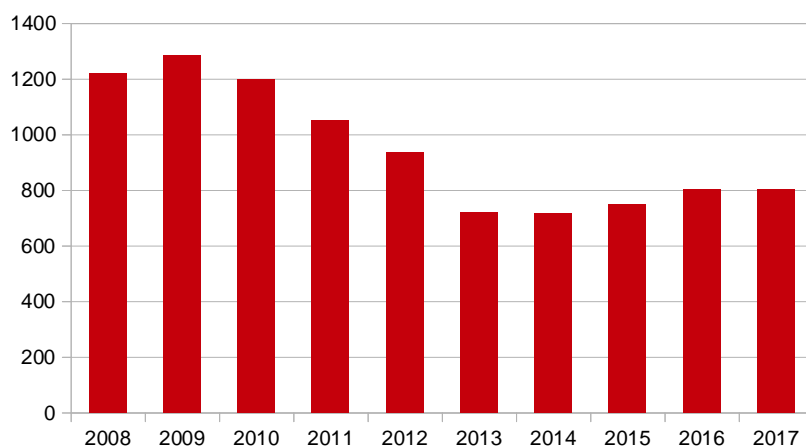


TABLE 1. EVOLUTION OF PUBLIC INVESTMENT IN CULTURE OVER THE LAST DECADE (MILLIONS OF EUROS).

Source: Boletín Oficial del Estado (BOE).

Although there has been a small increase in investment over the past three years, the overall loss of public funding in the last decade amounts to around 34 %. This has directly affected the three main ways in which public funds finance the arts in Spain:

- a) *Production grants*: the average ticket price is very low if we compare it with other capital cities in Europe. Nowadays you can see *Dos*, in Teatro La Latina, for 22 euros (just one price for all seats), whereas in London you can see *The Play that Goes Wrong*, a similar production at the Duchess Theatre, with a ticket price range from 20 to 65 pounds, and in Paris, in Theatre Lafontaine, the comedy *Thé à la menthe ou t'es citron?*, with a ticket price range from 25 to 49 euros. Likewise, fringe theatre tickets are lower in Madrid than in these two cities (being average price in Madrid 14 euros, whereas in London this is 20 pounds and in Paris 18 euros). This had led to Spanish private theatre companies (both commercial and fringe) to include public production grants in their return

of investment plans; these cover the costs of the production along with box-office income. Due to the crisis, these grants have decreased, both in the money of each individual grant and in the total amount of grants. This has revealed something that was already known, but not acknowledged: with the exception of musicals, all shows in Spain are not covered by box-office income and, therefore, are not profitable.

- b) *Public state-funded theatre productions*: These venues, such as Teatro Español or Centro Dramático Nacional, have an annual allocated budget for the maintenance of the venue and in-house productions. Each venue relies on different public institutions –Instituto Nacional de las Artes Escénicas y la Música, Comunidad de Madrid, Ayuntamiento de Madrid...–, that decides the total amount of this budget. Since it has been reduced over the past ten years, public theatre productions have either been diminished in terms of quantity or in terms of the production itself (number of actors, scenography, touring...).
- c) *Public hiring*: approximately 80 % of theatre venues in Spain are funded by the state. These venues, which are managed by town councils and which generally do not have an in-house artistic director, rely on a public budget to hire companies for a set price per show; this covers all the costs of a particular show, plus a percentage on the return of investment (to be used by the producer in subsequent productions). Due to the financial crisis, these public theatres have reduced their budget for hiring companies, the set price per show has gone down to the limit of covering costs and in the case of hiring a company, some have had to wait years in order to be paid by these theatres for the show.

The rise in Value Added Tax on theatre tickets, which took place in 2012, merely exacerbated the situation. The special consideration of theatre as a cultural product, with VAT of just 8 %, was shattered by the increase up to 21 % of this tax. Instead of therefore increasing theatre tickets, companies and venues deducted this percentage from the final ROI.

In Spain, other possibilities for funding, such as bank loans or tax-free donations, are not legally developed, and therefore *the two main sources for funding have been extremely damaged by limited resources and overwhelming taxes*. But, unexpectedly, this shortage of resources has led to an unbelievable increase in independent creators and venues, a slow change in managerial styles in public venues –although not necessarily as an improvement– and a global public questioning of the performing arts sector that seems to be having an impact on politics.

1.2 Fringe theatre: the paradox of the empty stalls

For the sake of understanding, I will use Madrid as the basis for my explanation, but this can all be applied to other cities such as Barcelona, Valencia and Seville, which may have similar characteristics, but to a smaller degree.

Exhibition

The characteristic that defines the exhibition of Spanish fringe theatre nowadays is the *atomisation of exhibition conditions in space and time*.

a) Space atomisation

The sudden boost of fringe theatre venues is absolutely astounding. In 2008, in Madrid, there were approximately 20 fringe theatre venues: today, *the number of legally established fringe theatre venues is approximately 70* (in Madrid alone), plus those venues that are not listed in the *What's On* section of theatre magazines: we are talking about site-specific projects, rented loft-spaces, in-house performances. On the whole, the trend has been to reduce the size of the performing space with many recent successful shows running for months in venues with a maximum audience capacity of around 20 people for each performance. Many of these places lack technical resources and push the boundaries of legality.

b) Time atomisation

The need for each venue to survive has led to an unforeseen consequence: *multiprogramming*. Each venue puts on as many performances as it can technically sustain in terms of technical capacity and human resources. Scenography and lighting are reduced to a minimum in order to gain speed when being changed between different shows – as well as the length of the shows.

The strongest example of this atomisation is an extremely successful formula, *Microteatro por Dinero*, *Microtheatre for Money*: this venue features a bar on the ground floor and five small rooms in the basement, where five plays no longer than 15 minutes each are performed simultaneously on loop for a maximum audience of 15 people per performance. *Microtheatre* is now a franchise with venues in Seville, Miami and Mexico.

This atomisation responds to a dynamic that I call *the paradox of the empty stalls*: audiences are depleting, and thus theatre professionals, instead of looking for new audiences, try to reduce the risk of a lack of audiences with smaller venues and more plays. New venues are opening, where more plays are exhibited, so the total theatrical offer increases. Therefore, the already depleted audience gets even more atomized, and that's the spark to further reduce the size of the venue and create new shows. *Empty stalls create empty stalls*.

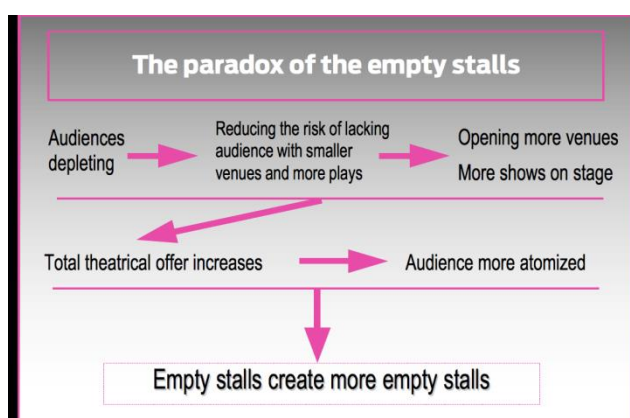


FIGURE 1. DYNAMICS OF THE PARADOX OF THE EMPTY STALLS.

Source: author's elaboration.

1.3 The perceived successes in fringe theatre

This situation implies an overall paradox: although total audiences are depleting in a landscape of increasing total seating capacity, the atomisation of this seating capacity has created many mini sold-outs, *the successes of precariousness*, which have contributed both to precarize the sector and to making changes within public institutions policies.



FIGURE 2. THE HOUSE OF THE DOORWOMAN, DURING A PERFORMANCE OF 'IVAN-OFF'.

Source: The House of the Doorwoman.

The House of the Doorwoman, a space which was literally the home of a doorwoman at the beginning of the 20th century, was rented by José Martret and Alberto Puraenvidia under the legal form of a charity, to run the show *Ivan-off*, a version of the classic *Ivanov* by Anton Chekhov. The total seating capacity of The House of the Doorwoman was 20 seats. What could have been a complete failure in another venue in terms of box office, was a complete success here: advanced booking was necessary to get a ticket and they had a full house for months. This phenomena attracted the attention of press and celebrities, who attended the show and publicised it on Twitter. Word of mouth worked extraordinarily well.

This was the beginning of what I call *perceived successes in precariousness*: shows that run in small spaces, with very limited seating capacities, which can market their performances as sold-out and therefore attract the attention of other agents, such as the press, artistic directors of public theatres or celebrities, but in terms of box office their income is not enough to properly sustain the cultural workers that participate in the play due to the reduced seating capacity of the venue and the impossibility of demanding public funding. Perceived successes have been key in the turning point of

Madrid theatre, although not necessarily for good.

On the positive side, we can confirm they have *drawn attention to the rich artistic landscape in Madrid's theatre*. Before them, artistic mobility amongst circuits was extremely difficult due to the opaque nature of the professional sector in Spain. They have encouraged artistic directors within public theatres to commit to new playwrights, directors and actors, and we can say that the emerging artists (such as Alberto Conejero, Antonio Rojano or Denise Despeyroux) have benefited from this. However, on the negative side, *perceived successes have had two perverse effects*:

- a) It is necessary to say that in Spain charities are not a valid form of professional theatre business, unlike in the United Kingdom or United States: charity is a legal form suitable only for amateur companies, whereas professional theatre companies should be private limited companies, which entitles them to have access to public professional funding and enables them to pay proper taxes. Perceived successes are generally conceived and performed in production conditions that work around legality, eluding social security and VAT in the ticket price. Nevertheless, the managing example has spread out, both in terms of venues and theatre companies: although there are no official figures, it is easy to estimate that nowadays around 80 % of the total theatrical production in Madrid is carried out under such conditions. Therefore, *perceived successes have contributed to the precarisation of the fringe performing arts sector*.
- b) *Fringe managerial style has been imitated by public and commercial theatre*. Due to perceived successes, many important venues in Madrid have opened a secondary exhibition space, with seating capacities that rarely ever amount to over 100 seats, in which they house performances and artists from fringe theatre. Likewise, they multiprogram in these spaces, they generally copy the box-office share (50 %-50 % or, if the company is lucky, 60 %-40 %) and offer a limited marketing advantage for the show (to be reviewed in an in-house magazine or to be included on their website). The goal of these cultural agents is not to miss out on the astounding press coverage that some of these shows get from specialised journalists, but in doing so with such conditions, they just contribute to precarisation. So we can say that *perceived successes have also contributed to the precarisation of the public and commercial theatre sector*.

This generalisation of precariousness, as a consequence of the paradox of the empty stalls plus the perceived successes, has derived in an intense public and online debate among theatre professionals about their professional situation. The need for profits from a cultural product is at the heart of the discussion, since it is well demonstrated that without public funding there are no sustainable shows or venues. The entire sector has also begun to question whether this situation can only be sustained, at a personal level, by people from wealthy backgrounds or people who are not professionals. This has two main consequences:

- a) *artists need to either find another stable job to finance their activity* and many of them turn to cultural management as a means of survival. This, in itself, could have a positive outcome on the

whole, since we are starting to have professionals with an artistic view running public institutions, but could be very frustrating on an individual level.

- b) if only people from wealthy backgrounds can individually sustain an artistic activity, there is a *danger of class bias in the representation of reality*, which could have disastrous consequences in the long run, because it can deepen the already existing gap between performing arts professionals and audiences.

The extent of individual precarisation can be exemplified by these words by Ernesto Caballero, the current artistic director at the Centro Dramático Nacional, the most important theatre institution in Spain, which were part of his speech at the presentation of the Artists Law in the Maria Guerrero theatre in November 2015. For years, Caballero had run his own theatre company, with a reasonable degree of success, but when the crisis hit, his business started accruing debts, to which he had to respond with his private assets. But then, there was the first open call in the history of CDN to become the artistic director, and he got the position.

I was a creator with a good reputation who landed artistic director at the CDN with my accounts seized by the courts, because I needed to personally respond to the debts surrounding my business – which I now had to abandon due to incompatibility. At the time I had to choose between my own project or become a public cultural manager. The choice was clear. Therefore, during my first two years as the artistic director of this institution I earned the minimum wage, up to the present day: I still have to individually tackle the debts of what once was a cultural business (Ernesto Caballero).



FIGURE 3. ERNESTO CABALLERO (FIRST FROM THE RIGHT), DURING THE PRESENTATION OF THE ARTIST LAW, 2015.

Source: Facebook.

2. The turning point: change of mindset and sustainability initiatives within Madrid fringe theatre

Precariousness in fringe theatre has implied, on the whole, a decisive turning point for the performing arts activity in Spain over recent years. It has sparked new dynamics, with questionable consequences, which have been copied by other cultural agents. It has stirred the artistic landscape, creating exhibition windows for newcomers in a short period of time. The most terrible outcome, however, is the generalized precarisation of professionals, which, as we can see, reaches up to the level of the current director of the CDN.

Is there a possibility of tearing down these dynamics? Can precarious professionals change the current situation? Let me be optimistic about this: *if, due to precariousness, fringe theatre has been able to tear down the professional status quo that had been immobile for years, from the bottom to the top, I strongly believe that the current turning point in fringe theatre, both in terms of concepts and of professional initiatives, can also influence public institutions and commercial theatre.*

2.1 Change of mindset: unionism and transparency

Social mobility in Spain is one of the worst within the European Union, due to the hidden job market in all sectors. Although figures are questionable and surveys do not offer a reliable percentage about the scale of this market, what we can state is that Spanish arts has traditionally epitomised the informal means of accessing jobs and establishing a career. This environment encourages individualism and secrecy, and that has been the normal functioning of professionals over the past decades: no open castings for actors, artistic directors of public institutions designated by politicians and their individual decisions, no transparency in how plays, directors and the artistic crew are chosen... Professionals unions have had little power in changing the situation, and artists had accommodated their *modus operandi* to this law of survival, remaining silent themselves about how they had accomplished their own achievements and creating, as a byproduct, a sort of professional glass ceiling, blocking the natural generational change in the arts for years.

The recent landscape of precariousness has not just stirred this status quo, but has also sparked a change of mindset that, in my opinion, is part of a bigger trend of thought in Spain after the Indignados political movement. Precariousness has raised awareness in fringe professionals about their own unsustainability, and they are looking for means to gain professional exposure, to get their voices heard in places where decisions are made and to invent new ways of obtaining financial resources to do their projects. Many initiatives have started in the past years whose goals are along these lines. Let me mention the main ones.

League of Professional Theatre Women – Spain

LPTW was created in the United States during the 1980s, after a group of female professionals became aware of the lack of representation of women in the Tony Awards. Their goal was to create a

strong network of female theatre professionals that could lead to more job opportunities for them. As years have past, they have also become a strong lobby for equality in USA theatre.

The Spanish branch of LPTW was launched in 2016, 27th of March, originally as a secret Facebook group, by Beatriz Cabur (playwright and director, also a member of the American association), Yolanda Dorado (playwright), Inge San Martín (actress) and Conchita Piña (publisher). Initially, it was intended to become a small group to unite the demands of female theatre professionals, but the success was overwhelming: in less than one week, the group had more than 6,000 professional theatre women from all over Spain. The creators of the group, therefore, sensed a responsibility that they had to offer something more than just a channel for negotiation with theatre institutions.



FIGURE 4. ACTÚA, THE FIRST PUBLIC EVENT OF LMPTEs

Source: Beatriz Cabur.

Since then, the Spanish branch has devised three main tools *to promote the access to job opportunities for its members*:

- Facebook group: it has become *one of the main sources for exchanging information about job opportunities, both in the private and public sector, in Spain*. Members regularly post job offers, artistic residency calls, funding advice, calls for papers... both in Spain and in foreign countries. Although it entirely depends on the good will of the members, it has so far proved that the information is shared with fluidity and if it maintains in the long run this amount of shares, it will definitely help to mitigate the negative impact of the hidden job market on women's careers. Any success by one of the members is cheered on by the entire community, a reaction that encourages people to keep on sharing this valuable information in the group.
- female professionals database: available to any of the members and regularly updated, this is *the biggest female professionals database in Spain*. It covers all activities, from artistic to managerial specialists, and it has proved to be a very useful tool for hiring amongst women in Spain.

- Mentorships: this is a unique program in Spain. *A female professional, with 10 or more years of experience, mentors a newcomer for an entire year, creating a specific development program for her, which includes follow-up assessments and a final evaluation about a specific artistic project.* Both artists are paired up by a committee, which assesses their compatibility in terms of character, artistic interests and goals. The first edition of the mentorship program will culminate in October 2017, with an event to show the 32 projects of the current edition, and to which other cultural agents will be invited, such as artistic directors, producers, distributors, etc., to help the mentorees gain access to the professional market. Mentorship programs are currently a voluntary activity for both mentor and mentoree.

The main consequence of the activity of LPTW-Spain has been, as aforementioned, *a sense of union amongst professionals*, in this case gender-biased, but, as women are roughly half of the theatre professionals, it has also contaminated, in a positive way, the rest of the environment, contributing not only to a general unionism spirit, but also enhancing in a very short period of time the fight for equality in the arts which has traditionally been led by other feminist associations, such as Clásicas y Modernas. The sudden rise and consolidation of LPTW-Spain has definitely been key to the fact that equality is now explicitly on the agenda of the main cultural agents in Spain. LPTW-Spain has evolved over the past months to be a legally constituted professional association, and it plans to keep on fostering networking initiatives and to create job opportunities for female professional theatre women.

Contexto Teatral

Contexto Teatral is a web-based research platform which harbours more than 500 theatrical texts of contemporary playwrights. The idea came about after Daniel Ramírez and Eva Redondo, the founders, were looking for a text for two actresses with no success. They then realised that it was very difficult to find contemporary plays using practical criteria, the main one being the total number of actors required for the play and if they were male or female.

Once the platform was created, its goals became more ambitious: they wanted to promote, support and gain exposure for contemporary playwrights as a high quality cultural product; to encourage the artistic exchange of playwrights from different parts of Spain; to establish relationships amongst Spanish and LatAm playwrights; to promote Spanish culture abroad; to connect Spanish playwrights with other theatre professionals, to encourage their texts to be performed and produced; and also, to help new plays become accessible to high schools, amateur companies and readers, as well as encourage audience creation by putting playwrights in touch with their potential audiences.

As we can see, the intention of Contexto Teatral is not only to be a database, but a meeting point for theatre professionals and a place to enhance their career possibilities. Amongst other activities, their intention is to do professional seminars, reading workshops for amateurs, video content about playwrights for social networks and staged readings. This is the project that will definitely take place in 2017-18: there will be 18 staged readings (2 per month) in Teatro Pavón Kamikaze, written by playwrights whose texts are on Contexto Teatral, and directed by directors that belong to Plataforma de

Directorxs Emergentes en Emergencia. During this year-long showcase, relevant figures of Spanish theatre will be invited to lead each staged reading, as well as producers and artistic directors of public and private theatres who will also be invited to see the shows.

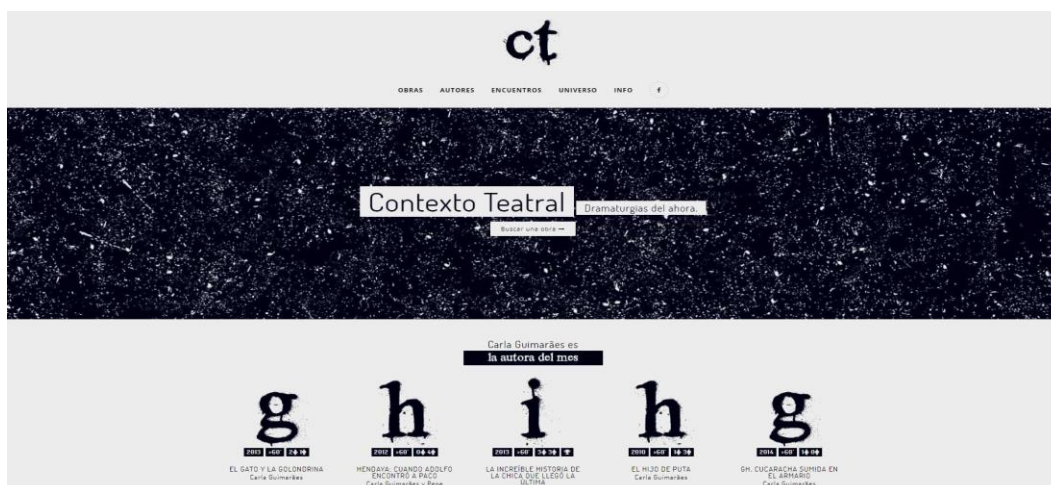


FIGURE 5. CAPTURE OF THE WEBSITE CONTEXTO TEATRAL.

Source: Website Contexto Teatral.

Up till now, Contexto Teatral has been financed by the time that Eva Redondo and Daniel Ramírez have dedicated to it. They are deliberately putting all their efforts in trying to find public financial support for the platform, since they understand that this is a task that should have been tackled by public institutions. Therefore, they are not asking for any fee from the more than 120 playwrights that belong to the platform: instead, they are applying for funding themselves. After 2 years, they have finally got some responses: they got an award from 10x10 Publica, getting 1,500 euros, and a grant from the Ministry of Culture in Spain amounting to 10,000 euros, which would go entirely to extend and improve the website. This means that Redondo and Ramírez are not being paid for their tasks.

Plataforma de Directores Emergentes en Emergencia

The Emergency Platform for Emerging Directors was created in 2016 by Patricia Benedicto, Paola Torregrosa, Manel Bañez and Pedro Casas, four graduates from RESAD that were worried about the appalling disappearance of the figure of the stage director in new productions. The goal of this platform is to point out *the scarceness of formal individual opportunities for graduate directors to access professional productions or to gain confidence from public and private investors* through contests or specific fellowships: the only way to expose their work (and therefore their training and abilities) is to self-produce their own shows, which has a financial limit (their own money available to do so). Likewise, they can access public funding not as individuals, but as private limited companies, which in Spain requires an initial investment of 3,000 euros to start up the business, and a minimum running cost of 300 euros per month, a figure that might not appear too high but in the current situation is unaffordable for many. In addition to this, getting public funding in Spain is largely an unobtainable goal for start-up theatre business: many of the open calls for funding take into consideration the time that the business has already been running for, which creates a *winner-takes-it-all* effect: the longer

the business has been legally running, the more chances it has to get funding. To sum up, the beginning of a professional career for recent graduate stage directors is always self-financed and takes place in fringe venues.

The platform presented in the theatre festival MadFeria, in Madrid January 2017, the results of an informal survey made via Internet about the situation of emerging stage directors, which pointed out the aforementioned situation, which contrasts vividly with their average education level –62 % with two or more degrees, and at least one MA; 23 % enrolled on a PhD program; the rest, just one BA and informal training– and the average amount of productions that emerging directors have been producing in the past three years (4.05 productions per director). This survey also revealed that the average age of an emerging director in Madrid is 32, although most of them range from 30 to 44. The platform also stated that emerging stage directors find it difficult to access normal professional circuits, such as distributors, heads of artistic services or even the press, because they are caught up in the following vicious circle: there is no established way for individual directors to gain reputation or confidence; cultural agents are not accountable for answering to all theatre companies or artists' requests, so they tend to choose the ones whose names they are already familiar with; therefore, emerging directors are always at the end of the line, and they can only turn to informal ways in order to gain access to professional circuits. This is to say, in terms of the hidden job market, for stage directors this reaches asymptotically 100 % of the market.

2.2 Relationship between new and old associations: the need for an interlocutor

All these new platforms, associations or exposure initiatives are happening because new artists could not find in the already existing associations a way to express their problems and to find a possible solution for them – whether it be political or not. These associations, which had already established long-term relationships with public institutions, such as the Ministry of Culture or town halls, and already had a stable public funding assignment, have developed their procedures according to their board of directors, who did an outstanding job during the 1980s and the 1990s, but whose claims are related to the already working artists and do not include, within their missions, strong measures for help and guidance for a significant amount of emerging artists. This, in itself, is a big loss for these artists who cannot benefit from the expertise and reputation of these associations, as well as for the associations, which are missing the opportunity to renew their members and take advantage of the energy and stamina of young artists.

In some cases, the problem regarding this generation renewal is merely financial. In Spain, the minimum wage is 825 euros per month, the most frequent salary is less than 1,000 euros and in Madrid the average price of a rented room in a shared house is 380 euros per month with bills on top, so emerging precarious artists have to keep an eye on their investments. Being a member of the Asociación de Directores de Escena (Stage Directors Association) costs 66 euros every three months, which includes "legal counseling, (...) subscription to ADE magazine, receiving all books published by ADE, (...) accessing ADE's library" and eventually "information about job offers for affiliates". The

Academia Española de las Artes Escénicas, founded in 2015, has acknowledged this issue: the initial sign-up fee is €120 and membership costs €30 every three months, which gives you access to all their publications. The Actors and Actresses Union costs €33 / 3 months, with an initial fee of €75, and gives you the right to be part of their annual Actors and Actresses Guide, besides legal counseling, access to a job board and some discounts.

Although these figures might not seem high, the fact that most of the advantages of becoming a member of these associations are focused on their publications, it is informally well-known that job boards do not really work, becoming a member of these professional associations is not popular amongst newcomers, who are seeking jobs, fellowships and grants. Exception to this is Autoras y Autores de Teatro, whose membership is much cheaper (€15 every three months): the direct consequence of this is that it is, by far, the only professional association that has been able to attract new talent and has renewed their board, which has created working panels with groups of emerging playwrights. With an age range between 30 to 45, these working panels have established, in less than two years, many exposure initiatives: a theatre for children contest (Carrusel de Ogritos), exposure for emerging playwrights by informal chats in Teatro Pavón Kamikaze (Kamikafé). Besides that, AAT centralises calls for all playwrighting contests in the Spanish language, and therefore the affiliates regularly receive this information in their inbox. I am not defending this particular association here, but pointing out that young theatre professionals are not merely interested in becoming a member of a professional association in terms of reputation: they want a space that really represents their interests and which represents, if I may say, good value for money. Taking into account the results of AAT, compared to other associations, it is clear that AAT has found a balance between the sustainability of the association through membership and the generational renovation.



FIGURE 6. SGAE HEADQUARTERS, MADRID (SPAIN)

Source: SGAE.

A completely different issue is SGAE (Sociedad General de Autores y Editores), by far the most powerful artists association in Spain, since it harbours not only theatre professionals, but professionals

from cinema, dance, music and publishers. SGAE has also a foundation, Fundación SGAE, that regularly gives courses and grants, fellowships and mobility funding for artists, amongst other activities, and which is part of ENCATC. The good thing about being a member of SGAE is that you only pay if you generate income: SGAE is in charge of making sure that television channels, theatre venues and any other entity pays the royalties for your work: SGAE then takes a percentage of this (16 %) and gives the rest of it to the artist. It seems to be a fair system for the artist, who in return is entitled to fellowships, grants, mobility funds and even emergency financial aid in case of unemployment. The problem is that in the articles of association it is stated that with polls, members have a proportional amount of votes depending on how much revenue they have generated for SGAE. To put it in other words, from the point of view of a business, it works in terms of shares: the more you contribute, the more power of decision you have. This logic is perfect for a private business, and although SGAE is heavily financed by the government, it constitutes a private business. But as a matter of fact, for an individual young artist, this procedure is a sort of democratic dystopia, in which the richest can explicitly decide the direction of the society, whereas emerging professionals pay 16% of their royalties in the hope of maybe getting an award at some point in their careers. To sum up, SGAE is a place in which young artists find it difficult to have their voices heard and which doesn't provide a springboard for the career of a significant amount of young artists.

The appearance of this new associationism wave is a direct consequence of the difficulty of young artists feeling identified with the pre-existing associations, where their voices do not really count individually and which are already centred in defending the rights of the workers, rather than creating formal structures to help newcomers to springboard their careers. In this landscape, Contexto Teatral, Plataforma de Directorxs Emergentes en Emergencia and LPTW-Spain have become the strong collective voice of these artists, and only through this way have they been listened to: Contexto Teatral will soon begin a collaboration with SGAE and PDDE to showcase the work of young artists in the Teatro Kamikaze; LPTW-Spain has also got funding from SGAE to do a showcase festival in November 2017. The new associations respond to a need that were not being answered by the old ones, which are now forced to implement measures for professional exposure of emerging artists.

3. Adapting the cultural product to society: social causes and theatre

Spain does not have a strong tradition of sponsoring culture activities. We do not even have a legal framework for culture sponsorship: different governments have been promising a law about it for the past two decades, something which has not even been studied and written in congress. Besides this, the fact itself of investing in culture is not socially valued –as a general rule–, although you can find individuals in key positions that really fight against all odds to create bonds between private business and performing arts, and to nurture theatre through the contributions they can make in this context.

Unlike this, investing in social causes is highly valued by Spanish society. Even though Spain does not rank particularly high in an international context as a charitable country (only the 20th in Europe and

83 in the world, according to Charity Aid Foundation), as a matter of fact, charity causes are better received by Spanish investors than cultural ones. This is probably why initiatives which connect culture and social causes are mushrooming, and so is the private and public money which is explicitly dedicated to this. Catholicism is embedded in the shared values of the country, and for those who are not connected to art, solidarity with those in need seems to be a much better place to donate their spare euros than a theatre production. Likewise, connecting culture with social causes is quite a recent event in the Spanish performing arts sector; anything but adult theatre is considered "from a minor league", something which is changing thanks to the popularity of children's theatre and the funding opportunities that social causes offer to artists.

A good example of this is given by Natalia Díaz, professional actress and head of cultural activities at Fundación Internacional Baltasar Garzón, who will launch a cultural program in 2017-18 around the issue of human trafficking. This is an outright sociocultural activity, which brings together theatre workshops and victims of human trafficking in order to empower them, putting on a professional show running in different high-schools to raise awareness about the scale of human trafficking in Spain. The profits of the show will go back to the association that takes in victims of human trafficking in order to improve their living conditions.

In Spain during the 1980s, artists turned their backs on audiences since they were not relevant to the profitability of the shows (as explained in the first part of the article). Thanks to the crisis, the artists have been forced to really listen to society and, therefore, *adapt the funding strategy to the scale of values of the Spanish society*. This Copernican shift had already taken place in countries such as the United Kingdom years ago, and it is a fact that it has reported really good benefits both for society and the performing arts sector, re-signifying the value of live arts for a wide range of the population (from those who financially support these activities to those who benefit from them), enhancing also the value of non-socially orientated shows and contributing to the overall sustainability of the sector.



FIGURE 7. ANTÍGONAS, A PIECE OF VERBATIM THEATRE PERFORMED BY COLOMBIAN VICTIMS AT FIBGAR.

Source: Carlos Zatzabal.

4. Innovation in funding: live advertisements

In terms of tackling the production and management aspects of live arts, one of the most innovative initiatives in Madrid is *Primas de Riesgo*, founded by Karina Garantivá, an actress and entrepreneur, in 2012. *Primas de Riesgo* runs a laboratory for entrepreneurship, which is aimed towards artists who have not been working for a long period of time. Instead of focusing on their artistic skills, the laboratory is conceived as a nine-month workshop to develop career management and production skills for these artists which, for any reason, dropped out of the professional environment. The goal of this lab is to empower artists by developing theatre projects that attendees can run themselves after the course. At this precise moment in Madrid, this is a completely unique initiative.

What is also truly innovative is that Garantivá applies her expertise in marketing and advertising to help projects develop and have an impact on the theatre market. The project *Calderón, 21 %; Porno, 4 %*, was one of the most successful marketing initiatives in theatre over the past years. In 2014, the lab put on *El mágico prodigioso*, a play by Calderón de la Barca, one of the most renowned playwrights from the Spanish Golden Age, and sold the tickets as a gift alongside a porn magazine, highlighting in this way that VAT which is applied to porn is less than that applied to theatre. This campaign received unprecedented media attention for an independent theatre project, thanks to the deliberate ideological component of the strategy, which directly showed that taxes are not neutral, but part of a system of values which, in this case, considers that porn deserves to have a reduced VAT (applied to essential products) over culture.



FIGURE 8. PROMOTIONAL IMAGE FOR *MATRIOSKAS*.

Source: Karina Garantivá.

Garantivá, who is personally concerned about sustainability in theatre, came up with an even more innovative idea with her most recent lab. The idea came to her with one of the most traditional television advertisements in Spain, the Christmas Freixenet ad: the product is a champagne and every

December, without fail, the protagonist of the ad, a *corps du ballet* dressed up as a bubble, dances as if they were coming out of the champagne. This ad is so embedded within Spanish popular culture that the *corps du ballet* is known as the Freixenet bubbles. She thought it could be a possibility for Freixenet to advertise in theatres before each show, since dance is also a live art, and developed a more sophisticated concept from there. For the project of this current year's lab, *Matrioskas*, she managed to sell a single 2-minute ad for Euromillón, one of the Spanish lotteries. It consisted of a stand-up comedy monologue, performed and devised by an advertising agency that regularly works for Euromillón, for which Primas de Riesgo received €600. The ad was recorded by Euromillón and has also become social media content with the potential to go viral. Beyond the effect of an isolated ad itself, this pilot project has certain implications that open a completely unexplored way for theatre funding.

To start with, it goes beyond the concept of branded content and traditional sponsorship, in which the company associates the name of the brand to a particular event. The brand is tacitly present during this event, through backdrops, posters or other merchandising items, but at no point is the brand explicitly shown to the audience as the sponsor. With live ads in theatre, the brand can be explicitly present in the show: the impact on the audience is obviously yet to be studied, but I dare say that in a world where advertising is perceived as being intrusive to the content, and many people are oblivious to it, the focus that a theatre venue requires from the audience plus the overlapping of the ad in the show, added to the intangible prestige of being a brand that supports the arts, could drastically change the perception of the brand in assisting the audience and the viewers of the online content.

In terms of business, it opens up unexplored possibilities of joint ventures amongst venues. If there were agreements amongst different venues and theatre companies, something such as a coordinated campaign in various venues could benefit from the financial balance of more than one theatre company. This idea potentially also creates a specific working field, live ads design, which could also be a new job for many live artists. At the end of the day, Garantivá and Primas de Riesgo have made a remarkable achievement: resignifying, adapting and assigning a different task to *entremés*. In Spain, *entremés* were a "short, comic theatrical performance of one act, usually played during the interlude of a performance of a long dramatic work, in the 16th and 17th centuries" (Wikipedia). Generally written in verse, it didn't necessarily have a plot or a thematic link with the main play, it had the task of providing comic relief. Using the same principle –that a show can be comprised of a main play and small, secondary gags that do not interfere with the main one–, Garantivá and Primas de Riesgo have firmly opened a door that should be explored in its entirety.

Somehow, including advertising explicitly in theatre using the media that performing arts provides –live ads– is a way of fully *including performing arts in the economic wheel of capitalism*. Theatre has so far three main ways of getting money: box office, donations and sponsorship, and public funding. *Neither of them implies a tangible or intangible, but profitable in the long run, benefit for non-theatrical businesses, something which could translate into numbers*. I am not saying that we should measure the profit of a healthy performing arts sector in financial terms alone: on the contrary, I firmly believe that theatre provides society with empathy, critical points of view, tolerance and individual social skills

that improve social coexistence. But does money think the same? I do not think so. Big corporations, at least in Spain, are oblivious to the inner growth of the citizens that could be enhanced by performing arts. So, just like we are beginning to adapt theatre projects to the predominant social values, we do need ideas like live ads which create a win-win relationship between theatre and corporations, to be able to establish partnerships on an equal footing.

5. Legitimising the fringe: Godoff Awards

One of the cultural agents which has been working hard to legitimise the relevance and quality of Madrid's fringe theatre is the monthly *Godot* magazine. Funded in 2010 by Álvaro Vicente, Marisa Navajo, Sergio Díaz and David Hinarejos, it is the only independent professional performing arts magazine in the capital of Spain. It is distributed for free in all theatre venues (both off and on), and its content includes interviews, reviews and columns about performing arts crafts and cultural management. Its total circulation is around 10,000 copies. It also has a website, with an average of 5,000 visits per month. In October 2017, Godot will open its Barcelona branch.

The link of the founders of Godot with the theatre is quite varied. Some of them, such as the editor, Álvaro Vicente, is a playwright himself, whereas other, such as Sergio Díaz or Marisa Navajo, have been cultural journalists for years and know the Madrid performing arts landscape very well.

Since their first edition, *Godot* has paid attention to emerging artists, but the first big statement that *Godot* did to legitimise fringe theatre was to split the physical copy of its magazine into two identical parts: one half, *Godot*, reflects the information about public and commercial plays, and the other one, *Godoff*, is dedicated to fringe theatre. The conceptual implications of this split, made by a magazine that lives only on advertising (which is mainly generated by public and commercial theatres), are far deeper than what could be concluded at a first glance. Firstly, the act of naming itself acted as a catalyst of a previously blurred sense of community in emerging artists, who, although completely aware of their position in the business, had never had an overall recognition before from any media of such scale. Secondly, the graphic design treatment of *Godot* and *Godoff* are essentially the same. The magazine has two covers and there is no subordination of one from the other. Fringe landscape is not treated as a secondary matter, neither in terms of allocated space nor in terms of design: this has definitely had an unconscious effect on how the entire industry perceives fringe theatre and has contributed to the mobility of artists who have built a reputation in the pages of *Godoff* over the last years. Last, but not least, by giving fringe theatre a coverage space which is not physically detached from the coverage of public and commercial theatre, curiosity is stirred within the reader, who has the feeling that they are reading two magazines in one. This is completely intentional: had it been a straight-forward magazine, it would have forced the journalists to create a lay-out hierarchy between fringe, commercial and public productions.

The strongest initiative that *Godot/Godoff* has done to date are the Godoff Awards. The first edition was held in a small fringe theatre whose license was not granted by the town hall and was about to close forever. It hosted no more than 200 people. In the second edition, in 2017, they put on an awards ceremony at Teatros Luchana, a multitheatre venue in Madrid. The Godoff Awards ceremony

relied on sponsorship from Ticketea, a ticketing company, and Lemon Press, a press agency. They doubled the capacity from the previous edition and it hosted almost 500 people. This year they had six categories: Best Show, Best Play, Best Female Performer, Best Male Performer, Godoff-Lemon Press Award for the Best Piece of Dance and Performance, and Godoff-Ticketea People's Choice Award. These awards, which use what *Time Out* has been doing in London and what the Off-Broadway Awards Alliance in New York has been doing as a reference, have become in just two years a strong means for legitimizing work in fringe venues before cultural agents of all sort. Getting sponsorship for the ceremony and attracting the media coverage which it got in press, radio and television are proof that this legitimization works.

In a way, and due to the nature of the journalists of *Godot/Godoff*, we could even say that the Godoff Awards are a means of self-legitimation: as a business *Godot/Godoff* suffers the same precariousness as a fringe venue or company.



FIGURE 9. STAND-UP COMEDIAN VIRGINIA RIEZU, PRESENTING II GODOFF AWARDS CEREMONY.

Source: Álvaro Vicente.

6. Outside Madrid: Creador.es, El Col.lectiu, Centro Dramático Rural

I have focused my analysis on the initiatives that are taking place in Madrid, because it is the city where 53 % of the theatre productions are produced and exhibited (according to SGAE). However, I would like to point out another three case studies that are interesting and which are not taking place in Madrid.

Creador.es (Valencia)

Funded in 2011 by playwright Gabi Ochoa, inspired by the residency he did in Panorama Sur (Argentina). It is an artistic residency for around 15 playwrights in Valencia, which includes masterclasses from different artists. The uniqueness of Creador.es is that it emphasizes the relationship between Latin American and Spanish playwrights, and it focuses on its pedagogical side. The goal is to gain exposure for playwrights: they have included in their activities the Playwriting Tournament, originally designed by Jordi Casanovas for the festival Temporada Alta. They are mainly supported by the students fees, but they have got public funding, from the Valencia Town Hall and from Acción Cultural Española, amongst others, and private foundations.

Creador.es is paving a very interesting path which could pay off in terms of sustainability in the long run: playwriting workshops for teenagers. In Spain, performing arts are not embedded in the national curriculum in high school, and all performing arts activities at that age are voluntary and not necessarily taught by professionals. With this initiative, Creador.es is trying to fill the gap of the public education system, concentrating their efforts on spreading the knowledge and taste for live arts among the next generation.

La Tremenda

This cooperative made up of cultural journalists was created in Barcelona in 2016 by Neus Molina, Mireia Mora and Aida Pallarés, to respond to the precariousness of their situation in the media, as part-time employees or freelances. Their goal is to create a project that enables workers to combine family and work, as well as being sustainable in financially. The project is also exploring ways of being applied to cultural activities.

Centro Dramático Rural

The rural exodus, a phenomenon that is common worldwide, is beginning to reverse in Spain thanks to artists. Many of them are escaping from cities, looking for quieter, inexpensive places to develop their careers. This sort of rural gentrification has exponents such as Centro Dramático Rural, a creation space in Mira (Cuenca), founded in 2012 by Adolfo Simón. Its goal is to develop synergies amongst creators from different disciplines, and to establish artistic relationships with the village.

7. Impact of initiatives stemming from precariousness

Many of these initiatives which I have just explained are very popular amongst Spanish creators and are having a real impact on the employability of emerging artists. As explained above, thanks to the sense of community that they are fostering, and the new strength of the voice of emerging artists in the cultural sector, they are influencing the priorities of well-established associations and driving a deep change of mindset within the performing arts community, which is beginning to adapt its role and projects to the Spanish scale of values. However, most of these initiatives do not have the goal or the resources to tackle the key problem in performing arts: the slow but constant depletion of audiences.

As recent studies suggest, *millennials do not age into cultural causes*: instead, they take the causes they are interested in to a new age cohort as they mature (Dilenschneider, 2017). This one, and no other, is the key factor to sustainability in the arts, and it is shared by all developed countries.

Besides this, these initiatives cannot tackle either problem of the Spanish arts, tightly related to the previous one: the technological gap. Precariousness forces creators to work with the minimum amount of resources they have, and devise their work to be, if not profitable, at least not unprofitable. In this scenario it is literally impossible to experiment with new visual media, such as virtual and mixed reality, with not even being able to suggest it to big institutions, which struggle themselves not to be targeted by the media for the way they manage. In a way, I think that theatrical experimentation, which leads to new experiences for the audience, and the millennials' disengagement with culture is deeply linked.

But, above all, this entire precarious ecosystem that has emerged over the past years contains a potential risk: to be so complete in itself that it becomes a goal, and not a means, for artists, and creates another step in the ladder for professional performing arts jobs for the next generations. We, the generation of precariousness, have the responsibility to remember that all these initiatives are the tools we have devised to break into an extremely closed professional circuit. Informal venues for newcomers in unfavourable conditions are impossible to completely forbid or avoid, since it is part of the human condition and creativity to look for spaces to express itself, but what we cannot allow is to accept that most of the professional activity should be exhibited in such conditions.

8. How to capitalise on fringe theatre

We are not talking here about the obvious benefits for a performing arts to have a strong fringe theatre, like we do not need to explain how important any Research+Development+Innovation program is. Fringe is not the only environment in which performing arts R+D+I take place, but it is definitely the most spontaneous and unpredictable of them. How can other Spanish economic sectors benefit from a strong fringe theatre landscape?

This is, probably, the most difficult question to tackle. Apparently, the activity of fringe venues will only impact in the performing arts sector, nurturing the life cycle of images and cultural movements (States, 1985). We can therefore say that a strong fringe theatre is rather a symptom of a healthy artistic environment (with all the implications in education, society and innovation) rather than an activity itself of deep economic impact on other sectors.

So what is happening in Spain then? How come that fringe activity is hectic and brilliant, but the average educational level is going down, the society is fractured and acritical, and innovation is so difficult to implement in public institutions and private companies? Because there is something bigger that contains the cultural activity: society. Maybe fringe theatre and, in general, *independent creation and the tracing of its life cycle could be a sociological indicator of the speed of progress of a given society*. If appropriately measured and used, it could become a cultural indicator on its own, that could

pinpoint sociological, economic and institutional barriers for progress, what could be a very useful tool not only for cultural management, but also for corporations (that want to open a new market in an unknown culture), marketing and government.

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Mobilising networks through web-based archival practice

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ABSTRACT

Evaluation is increasingly important to arts and culture management. The emphasis is a response to funders needs for assessing impacts and legitimising strategies. Evaluation is usually discussed within frameworks of funder-initiated, top-down controlled, project reporting.

This paper instead builds the case for an inverse bottom-up evaluation infrastructure. The authors demonstrate the need for a system controlled by practitioners based on self-evaluation, peer-to-peer learning, and voluntary sharing of project findings and processes. The analysis shows that such a system, with proper support, would be more effective

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reporting,
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Central

for the mobilisation of knowledge across networks of policymakers, practitioners and researchers than current systems.

Building on an actor analysis on the role and future of evaluation, and direct experience with creating the EU co-funded "Global Grand Central" digital platform, five challenges that currently hinder mobilisation of knowledge are identified – including analysis of 33 EU-funded “success stories” – along with conceptual solutions and a concrete suggestion.

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Evaluation emerges at a historical point in time when modern society becomes reflective, as it acknowledges that not all of its attempts to shape its own future are automatically successful.

(...). Yet, society still believes that improvements are within reach based on systematic feedback about interventions to solve common problems. Thus, the mandate for evaluation is to help society shape its own future in a qualified way through systemic, data-based feedback.

A society which seeks evaluation is one which prefers rational thought and critical inquiry to tradition, ideology, and prejudice (Dahler-Larsen, 2006: 143).

1. The use of knowledge in society

Knowledge is local and partial, and to be effectively used as the basis for rational decision-making it must be distributed between individuals in a complementary, open and decentralised way. This was the argument of economist philosopher Friedrich Hayek in his study “The Use of Knowledge in Society” (1945), which came to fundamentally influence the fields of political theory, psychology and economics (Henderson, 2008).⁶¹ While Hayek’s argument favoured decentralised market systems with free competition and pricing, against Soviet-style central planning, his theory on the value of distributed local knowledge has also been influential on more recent cultural and political phenomena. The theories of Hayek are, for example, cited as a main inspiration for the knowledge-sharing platform Wikipedia (Egyedi et al, 2012). This decentralised and co-created encyclopaedia, constantly refined by hundreds of thousands of users, is an evolving global and verifiable collection of local knowledge. The website is today the world’s fifth most popular (Gray, 2017) and stands as a striking example of what has come to be called an “Inverse Infrastructure” (van den Berg, 2012), a system created by and for its users, for the common good. We will return to the nature of such entities, and their potential relevance for mobilisation of knowledge in arts and culture at the end of this paper.

⁶¹ In 1974 Hayek received the “Sveriges Riksbank Prize in Economic Sciences in Memory of Alfred Nobel”. His legacy, however, has also garnered criticism, see e.g. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/business-19706272>> (Accessed 25/08/2017)

To understand how knowledge is produced and used in the field of arts and culture it helps to first identify the actors. Broadly these can be categorised into three types with base in either policy, practice, or research. Policy focused entities, such as local or national governmental bodies or private entities with an agenda for supporting arts and culture are the main funders in the sector.⁶² Actions are planned, carried out, and reported by practitioners representing artists on the ground, while research bodies, institutions of higher learning, and educators, act as knowledge producers and disseminators. A fourth group represents intermediaries, e.g. consultants, networks managers, and the media. These entities are not directly involved in policy, practice, or research, but act as facilitators in the relationship between the three core actors. In this paper, we use the term *mobilisation* in reference to the mobilisation of knowledge, or the “ways in which stronger connections can be made between research, policy, and practice” (Cooper et al, 2012: 24).

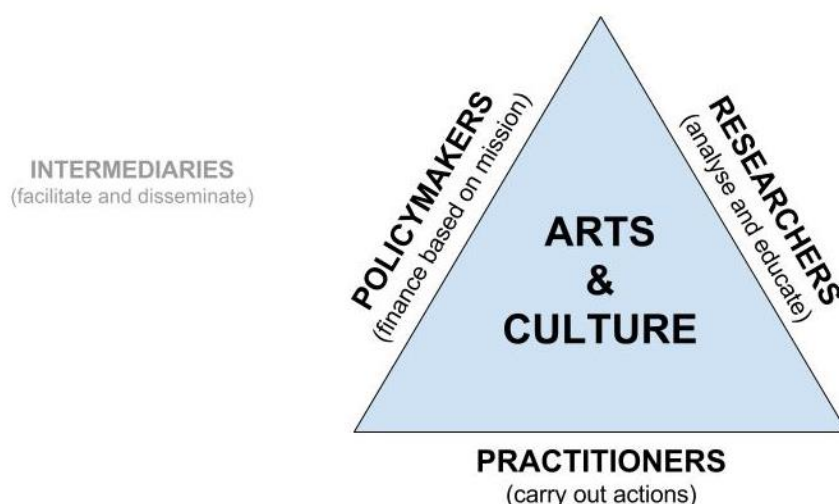


FIGURE 1. ACTORS IN ARTS AND CULTURE MANAGEMENT

Source: Elaboration of graph in Levin (2011: 17)

Project evaluation is one key area where the three actors work together to increase knowledge. Policymakers use knowledge from evaluations to justify public or private spending on arts and culture by measuring impacts. Practitioners use evaluations to better understand and improve the quality of their practice, while researchers are tasked with improving evaluation methods, analysing the validity of measurements and disseminating knowledge through education. The evaluation of arts and culture projects carries particular concerns, as the arts in general are thought of as based on intrinsic values that are not at all measurable in a more managerial evaluation rubrics. As Lierheimer writes,

Evaluation in the cultural sector are a complex challenge; it is a tough task to develop suitable sets of instruments for the investigation of quality and impact in a field so strongly characterised by aesthetics, emotion and subjectivity. However, if cultural projects are financed with public funds, there is a special responsibility to find out whether or not the

⁶² The European system is based on public funding to a much larger extent than e.g. the US where cultural initiatives are, to a much larger extent, privately funded. Read more on e.g.: <<http://www.artsjournal.com/artswatch/20040311-11320.shtml>> (Accessed 23/08/2017).

intended targets have actually been achieved, and what, if anything, might be done better in the future. It is to a certain extent an obligation to evaluate, and then, if possible, to make generalizable insights from the evaluation publicly accessible, so that other cultural projects can also learn from the findings (Lierheimer, 2016: 7).

Now, how do the three actors of policy, practice, and research relate to the future of evaluation? On a meta-level we see a varied picture, with many unknowns and, currently a lack of coherent structures.

1.1 Policymakers

Policymakers come in many shapes and forms, as does their relationship to evaluation. We have chosen here to look at two continental level public entities, the European Union and EUNIC. In 2014 the European Union published the study “Preparatory Action, Culture in EU External Relations”, to seek a coordinated external cultural policy (Isar et.al, 2014). Its findings are now in the process of becoming official policy (Council of EU, 2017). The report stresses the need to “engage with the rest of the world through stances of mutual learning and sharing.” (Isar et al, 2014: 8)

Regarding evaluation, the preparatory action asks for new mechanisms within a “new ‘culture’”:

Monitoring and evaluation are overarching challenges that require new attitudes as well – a new ‘culture’, as it were, of measurement and benchmark based assessment – if they are ever to become meaningful tools. Many institutional initiatives fail for lack of such tools with which to identify roadblocks and wrong turnings. No such tools have yet been developed at EU level. The need for such mechanisms would be particularly strong in the case of any newly launched EU strategy for culture in external relations, hence their design and elaboration must be made part and parcel of the process (Isar et al, 2014: 125).

EUNIC, a network for 36 national institutes for culture across the 28 states of the EU,⁶³ coordinates local cooperation across 103 global clusters. In their vision statement (EUNIC, 2015) they make no explicit mention of evaluation, but stress the importance of “cultural relations” (between people) and “cultural diplomacy” (between states), pooling of resources and expertise, and outline strategic objectives including strengthening “advocacy and support research”, and the facilitation of “knowledge transfer, training and capacity building”. EUNIC also highlight a lack of mutual learning structures: “There is little or no training in cultural diplomacy or cultural relations currently being offered: we need to fill his gap both for ourselves and for our partners” (EUNIC, 2015: 1).

1.2 Practitioners

Given the diversity of practitioners, it is also hard to find one voice addressing evaluation for the whole community. However, a valuable recent attempt to capture such a voice is the “Voices of Culture”, a structured dialogue process where the European Commission invites opinions from the “cultural

⁶³ Read more on: <<https://www.eunicglobal.eu/>> (Accessed on 25/08/2017).

sector” on a range of current cultural policy themes.⁶⁴ The process represents a broad mix of cultural sector and civil society entities selected by an EU consortium after open applications.⁶⁵

In recommendations from the final report of the 2016 structured dialogue on “the inclusion of refugees and migrants through culture” (Bock et al, 2016), the “cultural sector” asks the European Commission to support evaluation tools that should:

- Be developed through a participatory, cross-sectoral process, involving the sector in the definition of criteria/ principles/ tools for evaluation, and bringing practitioners and academics together as well as experts from other fields, collaborating to build evaluation models and indicators;
- Learn from existing experiences in Europe and in other migration contexts, best practices as well as failures;
- Allow for flexible frameworks and tools, with clear objectives and theory of change (dynamic evaluation);
- Include an external evaluation (while practitioners have to be involved in the definition of the evaluation criteria and tools);
- Be funded with a specific, additional budget (not as an extra priority in the regular funding schemes for projects /activities/ networks) and be sustained over time in order to allow for a long-term evaluation which is crucial to capture the actual impact of the arts on integration in the context of migration (Bock et al, 2016: 31).

1.3 Researchers

If policy and practice communities are diverse and speak with many voices, the research sector is no exception. However, members of ENCATC, the European Network on Cultural Management and Policy that gathers over 100 entities of higher learning across 40 countries, are increasingly involved in evaluation processes.⁶⁶

In October 2016 ENCATC established a working group on “Monitoring and evaluation of International and European transnational cultural projects and European networks” to address the “ongoing shrinking of public funding for the arts and culture and increasing demands on cultural operators and artists to produce more valuable arguments in their search for public and private financial support” (Magkou, 2016, pp. 3).

The working group is in the early phases of a long-term mission, and it makes sense here to look at its objectives:

- To clarify the role of evaluation for partners involved in European and international cultural projects;
- To exchange on methodologies and practices of evaluation for international cultural activities;
- To identify the key factors of success;

⁶⁴ Read more on: <<http://www.voicesofculture.eu/about/>> (Accessed on 25/08/2017).

⁶⁵ The session on the inclusion of refugees and migrants included representatives from 33 organisations ranging from community based theatres, to main European cultural networks such as IETM, Culture Action Europe, and TEH.

⁶⁶ Read more on: <<https://www.encatc.org/>> (Accessed 26/08/2017).

- To transform the evaluation into curriculum for universities and training centres to strengthen competencies for running international projects.
- To create a space for exchange and mutual learning on indicators and methodologies for the European networks
- to share evaluation experiences of transnational cultural projects subsidised by EU or international organisations;
- to improve evaluation methodologies for international cultural projects and networks to identify rigorous indicators for successful cooperation and share them with EU and international institutions
- to argue and advocate for the essential role of arts and culture in our societies. And the necessity for international partnerships (Magkou, 2016: 3).

Combining perspectives from policy, practice and research, there seems to be consensus on the importance of evaluation, and its potential to augment the quality of practice. There is also shared acknowledgment of a fundamental lack of any existing structures or frameworks. Cross-sectoral collaborations are particularly missing, where practitioners are qualitatively involved and where impact can be assessed with a long-term perspective. All actors call for increased dialogue on the matter and the development of new processes for learning within what the preparatory action calls a “new culture.”

1.4 Knowledge for whom?

To concretise the perspectives above, we need also to look at the power dynamics between policymakers, practitioners, and researchers in the makings of a “new culture.” On a fundamental level we must ask: Who should control such a new framework of evaluation? And to what ends?

Evaluation systems today are controlled almost exclusively by “funders,” policymakers that are either public entities or private enterprises requiring official reports after implementation of funded projects. One of the strongest voices in this sector comes from the German Goethe Institut, a renowned institution and a prominent member of EUNIC. In 2016, this German National Institute for Culture published the booklet “Culture Works; using evaluation to shape sustainable foreign relations” (Lierheimer, 2016). The authors describe the difficulties of assessing impacts, touch on emerging frameworks and debates, and describe how Goethe has tackled half a dozen project evaluations – in the Middle East, Japan, Warsaw, and the Netherlands – that have been evaluated using a “dynamic impact model” in frameworks based on “value,” “relevance,” “effectiveness,” “efficiency,” “impact on policy,” “transfer,” and “sustainability.”

The Goethe Institut, which fully controls the evaluation processes they describe, represents the cultural relations initiatives of Germany across 98 countries. It answers to a board of trustees with a mission to promote knowledge of the German language, and to foster “International cooperation in culture and convey an image of contemporary Germany to the world” (Goethe Institut, 2016: 2). The primary mission of the Goethe Institut is to act responsibly and show tangible results in the promotion of Germany to its tax payers, who contribute €230 million a year for that purpose (Goethe Institut,

2016: 116).

Such relationships to a central mission are key in understanding evaluation power dynamics, as each actor or institution answers first and foremost to its primary hierarchy. Policy organisations like the Goethe Institut answer to varying political processes, research bodies answer to academic procedures, while practitioners are the only ones to answer directly to local audiences and the quality of practice itself. The contrast between the missions of policymakers and practitioners becomes particularly visible when comparing the Goethe Institut to, for example, the Brunnenpassage Culture Centre in Vienna, Austria. Brunnenpassage belongs in the practitioner category above. It offers a program of some 400 annual events of dance, music, singing, theatre, and storytelling. In 2015 the centre published the book *Art Practices in the Migration Society* (Pilic et al, 2015) to open up “the arts and cultural life to a wider society.” The book outlines a model for knowledge-sharing based on standardised sections across eight specific projects ranging from DJ projects to open breakfasts to inclusive theatre. Each section describes the “idea,” “program,” “action,” “artists,” “realisation,” “target groups,” and “financing” of the projects, and give examples of results. The aim for the practice at Brunnenpassage is explicitly anchored in the UN Declaration of Human Rights, and its article 27, stating: “Everyone has the right to participate freely in the cultural life in the community, to enjoy the arts ...” (Pilic et al, 2015: 26). The aim “is to reach hitherto underrepresented population groups and establish long-lasting collaborations.” Brunnenpassage does not work for the Austrian state, nor for any other entity that decides policy; instead its core mission is to improve its long-term practice for the benefit of its audience, and to share lessons with peers. Education-based research suggests that this kind of practice must be the very heart of any effective knowledge-mobilisation process.

Creating evidence ecosystems across the different fields of social practice (...) requires co-ordinated efforts from a wide range of stakeholders – researchers, practitioners, policymakers and intermediaries – working in unison. Nevertheless, whilst collaboration is important, it is imperative that professionals drive these developments. Yes, policymakers have a responsibility to ensure there is a coherent overall system, and indeed, researchers have a duty to produce high quality research, yet it is frontline professionals who are best placed to act as the guardians of improvements in standards, and should be at the heart of evidence-informed practice (Sharples, 2013: 24).

By their direct involvement with audiences, professional practitioners have a unique position to improve their own work. They should be able to define their own benchmarks, theories of change, cultures of evaluation, and evidence ecosystems. With such perspectives in mind, we take a closer look at the development of one particular practitioner-based online platform with evaluation capabilities.

2. Building from practice

The knowledge sharing platform Global Grand Central (GGC) stems from a project called Europe Grand Central (EGC) that was initiated in 2013, when the “Syrian refugee crisis” for the first time

started to make front page headlines in Europe.⁶⁷ The worrying development, and the sudden emergence of 2.2 million refugees on the borders of Europe, prompted a surge both in xenophobic nationalism and in initiatives to preserve values of respect, curiosity, and human rights.

Originally EGC was our attempt to further a specific storytelling methodology called Bordr (de Klerk et.al. 2016). The methodology attempted to increase curiosity between people. It did so by showing similarities across audience-told narratives of crossing borders, political and metaphorical. The method had been developed through inclusive storytelling projects, the construction of a digital “bordr-story” upload tool, and by lending cameras to subjects of journalistic projects.⁶⁸ We had lent cameras to border traders across six countries in sub-Saharan Africa, to first-generation immigrants in the borough of Queens in New York, to stateless populations in Jordan, and to school children in Sweden. All projects produced impressive material, including several thousand digital bordr-stories, and participants proudly presented their own work at exhibitions and seminars. We were confident that Bordr worked across geographies, languages, and cultures.

We thought we had found a “silver bullet” methodology, a method that would work across art forms and audiences “to transform perceptions of border crossings from suspicion into curiosity.” The idea of EGC was to apply Bordr with varying artistic expressions all over Europe and have it simultaneously play its magic across geographies. In April 2015, EGC was approved for funding by the European Union as a 24-month, small-scale cooperation project.⁶⁹ The spread of the Bordr methodology, and its accompanying “social bubble breaking” digital algorithm, was a core part of the project.

Partners of Europe Grand Central	Location and role	Type of entity
Not Quite	Sweden, coordinator	Rural Culture Center
Fonds Roberto Cimetta	France, residency partner with Arab world	Cultural Mobility Operator
Kulturzentrum Schlachthof e.V	Germany, local project partner	Urban Culture Center
ODC Non-profit Theater Company	Greece, local project partner	Theatre
Associazione Laminarie	Italy, local project partner	Theatre
Europejska Fundacja Kultury Miejskiej	Poland, local project partner	Cultural Organisation
Trans Europe Halles (TEH)	Sweden, communication & legacy	European Network

TABLE 1. THE SETUP OF THE EGC PROJECT PARTNERSHIP.

Source: <<http://www.globalgrandcentral.net/author/EuropeGrandCentral/>>

However, it did not take long until we discovered that our “silver bullet” method was not the only silver bullet around. At a “method-mixer” project meeting in Budapest in November 2015 it became clear that all our partners also had their own silver bullets. All partners were working to understand their own various methods for turning suspicion into curiosity. At the Laminarie DOM theatre in Bologna, the

⁶⁷ Read more on e.g.: <<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/top-10-2013-%E2%80%93-issue-4-escalating-syrian-refugee-crisis-challenges-international-communitys>> (Accessed 27/08/2017)

⁶⁸ Read more on www.bordr.org (Accessed 24/08/2017)

⁶⁹ Read more on: <<http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/projects/ce-project-details-page/?nodeRef=workspace://SpacesStore/92784398-e6d7-4950-b1e4-3bcde44e03fe>> (Accessed on 30/08/2017)

theatrical team had developed a method of “neighbourhood activation” by making audiences central parts of the storytelling process, in the town of Åmål in Sweden a fruit tasting method was used to compare impressions of taste, in Athens creativity was explored through free movement exercises, and in Bremen project participants faced identical sets of questions that tied together vastly different answers.

Despite the potential of these methods, our partners were frustrated about the lack of a mutual learning infrastructure. It was soon apparent that the greatest possibility of EGC was not to spread the Bordr method across Europe, but to mix local knowledge, and attempt to use our web development budget to build a digital system where partners could meaningfully learn from each other. With these realisations, the focus of EGC shifted, and instead of imposing the Bordr method on all partners, we henceforth focused on building a digital platform to combine lessons across projects. Development of the ensuing platform was a complex endeavour. Questions included:

- What are fundamental similarities between artistic methods?
- What questions would we want to answer about our work?
- What measurements of “success” made sense to us, and how could feel safe to also share lessons from “failures”?
- How could we share practical, and ethical, issues with each other, and enjoy relevant feedback?

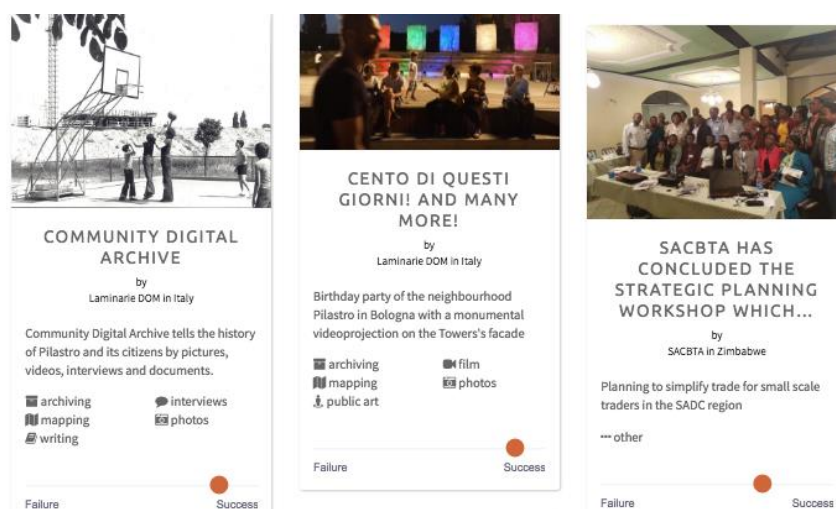


FIGURE 2. ACTIVITY SHARINGS AS SHOWN ON GLOBAL GRAND CENTRAL.

Source: Screenshot from <<http://www.globalgrandcentral.net/activity/>> (Accessed 24/08/2017)

During the course of 2016 EGC project partners carried out close to 40 activities across 11 countries. A Lebanese puppeteer worked with children in Poland, a photography project collected 100 personal stories in Germany, a Ukrainian graffiti artist explored expressions of belonging, a Swedish textile artist captured dreams of migrants while a Jordanian photographer captured dreams of mothers. We hosted inclusive theatre productions in Bologna, a Moroccan architect explored forests in Sweden, and children in Athens went through performance training. To name a few. All involved artists reported to the EGC platform – or rather, in a slow iterative process we sought to understand how each artist

would want to share methods and lessons from their particular work. Through an increasingly refined user feedback system, we built the website as a utility tool to accommodate for the least common denominators across users. We had soon created a login system and users uploaded their own content. The response to this type of reporting was very positive from artists, and we started getting voluntary contributions.

In the spring of 2017 the page consisted of three main parts:

1. Activity sharing, where users could report activities. Reports contained a variety of media, including photos, films, sound files, or PDFs. On each item, questions could be asked directly to the author. Reports were available for social media sharing and activities could be filtered based on location, type of area/audience, and methods used. The questions covered in each activity report included (*mandatory):
- Field explored* - Project brief* - Why? - Location? - Characteristics of area - Characteristics of audience - How the audience was reached - How the action was done - Results - How it went - Main lessons - Inspirations - Credits - Timeline and sequencing - Creative Commons licensing*
2. Hubs pages, user profiles where users – ranging from individuals and organisations to international networks – could describe who they were and be directly contacted. Lists of activity reports by each hub represented an important part of the Hubs pages that became comprehensive portfolios.⁷⁰
3. Stories, where users could submit their own Bordr-stories to the system, and explore linkages across projects and geographies.

The page had become a fully-functional, if embryonic, social platform for peer-to-peer sharing and learning. The idea of knowledge-sharing extended to the technological structure of the page. The code base was freely available as Open Source on GitHub, where users were encouraged to contribute to further development; translation was available across 103 languages; and the site had a refined feedback system. New hubs were registered on a rolling basis, frequently citing needs to preserve and share their knowledge. We renamed the EGC platform Global Grand Central (GGC) in late 2016 when users beyond Europe started projecting needs beyond the scope of the project period. Residency artists from North Africa and the Middle East, whom had been parts of the EGC project, were the first to ask for the change. Next came Queens Borough Public Library, with a network of 65 branches serving some 2,3 million people in the New York City borough of Queens. They had started using EGC as an internal system for project sharing, but found it difficult to apply for American grants for sharing work to a Europe branded platform. With the name change the platform entered a life partly separate from its founding project EGC.

At the time of writing this paper, EGC is coming to an end after a 24-month funding period. As coordinators of EGC we are now tasked with fulfilling the requirements of formal EU reporting. The main question standing before us is to what extent our work has reflected the program priorities on the EU.

⁷⁰ See for example: <<http://www.globalgrandcentral.net/author/laminarie/>> (Accessed 30/08/2017).

3. The impact cycle and its challenges

If stripped to its bare essentials the journey of EGC appears as a carbon copy of projects funded by the European Union, and indeed for many cultural collaboration projects funded anywhere. It follows a certain logic and sequencing of actions that can, roughly, be simplified as follows:

Phases	Action	Result
1 st phase - Planning	Pilot projects, finding partners, planning actions based on previous knowledge	Idea/method that seems viable and development of a project
2 nd phase - Acting	After having secured funding actions are created to follow funder guidelines	Whatever the project and method promises
3 rd phase - Evaluation	Analysing experiences and challenges	An evaluation report sent to project funder
4 th phase – spreading of lessons	Sharing of knowledge, lessons and perspectives to improve the next planning phase	New, and more elaborately tested knowledge prevent mistakes from being repeated

TABLE 2. THE STANDARD PROJECT MODEL

Source: Own elaboration.

In an ideal world, these four phases are all connected and layered on top of each other so that viable ideas and methods are informed by the experiences and challenges faced by previous projects. The “impact cycle” becomes a never-ending loop of cumulative progress. A perfect scenario would look something like this:

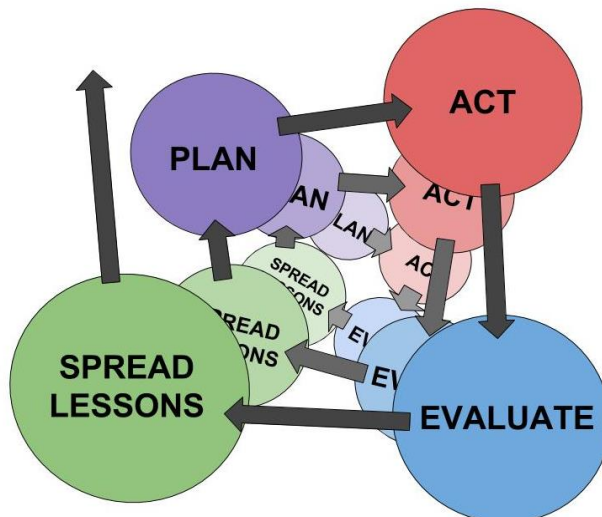


FIGURE 3. AN IDEAL IMPACT CYCLE OF THE STANDARD PROJECT MODEL

Source: Elaboration of graph in Lierheimer (2016: 31)

Based on the impact cycle the world would – project by project – become a slightly more evolved place. Each project would be slightly better than the previous, we would not make the same mistakes twice, and we would produce smoother and smoother, more and more refined operations for each new cycle. Effectively mobilisation across policymakers, researchers and practitioners would lead to continuously improved evaluation methods producing ever better policies supporting endlessly refined

practice. However, this it is not as simple as it may seem.

In educational research pitfalls and challenges to the above impact cycle has been particularly well studied and identified on a structural level (Levin, 2011). Below, we outline five systemic challenges relevant to the field of arts and culture management. The list is by no means complete, but hints at the magnitude of issues.

3.1 The database hugging disorder

As previously discussed the Goethe Institut has a highly refined and complex system for project evaluations. And a top-notch infrastructure to capture and analyse reports and evaluations from Goethe funded projects globally. However, this knowledge is stored on servers in Munich, Germany, without external access. The report on evaluation methods quoted in the first part of this paper is a rare window to the inner processes of Goethe (Lierheimer, 2016). However, no matter how well written, it is still a “dead” document, available on paper (and PDF) without opportunity to dive into actual backgrounds of even the described six projects –selected out of a pool of several thousand reported and evaluated projects entering the database every year.

The European Commission has an internal digital grant management system named Pegasus.⁷¹ This is where our EGC report will ultimately contribute its quantitative and qualitative datasets to the cultural impact goals of the EU. The contents of Pegasus, however, are strictly confidential. The EU, like several funders, does maintain an externally-available project database (as the analysis below shows), but to be able to share information here a project must have gone through final EU audit. With such threshold, it is hard to speak of the EU database as anything even closely resembling a social sharing and exchange platform between peers.

Professor of Global Health Hans Rosling, the late founder of the knowledge-sharing foundation GapMinder⁷², and a champion of accurate global development data, coined the term “database hugging disorder”, when describing the general unwillingness of institutions to share data:

(...) some organisations aren't willing to share their data, even though it would be a win-win situation for everybody and we would do much better in tackling the problems we need to tackle. (...) I call this the 'database hugging disorder'. To heal it, we have to instil a clear division of labour between those who provide the datasets (...) those who provide new technologies to access or process them (...) and those who 'play' with them and give them meaning (Rosling quoted in Reinhard, 2011:21).

Working from this argument, Rosling managed to open up comprehensive datasets on global health, economy, and social indicators from the previously tightly guarded digital vaults of the World Bank, the UN, WHO, OECD, ILO and others. As a result, he could show correlations between factors of human development that had never before been available.

⁷¹ Read a little more about Pegasus here: <http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/about/documents/plan_gestion_report_activity/eacea_aar_2012.pdf > (Accessed 24/08/2017).

⁷² Read more here: <<http://www.gapminder.org/>> (Accessed 24/08/2017).

There are a number of reasons to keep parts of cultural reporting archives confidential. For example, in projects dealing with informants and security issues relating to identity and vulnerable populations, identifiable data must be kept secret. However, general ethical considerations and methods on how to work in sensitive environments should be important to share and discuss with peers. Other data deal with issues of intellectual property that should be kept confidential. Another difficulty is comparability of cultural data. It is hard enough to accurately compare seemingly straightforward datasets on e.g. life expectancy and child mortality (like the data Rosling opened up). It would probably be quite a challenge to run “big data” on combined cultural reports to the British Council, Goethe Institut, Mellon Foundation, and the EU. But even qualitative “small data” can make real impacts.

For example, we would gladly and openly share a great deal of the information in our final EGC report to EU with any interested peers. Our main lessons, hard learned for us and happily shared with others to avoid, relate to technical details about procedures of travel reimbursements, and the importance of having all partners in the room when the project changes direction. Our project would no doubt have been better off if we had been able to access such lessons from others.

3.2 Reporting fatigue

When the EGC project was in its planning phase, we were hungry for information from previous projects funded by the EU. We travelled around Europe to meet coordinators of projects, and spent days on Skype trying to learn about mistakes that we could do well to avoid. It was a hard realisation, however, that few project coordinators were willing to openly share what they had learned, particularly documents. Most of this hesitation, we’d like to think, had to do with reporting fatigue. Also, the technical demands of final reports rarely make them resemble proud pieces of writing, which brings a real hesitation to share. The prospect of writing a second, voluntary, and more colloquial version of a project report – a version that could be shared with a wider audience of peers, also doesn’t seem attractive.

Furthermore, successful projects usually draw funding from various sources. This was the case also with EGC: we had a dozen co-funders, and besides the report to the EU, we are expected to answer questions about each of our funders’ internal objectives. What this means, again, is that coordinators get tired of reporting project results, and talking about what they learned throughout their project’s lifecycle. When this hampers willingness to engage in peer- to- peer knowledge exchange, it becomes a tangible problem, sometimes called the “performance paradox” (Dahler-Larsen, 2006). Demands for thorough reporting then comes at the expense of improved practice, which presents “a major threat to an optimistic belief in the societal mandate for evaluation” (Dahler-Larsen, 2006:154).

In the worst-case scenario, the database hugging disorder combined with reporting fatigue creates territorialism and competition between peers who ideally have everything to gain from learning together.

3.3 Positive bias

When writing the final report of EGC for the EU it is tempting to only report positive results, claiming our work as an all-out success, with smooth and effective cooperation, that our target audiences were reached, and that the objectives of the EU were met. The short term social consequences of disingenuously upping our impact would likely be small. And if done properly (with just the right amount of “learning potentials” added into the narrative) we would probably increase our chances of securing new funding. The short-term risks associated with describing failures, however, are much greater – socially, and in terms of chances to attract new funding. However, the chances for learning across peers is significantly larger if we are honest. Focusing on the positive reduces potentials for learning, and might have real implications on the lives of people we involve in our work.

Positive bias is traditionally understood as the tendency of reporting what we wished had happened, instead of what really happened. It is an issue across academic disciplines. For example, peer reviewed academic journals are known for only publishing results of “successful” research. However, it is usually by learning about failures that anyone can succeed. Communicating “dead ends” would hinder others from pursuing them. The realisation of this systemic problem has lately led to the introduction of peer-reviewed journals trying to capture lessons also from null experiments, particularly in the natural sciences.⁷³ The most prominent, the “Journal of Negative Results in BioMedicine”, will cease publication in September 2017, citing a trend among other journals to also start publishing null results.⁷⁴

Another version of the positive bias is the fact that projects on the scale of EU funded initiatives, usually are designed years ahead of implementation. Circumstances may have changed significantly over time. In EGC we encountered a possibility that was greater than our original plan, and we changed the focus of our project. For the sake of writing a “positive” report, we could have been tempted not to pick up on this possibility. We would then have risked less, but also, we would have ended up with a project that had less relevance and potential. Project reporting and evaluation frequently miss out on describing, and sometimes even experiencing, process.

3.4 Siloed networking

The EGC project was based on collaboration between people who already knew each other well. Five out of seven partners were members of the same network, Trans Europe Halles (TEH), the network itself was also a project partner, and we met at regular intervals at biannual network conferences. It was a relatively small step to start a project together. This made the credibility of the partnership stronger. Access to such networks is crucial for successful projects, but building ties for potential partnerships also constitute significant work. Practitioners must not only submit reports and evaluations of their projects to funders, to secure positions within professional networks, they must also cultivate an active social presence, go to a plethora of conferences and meetings, build on their portfolios, individual websites, and social media presence. In every context, they are expected to

⁷³ See for example: <<http://www.arjournals.com/>> (Accessed 25/08/2017)

⁷⁴ Read more on: <<https://jnrbm.biomedcentral.com/>> (Accessed 25/08/2017)

present the very same projects to new audiences in new ways.

Networking activities are important for person-to-person knowledge transfer. However, as evaluation and reporting infrastructures are disconnected from networking – and, as these systems require increasing levels of work to fulfil funder targets – the result is less time to focus both on networking and on actual practice. A consequence is increasingly siloed networks. Under resource constraints practitioners may choose to work only with safe bets, select partners they already know well, and only use established connections. Many actors do not have time to look for alternatives despite knowledge that a wide set of experiences and exposure to a great number of weak ties will improve the likelihood of success (Granovetter, 1983). Within a number of funding guidelines there are even constraints against cross-sectoral partnerships further limiting the possibilities to reach beyond a particular group of already well-known peers.⁷⁵

Another factor that can hamper direct connections between actors and peers is the role of certain types of intermediaries. Consultants, network administrators, and service providers are usually very positive for mobilisation of knowledge (Sharples, 2015: 19). However, intermediaries are also dependent on a slight disconnect between policymakers, practitioners, and researchers to find outlets for their services. If intermediaries do not feel safe in a dynamic role as facilitators, they risk to instead become gate-keepers that actively hinder networking between peers. Existing complexity of systems, systematic database hugging, reporting fatigue and peer competition aggravates such situations.

3.5 Sorry, this page is not available

No matter how much work we have put into the GGC knowledge sharing platform, if we do not attract new funding, the website will gradually start to look dated, in a matter of months or years it will get increasingly dysfunctional, and soon enough it will likely show up as a 404 Not Found error message.⁷⁶ A future visitor following a link to our project will then not learn anything at all.

Today, very few projects of any scale are accepted for funding without an “online component”, usually in the form of a knowledge exchange website. When funding ends, so do updates, and with them all the knowledge our websites were once supposed to store and share. To assess the magnitude of knowledge loss due to “link-rot” within European arts and culture, we looked at the external database of projects funded by the Creative Europe programme of the EU.⁷⁷ This is the programme that funded EGC, and projects in the database are our size and bigger. For the period between 2007 and 2013 EU funded 737 such projects.

To select a high-quality sample, where it was likely to be valuable lessons for actors and peers, we chose to analyse the 33 projects selected by the EU as “Success Stories” of the programme. These projects represent only 4,48% of EU funded projects and have been selected for “exceptional results

⁷⁵ Such as the Creative Europe Programme of the EU.

⁷⁶ 404 Not Found indicates that the server has been identified but not the content of the page, other issues may be that someone else have bought the domain, or other error messages.

⁷⁷ Access the complete datasets on: <http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/projects/ce-projects-compendium/> (Accessed 07/08/2017)

in terms of policy relevance, communication potential, impact or design.”⁷⁸ If any websites would be protected from the “Sorry, this page is not available” error message, we would think that results of these elite projects were the ones. However, after assessing the quality of each page we see that prospects for link-rot are very high also here.

EU “Success Story” Project Title	EU-hosted project website	Project website	Funding end date	Website last update	Life after funding	Social media profile
(PLATFORM 11+) - ARTISTIC DISCOVERIES IN EUROPEAN SCHOOLYARDS	■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	2013	2014	■ □ □	
“PUPPET NOMAD ACADEMY III”	■ ■	×	2014			✓
Archaeological Resources in Cultural Heritage, a European Standard	■ ■	×	2014	2014		
mousssem.eu 2012-13	■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	2014	2013	□ □ □	
Paroll! writing and art beyond walls, beyond borders	■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	2015	2015	□ □ □	
Live Transmission	■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	2015	2015	□ □ □	
Green Art Lab Alliance	■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	2015	2015	□ □ □	✓
Réseau Européen de Danse Urbaine	■ ■	×	2015			✓
Lessons from Vernacular Heritage in Sustainable Architecture	■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	2014	2017	■ ■ ■	
Connected. Things about future, cities and people	■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	2015	2015	□ □ □	✓
ITINERANCES, Migration des pensées, critique sociale et politique dans l’art de la marionnette	■ ■	×	2015			
October Children’s Month	■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	2015	2015	□ □ □	
“Une Odyssée moderne: Mémoire et devenir des femmes migrantes”	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	×	2015			
Dance Roads Open Process	■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	2015	2016	■ □ □	✓
IMAGINE 2020 - Arts and Climate Change	■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	2015	2017	■ ■ ■	✓
European Prospects	■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	2015	2017	■ ■ ■	✓
Young Europe 2: Multilingual Creation and Education in Theatre	■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	2013	2013	□ □ □	✓
LPM - LIVE PERFORMERS MEETING (XIII - XIV Edition)	■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	2014	2017	■ ■ ■	✓
ENBACH	■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	2014	2014	□ □ □	✓
Jardin d’Europe	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	2013	2017	■ ■ ■	
VOICE - Vision on Innovation for Choral music in Europe	■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	2015	2016	■ ■ □	✓
Departs: Practices for an Integrated Development of European Contemporary Dance	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	2014	2015	■ ■ □	
Van den vos (About Reynard the Fox)	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	2014	2017	■ ■ ■	
European Conflict Archaeological Landscape Reappropriation	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	×	2014			
what’s the deal?	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	2015	2015	□ □ □	✓
keđja 2012-2015	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	2015	2015	□ □ □	✓
SONGS OF MY NEIGHBOURS	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	2015	2016	■ □ □	✓
Beyond Front@: Bridging New Territories	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	2014	2014	□ □ □	✓
Design and advanced materials as a driver of European innovation	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	×	2013			
NINE URBAN BIOTOPES - NEGOTIATING THE FUTURE OF URBAN LIVING	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	2014	2017	■ ■ ■	✓
Curators Network	■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	2013	2017	■ ■ ■	✓
Community Oriented Art and Social Transformation	■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	2013	2013	□ □ □	
Kaunas Biennial TEXTILE’11: REWIND-PLAY-FORWARD	■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	2012	2012	□ □ □	

Website Status Legend

- ×
- Inactive Site
- Active, but project not mentioned
- ■ Active and project mentioned / described
- ■ ■ Above and intention to communicate results
- ■ ■ ■ Above and results include Media
- ■ ■ ■ ■ Above and results include Evaluation
- ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ Above and results include Critical Evaluation

Life after funding

- □ □ Website updates end before or on final funding year
- □ □ Website updates extend to the year following the funding end date
- ■ □ Website updates extend a year or more past funding end date
- ■ ■ Website updated in 2017

FIGURE 4. 33 SUCCESS STORIES.

Source: Elaboration of Creative Europe and Former Programmes Projects Overview,⁷⁹ and own assessments of website qualities.

What we see is that the quality of self-produced websites is, no surprise, very high. Eight of the pages include not only project descriptions, various media representations, and evaluation material, but also critical evaluation data, indicating that these projects have moved beyond the positive bias above, and into communicating tangible project lessons even if they are critical. However, these high-quality websites are volatile, 25 out of 33 or 75%, show no signs of having been updated at all during the last year. This is indeed the first indication of approaching link-rot. 13 of these have not been updated since funding ended, and 7 pages or 21%, are fully inactive. If this is the top 4,48% of EU funded project websites, we can only guess that the issue of link-rot is extensive down the line of less “successful” projects. Despite them likely having even greater lessons to share.

⁷⁸ Read more about the success stories and access theme here: <<http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/projects/ce-contact-us/contact-us.html>> (Accessed 07/08/2017).
⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

The one page that does not carry any sign of link-rot is the EU hosted portal itself. Project descriptions here seem thoroughly archived. But 22 of its 33 pages, carry only rudimentary information from the application phase of projects, written before implementation, and long before any sharable lessons were learned. If anything should be thoroughly archived, we argue below, it should be the self-produced websites of much higher quality.

4. Reporting systems are dead (long live reporting)

With the combined powers of the above five challenges – right in the middle of knowledge mobilisation in arts and culture management – we are looking at a substantial loss of knowledge. It seems like a systemic issue where the traditional roles of the actors, and the way in which knowledge is produced and sent off from projects into evaluation systems, is a core part of the problem. The “spread lessons” phase also has a very hard time reaching back into the planning processes of new actions and projects. The impact cycle is cut in two.

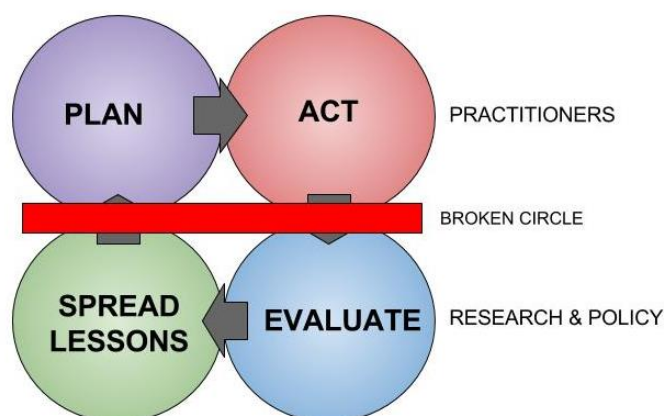


FIGURE 5. THE IMPACT CYCLE IS BROKEN

Source: “Global Grand Central platform, presentation of the projects and of the cumulative evaluation research” by Haraldsson (ENCATC Working Group “Monitoring and Evaluation of International and European Transnational Projects”, Brussels, April 24, 2017)

Imagine that the challenges above are not impossible hindrances, but mere technicalities. Imagine the “new ‘culture’” mentioned in the preparatory action of the EU (Isar et al, 2014), what could such a problem solving ‘culture’ look like?

1. *The database hugging disorder*

Solution: Reporting archives are managed in a way that can keep confidential data safe, while sharing all other data, knowledge, and learnings as widely as possible.

2. *Reporting fatigue*

Solution: Fewer and more relevant reports and evaluations. Preferably pooled, so that the same report can be sent to several funders.

3. *Positive bias*

Solution: The system should feel safe and supportive enough for users to describe failures, as well as successes, unexpected findings and meaningful representations of process.

4. *Siloed networks*

Solution: It should be possible to use reports and evaluations also for purposes of networking directly between peers and towards practitioners, policymakers and researchers.

5. *Sorry, this page is not available*

Solution: Practitioner produced content should be archived in a system that guarantees long-time survival and accessibility.

4.1 The contours of a “new ‘culture’”?

What would it take to build a system in which these solutions can be encompassed? A feasible scenario would also include the needs from policymakers, practitioners, and researchers from the first chapter of this paper. It seems we would be looking at a robust and dynamic, web-based archival system for openly accessed project evaluations and reporting. It should be a transparent and highly trustworthy system fully controlled and designed by practitioners in an entity also incorporating needs and views of policymakers and researchers (as long as these needs do nothing to compromise the integrity of users). The system should adhere both to appropriate archival standards and have a well thought through and efficient system for integrity protection, and publishing ethics. The system should also have a solid long-term plan, on par with libraries and archives, and also be fully feasible as a social networking and portfolio building website for professional exchange. The focus should be local on a global level.

If successful, such system could become a public “standard” for project reporting and evaluation. As such it would make reporting routines more relevant for practitioners as reports would target peers, and also simplified, as the system would enable several funders to accept one publicly available report from the same project. The side-lines of such a system would provide perfect spaces for academic evaluation discussions and research, and public forums could evolve about relevant policymaking – all informed by and interlinked with the practice from which these actors base their arguments.

It is unlikely that such system would fully replace funder controlled grant management systems. E.g. the Goethe Institut will still need control of its budget to show the taxpayers of Germany, but a system based on this “new ‘culture’” would serve as an important complement. It would be the public part of official project reporting processes. And by having practitioners credit their funders a comprehensive portfolio of funded projects would benefit both grantees, and funders, and greatly simplify alumni relations, and peer-to-peer cross fertilisations. It is also unlikely that the system would fully replace individual action and project websites, many of them highly sophisticated, specialised and artistic, well-tailored to the specific audiences of each project. However, with the right technical design the system could encompass cross publication of core project information, and thereby safely store qualitative knowledge from projects also far beyond their end of funding.

4.2 A non-institutional institution

The new ‘culture’ described above shows clear similarities to that of an inverse infrastructure, as outlined in the opening paragraph of this paper. A system created by and for its users in a

decentralised way for mutually accepted causes. As such it would have several dynamic benefits.

The emergence of inverse phenomena is significant not only because of their increasing share in the infrastructure landscape. They are also a source of unexpected and innovative services (...) Moreover, because users play a key role in inverse infrastructures the latter promise to suffer less from traditional types of entrenchment and be more adaptive to evolving societal needs (Egyedi et al, 2012: 1).

However, a new system to address the challenges of evaluation in arts and culture, would also need to encompass powerful actors outside the scope of direct users, such as policymakers and researchers. One troubling aspect of inverse infrastructures is their sometimes-unpredictable life spans. “Given their balancing act at the edge of order and chaos, inverse infrastructures will sooner seem to be of a temporary nature, once they stabilize and institutionalize they are more likely to dissolve, be subsumed by another infrastructure or change nature” (Egyedi, 2012: 262).

This goes against the fundamental archival and long-term needs outlined above, as does any financial dependence on time limited project funding, or crowdsourcing. Such temporary and insecure funding streams are not ways in which to fund a solid archival infrastructure. The result would be a type of hybrid inverse infrastructure where practice, policy, and research work intimately together for each other’s – and audiences – ultimate good.

Desirable innovative but vulnerable inverse niches must be safeguarded from an untimely demise. The authorities will want to foster optimal conditions for inverse developments where the need for a local infrastructure is high and cannot be adequately met in a centralised and uniform way; where user acceptance is crucial (...); or where local user involvement serves an important economic or societal purpose.(Egyedi, 2012, pp. 261)

A resulting long-term finance model would be one where policymakers pool resources to guarantee the long-term survival of the system. After initial investments, a useful scenario would be a fee for service model where policymakers pay for each report they require to be uploaded. To protect the system from significantly changing nature over time it could e.g. be incorporated as a Foundation with fixed statutes. But that would be later, when collaboration between actors has stabilised, and systems thoroughly iterated.

4.3 Who can take on the mission?

Below we list vectors of potential hosts active in Europe. The list is not exhaustive, but it shows the difficulty of finding a proper host for a new system. It also gives a hint on the type of partnerships that would need to be brokered. It seems, however, that a “new culture” will have to be built out of a whole new structure (next page). IETM, Culture Action Europe, or TEH:⁸⁰ These European cultural networks reach thousands of practitioners across all of Europe and serve as immensely important platforms for interpersonal knowledge exchange. However, the sectoral and European focus makes either one a

⁸⁰ Read more on: <<http://cultureactioneurope.org/>, and <http://www.teh.net/> > (Accessed 31/08/17).

less than perfect host of a comprehensive system. But their importance as potential early users of a new system cannot be overstated, they would also earn a lot by pooling resources on web development and should be closely involved in development.

Europeana:⁸¹ This is an online collaboration between European museums containing over 53 million online artefacts. They have built several online metadata standards used across the world, and runs large story collection projects. However, Europeana has no focus on collection of process, and would be too specialised as a system host, but would potentially be invaluable for helping to develop archival standards.

LinkedIn and Facebook:⁸² Most practitioners are already hosted here. And while tools are insufficient for qualitative professional exchange and sharing of any in-depth actionable knowledge, we should make sure that a new system does not without reason work against established standards. These are important venues.

Award Force or Quick Base:⁸³ Two of dozens “grant management systems” run by private companies with vast experience of project management and evaluation systems. However, focus is on technical management of grants rather than mobilisation of knowledge. These entities are unlikely to provide services controlled by practitioners instead of shareholders. Their knowledge, however, can be used to integrate systems, and develop work flows. These types of entities can easily be parts of externally funded open source development.

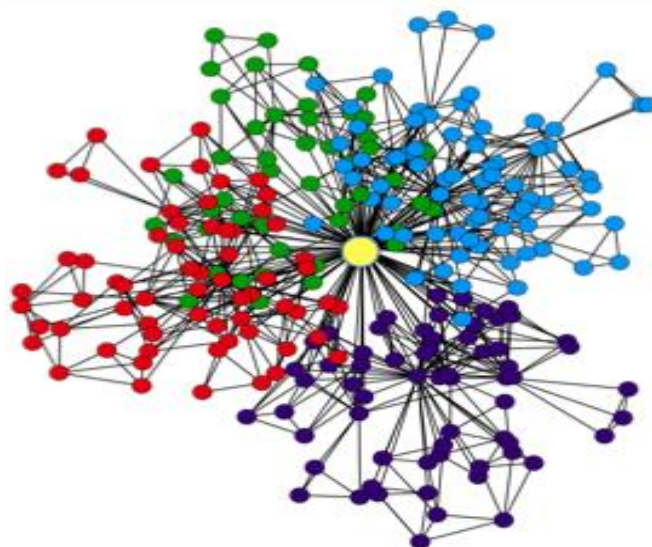


FIGURE 6. A NETWORKED INFRASTRUCTURE

Source: Elaboration of Laloux (2014: 65)

⁸¹ Read more on: <<https://www.ietm.org/>, <http://www.europeana.eu/portal/en>> (Accessed 31/08/17).

⁸² Read more on: <<http://www.facebook.com> and <http://www.linkedin.com>> (Accessed 31/08/17).

⁸³ Read more on: <<https://www.awardforce.com/> and <http://www.quickbase.com/>> (Accessed 31/08/17).

4.4 If not now, when?

Arts and culture fills an absolutely crucial role in society as no other means of interaction has the same potential to bridge spaces between people. In a time when the value of individual humans seems more and more questioned, when “fake news” is top news, and when xenophobia and fear grips parts of our societies, it is hard to think of anything more important than knowledge mobilisation in the arts. The learning processes in this part of society must not be broken. We must talk to each other, and we must take issues of peer-to-peer learning, research, policy, practice and cross sectoral learning very seriously. For our audiences, for ourselves, and for the future of society. This is what evaluation and mobilisation of knowledge is all about.

Grounded on the acute awareness that action is needed, Global Grand Central non-profit was founded in June 2017. It now governs the GGC knowledge sharing platform.⁸⁴ The organisation was formed explicitly to fill the void detailed on the pages of this research paper. GGC now has a unique opportunity to act as a foundation for practitioner centred knowledge exchange on a journey towards a more vibrant society. The objectives of the organisation reads:⁸⁵

In full respect of cultural rights,⁸⁶ and in order to reinforce a vibrant civil society, it is our objective to provide an open platform and living archives for learning and exchange amongst artistic, social and cultural activists worldwide.

However, no mission is stronger than the network around it, and GGC literally is nothing without users, supporters, critics, and shared experiences of human interaction.

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⁸⁴ Read more on: <<http://www.globalgrandcentral.net/about/>> (Accessed 31/08/17).

⁸⁵ Full statutes available on: <<https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B2uk1wi6HbEsN1dHUzVIZWNWQIk/view>> (Accessed 31/08/17).

⁸⁶ Convention 2005 UNESCO, *Articles 1 and 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.

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Designers' pathways to success: A configurational perspective

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ABSTRACT

This study presents a comparative case study of 54 small-sized cases in the Belgian fashion and furniture design industry with regard to achievement of success. The study looks into both business growth and perceived success. From a strategy perspective, the configurational analysis explores the combination of different variables regarding success, namely entrepreneurial orientation, ambidexterity and job rate. Our application of fuzzy set qualitative comparative analysis (fsQCA) contributes to the exploration of a configurational theory of conditions that explains why some designers (do not) achieve business growth and perceived success. In order to achieve both business growth and perceived success, a fulltime occupation as a designer is essential, in combination with an entrepreneurial orientation mind set. No significant proof was found for simultaneously balancing exploration and exploitation to achieve business growth and perceived success. These findings enhance configurational understanding of the fashion and furniture industry and the development of a configurational theory of performance in the creative industries. They also show that designers require individual support and advice.

Keywords:

design Industry,
ambidexterity,
success,
EO,
fsQCA

1. Introduction

Worldwide, the cultural or creative industries, including design, is recognized as a key driver of contemporary economic growth, and creativity has become a key economic resource (Scott, 1999, 2001; UNESCO & UNDP, 2013). Besides, in recent years an increasing coverage of Belgian fashion and furniture designers and their work is seen in international niche magazines. To a large extent this increase is due to promotion and visibility at shows like Milan's annual Salone del Mobile, the daring style of often young Belgian labels, the legacy of the Antwerp Six, but above all the sheer talent of Belgian designers today (Ceulemans, 2013; Craik, 2014). The creative industries are fragmented and count a large number of small enterprises and a small number of large enterprises (Bakhshi & Throsby, 2009; Caves, 2000). The furniture and fashion design sector share this feature: it is made up of predominantly small businesses, with a high level of self-employment (Guiette et al, 2011). Likewise, in such small creative firms, the entrepreneur is the person who manages, in addition to being the founder of the business. He or she represents the firm's core resource and enjoys a high degree of decision-making authority (Camelo-Ordaz et al, 2012; Walker & Brown, 2004). However, Jeffcut and Pratt (2002) state that in existing research on the creative industries, much attention has focused on the macro-level, and they suggest the need for a better understanding of what occurs at the micro-level, especially looking into particular variables which influence the performance of creative firms (Mellander, 2010).

Indeed, less is known about which individual characteristics can explain variation in firm performance, although research in economics supports the notion that some general individual differences between CEOs are related to variation in firm performance (Benmelech & Frydman, 2015; Bertrand & Schoar, 2003; Huysentruyt et al, 2015). Furthermore, previous research suggests a link between CEO's skills to balance artistic and economic considerations (cfr. ambidexterity), entrepreneurial orientation (EO), personal values and firm performance (Jacobs et al, 2016b, 2016a; Kolsteeg, 2014; Rauch et al, 2009). Empirical research has, however, typically investigated relations of socio-demographic characteristics (age, gender, and education), functional background, and organizational tenure in their effect on organizational performance (Bertrand & Schoar, 2003; Huysentruyt et al, 2015; Rost & Osterloh, 2010).

The performance of organizations has also been a major yet complex issue in management and organisation studies (Loots, 2015, Murphy et al, 1996). Especially in SMEs, success and performance are multi-dimensional issues (Murphy et al, 1996), which can be measured both objectively and subjectively (Reijonen, 2008). Walker and Brown (2004) found that small business owners measure their success using both financial as non-financial factors, and that the non-financial lifestyle criteria are sometimes more important.

Given this knowledge, this study adopts a configurational approach to examine the combinatorial effects of EO, ambidexterity and a specific context variable (designers' fulltime or part-time dedication) on business growth and perceived success. A configurational approach suggests that "organisations are best understood as clusters of interconnected structures and practices" (Fiss, 2007), that is,

organisational fit and competitive advantage depend not on a single condition but instead on synergistic relationships between multiple attributes or conditions (Fiss, 2011; Ketchen & Snow, 1993; Miller, 1996). Hence, increased understanding of designers' growth and perceived success can be better achieved by identifying distinct configurations of conditions than by seeking to uncover relationships that hold across all designers. Following this line of thought, we employ a set-theoretic method, that is, fuzzy-set qualitative comparative analysis (fsQCA), to analyse and identify configurations of conditions that explain why some designers achieve more growth and higher perceived success, based on a sample of 54 independent small-sized furniture and fashion designers located in Belgium. The conditions of interest in this study are the designers' entrepreneurial orientation, his/her strategy concerning exploration and exploitation (ambidexterity) in combination with their job rate, namely if they work as a fulltime or part-time designer.

We contribute to the literature and practice in several ways. First, by applying the fsQCA method we are able to provide empirical evidence on the complex interrelations between EO, exploration, exploitation and job rate and how they jointly affect the business growth and perceived success of small-sized fashion and furniture designers. This approach is a meaningful addition to the well-known approaches of qualitative studies and econometric modelling in creative industries research, and it explores the construction of a configurational theory on performance in the creative industries. This approach is also an important contribution to the EO literature specifically, wherein several authors advocate the use of configurational models to research the EO domain (Covin & Lumpkin, 2011; Miller, 2011; Wales, 2016) and research into the relationship between EO and exploration and exploitation (Lisboa et al, 2011). Second, this study looks into two different measures of performance, growth and high perceived success, which is not common in creative industries research (Choi, 2012) and answers the call to research success as a multi-dimensional issue (Murphy et al, 1996; Walker & Brown, 2004). Third, when looking into ambidexterity, and more specific, into exploration and exploitation, we measure and analyse this variable at the level of the designer. By taking into account the individual level, we respond to scholarly calls to shed more light on exploration and exploitation at the manager level of analysis (Mom et al, 2007; Raisch & Birkinshaw, 2008). In addition, we also contribute on the practical level by providing designers and policy-makers with a more tangible understanding of pathways for success in the furniture and fashion design industry.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. In the next section, we start with an overview of literature on EO, ambidexterity and job rate. We derive propositions in the third section of this paper. Next, we describe the fsQCA method, the research population, and the measurement and calibration of the conditions and outcomes investigated in this study. Afterwards, the results are shown based on a sample of 54 small-sized fashion and furniture designers in Belgium. Finally, we discuss the findings and end with a conclusion.

2. Literature review

The pathways to success for fashion and furniture designers are researched from a strategy perspective. The primary interest of strategic management researchers is to explain differential firm

performance (Ireland et al, 2001). Strategic management researchers want to increase understanding about the determinants of organisational performance and explain how managers can create superior performance (Combs et al, 2005; Meyer, 1991). Based on strategy literature the joint relation of ambidexterity and entrepreneurial orientation will be taken into account. Previous research found that ambidexterity is an important condition relating to success in the creative industries (Guiette et al, 2011; Kolsteeg, 2014), and it builds further on our own research in the design sector (Jacobs et al, 2016b). The concept of entrepreneurial orientation builds further on the concept of personal values analyzed in a previous study (Jacobs et al, 2016a). Because personal values are stable within individuals (Bardi et al, 2009), we prefer the concept entrepreneurial orientation, which has more practical relevance. Based on a specific characteristic of small-sized creative organisations, the concept of job rate (being a fulltime or part-time designer) will as well be examined. This concept has been researched in a previous study and we found it to be very important for business growth in design firms (Jacobs et al, 2016a).

2.1. Entrepreneurial orientation (EO)

The concept of EO is a widely researched topic in strategy literature. Based on Miller's (1983) definition of an entrepreneurial company as "*[a firm] that engages in product market innovation, undertakes somewhat risky ventures, and is first to come up with "proactive" innovations, beating competitors to the punch*" (p. 771), EO has developed as a firm-level attitude which involves three dimensions that are used consistently in the literature (Miller, 2011; Rauch et al, 2009). These dimensions include innovativeness, proactiveness, and risk-taking (Covin & Slevin, 1991; Wiklund & Shepherd, 2005). Innovativeness reflects a tendency to engage in and support new ideas, novelty, experimentation, and creative processes. Proactiveness refers to a posture of anticipating and acting on future wants and needs in the marketplace. Risk-taking is associated with a willingness to commit resources to projects where the outcomes are unknown.

Over the last decade, numerous studies have assessed the effect of EO on the performance of firms. Several studies provide evidence of a significant positive effect of EO on firm performance (Rauch et al, 2009; Zahra, 1991). However, other studies that link the individual dimensions of EO with firm performance show mixed findings. This raises questions about EO and its relationship with performance (Wiklund & Shepherd, 2005). Empirical research for example has found that the effect of EO on performance may be different in different types of environments. When we look at the environments and variables important for this study, there's still a remarkable amount of studies and evidence that supports the idea of the positive link between EO and firm performance. For example, Wiklund and Shepherd (2005) found that EO positively influences small business performance, and especially among firms in dynamic growth environments (Zahra, 1993), like the design industry.

Consistent with the original conceptualisation and measure of EO by Covin and Slevin (1989) this study treats EO as firm's "unidimensional strategic orientation" (p. 79) that emanates from its founders beliefs and guidance, and is representative of its key decision making proclivity. Hence, EO is in this study measured at the individual level, the designer him/herself.

2.2. Ambidexterity

To target both commercial success and artistic expression to ensure long-run survival, designers need to balance artistic and economic considerations (Kolsteeg, 2014; Lampel et al, 2000). This tension, linked to the concept of ambidexterity, is a pull between 'exploration' and 'exploitation' (Andriopoulos & Lewis, 2009; March, 1991). This balance is also a recurring theme in a variety of organisational literatures, and successful organisations are then so called 'ambidextrous': aligned and efficient in their management of today's business demands, while also adaptive enough to changes in the environment that they will still be around tomorrow (Gibson & Birkinshaw, 2004; Tushman & O'Reilly, 1996).

In this research, contextual ambidexterity is taken into account: simultaneously balancing seemingly contradictory tensions (Earley & Gibson, 2002; Gibson & Birkinshaw, 2004; Lewis, 2000; Morgeson & Hofmann, 1999). Following Raisch and Birkinshaw (2008) and Chang and Hughes (2012) the best firms are increasingly those that can carefully balance explorative innovation with exploitative innovation in an ambidextrous fashion. Contextual ambidexterity is especially important at the level of the individual: the capability of individuals to perform contradictory activities and switch between different mindsets and action sets (e.g., switching from unconstrained creativity to scrutinizing the usefulness of ideas). Individuals can switch between different mind and action sets in accordance with situational demands (Bledow et al, 2009).

Additionally, empirical evidence suggests that under conditions of market and technological uncertainty, ambidexterity has a positive effect on organisational performance (O'Reilly & Tushman, 2013), and is also positively associated with subjective ratings of performance (Burton et al, 2012; Cao et al, 2009; Gibson & Birkinshaw, 2004; Lubatkin, 2006; Markides & Charitou, 2004; O'Reilly & Tushman, 2013).

However, within the theory of ambidexterity, so far, almost all of the recommendations put forward by conceptual and empirical works are designed for large, multiunit firms (Chang & Hughes, 2012). With few exceptions (e.g. Lubatkin, 2006), work on ambidexterity has failed to account for SMEs, which is actually the largest volume of companies within the creative industries (Bagwell, 2008), and accordingly the fashion and furniture design industry. They may operate differently and display different operating conditions and characteristics to large, multiunit firms such that generalizing current recommendations for ambidexterity into innovation strategies for these firms might prove incorrect (Chang & Hughes, 2012). Also Andriopoulos and Lewis (2009) acquaint that SMEs face greater challenges in managing tensions, contradictions, and tradeoffs associated with explorative and exploitative innovations than larger firms. In this study we look at the individual level (manager level) of exploration and exploitation in small-sized design firms.

2.3. Context variable: job rate

Researchers agree upon the fact that some general individual differences between managers are

related to variation in firm performance (Benmelech & Frydman, 2015; Bertrand & Schoar, 2003). This study explores configurational pathways to success taken into account EO, ambidexterity, and a characteristic typical connected with small business or self-employment in the furniture and fashion design sector: job rate. This is the rate of employment of the entrepreneur. Creative industries are typically characterized by a high rate of self-employment (Higgs et al, 2008; Markusen et al, 2008). The study of Markusen and Schrock (2006) shows that, in the US, self-employment among designers represents 32%. Additionally, in this group, 21% is a self-employed designer as a secondary occupation. Also Throsby and Zednik (2011) found that a lot of artists, including designers, are spending various amounts of time working outside their creative sector. Of 45% of artists in their study who engage in non-arts work, about one-third are content with their present work pattern, but a majority would like to spend more time on the arts (Throsby & Zednik, 2011).

2.4. Success

As mentioned in the introduction, performance (which we interpret as success in this study) is a multi-dimensional issue (Murphy et al, 1996). Researchers often use employee numbers or financial performance, such as profit, turnover, or return on investment to measure success (Walker & Brown, 2004). However, many small business owners do not run their businesses to maximize financial performance. Instead, they run their businesses for other reasons, such as lifestyle reasons (Jennings & Beaver, 1997; Walker & Brown, 2004). Small business owners often present a satisficing behaviour (Simpson et al, 2012). Success for many small-firm owners means the ability to sustain an acceptable level of income for themselves and their employees, through maintaining an optimum level of activity with which they can cope (Beaver, 2002). Managers of most small creative firms are individuals who focus more on sustaining a lifestyle orientated toward involvement in creative output than on being financially successful (Chaston, 2008). Therefore this research looks into business growth and perceived success.

3. Propositions

The previous sections indicate that a deeper understanding of designer's business growth and high perceived success can be gained by investigating the joint influence of EO, ambidexterity (exploration and exploitation), and job rate. To derive propositions, we now consider how these organisational conditions work together based on fsQCA as a set-theoretic method. Set-theoretic approaches allow that the relationships between these conditions and business growth and perceived success can be understood through the examination of subset relations (see Fiss, 2007; Fiss et al, 2013 for a discussion). This requires the formulation of implication hypotheses which link a condition with an outcome to form a proposition about the sufficiency and necessity of that condition to achieve the outcome (Thiem et al, 2015).

On the one hand, a necessary condition denotes that an outcome can only be obtained if the condition in question is present or absent (Fiss, 2007). In the context of this paper, the presence of necessary conditions would mean that business growth and perceived success can only be achieved if a

particular condition is present or absent. Our literature review suggests however that there are no unequivocal theoretical reasons or empirical evidence to assume that the presence or absence of EO, ambidexterity or job rate is necessary in order to achieve business growth or perceived success. Hence, we expect that business growth and perceived success can be explained by multiple (i.e. conjunctural) (combinations of) conditions. On the other hand, a condition that is sufficient denotes that the condition can by itself produce the outcome, that is, it does not need to be combined with other conditions (Fiss, 2007). However, it is unlikely that any of our conditions is able to produce, on its own, business growth or perceived success.

The absence of any necessary or sufficient condition indicates that our conditions of interest will form multiple configurations combining at least two conditions. This has also been referred to as conditions being insufficient but non-redundant parts of different configurations which are themselves unnecessary but sufficient for the occurrence of the outcome (i.e. INUS conditions; Fiss et al, 2013). Hence, we propose that:

*H1: EO, exploration, exploitation and job rate are INUS conditions for fashion and furniture designer's business growth. (H1: EO*EXPLOR*EXPLOIT*JOB -> G)*

And

*H2: EO, exploration, exploitation and job rate are INUS conditions for fashion and furniture designer's perceived success. (H2: EO*EXPLOR*EXPLOIT*JOB -> P)*

The “*” sign denotes the logical “AND”, while the forward arrow -> indicates “is sufficient for”.

4. Methodology

4.1. Fuzzy set qualitative comparative analysis (fsQCA)

While an in-depth explanation of the fsQCA method is beyond the purpose of this study (see Fiss, 2011, 2007; Ragin, 2000, 2009; Schneider & Wagemann, 2012 for more information) we briefly explain the central features of fsQCA that pertain to the current study in this section. The configurational method is based on three assumptions. Assumption one, asymmetric causation, implies that business growth or perceived success can have different causes than no business growth and low perceived success. Assumption two, equifinality, means that various scenarios can result in high or low business growth and perceived success. Assumption three, conjunctural causation, captures that case-specific factors affect business growth and perceived success in combination rather than in isolation (Schneider & Wagemann, 2012: 89, 295-305, 307-312). Applying fsQCA requires the mapping of firms in terms of their multiple memberships in sets of organisational attributes or conditions. This process requires the transformation (also referred to as calibration) of the conditions according to three qualitative thresholds: full membership, the crossover point, and full non-membership (Fiss, 2007; Ragin, 2008). For a continuous variable, decisions about full membership and non-membership involve an assessment of what values are generally considered high and low,

respectively. The crossover point is the score that indicates maximum ambiguity, that is, a firm has a degree of membership 0.5 and also a degree of non-membership 0.5. Contrary to usual measurement scales, the crossover point establishes the difference in kind. Identifying the values of full membership, the crossover point, and full non-membership is unequivocal when measurement scales suggest clear cut-off points, such as seven-point Likert scales, with 1 being the lowest and 7 being the highest possible score (Ragin, 2008). Otherwise, identifying qualitative thresholds should be based on theoretical or substantive criteria external to the data (Ragin, 2008). In section 4.4.3. We provide more information about the calibration of the conditions and outcomes of interest in this study.

Another key feature of the fsQCA method is that it relies on Boolean algebra to compute a “truth table” which reports all the logically possible combinations of the conditions, including those that are empirically observed in our sample and those that are not (Greckhamer et al, 2007; Ragin, 2009). Since we investigate $k = 4$ conditions, the truth table has $2^k = 16$ rows or combinations of conditions (i.e. configurations). The researcher is now required to (1) set a priori minimum thresholds for consistency and the frequency (parameters of fit) of cases per configuration in order to identify configurations that lead to business growth and perceived success, and (2) specify the assumptions based on which difficult counterfactual analysis (see below) will be based (Greckhamer et al, 2007). The two main parameters of fit range from 0 to 1. Consistency indicates the extent to which the results are in line with the statements of necessity and sufficiency. Furthermore, the proportional reduction in inconsistency (PRI) indicates the degree to which a given causal configuration is not simultaneously sufficient for both the occurrence and the non-occurrence of the outcome. Coverage sufficiency depicts how well the causal model explains the available empirical information. For necessary conditions, coverage expresses their relevance in terms of the condition set not being much larger than the outcome set, and the relevance of necessity (RoN) in terms of the condition being close to a constant (Schneider & Wagemann, 2012: 128, 139, 235-239). Following Ragin (Ragin, 2009), we set the minimum acceptable frequency to one case per configuration, because of the intermediate size of cases in this study. With respect to consistency, we identified all configurations that have a minimum raw consistency of > 0.75 and/or a PRI consistency of > 0.75 (Ragin, 2008, 2006). The different parameters of fit we used with strategies to address possible error sources are shown in Table 1.

<i>Issue</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Application</i>
Measurement errors	Sensitivity to changes in raw consistency levels	Raw consistency Robustness test	Use of three different raw consistency thresholds
Plausibility & tenability	Limited diversity & contradictions can trigger inferences that are implausible and/or contradictory	Enhanced Standard Analysis	Intermediate solution based on directional expectations and exclusion of contradictory rows and untenable assumptions
Causal relevance	Only parsimonious solution removes causally irrelevant conditions from solution term	Comparative presentation of parsimonious & intermediate solution	Parsimonious solution is causally interpretable and less sensitive to errors

Skewness	Skewed distributions can produce simultaneous subset relations, exacerbate limited diversity, and strongly distort parameters of fit	Skewness statistics	% of cases with membership > 0.5 in sets in reported. Skewness is problematic if the vast majority (> 85%) of the cases cluster in only one of the four possible intersecting areas of the XY plots with two digitals
Accuracy	Degree to which observations correspond to set relation	Consistency	Necessity: ≥ 0.9 Sufficiency: ≥ 0.75
Explanatory power	Empirical relevance of model	Coverage	Necessity: ≥ 0.6 RoN: ≥ 0.8 Sufficiency: Low coverage indicates low explanatory power

TABLE 1. STRATEGIES TO ADDRESS ERRORS AND EVALUATE MODELS

Source: Based on Baumgartner (2015), Baumgartner & Thiem (2015), Fiss (2011), Ragin (2000), Schneider & Wagemann (2012)

Based on the thresholds for consistency and frequency of cases, the fsQCA methodology computes “complex”, “intermediate”, and “parsimonious” solutions (Ragin, 2009). The complex solution shows the configuration(s) that are sufficient for observing business growth and perceived success without any counterfactual analysis. The intermediate and parsimonious solutions show the configurations sufficient for business growth and perceived success based on the application of respectively easy and difficult counterfactual analysis, which allows to differentiate between core and peripheral conditions (Fiss, 2011; Ragin, 2008). Easy counterfactual analysis investigates whether (combinations of) conditions presumed to be sufficient for business growth and perceived success are also present (based on empirical instances) when business growth or perceived success is not observed, or whether their inverse similarly leads to business growth or perceived success. If this is the case, the (combinations of) condition(s) of interest is redundant and removed in the intermediate solution (Fiss, 2011). In a difficult counterfactual analysis, a researcher asks whether the removal of a condition makes a difference. For example, if theoretical or substantial knowledge links the presence, not the absence, of a condition to an outcome and an empirical instance of the absence of that condition is lacking, then the solution can be simplified by removing that condition in the parsimonious solution (Fiss, 2011). With regard to the difficult counterfactual analysis, we make assumptions only for those conditions for which theory and/or extant empirical evidence is rather clear that their presence should (not) lead to business growth or perceived success.

As mentioned above, applying easy and difficult counterfactual analysis allows the differentiation between peripheral and core conditions. Core conditions are those that are part of both intermediate and parsimonious solutions, and peripheral conditions are those that are eliminated in the parsimonious solution and thus only appear in the intermediate solution (Ragin, 2008). According to Fiss (2011), core conditions can be considered as being more important for an outcome relative to

peripheral conditions which may even be expendable or exchangeable. In line with prior studies (e.g. Fiss, 2011; Garcia-Castro & Casasola, 2009), we report the intermediate solution and denote the presence or absence of the conditions as follows: core conditions are denoted by ●(present) and ⊗ (absent) while peripheral conditions are denoted by • (present) and ⊗ (absent). Blank spaces in a solution indicate a situation in which the condition may be either present or absent (Fiss, 2011). Furthermore, to account for different possible model specifications and to assess robustness, we calculated models using three different raw consistency thresholds, using R with packages QCA and SetMethods (Dusa & Thiem, 2014; Quaranta, 2013; Thomann & Wittwer, 2016).

4.2. Sample

No exhaustive list of independent fashion and furniture designers exists in Belgium to date. Therefore, this study uses the databases of Design Flanders and Flanders Fashion Institute. They consist together of 315 designers in Flanders and Brussels. The study expands this database with 5 more furniture designers via snowball sampling. From this group of 320 designers an initial selection of 90 small-sized cases was made, following a most similar/most different strategy (Yin, 2008). From this group, 40 cases responded positively to a request for an interview, all of whom were subsequently interviewed by the authors. The semi-structured interviews had a duration of 40 to 90 minutes, and are tape-recorded and transcribed. In addition to the formal interviews, the authors collected additional data about the cases from financial reports, press documentation and website information, and also survey data was collected.

In a next step an online survey was sent to a group of 50 fashion and furniture designers which didn't respond to the request for an interview, and to the 40 interviewed designers. Survey data on several indicators of business growth, perceived success, EO, exploration, exploitation and job rate were collected. This resulted in 58 responses. We dropped four cases because they didn't meet the selection criteria of being small-sized. This brings the total sample for this study on 54 cases (28 surveys from the interviewed cases, and 26 additional surveys).

4.3. Measures and calibrations of set memberships

As mentioned earlier, the application of fsQCA as a set-theoretic method requires the calibration of our conditions according to three qualitative thresholds: full membership, the crossover point, and full non-membership (Fiss, 2007; Ragin, 2000).

4.3.1. Business growth (Dataset 1)

One of the outcomes of interest in the current study is business growth, which we assess through three items regarding growth of (i) turnover, (ii) sold products, and (iii) amount of employees. Specifically, respondents were asked to rate whether their turnover, sold products and amount of employees at this moment are increased, decreased or remained the same compared to 3 years ago (or less if they are less long existing). Next, the score on these three items was calculated. Designers with a score of 3 are considered as fully in; designers with a score less than 3 but higher than 0.99 as

more in than out; designers with a score less than 0.99 but higher than 0 as more out than in; and designers with the score of 0 as fully out of the set membership of designers with business growth.

4.3.2. Perceived success (Dataset 2-4)

The second outcome of interest in the current study is perceived success. Respondents were asked to rate on a five-point Likert scale (1= totally not successful, 5=very successful) whether they find their business successful, by their own definition of success. Next, they could also clarify what they mean by success. Based on their answers, three different perspectives on perceived success were identified: a business focus, product focus and personal focus. Table 2 and three show the decision process to point a case to one of the perspectives of perceived success.

Perspective	Description
Business	Growth, being financially stable, sell enough, being profitable, core business, investing in my company
Product	Creating added value, customer satisfaction, innovating my products, being close to the customer, impact on society
Personal	Work-life balance, able to roll out my own projects, personal achievement, being independent, being creative, doing my thing, building my dream, only do what I like

TABLE 2. DESCRIPTION OF THE DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES ON PERCEIVED SUCCESS.

Source: Author's elaboration.

Score	Criteria
0	Fully out of the set; no mentioning of the perspective
0.2	One time the perspective is mentioned, but other perspectives are mentioned more
0.4	Two times the perspective is mentioned, but other perspectives are mentioned more
0.6	Another perspective is mentioned twice, but the current perspective is mentioned the most
0.8	Another perspective is mentioned 1 time, but the current perspective is mentioned the most
1	Fully in the set; only this perspective is mentioned

TABLE 3. CRITERIA TO POINT CASES TO A PERSPECTIVE ON PERCEIVED SUCCESS.

Source: Author's elaboration.

This resulted in three different datasets for perceived success: business focus (N=20), product focus (N=17) and personal focus (N=17). We use 5, 2.99 and 1 as thresholds for full membership, crossover point, and full non-membership. This means that we consider designers with a score of 5 as fully in; designers with a score less than 5 but higher than 2.99 as more in than out; designers with a score less than 2.99 but higher than 1 as more out than in; and designers with a score of 1 as fully out of the set membership of designers with high perceived success.

4.3.3. EO

EO is defined in line with earlier studies in terms of the degree of the designers' innovativeness, proactiveness, and willingness to take risks (e.g. Chirico et al, 2011). We use the nine-item EO scale proposed by Miller (1983) and Covin and Slevin (1989) to capture each individual dimension. This scale is the most commonly employed EO measure and has exhibited high levels of validity and

reliability in numerous studies (see Covin & Wales, 2012; George, 2011 for a discussion). Next, we calculated the average score on these nine items. Since respondents' answers are based on a seven-point Likert scale, we use 7, 4.01, and 1 as thresholds for full membership, crossover point, and full non-membership. This means that we consider designers with a score of 7 ("very important") as fully in; designers with a score less than 7 but higher than 4.01 ("important or little important") as more in than out; designers with a score less than 4.01 but higher than 1 ("little unimportant or unimportant") as more out than in; and designers with a score of 1 ("very unimportant") as fully out of the set membership of EO.

4.3.4. Exploration

As mentioned earlier, exploration is measured at the individual level. Therefore, we use the five-item exploration scale proposed by Mom et al (2007) based on the features by which March (1991) characterizes the construct of exploration. This scale has exhibited high levels of validity and reliability. Next, we calculated the average score on these five items. Respondents' answers are based on a five-point Likert scale, and we use 5, 3.99, and 1 as thresholds for full membership, crossover point, and full non-membership. This means that we consider designers with a score of 5 ("very much") as fully in; designers with a score less than 5 but higher than 3.99 ("neutral") as more in than out; designers with a score less than 3.99 but higher than 1 ("little") as more out than in; and designers with a score of 1 ("very few") as fully out of the set membership of exploration.

4.3.5. Exploitation

Also exploitation is measured at the individual level. Therefore, we use the six-item exploration scale proposed by Mom et al (2007) based on the features by which March (1991) characterizes the construct of exploitation. This scale has exhibited high levels of validity and reliability. Next, we calculated the average score on these six items. Since respondents' answers are based on a five-point Likert scale, we use 5, 3.99, and 1 as thresholds for full membership, crossover point, and full non-membership. This means that we consider designers with a score of 5 ("very much") as fully in; designers with a score less than 5 but higher than 3.99 ("neutral") as more in than out; designers with a score less than 3.99 but higher than 1 ("little") as more out than in; and designers with a score of 1 ("very few") as fully out of the set membership of exploitation.

4.3.6. Context variable: job rate

Job rate is measured by asking the respondents if they work fulltime or part-time as a designer. This is a dichotomous condition, meaning that 1 is the threshold for full membership, or being a fulltime designer, and 0 is the threshold for full non-membership, or being a part-time designer.

5. Results

5.1. Analysis of necessity

By definition, a necessary condition denotes that business growth or perceived success can only be obtained if that condition is present (or absent) (Fiss, 2007). An argument for necessity is supported when it can be demonstrated that instances of (no) business growth or (no) perceived success overlap substantially with a subset of instances of the condition in question. Schneider and Wagemann (2012) posit that the consistency and coverage thresholds for considering a condition as necessary need to be higher 0.90 and 0.80, respectively. The relevance of necessity (RoN) should also be high.

None of the conditions passes these thresholds when business growth and no business growth are taken into account as outcome. Also dataset 3 and 4 (perceived success with a product focus and personal focus) show no necessary conditions. However, necessary conditions are found for high and low perceived success with a business focus (Table 4). For designers with a business focus to achieve perceived success it is necessary to show high rates of exploration or exploitation or entrepreneurial orientation. When a low rate of entrepreneurial orientation is present, a designer with business focus shows low perceived success.

	Perceived success			Low perceived success			
	Condition			Consistency	Coverage	RoN	
	Consistency	Coverage	RoN				
<i>Dataset 2: perceived success business focus (N=20)</i>	EO+exploit	0.91	0.84	0.79	-	-	-
	EO+explor	0.91	0.81	0.76	-	-	-
	eo+EXPLOR+exploit	0.90	0.75	0.66	-	-	-
	eo+EXPLOR+EXPLOIT	0.91	0.77	0.69	-	-	-
	EO+EXPLOR+EXPLOIT	0.91	0.84	0.80	-	-	-
	exploit	-	-	-	0.91	0.74	0.77
	eo	-	-	-	0.92	0.80	0.83
	explor+EXPLOIT	-	-	-	0.94	0.70	0.70

TABLE 4. ANALYSIS OF NECESSITY FOR PERCEIVED SUCCESS (BUSINESS FOCUS).

Source: Author's elaboration.

5.2. Configurations for business growth

The results shown in Table 5 represent the three configurations of conditions (i.e. solution 1-3) found to be sufficient for fashion and furniture designer's business growth. The overall solution consistency is 0.80 and the overall solution coverage 0.67. The latter indicates that the two configurations of conditions account for 67 percent of membership in designer's business growth. This value is substantive, yet it also indicates that our configurations contain other elements not taken into account in this study that relate to business growth (Fiss, 2011).

The three solutions show that at least two conditions need to be present or absent in order to achieve designer’s business growth. This means that the presence or absence of a single condition is insufficient to obtain this outcome. In combination with our finding that none of our conditions are necessary for business growth, we confirm hypotheses H1 in which we predicted that EO, exploration, exploitation and job rate are INUS conditions for fashion and furniture designer’s business growth. However, it is the negation of exploitation that is an INUS condition for business growth.

Condition	Solutions		
	1 <i>“Fulltime designers with a focus on entrepreneurial orientation”</i>	2 <i>“Fulltime designers with a low rate of exploitation”</i>	3 <i>“Fulltime designers with a high rate of exploration”</i>
EO	●		●
Exploration			
Exploitation		⊗	
Job rate	●	●	●
Consistency	0.83	0.81	0.82
Raw coverage	0.59	0.49	0.78
Unique coverage	0.07	0.03	0.03
Solution consistency	0.80		
Solution coverage	0.67		
Solution PRI	0.74		
# cases	34		

TABLE 5. CONFIGURATION FOR BUSINESS GROWTH

Source: Author’s elaboration

Notes: N = 54. The frequency cut-off was set at 1. The consistency cut-off was set at 0.75. Black circles indicate the presence of a condition, and white circles indicate its absence. Large circles indicate core conditions, small ones refer to peripheral conditions. Blank spaces indicate ‘do not care’.

With respect to the first solution, labelled “Fulltime designers with a focus on entrepreneurial orientation”, we find that fulltime designers achieve higher growth if they exhibit a high level of entrepreneurial orientation. Solution 2 indicates that higher growth can also be achieved (i.e. equifinality) if fulltime designers exhibit a low level of exploitation. Solution 3 indicates that higher growth is achieved when being a fulltime designer and show a high level of exploration. In the different solutions we couldn’t find a balance between exploration and exploitation, reflected in high levels of both. More important for business growth is rate of employment: all of the solutions account for fulltime designers.

5.3. Configurations for perceived success business focus

The results of the necessary analysis shown in Table 6 represent the four configurations of conditions (i.e. solution 4-7) found to be sufficient for fashion and furniture designer’s perceived success with a focus on business. The overall solution consistency is 0.90 and the overall solution coverage 0.86. The latter indicates that the four configurations of conditions account for 86 percent of membership in designer’s high perceived success. The four solutions show that at least two conditions need to be present or absent in order to achieve designer’s perceived success. This means that the presence or absence of a single condition is insufficient to obtain this outcome. However, we also found that the presence of exploration or exploitation or entrepreneurial orientation is necessary. We therefore only partially accept hypothesis 2, stating that all the conditions are INUS conditions for the presence of the outcome.

With respect to the fourth solution, labelled “Designers with a high rate of exploration and a low rate of exploitation”, we find that designers achieve higher perceived success if they exhibit an imbalance of ambidexterity. A balance between exploration and exploitation is also not found in the other pathways to perceived success with a focus on business. Solution 6 and 7 show both the importance of being a fulltime designer, with entrepreneurial orientation and exploration being present or absent.

Condition	Solutions			
	4 <i>“Designers with a high rate of exploration and a low rate of exploitation”</i>	5 <i>“Part-time designers with a focus on entrepreneurial orientation and a low rate of exploitation”</i>	6 <i>“Fulltime designers with a low rate of exploration and no focus on entrepreneurial orientation, and a high rate of exploitation”</i>	7 <i>“Fulltime designers with a high rate of exploration and a focus on entrepreneurial orientation”</i>
EO	●	●	⊗	•
Exploration	●		⊗	•
Exploitation	⊗	⊗	●	
Job rate		⊗	●	●
Consistency	0.94	0.83	0.99	0.96
Raw coverage	0.69	0.21	0.37	0.52
Unique coverage	0.05	0.02	0.06	0.08
Solution consistency	0.92			
Solution coverage	0.85			
Solution PRI	0.74			
# cases	14			

TABLE 6. CONFIGURATIONS FOR PERCEIVED SUCCESS BUSINESS FOCUS

Source: Author’s elaboration

Notes: N = 20. The frequency cut-off was set at 1. The consistency cut-off was set at 0.90. Black circles indicate the presence of a condition, and white circles indicate its absence. Large circles indicate core conditions, small ones refer to peripheral conditions. Blank spaces indicate 'do not care'.

5.4. Configurations for perceived success product focus

The results shown in Table 7 represent the two configurations of conditions (i.e. solution 8 and 9) found to be sufficient for fashion and furniture designer's perceived success with a product focus. The overall solution consistency is 0.76 and the overall solution coverage 0.72. The latter indicates that the four configurations of conditions account for 72 percent of membership in designer's high perceived success. The two solutions show that two conditions need to be present or absent in order to achieve designer's perceived success. This means that the presence or absence of a single condition is insufficient to obtain this outcome. In combination with our finding that none of our conditions are necessary for perceived success with a focus on business, we confirm hypothesis H2 in which we predicted that EO, exploration, exploitation and job rate are INUS conditions for fashion and furniture designer's perceived success.

These solutions also show the importance of being a fulltime designer. Remarkably solution 8 is the same path as solution 1 with regard to business growth. This means that by following this path a designer with product focus can achieve business growth and perceived success.

Condition	Solutions	
	8	9
	<i>"Fulltime designers with a focus on entrepreneurial orientation"</i>	<i>"Fulltime designers with a low rate of exploration"</i>
EO	•	
Exploration		⊗
Exploitation		
Job rate	●	●
Consistency	0.86	0.74
Raw coverage	0.70	0.52
Unique coverage	0.20	0.03
Solution consistency	0.76	
Solution coverage	0.72	
Solution PRI	0.62	
# cases	12	

TABLE 7. CONFIGURATIONS FOR PERCEIVED SUCCESS PRODUCT FOCUS

Source: Author's elaboration

Notes: N = 17. The frequency cut-off was set at 1. The consistency cut-off was set at 0.90. Black circles indicate the presence of a condition, and white circles indicate its absence. Large circles indicate core conditions, small ones refer to peripheral conditions. Blank spaces indicate 'do not care'.

5.5. Configurations for perceived success personal focus

The results shown in Table 8 represent the five configurations of conditions (i.e. solution 10-14) found to be sufficient for fashion and furniture designer's perceived success with a personal focus. The overall solution consistency is 0.89 and the overall solution coverage 0.78. The latter indicates that the four configurations of conditions account for 78 percent of membership in designer's high perceived success. The solutions show that at least two conditions need to be present or absent in order to achieve designer's perceived success. This means that the presence or absence of a single condition is insufficient to obtain this outcome. In combination with our finding that none of our conditions are necessary for perceived success with a personal focus, we confirm hypothesis H2 in which we predicted that EO, exploration, exploitation and job rate are INUS conditions for fashion and furniture designer's perceived success.

These solutions also show the importance of being a fulltime designer and of exploration. Remarkably solution 10 is the same path as solution 1 with regard to business growth, and solution 8 with regard to perceived success with a product focus. This means that by following this path a designer with product focus of personal focus can achieve business growth and perceived success.

Condition	Solutions				
	10	11	12	13	14
	<i>"Fulltime designers with a high rate of entrepreneurial orientation"</i>	<i>"Designers with a focus on entrepreneurial orientation and a high rate of exploration and exploitation"</i>	<i>"Fulltime designers with a high rate of exploration and exploitation"</i>	<i>"Part-time designers with a high rate of exploration, a low rate of exploitation and no focus on entrepreneurial orientation "</i>	<i>"Fulltime designers with a low rate of exploration and exploitation"</i>
EO	•	•		⊗	
Exploration		●	●	●	⊗
Exploitation		•	•	⊗	⊗
Job rate	●		●	⊗	●
Consistency	0,87	0,99	0,99	0,99	0,96
Raw coverage	0,59	0,48	0,39	0,10	0,49
Unique coverage	0,10	0,06	0,03	0,02	0,04
Solution consistency	0,89				
Solution coverage	0,83				
Solution PRI	0,78				
# cases	15				

TABLE 8. CONFIGURATIONS FOR PERCEIVED SUCCESS PRODUCT FOCUS

Source: Author's elaboration

Notes: N = 17. The frequency cut-off was set at 1. The consistency cut-off was set at 0.90. Black circles indicate the presence of a condition, and white circles indicate its absence. Large circles indicate core conditions, small ones refer to peripheral conditions. Blank spaces indicate 'do not care'.

6. Discussion and conclusion

To shed more light on the interrelationships between EO, ambidexterity and job rate and their effect on business growth and perceived success, we applied the fsQCA methodology (Fiss, 2011, 2007; Ragin, 2009). Drawing from this comparative case study, all conditions play an important role, in different kind of configurations and with differences in being present or absent. As such we can confirm hypotheses H1 and H2 in which we predicted that EO, exploration, exploitation and job rate are INUS conditions for fashion and furniture designer's business growth and perceived success.

Four major conclusions can be drawn from our study. First, business growth and perceived success with a business and product focus is achieved through an imbalance between exploration and exploitation, in combination with having a fulltime occupation as designer and/or other conditions. From the literature review, however, we expected to see the importance of simultaneously balancing exploitation and exploration (Chang & Hughes, 2012; Raisch & Birkinshaw, 2008). This balance is only found for perceived success by designers with a personal focus (solution 11 and 12).

Second, being a fulltime designer (job rate) is an important condition in most of the pathways for business growth and perceived success, always in combination with the presence or absence of other conditions. This is in line with previous research (Jacobs et al, 2016) and contributes to the literature on artistic and creative careers. Creatives often hold multiple jobs (Throsby & Zednik, 2011), which presents a challenge for those hoping to secure creative occupations as a first choice (Ashton, 2015).

A third major conclusion concerns the combination of a high focus on entrepreneurial orientation and being a fulltime designer as solution path. Following this path leads to business growth and to perceived success when the designers follows a product and personal focus. We present this solution as main pathway to success for fashion and furniture designers. It confirms the findings of a positive link between EO and firm performance (Rauch et al, 2009; Zahra, 1991, 1993).

A last major conclusion concerns the condition exploration. For the majority of the solution paths for perceived success by designers with a personal focus its presence is essential. The importance of exploration in these paths is in line with the findings of Chaston (2008) and Walker and Brown (2004) who state that managers of most small creative firms are individuals who focus more on sustaining a lifestyle oriented toward involvement in creative output than on being financially successful.

These conclusions can best be illustrated with cases to honour the rich qualitative data that was gathered. The first case is a typical case representing the ideal pathway of being a fulltime designer and having a high focus on entrepreneurial orientation. This designer is a product and furniture designer in Antwerp. Collaborating with internationally renowned brands, his work includes furniture, kitchenware and timber outbuildings. He studied product development and furniture design. Eager to

learn more about materials and techniques, he earned additional degrees in metalwork and carpentry. An internship at a big design firm provided further insight into the full course of a production process: from the first sketch to the final product. In 2010, this designer decided to start his own business, immediately as a fulltime designer. As an independent designer, he has worked for a variety of clients since then: from furniture manufacturers to a cookware company. He is also the owner of a couple of award-winning concepts. This designer focuses on the added value of a product. How can it improve someone's daily life? He has a strong entrepreneurial focus which can be seen in his proactive and risk-taking behaviour. As a young designer he started immediately as a freelancer, worked on his portfolio, took part in competitions, searched for clients and decided to work as a business-to-business designer. For his designs, he gets a fixed fee or royalties on the sales. In the meantime he sometimes must make compromises regarding the designs and materials with his manufacturers. However, he sees himself more as a furniture designers than as an artist. To remain some freedom, he decided to combine multiple projects with different manufacturers, which he chooses himself. This all is reflected in his success today: his business is growing and he shows high perceived success with a focus on the product.

The second case, on the contrary, is also a successful designer with a high focus on entrepreneurial orientation, but she works as a part-time designer. This designer started her label in 2008. She is specialized in tailored suits for women. This designer is an architect, and during a hobby training 'sewing', she discovered that she wanted to do something more with that skill. Contrary to the previous case, she is a part-time fashion designer, she still works as an architect. However, she also shows business growth and perceived success, with a clear product focus. Her focus on entrepreneurial skills are the basis for this success. She followed a mentoring program during the start-up of her business, and conducted herself a market research about the chances of starting this profession. She has a strong focus on product quality and service to her clients. She sees her clients at home (she has no store) and has a very personal contact with them. Also after the suit is ready, the clients can contact her. She designs the suits herself, but they are produced in a studio in Germany. Her flexible working hours as designer, the fact that she doesn't have a lot of competitors, and the fact that she only sees her clients by appointment make it possible for her to work part-time and still have business growth.

The third case highlights the importance of an imbalance between exploration and exploitation to show business growth and perceived success. This designer studied painting and restoration and after her studies she started immediately as a freelance art restorer. In the following years she took evening courses in pattern drawing, stitching and design. She graduated in 2007 and got good feedback on the presentation of her collection, and so she decided to start working fulltime as a fashion designer. She makes women clothing and her first collections were distributed through different shops. After a few years she started her own shop, and since last year she also designs male collections. This designer is successful as a designer: she displays business growth and is very focused upon the business side of her fashion firm. She translates perceived success into the possibility to pay everyone and everything at the end of the month. However, she doesn't has a strong focus on entrepreneurial orientation (she doesn't like taking risks for instance) and she doesn't show a balance between

exploration and exploitation. Her exploitation skills are much stronger than her exploration skills. For her, exploration is the designing of a new collection. She invests more time in exploitation. Besides her own shop, she has an online shop and she distributes to other shops. This shops she found by active prospection. She finds herself having a commercial mindset. She designs clothes that are not too high-flown and that sell well. The production of the prototypes and the clothing is also done in a manufactory in Poland.

The fourth case deviates from this finding. It shows that a balance between exploration and exploitation can also lead to perceived success. This designer has a background in history. As a hobby, and out of interest, she studied pattern making and the design of theatre costumes. In 2007 she started her label together with a friend. They were focused on children clothing, made from old fabrics. In 2009 they also started with women clothing and tailored-made clothing. She works fulltime for her label and upon today, she is the creative brain of the firm. She finds herself and the label successful on a personal level, in the sense that they get adequate recognition and appreciation from the field and their customers. However, her label shows no business growth today. The designer tells us that they are already about five years in an unfavourable climate, and for the time being they wait and want to keep the business right. She is happy as it is now. It is therefore no surprise that she doesn't show a high focus on entrepreneurial orientation. The interview and survey show that there is a balance in the field of exploration and exploitation: both aspects score high. The exploitation is mainly characterized by three things: the children's collection is divided among a number of shops in Flanders, for the tailored-made clothing they work with the patterns of the current and past collections, and the shop/studio for women clothing is situated in a good location in Antwerp. For this designer exploration means the development of new fabrics and prints, new collections and the research into shapes.

In conclusion, combining a configurational way of thinking with fsQCA as method of analysis suggests that focusing on the joint and interdependent effects of multiple growth and perceived success predictors is particularly fruitful to develop an integrative model of designer's business growth and perceived success that is broad in scope yet parsimonious in its solutions. The use of fsQCA enables further empirical exploration of configurations of conditions that explain more profoundly designer-level and firm-level outcomes (Fiss et al, 2013). In addition, the detection of causal asymmetry by fsQCA can contribute to a more accurate understanding of relationships between variables.

The findings of this study are also from importance for policy-makers and the designers themselves. In order to achieve business growth and perceived success, designers must find stimuli and support to be powerful enough to be a designer as primary occupation. Looking back into the cases, most of the part-time designers have other jobs to secure their financial situation. This advice may be of use for fashion and furniture designers when defining their strategy.

Like any study, this study is subject to a number of limitations. First, like any methodology, fsQCA has its limitations in its own right. One limitation is that apparently small changes in calibration or the choice of cut-off values regarding frequency and consistency thresholds can lead to significant

changes in the solutions obtained (Fiss et al, 2013). As a robustness check, we advanced this limitation by examining the impact of different cut-off values concerning frequency and consistency thresholds, and we found that in some situations fewer or more solutions emerged that are however not different from those reported. Another limitation is that although core and peripheral conditions give an expression of the relative importance of conditions, an exact figure of how much more or less important a condition is for an outcome to occur is not computed by fsQCA. Second, our study has a cross-sectional research design. This means that we cannot explore causality. Future studies may replicate the models with longitudinal data that accounts for potential variances in the conditions and outcomes over time. For this purpose, Garcia-Castro and Arinõ (2013) have recently developed a novel approach to apply set-theoretic methods to panel data.

Finally, we focused on the variables that from literature and our experience in the fashion and furniture industry seemed most important for business growth. Future studies could examine whether other variables have different combinatorial effects as those we find in this study.

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Understanding global/local cultural leadership – issues and methods

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ABSTRACT

Cultural leaders sail between the Scylla and Charibdis of aggregated trans- and supranational cultural-political discourses and the cultural needs of local communities. How do these dynamics influence the work of cultural leaders? How can we understand the work of cultural leaders to connect aggregated political discourses and globalised ideologies to the needs of the local cultural community they cater to?

In a longitudinal research project named CLASP (Cultural Leadership as Situated Practice) a network of European research institutions and field organisations investigates how cultural leaders construct meaning of local and European political agendas, in a practice that requires them to mediate creative autonomy, economy and ideology.

Among the objectives of this research project are the identification of variables which ‘smooth’ micro-macro translations, and which variables constitute barriers; how cultural leadership capacity can be built and how cultural leaders can shape cultural policy development and co-create transnational strategies for the societal role of the arts.

Keywords:

cultural leadership,
cultural citizenship,
transnational
perspectives,
cultural policy

1. Introduction

The relationship between artists, cultural organisations and policy makers is considered to be up for a fundamental revision (Douglas and Freemantle, 2009). More specifically, taking the European perspective, attention is needed to how cultural leaders translate global concerns into local commitment and action, how cultural professionals conflate wider societal and European cultural-political goals with local cultural work, the work 'that shapes communities' (Gielen and Lijster, 2015: 34).

This paper introduces the longitudinal research project CLASP (Cultural Leadership as Situated Practice). This research projects aims to investigate how cultural leaders mediate global/local dynamics in their work. The paper will illustrate the central point of this project by discussing two cases of cultural political discourses influencing cultural leadership, one local (Dutch) and one European. Then, the paper will elaborate on theoretical and methodical considerations. The aim of the paper is to open up discussion about the need to address the central dilemma of the project, to share thoughts about the theoretical perspective and methods, as well as expected goals and impacts of the research project.

2. Politics and the arts as leader – a Dutch case

In The Netherlands, the recently concluded two year project *The Art of Impact* invited artists to propose work that would make an *impact* on society. The winner of the project was designer Anton Dautzenberg, who produced a magazine entitled *Quiet 500*, a parody of *Quote 500*, which is an annual publication listing Holland's five hundred wealthiest inhabitants.



FIGURE 1. COVER OF QUIET 500 AND THE ACCOMPANYING CHILDREN'S MAGAZINE

Source: www.quiet500.nl

The Art of Impact provoked artists to propose work that would realise a true and sustainable change in the system. How exactly the work should be sustainable is not defined, but one effect certainly was the debate and press attention that followed the publication. *Quiet 500* discusses a persistent and

discomfiting societal problem, that of (silent) poverty. Apart from texts, the magazine contains visual comments, such as parodies of advertisements (figure 1). For the first edition, all five hundred millionaires listed in the Quote 500 were approached to participate, either by agreeing to an interview or by giving financial support. Two of them agreed to do so.



FIGURE 2. ADVERTISEMENT IN THE *QUIET 500* FOR THE FRAGRANCE "HOOP!" (HOPE), AS A PARODY OF THE BRAND "JOOP!".

Source: www.quiet500.nl.

The jury wrote (the emphases are added by me): “Anton Dautzenberg conceived and realized a project that turned out to be *sustainable*. A project that uses the rich – their *knowledge, skills* and *creativity* – to *participate* in the *Quiet community*, a *market place* without money, with the motto to get, to bring, to *share*. Rich helps poor, poor helps poor”.⁸⁷ In its laudation the jury seems to acknowledge that in his work, Dautzenberg reframed keywords characteristic for the present Dutch discourse on creativity, economy, community and participation. Knowledge, skills and creativity, we can safely say, are presently framed as keys to a sustainable economic community, labeled as a market place. But these *assets*, Dautzenberg seems to say, can just as easily be activated for a (not very vocal, but quiet) community of solidarity, built on such paradoxes as a market place without money, and sharing instead of monetary transactions. Dautzenberg translates central terms from one *logic* to another, and supports this with a cunningly designed “aesthetic reflection”, to coin Scott Lash. The question remains what the jury means with the qualification “sustainable”. Income from sales of the magazine will be made available for projects helping the poor, yet on the other hand it is not likely this magazine will have many sequels to come. Sustainable remains an undefined term.

We can deepen the analysis of this case by including the relationship with the government, and see how the case illustrates a particular relationship in a particular geographic and cultural context, between government and the arts, or between politicians and artists. After all, artists addressing

⁸⁷ <<http://www.quiet500.nl/anton-dautzenberg-wint-de-impact-award-2016/>> (Accessed July 15, 2017).

societal or political dilemmas in their work is nothing new or surprising, but in an international context it is probably rare that a national government makes an explicit effort to not only support this activity but also provide a budget for its realization. It leads to all kinds of conundrums, for instance the realization that this generous government is the same government held responsible for not adequately closing the growing gap between the poor and the rich in the first place. Instead of being embarrassed by an artist presenting fundamental critique on the consequences of neo-liberal policy, here is a government that supports the expression of that critique.

At the time of the Art of Impact project, the Netherlands had a liberal-socialist coalition government, with a socialist minister running the Department of Culture. Dutch socialist cultural politicians in the past have shown a preference for investigating the (emancipating, or subjectifying) relationship between art and society (and typically showing preferences for architecture and film). *Quiet 500* goes further than this. It critiques the consequences of an entire system, even though it respects a limit to the criticism it makes an argument for. *Quiet 500* creates awareness of a painful societal misconception, but it does not criticize a specific government policy. It creates awareness of what neoliberalism or modern capitalism do to human solidarity, but it refrains from naming specific actors that could be held responsible for this development. It creates sensibility for a societal problem among citizens, politicians or millionaires (or any combination of the three) but does not call for revolution. The project makes (artistic) sense of a situation or, in terms of (cultural) leadership, practices a distributive type of leadership by empowering the reader to take a position in a societal debate (Kolsteeg, 2015).

Art of Impact met with substantial criticism from the arts worlds, among which the argument that it created subsidized *pseudo-engagement*. Critics found support for this position in calls voiced at the time (including one by the Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy) for the critical re-evaluation of all attempts to measure effects of the arts in terms of, as well as attempts to enforce connections of the arts with, other policy areas. Among remarks made by artists⁸⁸ is the point that building bridges with society is exactly what artists always do already. The Art of Impact risked to be interpreted, or made sense of, as a Faustian pact. A critical and most of all autonomous position towards politics and political ideologies entails a critical, or at the least suspicious position towards a government facilitating that very position. Keeping low company with that same government jeopardizes that autonomy. A counter argument heard among artists was that it's better to stay in contact with a government and possibly change conditions from the inside, than to turn away from it.

The fact that the presentation above of *Quiet 500* and *The Art of Impact* provides a far from complete understanding of the numerous dynamics involved. The case illustrates how this particular manifestation of the relationship between the arts and a government is colored by lingering suspicions of ambiguous government intentions (Barbieri, 2012). It also introduces the central perspective of the research project presented in this paper. CLASP understands cultural leadership of artists, curators, intermediaries (in this case the work of Dautzenberg) as a translational work between global concerns

⁸⁸ <<https://www.theaterkrant.nl/nieuws/het-meten-van-het-onmeetbare-een-briefwisseling-over-the-art-of-impact/>>. A similar uneasiness about the relationship between art and politics characterizes quite a few critiques on Document 14.

(the uneasy consequences of a political system), local policy (socialist cultural policy creating space for institutional critique) and local cultural practices, such as a yearly, and for some uneasy listing of Dutch millionaires, as well as the tradition of an artistic practice that critically reflects on societal issues. CLASP (Cultural Leadership as Situated Practice) seeks to investigate the complex practice of cultural leaders, i.e. artists, curators or producers, connecting political discourses and globalised ideologies to the needs of the local cultural community they cater to.

3. Tackling dilemmas in the European project

Despite that public and political principles show substantial commonalities when formulated on the level of European member states, McCormick (2010) points at some equally substantial differences in types of “Europeanism” among the populations of those member states. One of the fields in which McCormick observes such differences is that of common values, which he illustrates more specifically by looking at values concerning multiculturalism. McCormick makes the point that while Europeans tend to agree on such far reaching issues as state regulation of markets or social welfare, in moral issues “Europeans are less tolerant of government” (p.168). Focusing on the theme of multiculturalism, McCormick observes that it is a “double-edged sword”: “on the one hand, the movement of intellectuals, ideas and culture across borders has been one of the distinctive glories of European identity (...). On the other hand, xenophobia, racism and intolerance have always been the ugly side of European thinking (...)” (p.169). Despite that it is a European tradition to integrate “core values and features from every group with which its dominant cultures have come into contact” (ib.), there is also an isolationist tendency that reduces multiculturalism to racial and religious characteristics of migrants. In these dynamics, culture, and *Culture with a capital C* seem to have been taken out of the equation.

McCormick points out that these fundamental oppositions are ingrained in the European project. The two positions described above, a unifying European cultural identity and xenophobic fear of the other, are two Hegelian sides of the same coin, and may well be united in one and the same person. While integration of cultures on a humanist level is accepted, there is resistance against migration policies. The fact that we find ourselves in a period where xenophobia threatens to outperform cultural connections is all the more reason to investigate the role of culture in discourses on multiculturalism. The natural occurrence of multitudes in cultural production is an exemplary case in point.

But, going beyond this illustrative point of multiculturalism, what defines the relation between culture and ideology or politics again seems to be the definition of key terms. Europe, culture, multiculturalism, identity, citizenship and integration, lack common definitions (Gordon, 2010), even though they are generally considered clear enough to be used in policy debates. Accepting that these pivotal terms can be highly equivocal, or at least that they are not stable but in a continuous process of “being-made-sense-of”, opens the avenue to create an analytical difference between these terms in the status of accepted, and defined sufficiently to be embedded in a nation’s policy discourse, and the same terms in an equivocal state, operationalized in more fluid discourses (such as a discourse of local identity) in individual citizens’ and artists’ minds. This allows us, to use the term identity again, to

see that the concept of European identity can be invoked to argue for a world of transnational cultural unity, and just as easily to argue for closed borders. In fact, it is regularly used for both aims.

By giving meaning to these, and many other terms in daily interactions, we connect formal connotations of key terms to our own life-world. And because meaning making is essentially the work of culture, the work that artists, writers, actors, curators, producers, etcetera are engaged with every day, culture is an indispensable intermediary in political sense making, translational and subjectifying dynamics.

The foundation of the relationship between culture as a meaning making force and European discourses has been elaborated by Gielen & Lijster (2015). The authors' points of departure are the contribution of culture to the autonomy and subjectivation of the individual, and the necessity of a place for political encounter and agonistic discussion. The authors point out how "political-economic developments influence the *meaning* that people assign to their own lives and to living in the community" (43, emphasis in the original). Cultural practitioners contribute to this process of meaning making in a commons or "agora" (Boodt, 2015, after Geert Mak). This agora is the place where through culture we give meaning to our existence, and where cultural leaders, from an autonomous perspective (p.47), contribute to this discussion.

Also cultural institutions play a role in this. Over the past decades, cultural institutions have extended their strategies in order to connect civic society concerns such as urban development. This connects to initiatives on the level of global policy (for instance in the Unesco Culture for Sustainable Urban Development Initiative⁸⁹, Unesco 2016) and on the level of local initiatives (Schramme et al., 2014). Also societal issues such as social inclusion and civic participation are thematised, again both on a high, or instance European aggregation level in the project Culture for Cities and Regions⁹⁰, as well as on local levels such as in the initiative of the Brooklyn museum in New York to announce specific opening hours for people with Alzheimer. There are endless examples of such societal concerns that can be understood as constituted by a combination of global and local aspect.

4. Unity in diversity – The European project as Case Study

The type of opposition, observed by McCormick, between political and individual deliberations on moral issues, which returned in the reactions of artists to the *Art of Impact* project, also manifests itself in the different projects instigated by the European Union, which can be understood as attempts to create instantiations of Geert Mak's agora. De Boodt (2015) discusses several of these projects, which were created after the realisation, in the early years of this millenium, that culture has an important contribution to make to the European agenda. Europe engaged cultural leaders for *Europe as a Cultural Project* (2002-2004) (73) to engage in discussion. During these discussions cultural diversity is brought up as a necessary and ingrained aspect of the cultural world. Film maker Wim Wenders expressed this on behalf of the film world by saying: "European Cinema is luckily not just one but it is

⁸⁹ <<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/culture-and-development/culture-for-sustainable-urban-development/>>.

⁹⁰ <<http://www.cultureforcitiesandregions.eu/culture/home>>.

composed of many voices and these voices have something in common that we proudly call European cinema” (quoted in De Boodt, 2015: 75). With his words, Wenders enforces the European motto since 2000, “United in Diversity”⁹¹. This motto epitomizes the European answer to the question how policy / ideology and individual deliberations relate: they are conflated, but at the same time remain visible.

Agonistic debate in *Europe as a Cultural Project* seems to be far away, and the result of the entire project is largely technocratic: the project resulted in “an extensive report (...) with recommendations for the member states and the European institutions, as well as for international networks” (De Boodt, 2015: 73). A second set of discussions on culture and Europe was organized in the citizens dialogue project (and again subsequent publication) *The Mind and Body of Europe: A New Narrative*⁹². The project involved a large number of high ranking European representatives from the worlds of culture and science to discuss the future of Europe “as a state of mind”. De Boodt observes that bringing together politics and culture requires the willingness for politicians and artists to listen to each other (De Boodt, 2015: 80). It also requires, De Boodt posits, a common understanding of terms, bridging the gap between “the language of the eurocracy” and the fragmentation of today’s European narrative.

Figure 3 shows a random choice of tweets sent out during a conference in February 2016 where young people were invited to provide input for the *New Narrative for Europe* discussions. The topics evoked in this inspirational speech are migration (closed borders lead to close minds; give voice to young refugees), diversity (recognition of difference which will lead to equality) and narrative identity.

The document *The Mind and Body of Europe* – undersigned by an impressive group of cultural leaders⁹³ – is positioned as the “response to the call of the European Parliament and of the President of the European Commission to draft a new narrative for Europe for all citizens. We believe that for there to be a true and well-functioning political body in Europe, an understanding of what Europe as a “state of mind” stands for is vital. We also know that a narrative tying Europe’s distant and recent past to the present and providing a vision for the future is equally essential.”

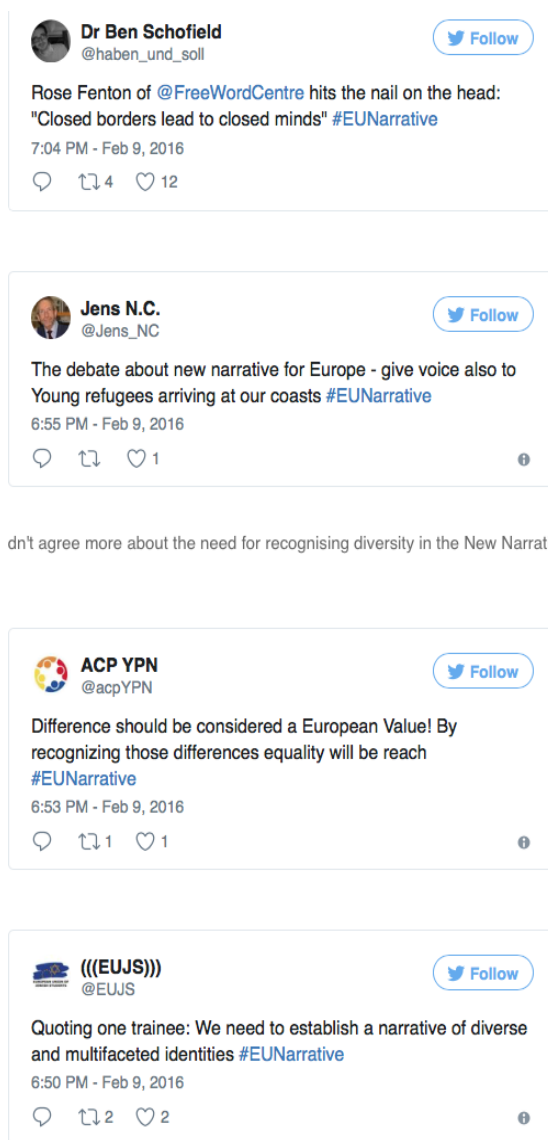
The final conclusions of the document are that Europe “needs brave, imaginative and enlightened political leaders who speak and understand the language of Europe as a political body, animated and energized by culture. Europe also needs artists and scientists, educators and journalists, historians and sociologists, entrepreneurs and civil servants who are prepared to move beyond the comfort of their autonomy to take on new responsibilities towards Europe as a political body. Finally, Europe needs citizens to raise their voices and to take part in the European public space of debate by sharing their stories and concerns. These narratives will tell the story of what it means to be a European in the 21st century.”⁹⁴ The central terms used in this credo, imagination, language, culture, responsibilities, citizens, public space, narratives, all need explication and translation to a local cultural setting before they can be activated outside “the language of the eurocracy”.

⁹¹ <https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/symbols/motto_en>.

⁹² <<https://ec.europa.eu/info/events/citizens-dialogues>>.

⁹³ Kathrin Deventer, Paul Dujardin, Olafur Eliasson, Rose Fenton, Cristina Iglesias, Michal Kleiber, György Konrad, Rem Koolhaas, Yorgos Loukos, Peter Matjasic, Jonathan Mills, Michelangelo Pistoletto, Plantu, Sneska Quaedvlieg-Mihailovic, Thomas Sedlacek, Luísa Taveira.

⁹⁴ <https://ec.europa.eu/culture/policy/new-narrative_en>.



dn't agree more about the need for recognising diversity in the New Narrative

FIGURE 3. REACTIONS TWEETED OUT FROM A CONFERENCE THAT TOOK PLACE ON FEB. 9. 2016, ON THE 'NEW NARRATIVE FOR EUROPE' DURING A SPEECH BY ROSE FENTON, CULTURAL DIRECTOR OF FREE WORD

Source: <http://europa.eu/youth/new_narrative_for_europe_en>

Similar concerns can be raised in relation to subjects thematised in the various European cultural policy agendas such as Horizon 2020. One of them is the call to investigate participatory governance of cultural heritage institutions to improve the relation between cultural governance and the working of culture on personal experience and identity (RICHERS, 2015). The Council of Europe in 2014 underlines the importance of investigating how participatory governance of cultural heritage can contribute to the increase of democratic participation, sustainability and social cohesion.⁹⁵ Looking at the obstacles to be expected on the road towards participatory governance, the brainstorm report *Voices of Culture* (2015) enumerates lack of political will to cooperate or lack of conducive political

⁹⁵ <[http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/NL/TXT/?uri=CELEX:52014XG1223\(01\)](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/NL/TXT/?uri=CELEX:52014XG1223(01))>.

structures, lack of professional will, conflicts of legitimacy and lack of funding. These obstacles also illustrate the distance between political discourse and daily practice in realising the working of culture in Europe.

Both the New Narrative project and the aim to establish participatory governance for cultural institutions illustrate the scope of the European thoughts on the work of culture. Artists are invited to discuss diversity and narrative identity, cultural institutions are invited to develop structures that increase audience participation in cultural governance.

Both discussions mentioned here were top down initiatives to start discussions about the relation between culture and Europe, and as Boodt remarks, discussions like these will only succeed if a common language for the interlocutors is found. These two observations inform the ambition of CLASP to understand the relationship under scrutiny as a problem of translations. The goal of this project is to better understand the working of the European rhetoric in relation to diverse and possible contradictory local cultural practices. Even though the final articulation of relevant societal themes to be included is part of the research project itself, we can safely speculate that among them we will find such discourses as globalisation, demographic shifts, and cultural identities, as well as the role of cultural institutions in engaging citizens.

A final point that needs to be made here is that we need to be aware of the diversity of organisational entities loci of cultural leadership, and the role of cultural institutions (also Gielen, 2013). The CLASP project will develop a sensitivity for emergent cultural leadership.

4.1 Top down

The central point in CLASP is to understand how cultural leaders mediate political discourses (either national or supranational) and local cultural, meaning making practices. We have discussed examples of this mediating work. One, the Dutch example, explicitly requires the creative input of artists, and two European projects invite artists to contribute to an ongoing political debate. Both can be understood as instantiations of an agora of artistic/political debate. Obviously in the first type of projects, the artistic work can be expected to result in a more critical contribution than is possible in the second type of projects. The difference seems to be in the relative cognitive and discursive distance between top down policy-initiatives and bottom-up artistic initiatives. This metaphor of top-down and bottom-up practices evokes the question whether, and if so where these two avenues are likely to meet, and what exactly constitutes the differences of the two avenues.

Concerning the discourse on cultural integration versus cultural diversity, the government's and citizen positions can drastically differ, and this is true for input of artists too. When put to the test, artists may have activist messages and measures to propose in order to bring about a better world (Bazzichelli, 2014). "Artivism" (Weibel, 2014) may well lead to radical views on such topics as the democratic deficit (Klein, 2013), dominant representation of ideologies (Heissenbüttel, 2014), or globalisation. These views are not likely to be adopted in the debate instigated by Europe. Despite their common ambitions, top-down and bottom-up discourses run parallel but do not easily intersect.

4.2 Perspective on local globalization

While globalization can be a topic for critical artistic reflection, at the same time culture itself is in the forefront of that globalization. While mass-migration poses global political challenges, the magnitude of which we can hardly imagine, at the same time in the world of culture the amalgamation of diverse influences is recognized as a signals of vitality. In the world of culture, the theme of global / local relationships is presented in the mediatisation and glocalisation of cultural production itself. As Wim Wenders points out earlier in this paper, the global/local contradiction can easily be found embedded in the work itself. Given that realisation, attention is needed for the effects of transnationalisation in the past on the "historical and heuristic reconfiguration of the interdependence of culture, society, and the polity" (Nünning, 2016: 37). Research traditions and practices are in dire need of more awareness of their transnational genealogy themselves, as well as that they are in need of avoiding dominance of western-biased perspectives (Bachmann-Medick, 2016).

Literature on dynamics in global / local relationships shows that a clear view on these relationships is often overshadowed by concerns about finding common definitions (Gordon, 2010; Alasuutari, 2013) and ambiguity in underlying policy and institutional practices (Barbieri, 2012; Dragicevic & Dragojevic, 2005; also Werner & Cornelissen, 2014). Also, much of the existing literature discusses the global/local connection from a generalizing perspective, looking at structural relations between institutions and policy.

Tackling the questions asked in the CLASP project is a challenge when taking a policy-evaluative perspective. The study of the influence of global / political dynamics on cultural practice will then become coloured by definitional problems (Gordon, 2010), by discussions on the adequacy of impact assessment tools (Schindler, 2011), and by a high level of fragmentation of knowledge development. Therefore, the CLASP project examines the quality of the global/local relationship itself in a dynamic network research infrastructure. This infrastructure will offer a framework for studying how macro discourses and micro practices actually relate to eachother in governance / cultural leadership frameworks not as a confrontation of stuctures, but as a translation of concepts between the various levels of perception (Latour, 2005). This perspective acknowledges the dynamic, multifaceted and sometimes paradoxical characteristics of the global / local relationship.

This perspective on the micro/macro relation is described by Langenohl (2016) as a combination of the "local, situational logics of the encounter and the planetary scope of the nodes, hubs and stretches of the networks within which these encounters can take place" (p.107). Langenohl's view on the travel and translation of concepts and their confrontation in "the encounter" is relevant for this research project because it acknowledges that translation, or transfer of concepts (in our case the translation of concepts from a European discourse to local discourse of cultural practice) is a moment of production of differences. In this radical constructionist view, it's not "context, understood as 'cultures', 'languages', or any other rigorously systemised set of meanings, that meet eachother. (...) It is only from the angle of the encounter that contexts, cultures, etc. become articulated and reconstructed" (p.106). In other words, "(...) 'cultures' and 'contexts' have no existence beyond their relation to

encounter" (p.111).

In other words, the translation of cultural political discourses into local practices is understood as localisations of discourses and the production of practices. We look at cultural leadership practice as a cultural phenomenon, and therefore we draw from hermeneutics and cultural studies, sensitive to the relation between practice, values and ideologies, realizing that these ideologies are not stable (Van Heusden, 2017).

4.3 Method

This analytical perspective is combined with an evidence-based methodology involving the domains of cultural studies, leadership studies and policy studies. The transdisciplinary method includes representatives of the cultural field and citizens. CLASP brings together a consortium that explores questions of cultural leadership from many different local angles, in which the network allows the necessary comparative work in order to arrive at an aggregated level of understanding.

The project looks at cultural leadership as a cultural activity and not as a managerial, political or economic one, even though these discourses may be found to ideologically underpin cultural leadership. Taking cultural leadership practice itself as its object of analysis, the method chosen in the CLASP project evolves around a number of one-year case studies. Each case study contains observations, young scientists training activities and dissemination activities.

The method is transdisciplinary, which implies that the project will go beyond *pure research*. The transdisciplinary aspect of the research objective is seen in the fact that professionals are involved in the research itself. Cultural leaders and researchers will be travelling in exchange programmes. This structure will provide young researchers with methodological and research-management capacities, and it will immediately embed reflections of professionals into the research. In order to expand the network, participants in CLASP will involve adjacent networks to target groups from countries with less capacity in the field. The objective is to establish awareness among cultural leaders, a network through which cultural leaders can continue sharing, reflecting and investigating, and to realise post-graduate training facilities to address needs for professionalisation among cultural leaders. The transdisciplinarity and close connection between researchers and practitioners will introduce elements of Appreciative Inquiry (Barrett and Fry, 2005).

Intermediary findings in the research will be re-entered into the research and will lead to innovation of methods or objectives. The project will investigate case studies following a set protocol. The protocol selects a transnational team of investigators and practitioners. The team will assess the complexity of the cultural / political and regional situation, including the local genealogy of cultural studies. Aspects for comparison are chosen: practice of leadership (dual, intendant, relationship to local politics, criteria to understand their relationship with larger, European discourses). Critical Discourse Analysis (Lindberg, 2017) will investigate how underlying ideologies impact cultural practice, and how cultural leaders mediate global and local. In an observation of about one year researchers and practitioners from different regions will frequently meet for reflection and input.

CLASP will bring together and involve research communities which do not have the resources to cooperate in concerted transnational research efforts. Partners will also engage rigorous methods of cross cultural comparison, exchanging knowledge from different contexts in order to develop transcultural insights in this field and to provide evidence based advice.

This means that comparisons will be made to identify opportunities and instigate research activities in as yet uncharted regions, in order to realise further expansion of the network. Exchanging researchers as co-readers and observers in the network will provide young researchers with training in research methods and research management. Facilitating connections with stakeholders, cultural leaders, artists, local cultural policy makers and art / culture consumers, who will be included in the observations, will lead to new practices of policy development.

Just as the practice of cultural leadership is highly fragmented, so is the field of knowledge of cultural leadership. International networking is a tool to develop integrated knowledge, but does not aim to work homogeneous practices. Here, too, there is a "unity in diversity" at stake.

4.4 Capacity-building objectives

CLASP will seek to provide evidence-based recommendations on cultural policy development and cultural leadership sensitive to micro-macro relations. The capacity-building objectives of this project can be divided in scientific objectives, and professional objectives. The scientific objective of this research project is to capacitate young researchers to apply the project's perspective to local cultural practice in order to understand bi-directional relationship between global dynamics and local cultural leadership. This leads to the goal of creating a local scientific / practical field that is aware of global agendas, their working on local cultural practice, and the possibility to realize a desired, reflective global / local relationship that adequately connects to local cultural identity. Establishing a network of regional nodes of scientific institutions and sector representatives is a second objective of the project. A network is needed to ensure the effective dissemination of a methodological format to the scientific community for observation of cultural leadership practice in as yet uncharted regions. Lastly, building and sustaining a reliable research network aims to reduce the fragmentation of knowledge development in this field and open up traditional research practices for transdisciplinary and design informed methods.

Through adequate coordination, the network expects to eventually position itself as a partner for conversations on the European Union agendas relating to the development of cultural policies. Also, on a local level cultural leaders will be equipped to develop cultural policy that is able to address both societal issues and cultural autonomy.

This leads to the professional capacity building objective, which is to further capacitate cultural leaders to shape the relation between cultural practice and cultural policy. Policy Design Workshops will engage cultural leaders, policy makers, citizens and researchers in knowledge-exchange and co-creation, in order to extract models/methods and enhance the multi-stakeholder dialogue. The researchers' network will map, compare and analyse existing meanings of *cultural leadership*. It will

identify local indicators which are conducive to assessing cultural impact on societies, and indicators which are or are not conducive to a productive global/local interaction. These indicators will be mapped across the research network and used for building an aggregated model for understanding the investigated dynamics.

The goal of networking is to increase reflexiveness of this practice. Through pooling, sharing knowledge (via offline and online platforms, workshops and conferences), and post-graduate training cultural leaders will receive input for further professionalization based on the needs identified during the project. Research outcomes will be shared through cultural leadership process toolkits.

5. Conclusion

The CLASP project aims to create an understanding of the encounter of local cultural leadership and global discourses on societal and cultural agendas. Among specific challenges in that encounter are likely to be globalization and migration, citizenship, diversity and identity. The goal of the CLASP project is to better understand the working of the global rhetoric in relation to diverse and possible contradictory local and at the same time fundamentally globalised cultural practices. The project envisions transnational and transdisciplinary case studies.

The impacts expected of this long term research project are building capacities for a new generation of cultural leaders to become pivotal actors in shaping the role of culture in relation to European societal agendas. They will acquire the agency to realize a desired, reflective global / local relationship that adequately connects to local cultural identity.

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The Challenge of Heritage Management as a Post National Symbol: The Dilemma of the Chungshan Great Hall's Adaptive Reuse, Taiwan

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ABSTRACT

Chungshan Great Hall, founded in 1965 on the request of President Chiang Kai-shek to commemorate the centenary of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's birth, and also for the reason to revive traditional Chinese culture. The building is located in the Yangmingshan National Park in Taipei City. Until the end of 2005, this was the site for the National Assembly meetings and that is why the picture of the building is placed on the reverse side of a NT\$100 bill. Besides, the architecture served as a location for hosting ceremonies by the President of the Republic of China for state visits, conferences, receiving distinguished foreign guests, or hosting state banquets, and was off limits to the general public until 2005. The government had designated the Chungshan Great Hall as a historical monument. It was also on the first 20 of do_co, mo.mo_Taiwan's list, because of its significance on both architectural and historic value. In spite of this, it conveys as a strong national symbol in essence, the architectural work of the Chungshan Great Hall might be designated as a splendid combination, as well as a demonstration of traditional crafts and modern design.

However, after the lifting of martial law, and the abolishment of the National Assembly, how to reuse this historic building became a difficult issue to both central and local governments. Namely, how to reuse it wisely, to interpret the once national glory, without mentioning the authoritarian rule; to appreciate the beauty and magnificence of the architecture, yet forgetting the negative memory of the

Keywords:

national monument,
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negative heritage,
heritage
management

White Terror; and obtaining remunerations from the visitors willing to pay for the huge budget required to take care of the building.

In this article, by reviewing the long process of how the central and local governments have tried to find different methods to reuse the monument, to dismantle the challenge, and the dilemma of the heritage management of this kind of architecture as a post-national symbol.

1. Introduction

Heritage is a concept to which most people would assign a positive value. The preservation of material culture and intangible culture are generally regarded as a shared common good by which everyone benefits. Both personal and community identities are formed through such tangible objects and intangible cultural performances, and a formation of a strong identity would seem to be a fundamentally good thing. It is a concept that can promote self-knowledge, facilitate communication and learning, and guide the stewardship of the present culture and its historic past. Nonetheless, it can also be a tool for oppression. At stake is the question of who defines cultural heritage and who should control the stewardship and the benefits of cultural heritage. Thus, while heritage can unite, it can also divide. These contestations, when unresolved, can lead to resistance, violence, and war. The inherent conflict between national heritage and individual or local rights emerges at this critical point (Silverman & Ruggles, 2007:1)

The contention that values are central to the conservation of cultural heritage has been widely debated over recent decades (McClelland, Peel, Hayes & Montgomery, 2013). To think about the value issue of cultural heritage in Taiwan is more essential now, since this year is the 30th anniversary of the lifting of martial law, yet, there is still a lot of debate on the controversies and entanglements surrounding the national identity subjects and interlinked political and social issues, which is the main crux of a vexed society. Nevertheless, how to deal with the political symbols, especially those involving the totalitarian leaders after their regime? Is it the best way to destroy them totally and quietly to avoid any social disturbance? How to remember and forgive the pain and sorrow for the passing lives of our families, friends, and lovers, whilst the terror and fear around us stays silent? And how can we narrate the history of the past pain, no matter whether individually or collectively, without all the material evidence disappearing This is why we need heritage, at all the national, social, historic, and personal levels.

However, the paradox is, since the totalitarian regime of Chiang's Family lasted about 40 years, and the lifting of martial law in 1987 which means a lot of political areas, and symbols gradually became part of the common experience of daily life. It is somewhat hard to argue its political symbol and significant issues, especially to the younger generations, for it might lead to other conflicts for irritating the unease of society.

For example, the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall, built in 1980 as a memorial for the president who died on April 5, 1975. It is located in the city center of Taipei, which is situated in a park of 250,000 m², and is also a landmark and tourist attraction. Although it was once a hot spot for different types of

demonstrations, the most well-known being the large scale student demonstration in March, 1990, however, it is more of a recreational park for most citizens. Just because of its highly symbolic significance, the DPP government tried to transform the spatial meaning of the area. The site's importance in the development of Taiwan's democracy led to the plaza's dedication as Liberty Square by President Chen Shui-bian in 2007. The Memorial Hall was also renamed in a dedication to democracy. However, to change the name was not only facing hostility by the KMT officials, it was then renamed again after President Ma Ying-jeou was elected, while the name Liberty Square was affirmed by officials across political parties. In 2017, on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the February 28 Incident and the 30th anniversary of the lifting of martial law, Taiwan's Ministry of Culture announced plans to transform the hall into a national center for "facing history, recognizing agony, and respecting human rights." Scholars and experts were invited to form an advisory group to help plan the hall's transformation. That is to say, it is a prime time as well as a vital issue to think about, as to how these historical political landscapes can transform their symbolic meaning, meanwhile facing the collective memory of the Taiwanese people.

From the outset, heritage has concerned itself with issues of identity, locality, territory, ethnicity, religion, and economic value. Historically, the present concept of heritage crystallized in Europe in synchrony with the origins of the nation-state, while the notion of the past as a resource for the present is also characteristic of the modern era. Intimately connected to the Enlightenment, the formation of a national identity relied on a coherent national heritage that could be deployed to fend off the counter claims of other groups and nations (Meskell, 2002:567).

In this article, I would like to introduce another once forbidden place, Chungshan Great Hall, which was also highly considered as a magnificent building and landscape that symbolized the ruling power of the Chiang Family. By reviewing the different reuse projects after it was empty, to speculate on how we can retell the history and story through heritage, and to protect, preserve, and conserve our memories through heritage based on common identity and value.

2. The birth and the rebirth of the Chungshan Great Hall: A brief history

Chungshan Great Hall, founded in 1965 on the request of President Chiang Kai-shek to commemorate the centenary of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's birth, and also for the reason to revive traditional Chinese culture, since Mainland China was involving the Cultural Revolution, and it was a highly tense moment across the Taiwan/Formosa Strait. The building was built in the Chinese Classical Palatial Style to symbolize the inheriting of the orthodox Chinese tradition, and it was also said, in the meantime, to imply Chiang's inner idea of being an Emperor in Taiwan. It was off limits to the general public until 2005. The Taipei City Government has designated the Chungshan Great Hall as a historical monument.

Cultural heritage requires memory. It is not enough for things and monuments to exist on a landscape: in order to be a cultural heritage they must be remembered and claimed as patrimony, even if their original meaning is lost or poorly understood (Silverman & Ruggles, 2007: 12). The Chungshan Great

Hall once served as a solemn metaphor of the national leadership, Chiang Kai-Shek. After the end of Chiang's family political forces, it simply reverted to a conference Hall once again. And after the National Assembly became defunct, it soon converted into a political relic. People would not forget, since they hardly remembered it, for Taiwanese people were taught not to care about political issues after the 228 incident in 1947, and the following White Terror.

There are three dimensions of meanings of the Chungshan Great Hall. First of all, it once served as an exclusive convention site for the defunct National Assembly of the Republic of China, and an eminent locale for the head of state to receive distinguished foreign guests or hosting state banquets. Secondly, the National Assembly was taken as a democratic temple to metaphor the "democratization" of the Republic of China since its Constitutionalism, and that is why the picture of the building is placed on the reverse side of a NT\$100 bill, especially when compared to Mainland China during that time. Thirdly, it was seen as a magnificent and architectural treasure, and a symbol of national and cultural glory, for the construction of the Hall was considered as quite a civic engineering challenge during the 1960s.

Conservation is a critical act and a means of extending and cementing cultural identities and historical narratives over time through the instantiation of cultural heritage (Matero, 2000:5). Similarly, the very concept of destruction is a culturally situated one.

According the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act of Taiwan, the local government is the competent authority to register the monument at the municipal level, however, owners or managing agencies (institutions) of public cultural heritage shall budget for and handle the preservation, restoration, management, and conservation of such cultural heritage. That is to say, to a large extent, it depends on how the managing agency budgets for the reuse project of the heritage.

Like most countries, shrinking state coffers have left even some of the most privileged houses of cultural and artistic treasures in precarious financial conditions. More tentative still is the fate of hundreds of archaeological and historic monuments, many of which remain undocumented and unprotected. After decades of highly centralized control over the key heritage resources, governments are demanding accountability, efficiency, and profit from their cultural institutions.

The managing agency of the Chungshan Great Hall is the National Dr. Sun, Yat-sen Memorial Hall, which is a social educational institution, belonging to the Ministry of Education. Around 2005, under the trend of the privatization of public service, and facing the pressure of profit-oriented and self-financing cultural policy, the agency tried a number of different schemes to revitalize the area. In the beginning, they planned to commission some private sectors to operate the Hall. The operational plan was first to transform it into a hot-spring resort. The idea seemed welcome, however, technically and functionally speaking, the hall was not easy to remodel as a hotel, not only because of a huge budget, but also because the Hall was designed to serve as a conference center for over 1800 people at the same time, therefore the scale are quite disparate. Then, they tried to manage the Hall by themselves, by renting the Hall and charging on a daily basis. People payed NT\$3,000, allowing them to have an

event that served hundreds of people in the main area of the Hall. Many of these events made the Hall appear as a night market or Karaoke bar. As some people could not stand the distortion and tarnishing of the sacred temple, the activation program soon came to an end. Next, they began to sell tickets for visiting the Hall, especially after the tourism frenzy from China around 2008, the agency wished to earn more money as they became highly interested in Chiang's rule, the Father of the country, Dr. Sun, Yat-sen, and so forth. The daily income from ticket sales was far from enough to pay for the maintenance costs of the building, let alone to have people manage the revitalization of the heritage based on its cultural values. After 2012, the managing agency was transferred to the National Taiwan Library, which is also a branch under the Minister of Education, that is, it seemed, the government intended to place emphasis on the cultural and historic values of this monument.

The Ministry of Education declaimed that, the new mission for the revitalization of the hall including five objectives:

1. The scheme must be based on the imaginary of the founding process of the Republic of China and the inheriting of the Chinese traditions.
2. To use the sublime of the architecture, the mountain, and their holy beauty to nurture the people from Mainland China, and make them defect to Taiwan spiritually and culturally.
3. To make the Hall an international conference center, for it has a good connection to Taipei City.
4. The exhibition of its relics must connect to its history, culture, and environment in order to make it an outstanding exhibition.
5. To plan for the future of the Hall and its mode of management is according to the principle of "to activate the asset, to increase revenue".

According to the aforementioned objectives, a list was made of the strategies for the revitalization of the Hall. There are 11 strategies, which included the design of its comprehensive image, to develop goods for revenues, to invent some educational programs and then to invite students to become involved in, to combine with the surrounding activities of Yangmingshan National Park, to review and preserve the cultural relics in the Hall, to train tour guides, to invite international conferences to be held in the Hall, to commission businesspeople to provide catering services, to plan a shuttle bus between the surrounding attractions, to make good usage of the social medias for marketing the hall, and to re-evaluate the possibility of a hot spring development. Obviously, the main concerns of these strategies were based on the tourism and business viewpoints, simply stated, the cultural and historic values of the heritage were seriously neglected.

The tourism program parallels the Red Tourism of the People's Republic of China. Red tourism is a subset of the leisure industry in which Chinese people visit locations with historical significance to Chinese Communism "to rekindle their long-lost sense of class struggle and proletarian principles." The Government began actively supporting red tourism in 2005 to promote the "national ethos" and socioeconomic development in those areas. China's Red Tourism and Cultural Festival are held annually in Hunan. In July, 2010, officials representing 13 Chinese cities signed a "China Red Tourism Cities Strategic Cooperation Yan'an Declaration" to develop red tourism. While the emphasis was to

commemorate the past glory of the Proletarian revolution, it became a tourism industry, as Urry mentioned (Urry, 1990). The Red Tourism aims to mobilize the collective memory of senior generations, not only to educate the younger people to obey the national leadership, but also to revitalize the local economy. Heritage tourism become an industry, it sells both nostalgia and negative memories.

The concept of 'negative heritage' was proposed by the archaeologist, Lynn Meskell (2002: 558), as a way of thinking about sites of conflict that become "the repository of negative memory in the collective imaginary". As she mentioned: "As a site of memory, negative heritage occupies a dual role: it can be mobilized for positive didactic purposes (e.g. Auschwitz, Hiroshima, District Six) or alternatively be erased if such places cannot be culturally rehabilitated and thus resist incorporation into the national imaginary (e.g. Nazi and Soviet statues and architecture)" (Meskell, 2002: 558). Then, compared with the Red Tourism, is the Chungshan Great Hall a negative heritage in Taiwan? Or is there any other way that can help us to review the cultural values of certain heritage other than economic values? Especially, as many historical sites were in danger, since they might be consumed by tourism.

3. The evaluation of cultural heritage

David Throsby (2001), began his task by distinguishing between the economic and cultural value. He commenced with the straightforward proposition that economic value is rooted in marginal utility. In contrast, cultural value can be defined anthropologically as "a set of attitudes, beliefs, mores, customs, values, and practices which are common to or shared by any group," or more narrowly as "certain activities... and the products... which have to do with the intellectual, moral and artistic aspects of human life" (p. 4), such as works of the visual, performing, and literary arts. According to Throsby (2001), the public value of the arts and culture including both economic and cultural values. The creative industries generate economic values via the market value of the output of the cultural goods and services, and non-market value of the public goods produced reflecting the existence demand, option demand, and bequest demand for the arts and culture. The economic value is rather easier to evaluate, which can be measured in monetary terms, while the cultural value is multi-faceted and has no single unit of account too difficult, respectively. In the measurement of economic value, the market value can be measured as observable financial flows, for example, gross value of output, value added, etc., and non-market value measured by a revealed or stated preference method (hedonic methods, contingent valuation, choice modeling). Throsby identified six "cultural characteristics" that are sources of cultural value for an activity or thing. These characteristics include aesthetic value, spiritual (or religious) value, social value (the extent that a thing provides people a sense of connection to others), historical value, symbolic value (the extent that cultural objects act as "repositories and conveyors of meaning"), and authenticity value (from the fact that a work is the "real, original, and unique artwork which it is represented to be") (pp. 28–29).

It may be possible to assign either cardinal or ordinal scores to these components and aggregate them into a simple index according to given assumptions. If so, the flow of cultural benefits from alternative projects might be able to be compared. Alternatively, this set of characteristics can be

placed in a broader context of public policy-making where the cultural value of the arts and culture is seen as a valid reason in its own right for government intervention (Rizzo & Throsby, 2006: 998). Nevertheless, the techniques to assess heritages to largely quantify and qualitatively describe resources, and then use the consultation to determine the perceived value and significance. More econometric and ranking approaches have also been applied; however, the nexus between values and significance is not explicit, and the implications for the resource usage remain implied. Further, the consultative process for defining values and significance inevitably confronts the dilemma of who is empowered to make judgments on these key issues for heritage place management. Planning for the use of heritage places often evokes concern for appropriateness of the usage irrespective of the degree of management sensitivity applied. The issue is ultimately one of difference between the values held by different members of a community. For planners, the need exists to retain objectivity while accepting that (heritage) planning is a political process (Carter & Bramley, 2002: 176), that is, indispensable, as there are both objective and subjective assessments for heritages. As the Burra Charter mentioned, "Cultural significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations. Cultural significance is embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects. Places may have a range of values for different individuals or groups." And what a Burra Charter Process means: "The cultural significance of a place and other issues affecting its future are best understood by a sequence of collecting and analysing information before making decisions. Understanding cultural significance comes first, then development of policy and finally management of the place in accordance with the policy. This is the Burra Charter Process."

In this article, I will try to evaluate the Chungshan Great Hall through the six elements developed by Throsby (2001), in a qualitative and narrative approach, specifically, to review the characteristics of the hall through a subjective way to make a thick description, mapping, and a content analysis, in order to reveal its cultural significance or to re-tell the story first, moreover, to contemplate what is the cultural value of it, and how to conserve the heritage for a social community, then local, and even at national levels.

4. To re-narrative the histories/stories of the Hall

According to Throsby (2001), the six characteristics of cultural heritage including aesthetics, spiritual, social, historical, symbolic, and authenticity values. I would like to analyze these features orderly.

The aesthetic value

First of all, with no doubt, the architecture was itself a masterpiece with everlasting value, in aesthetic, architectural, civic engineering, and artistic dimensions.

The Chungshan Great Hall occupies a field of more than 130,000 square meters, and the building itself takes a dimension of over 18,000 square meters, and 34 meters in height. Considering the different density of the soil and the slope, Architect Xiu and her design team made the Hall by

composing boxes in different sizes to follow the obliquity, and inserting posts into soil according to the depth and intensity needed, with the longest being 12 meters. To this day, the Chungshan Great Hall remains one of very few buildings in the world built directly atop a sulfur vent, even during the momentous earthquake of 1999, the Hall suffered no damage.

Moreover, the most mentioned design is the main conference hall and dining room. The former one, the Chinese Culture Room, allows 1,800 people to congregate, with 28m in width and 70m in depth, and no pillars in the middle of the hall. Besides, it was completed with a stage and stalls, which ingeniously slopes down and away from the stage then upwards, to give the participants a better view of those on the platform without the need to crane their necks and the acoustic effect is superb. The dining room is about the same size, which can serve 2,000 people simultaneously.

Not only does the civil engineering work, but also the interior design and the decoration were handmade through the cooperation between the craftsmen and the architectural design team. For instance, the interior embellishments such as over 400 handcrafted palace lanterns, mother-of-pearl inlaid furniture, the ceiling, design of the doors and windows, and color drawings of the pillars. The largest lantern is 2.4m *1.5m, the teak and bamboo made screen is 11m in width and 5m in length, and so forth. In sum, the architectural work of the Chungshan Great Hall might be considered as a splendid combination, a demonstration of traditional crafts, and a modernism architectural design.

The spiritual value

The spiritual value expressed is twofold: the architectural style of the Chinese Palatial form is to symbolize the traditional identity, though, it is not the identity of most people at this time, however, it was built according to Chinese fengshui, which delivers the Chinese cosmology; secondly, it was a very hard time for Taiwan after the second World War, especially economically, as it involved many people in the civil engineering work, and made it a good result for thousands of people, a so-called national pride instead, thereby making people feel that they belonged.

The difficulty of the project was due to the budget limitation, time, and the site. The average yearly income per person was 203 US dollars in 1965, namely, Taiwan could not afford high-end technology, machines and tools then. It is a rarity of a large-sized edifice in the world that is erected directly at a sulfuric-gas spurting pit. The location is at the foot of the Seven Star Mountain, and was carefully selected for its exceptional fengshui. Situated in the sulfurous area of Yangmingshan, the structure must be firmly founded on a ground base composed of mixtures of soft and hard soil, rocks, and mud. The fact that a sulfur well lies directly under the selected spot was no deterrent: the workers went ahead and built the hall, and the concrete was sealed with asphalt to protect it from the corrosive effects of the sulfur fumes. According to Architect Xiu's reminiscence, during the building process, instead of machinery, they almost only used manpower. Under the conditions of the limited budget and time, the construction was completed in just 13 months, by a taskforce of 1200 retired soldiers who had fled to Taiwan with the nationalist army in 1949. They worked 24 hours a day in three shifts. Some stories like these made it a combination of people's hard work into an accumulation of national

pride.

Though some might think the style of the architecture is retrograde, a revivalism which was not compatible for the mentality eager for modernization during that time in Taiwan, besides, it was the metaphor for the feudal and totalitarian system of the ruling class, taking the palatial form as the symbol of national pride under the rule of the KMT. However, Architect Xiu did envision some breakthroughs both in architectural design and construction technology at that time.

The social value

The Chungshan Great Hall was designed for the conference of the National Assembly, that is, a place as a democratic symbol, according to the Constitution of the Republic of China. Nevertheless, because of martial law, the whole society was under severe control, and people were deprived of their rights for over 30 years. People were prohibited, that is to say, the Hall had no connection or any emotional identity to people's daily life. Instead of a symbol of democracy, the Great hall was more of a forbidden zone, and a synonym of totalitarian rule, a negative place with dark memories.

The historical value

Following the negative connection to the Hall, the historic value tells another story. Since it was a meeting place for the National Assembly, people might well have considered political demonstrations and protest activities in the area. Especially after the lifting of martial law, as around the 1990s, there were a lot of political movements, for example, asking for the comprehensive reelection of the representatives of the National Assembly, and then the abolishment of the National Assembly. Compared to the secretive and alienated place with no connection to the people, the historic value of the Hall was highly linked to the victory of those struggling for democracy.

The symbolic value

Generally speaking, the symbolic values of the Hall transformed in every historic stage. In the very beginning, it implied the supreme authority of Chiang Kai-Shek, a solemnly national symbol. Since the Hall followed the architectural form of a Chinese traditional Palace, it also signified a sacred temple for Chinese Culture. Gradually, it became a contested terrain struggling for its spatial meaning. Until now, it is still a battlefield awaiting definition.

The authenticity value

The authenticity value is an important principle to the conservation of heritage, which implies the integrity of certain heritage and its surrounding area, the historic ingredient remains in keeping with its originality. Since the Hall remains unchanged, the authenticity value is no doubt highly praised.

The contention that values are central to the conservation of cultural heritage has been widely debated in recent decades (McClelland, Peel, Hayes, & Montgomery, 2013). After reviewing the different dimensions of heritage values, the next step will introduce three different approaches to help people

re-evaluate the value and significance of said heritages.

5. Discussion: three approaches for the re-evaluation of heritage significance

I would now like to introduce three different yet diverse approaches to reconsider how to review the cultural values of the Hall, and then how to conserve, preserve, and revitalize the heritage, but not at the expense of its historic values and significance.

To make good use of the blurred lines between tangible and intangible heritages

First of all, let's reconsider the arbitrariness between the demarcation of tangible and intangible heritages. There is an increasing awareness of the arbitrariness of the categories and their interrelatedness. People have spent several decades of trying to define the tangible, intangible, and natural heritage. The earlier folklore model supported scholars and institutions to document and preserve a record of disappearing traditions. However, the most recent model seeks to sustain a living tradition by supporting the conditions necessary for cultural reproduction. This means according value to the 'carriers' and 'transmitters' of traditions, as well as to their habitus and habitat. Whereas like tangible heritage, intangible heritage is culture, like natural heritage, it is alive. The task, then, is to sustain the whole system as a living entity and not just to collect 'intangible artifacts' (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004).

In the case of the Hall, there were a lot of relics preserved along with the architecture while it was under construction, that is, except for the many excellent art pieces collected by Madam Chiang Kai-shek, there were also some precious traditional crafts that decorated the Hall. There were a lot of traditional Chinese style wooden furniture, with the mother-of-pearl inlay skills, the palace lanterns with more than 48 different types of calligraphy inscriptions designed by the architect, the embossment on the wall in traditional Chinese graphics, for example, the orchid, bamboo, dragons, and so forth. In sum, the interior space of the hall might be a treasure house of traditional art and crafts, which can support the hall into becoming a museum. Since the museum encourage people to visit the Hall, and to see the beauty of these precious arts and crafts, this might well be a good opportunity to invite people to rethink the history and stories conveyed by these works through their own experiences. That is, the experience the economy generates and encounters between people, and the histories through these material artifacts. We should create more educational programs to help visitors become more aware of the past, in order to meet our common future.

The synaesthetic approach of "affective aesthetics" for dark heritage

Moreover, since visiting these place involving an encounter with the other, we should make some critical reflections on the operations of affect and emotion, which can provide an interesting perspective on the experiences connected to the so-called dark tourism, that is, visits to places

associated with death and trauma, as well as helping to deepen our understanding of human cognitive faculties (both bodily and mentally). Such a perspective also offers a novel approach to the concept of pleasure, which is included in the list of the most typical connotations that the term 'tourism' generates. Therefore, we should consider including additional theoretical perspectives in an attempt to figure out how these sites absorb us, also at the affective, bodily level, which sometimes happens regardless, or even in spite of, our critical or resistant attitude towards meanings they convey (Golańska, 2015).

The Hall might involve the issue of negative heritage, while the marketing made it an attraction associated with "dark tourism". It is really a challenge for people to invite visitors to have fun and pleasure during their tour by the conception of a dark and negative heritage. That is, what might be be pleasurable when you visit a place associated with death, evil, trauma, and so forth. Although the history of travelling to places connected to death and atrocity seems to be very long and complex, the term 'dark tourism' has only recently entered the mainstream discourse on contemporary travelling and sightseeing patterns. Golańska asserted that since some 'dark attractions' operate in complex multidimensional ways, we could approach them in a manner similar to how we deal with art or literature, that is, with methodological tools inspired from humanities rather than social sciences (Golańska, 2015: 774-775). She introduced a philosophical inquiry of "dark attractions", inspired by Deleuze and Guattari's work on aesthetics, with an aim of divorcing the term 'dark tourism' from its typically negative valance. She makes use of a synaesthetic understanding of experience and relies on an enlarged idea of perception conceptualized as a dynamic continuity between bodily/affective, and intellectual cognitive faculties that are activated in the vibrant interaction with the architectural landscape of the 'dark site'. The emphasis on immediate perception necessarily implies the formulation of a concept of 'affective aesthetics' which refers to a bodily process, a vital movement that triggers the subject's passionate becoming other, where 'becoming' stands for an intensive flow of affective (micro) perceptions. Besides, she argued that it is equally vital to look at (some of) those sites as works of art (especially because so many of them are currently arranged in artistic terms). As such, they rely not exclusively on meanings and emotions, but also on affects and sensations, grasping visitors at the immediately embodied or visceral level, somewhat autonomous from political or ideological contexts in which the sites are undoubtedly immersed.

Ideologically speaking, Chiang Kai-shek was once the national symbol of a powerful leader, who was esteemed by the masses. It was ambivalent to talk about his contribution or political persecution to compatriots. The Hall is itself a heritage that might evoke negative affection, especially to those whose families were victims, or the survivors themselves. So, it might be a positive way to take advantage of the concept of the synaesthetic approach, which means the different sensual dimensions of the visitor's experience working together to produce a synaesthetic event, generated in a creative encounter of the visitor's body and the architecture of the site. The approach grounded in 'affective aesthetics' resonates with such a conceptualization of memorial places. Importantly, to creatively engage with art is always, in some sense, to experience it viscerally. Art pushes us out of our ordinary perceptual routines into the conditions of creation, by introducing a singular state independent of an

experiencing subject and experienced object (Golańska, 2015: 786). Affective transaction can stimulate a thorough, profound, and critical inquiry since, and in this kind of aesthetic interaction, mind is often indeed but a witness to the body.

To make heritage an action by local people

Johnston and Marwood (2017) through their project of inviting a class of primary school children to take part in a local history investigation program, proposed a term called “action heritage” for a new framework of heritage research and local participation. They took it as an action plan from recognizing heritage as a social action specifically directed towards social justice. The main argument of the article was that heritage is a resource in society contingent upon and conditions of social action. Heritage is caught up in political and cultural discourses on multiple levels, and influences power relations and identities in the present and into the future. Societies are unequal and unjust to varying degrees and the agencies of heritage management unavoidably work with, perpetuate, and have the potential to change these inequalities. It is widely argued that because of this there is a moral imperative to appreciate and address inequalities in access, participation, and representation of marginalized groups within society during heritage practice (Johnston and Marwood, 2017: 10).

According to Johnston and Marwood (2017), there are four vectors of their framework of action heritage: undisciplinary research, active rather than activist, with parity of participation, which is sustainable and sustained (figure 1). Researching community heritage should be undisciplinary. The framework is the privileging of the process over the outcomes, which is to say, emphasizing the transformative experiences of researching over the impacts achieved from the research results. The application of a dispersed and redistributive model of research practice, which means social justice, is achieved by enabling full participation through the equality of status and the access to resources. Finally, it has to incorporate time into action heritage to be sustainable and sustained collaborations, that is, by the repositioning of the participants as a researcher, and to purposefully achieve social justice through participation in research (Johnston & Marwood, 2017: 12-14).

By introducing the concept of action heritage mentioned above, to invite people to become involved in the research project of the Hall, namely, through the practice of heritage research, allows people to distinguish their own history or the concealed version by the ruling class. Let the story of the place be retold, and by doing so, let the significance of the heritage be re-evaluated by the community.

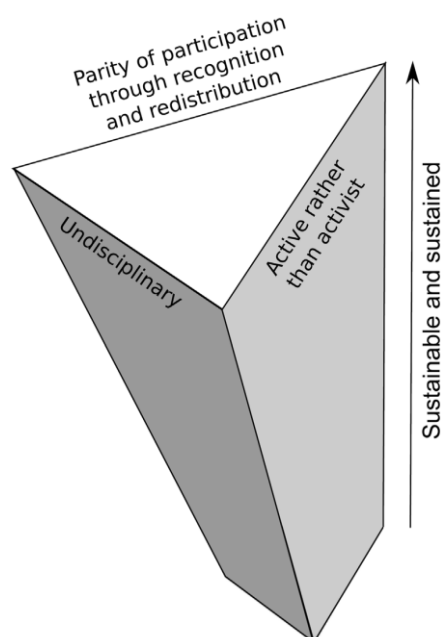


FIGURE 1. THE FOUR VECTORS OF THEIR FRAMEWORK OF ACTION HERITAGE

Source: Johnston & Marwood (2017: 12-14)

6. Conclusion: The conservation and preservation of the Hall

A premise of this discussion was that valued and significant places must be made available for human usage and enjoyment, that is, conserved rather than preserved. It is inappropriate to isolate significant places from the community that owns and values them. This contrasts with the view implicit in much of the debate about tourism and use of heritage resources. Restricting access is a short-term solution requiring an ongoing commitment of funds for policing a non-appreciative public. Where emphasis is placed on absolute protection, options for community use, and appreciation of a place are constrained. Inevitably, significant heritage places become alienated from the communities whose heritage is being conserved.

According to the Burra Charter, the so-called Burra Charter Process, the comprehensive process for the conservation of a heritage comes from the cultural significance of a place, and other issues affecting its future are best understood by a sequence of collecting and analyzing information before making decisions. Understanding cultural significance comes first, then the development of policy, and finally the management of the place in accordance with the policy. This is the Burra Charter Process, as illustrated below:

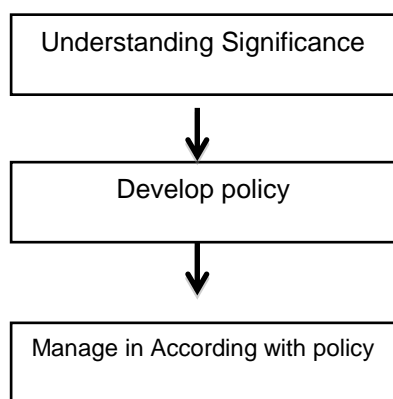


FIGURE 2. THE BURRA CHARTER PROCESS

Source: The Burra Charter

However, in the article, the conservation of the Great Hall highly ignored discussing/understanding the significance of the Hall. Since there was no understanding of its meaning and value, there would not be any appropriate policy for conservation.

By introducing the three approaches for a better process to manage the heritage for the local community, it is also a challenge for Taiwan. Not only has the government to think about how to manage the collective memory from the heritage for people, but also having to face people's life stories involving the White Terror. As for reviewing the significance and value of cultural heritage, we still have a lot of work to do in this area.

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Exploring Cultural Ecosystems: the case of Dante 2021 in Ravenna

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ABSTRACT

This paper is aimed at exploring cultural ecosystems around the figure of Dante Alighieri, focusing on one specific network formed by private, non-profit and public actors. It presents the results of an empirical research mostly based on Ravenna, a town in Northern Italy, based on document analysis and interviews with key actors of the network. Results contribute to confirm previous literature, highlighting the dynamics that lead to the formation of cultural networks, the role the local culture plays in the process and potentials for further development. The paper provides a useful example for cultural players and contributes to the academic debate on the need to rethink how to govern and manage public and cultural services.

Keywords:

network
governance,
ecosystem, cultural
policies, Dante

1. Introduction

In the last decades, New Public Management (NPM) scholars (Hood, 1991) highlighted the need for more collaboration between the public and private sectors. Collaborative processes which include citizens (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000) and other subjects (Provan & Kenis, 2008; Klijn & Koppenjan, 2000) may also develop and create networks (Kooiman, 1993), which could contribute in delivering public services. These tendencies are also developing in the cultural sector (Zan, 2007). After the

financial crisis, public funds for culture have diminished – yet, the crisis might be also considered as an opportunity for a structural change of the cultural sector (Bonet & Donato, 2011). In fact, there seems to be a growing need to rethink how to deliver cultural services (Vicente, Camarero & Garrido, 2012). Specifically, more research is needed in how cultural networks develop and work in local areas (Mydland & Grahn, 2012), rather than only considering national ones.

This paper contributes to the debate with an explorative analysis on a local cultural network between private, non-profit and public subjects, also aiming at understanding if there is a link between local culture and cultural networks (Turrini, 2015), how the cultural network works and what the potentials for developing long terms collaborations are (Bonet & Donato, 2011).

To do so, the paper focuses on one local cultural network related to an internationally known poet, Dante Alighieri, based in a town in northern Italy, Ravenna. The case of Ravenna over Dante-related cultural initiatives is particularly interesting because it is the place where Dante lived and died after being exiled from Florence. Thus, Ravenna's identity has been culturally shaped around his figure for centuries.

The research continues the discussion launched by previous scholars and is related to the ongoing debate on the need to rethink the current models of cooperation and networking in the cultural sector. Although a case-study is not aimed at generalisations, it may be of interest as it represents an example (Donato, 2015) of different actors that spontaneously cooperate to deliver cultural services, innovating traditional models.

The paper develops as follows. First, it will review some relevant literature on cultural networks as an alternative way to deliver cultural services, which were traditionally mainly provided by the public sector. It focuses on the reasons why there is a need to rethink the way cultural policies are delivered and mention some previous examples of research on cultural networks. Then, the methodology of the research and its phases will be outlined. The empirical part will follow, which will analyse and discuss the case of Dante 2021. Finally, some insights and further research perspective will be drafted.

2. Literature review

From the 1990s, most European countries have been facing the need to reduce their public expenditures, also looking for new ways in delivering public services (Héritier, 2002; Drechsler, 2005; Borgonovi et al, 2006; Levy, 2010). First, New Public Management theories (Hood, 1991) started to promote a shift towards collaboration between the public sector and private operators, introducing contracting out, privatization and competition. NPM processes contributed to the formation of hybrid organisations (Evers, 2005), thus changing the boundaries between the public, private and no-profit sectors (Brandsen & Pestoff, 2006). In some cases, hybridisation processes improved public sector management and efficacy, bringing in some positives of the private sector (Bertini, 1990; Bianchi Martini, 2009).

Together with NPM, scholars proposed other approaches for managing public entities, also

questioning what the State boundaries should be. For example, New Public Service (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2000) proposed to put citizens at the centre of public services management, building collaborative processes which could foster engagement and responsibility, creating strong relationships between citizens. In this perspective, citizens are not just customers of public services, but they also contribute in the making of services themselves.

Other authors maintain that public managers should not only focus on results and performances, but that they should try to create and keep trust between citizens and public institutions. In this perspective, known as Public Value, managers should also respond to the collective preferences of the citizens, not considering them just clients (O'Flynn, 2007). While some emphasise the need for coordinating and integrating public policies (Christensen & Lægheid, 2007), others believe that each public service has its own needs (Osborne, 2010).

In this perspective, Public Governance (Kooiman, 1993) first introduced the idea that public and private subjects, including citizens themselves, could collaborate for delivering public services (Rosenau, 1992; Ostrom, 1996). Discussion on Public Governance significantly grew in the last two decades (Osborne, 2017) and was further developed and integrated by Network Governance and Co-production theories. While Network Governance scholars believe that different subjects should cooperate to deliver efficient public services (Provan & Kenis, 2008; Klijn & Koppenjan, 2000), Co-production theory emphasises the need for different subjects (especially citizens, but also clients, community and professionals) to participate in producing public services (Bovaird, 2007).

Recently, the economic crisis contributed to emphasise the need to rethink how to deliver public services. The public debts crisis forced local and central governments to reduce their public expenditures, which led to decreasing funds for public services, including cultural ones. In fact, Italian cultural expenditure experienced substantial cuts between 2001 and 2014, around 11,5% (Council of Europe, 2016). Moreover, Italian public expenditure moved from the State to the local level, which means that in percentage the local government now provides more than half of public subsidies to the cultural services (Associazione per l'economia della cultura, 2005). Such processes are bringing European countries and local institutions to rethink the ways to deliver cultural policies (Vicente, Camarero & Garrido, 2012).

In recent years, cultural services delivery has been changing similarly with the State's governance model (Zan, 2007). Some scholars believe that the economic crisis should and has to be interpreted also as an opportunity for a structural change in the public sector and in the ways cultural organizations operate – they should adopt a long-term approach and cooperate with joint strategies. Moreover, cross-sector and international collaborations could help developing the cultural sectors even more (Bonet & Donato, 2011).

Developing cultural networks could help not only fundraising capabilities, but it could also bring to knowledge exchanges (Powell, 1990), innovation (Montella, 2014), and foster different potentials of different cultural resources from which they are born (Pencarelli & Splendiani, 2011).

During the last two decades, studies on cultural networks increased. In particular, research on museum networks has developed more than other cultural phenomena. In fact, as culture has no single meaning (Gray, 2009), what constitutes the cultural sector varies. Eurostat (2002) splits the cultural sector into 4 segments: cultural heritage (monuments, museums, archaeological sites), archives, libraries and dramas (music, dance, theatre and more). Other authors also include intangible traditions in the definition, as community uses, food and wine, handicraft (Cerquetti, 2007), feasts, dialect revivals (Argano et al., 2005) events and other cultural shows (Pencarelli & Splendiani, 2011).

Among the variety of empirical studies, Riccaboni and Magliacani (2004) analysed the museums district in Siena (Italy), while other authors analysed the characteristics and potentials of museums networks in Italy (Montella, 2014), maintaining that networks are particularly suitable in Italy due to the small dimensions of museums and the way they are widespread in the State's territory. Jung (2011) believes that museums should not be isolated, but they should be considered as active subjects in the local community, as they can positively interact and help sharing notions and education.

Besides museums networks, some works started to focus on cultural networks between different actors. While Arnaboldi and Spiller (2011) analysed how stakeholders collaborate in the creation of a cultural district, linking it to the touristic appeal of the territory, Pencarelli and Splendiani (2011) believe that public entities, companies, universities, cultural institutions and the community should cooperate and create cultural districts, while keeping a balanced governance model. This is also the case of Blackstone et al (2016), who studied cultural networks linking artists in their communities, and of Marzano and Castellini (2016), who examined cultural networks between theatres in Southern Italy, under the theoretical lens of Network Governance. The Network Governance approach is considered to be valid in small, peripheral locations as well, and could help raise the cultural attractiveness of less known places (Golinelli, 2008). In fact, some part of the academia believes that research on the cultural sector should also focus on specific local areas (Mydland & Grahm, 2012) rather than just taking national approaches. Small areas may also create the basis for culture and local traditions to build cultural districts or other forms of integration and networks (Turrini, 2015). This way, it is the territory itself, with its unique identity, which could become a “diffuse museum” (Cerquetti, 2007), where each museum is not isolated, but part of a bigger plan.

3. Research question and methodology

Past research highlighted the need for a better understanding of how to successfully manage and govern public networks (Cristofoli et al, 2017) and of how collaboration in different cultural contexts works (Aas et al, 2005; Alberti & Giusti, 2012). It also seems that integrated cultural systems are the governance models where less research has been carried out (Donato, 2015) and where there is a need for primary data (Blackstone et al, 2016).

In order to address the need to research local areas (Mydland, & Grahm, 2012), this paper focuses on a specific art city (Lazzeretti, 1997) where peculiar cultural initiatives are held (Alberti & Giusti, 2012). To do so, the case study is set in Ravenna, a town in northern Italy with a strong cultural background.

In fact, the town hosts 8 religious monuments belonging to the UNESCO World Heritage list⁹⁶ and some museum networks are already in place (Borin, 2015; Borin & Donato, 2015). Besides, Ravenna also has some intangible cultural background, as it was the place where the poet Dante Alighieri lived and died after escaping from Florence. This paper concerns Dante-related cultural ecosystems in Ravenna, focusing on a peculiar one, Dante 2021.

Starting from these premises, the case study (Yin, 2013) seemed to be a suitable way to analyse a case of cultural governance, combining various research methods (Bowden & Ciesielska, 2016; Marzano & Castellini, 2016). To sum up, the case of Dante-related cultural ecosystems in Ravenna may be considered a “unique case study” (Aas, Ladkin & Fletcher, 2005).

This paper adopts multiple qualitative methods. In a first stage, it includes document analysis (Scott, 2006), then semi-structured interviews (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

The first part was based on document analysis, starting from local newspapers, online and bibliographic researches, conference materials and documents. This part helped making a clearer framework of the wide range of Dante-related cultural initiatives held in the territory. It highlighted that the territory is rich of cultural initiatives regarding Dante, which have been growing through the years approaching the centenary of Dante’s death, but networks between different subjects were not homogenous. Research then focused on one cultural network, Dante 2021, which responded to the characteristics the gaps in the literature highlighted. In fact, Dante 2021 is a rather small network of different subjects, both private, non-profit and public, that operate on the local area with different cultural initiatives – thus considering culture in its broader sense.

The second part of the research focused on the Dante 2021 case, using in-depth document and website analysis together with semi-structured interviews with key actors involved in the network. All the subject involved in Dante 2021 that appear in the official website as collaborators were contacted for an interview. From 10 organisations contacted, 7 interviews were made. In two cases, the interviewee was supported by one or two colleagues, who helped adding more details during the interview. All interviews were recorded, transcripts were made and analysed. Interviews followed a similar topic guide, which was adapted depending on the organisation the interviewee represented. Globally, they were aimed at understanding the reasons that brought to the creation of the network and how the network works.

This paper may be considered as an explorative research on local cultural networks between private, non-profit and public subjects. Specifically, the research questions are aimed at understanding if there is a link between local culture, traditions and the creation of cultural networks (Turrini, 2015), what the advantages and criticalities of the cultural network are and the potentials for developing long terms collaborations between the public and private sector (Bonet & Donato, 2011).

Following Aas, Ladkin & Fletcher (2005) and Pencarelli & Splendiani (2011), the empirical part is

⁹⁶ Please visit <<http://whc.unesco.org/> for more details>.

structured as follows: first, the town and region will be briefly described, then the basic characteristics of the case will be outlined (including the level of formalization, the year the partnership was born and the kinds of subjects), after that, the analysis will focus on the reasons for creating the network and understanding the dynamics of collaborations (including how they are born and develop, how they work out, what the output of the network is and what the advantages and criticalities of collaborating are). Finally, the local government's approach will be analysed, and potential for development will be discussed.

4. Empirical research: results and discussion

As previous research highlighted the need to focus on cultural networks in local areas, this paper is intended to contribute to fill such gap. Thus, it explores the reasons, main dynamics and potentials of cultural networks in local areas. To do so, the research proceeded with two phases. While the first one was aimed at exploring the existing networks, the second one was meant to analyse one specific cultural network.

In the first step, the research was carried out through document and internet research, aiming at identifying the main cultural networks concerning Dante in the territory. It showed that Ravenna was rich in cultural initiatives, but it was not homogenous in terms of existing and structured networks. Specifically, among the main networks, Dante 2021 seemed to be worth investigating, as it is well responded to the requirements previously highlighted, involving both private and public institutions. In fact, even if it is promoted by one main actor (Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Ravenna, Ravenna's Saving Bank Foundation) it develops with various collaborations, including Accademia della Crusca (literally "the Bran Academy"), the local municipality and other subjects, allowing it to be nationally relevant but keeping it to the local level. Moreover, Dante 2021 appeared to be quite recent, as it started in 2011, and with potential for further development, as it aimed to celebrate the seventh centenary of Dante's death in 2021.

Based on such premises, the second phase focused on the Dante 2021 network. It was carried out with a more in-depth document and websites analysis, also complemented by interviews with key subjects of the network. Results are presented in the following paragraphs.

4.1 The territory: Ravenna and Emilia Romagna

The case is set in Ravenna, a town in the northern part of Italy. It belongs to Emilia Romagna region, whose economy is partially based on the touristic sector, mostly linked to its cultural, landscape and industrial heritage (Alberti & Giusti, 2012). Ravenna's municipality area is 652,22 sq. km wide, with a resident population of 159.116 inhabitants⁹⁷, which well responds to the need to investigate local territories (Mydland, & Grahn, 2012). It is a town with a strong cultural and historical background, also included in the UNESCO World Heritage list and where some museum networks are already in place

⁹⁷ Please visit the official website of the municipality, Comune di Ravenna, for more details (<<http://www.comune.ra.it/La-Citta/Informazioni-generalisulla-citta/Il-comune-in-pillole>>).

(Borin, 2015). Apart from monuments and museums, Ravenna was also the place where Dante Alighieri lived and died after being exiled from Florence in 1302. Thus, Ravenna's cultural identity has been shaped for centuries around the figure of Dante. While Dante's present tomb was built between 1780 and 1782, his bones have always been kept in Ravenna, and they were long hidden by the Franciscan Friars. As for now, Ravenna is one of the main places where cultural initiatives concerning Dante are held, also including international conferences⁹⁸. Moreover, these years are particularly critical as a national law regarding celebrations of the centenaries of Leonardo da Vinci, Raffaello Sanzio and Dante Alighieri is being discussed in the Parliament⁹⁹.

4.2 Key characteristics of Dante 2021

Dante 2021 is a 4-5 days festival based on events, meetings and shows. It started in 2011 and is held each year in September. Dante 2021 focuses on themes around Dante Alighieri, not only on his works but also discussing and bringing their main themes to our days. It is promoted by one not-for-profit subject, Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Ravenna, and it is developed in collaboration with many subjects, both private (not for profit) and public. As for now, the Dante 2021 network is formalised in the sense that the initiatives are included in one programme, which has its own brand, website, calendar and publications.



FIGURE 2. DANTE 2021 LOGO

Source: www.dante2021.it

Collaborations have developed and grown during the years, starting from the partnership with Accademia della Crusca, a public institution based in Florence (in Tuscany, central Italy), and developing with other collaborations mainly based in Ravenna. It also has the patronage of the local municipality, Ravenna, and of the region, Emilia Romagna. Currently, the network is composed of different subjects, both private (non-profit) and public. Following Donato (2015), we consider institution ownership in two categories: public and private. Private ownership also includes non-profit entities, Church authorities or single citizens.

The main participants of the network are as follows:

⁹⁸ It is the case of the International Dante Conference, which was held in May 2017 and was organised by University of Bologna.

⁹⁹ The Law Proposal, yet not definitive, may be consulted at: www.senato.it/leg/17/BGT/Schede/Ddliter/47987.htm

Name	Role in the network	Public / Private	Details
Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Ravenna	Promoter	Private	Non profit
Accademia della Crusca	Scientific committee	Public	Institution
Regione Emilia Romagna	Patronage	Public	Local Authority
Comune di Ravenna	Patronage	Public	Local Authority
Amici dell'Accademia della Crusca	Partner	Private	Non profit
Teatro nazionale della Toscana	Partner	Public	Non profit
Istituzione Biblioteca Classense	Partner	Public	Institution
Casa Matha	Partner	Private	Non profit
Centro dantesco dei Frati minori conventuali di Ravenna	Partner	Private	Non profit / Church authority

TABLE 1. MAIN PARTICIPANTS OF DANTE 2021

Source: www.dante2021.it

4.3 Reasons for creating the network

The idea of Dante 2021 was born from Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Ravenna, a non-profit entity aimed at promoting and helping the development of the local territory¹⁰⁰. The Fondazione continues the historical mission of Cassa di Risparmio di Ravenna, a bank based in Ravenna and founded in 1839, from which the Fondazione originated in the 1990s. Before the reforms of the 1990s, Italian Casse di Risparmio (Saving Banks) were originally aimed at developing the local territories both from a social and economic perspective (Fasano, 1927). Now, one of the aims of the Fondazione is helping the town and territory grow from a cultural point of view, also supporting the town to be a key cultural place in Italy.

After a few years promoting a festival named “Dante 09” (“09” as it was held in September), the Fondazione decided to give a more specific connotation to the festival and to the events, thus shifting the focus to the Italian language and aiming at celebrating the 7th centenary of Dante’s death, in 2021. With these goals in mind, the Fondazione contacted Accademia della Crusca, based in Florence, which agreed to collaborate as a main partner.

Globally, Dante 2021 seems to develop from one main subject’s will (the Fondazione), but also from the meeting of two aims and scopes: on the one hand, the Fondazione is interested in keeping some contact with the citizens and being a key actor in Dante’s initiatives in Ravenna; on the other hand, Accademia della Crusca has a chance to develop and share its researches on languages, with a focus on Dante. Overall, Dante 2021 is now aimed at reaching 2021, the 7th centenary of Dante’s death, bringing a variety of cultural insights, events and shows, also highlighting the reasons and the values

¹⁰⁰ For further details, please visit <<http://www.fondazioneassaravenna.it/La-Fondazione/Missione-e-Valori.aspx>>.

of the Italian language, which contributed to build Italian national identity¹⁰¹.

4.4 Understanding how collaborations were born

Dante 2021 has grown its partnerships since the first edition. Interestingly, most of the subjects that joined the network already had peculiar links, activities or interests in Dante. First, those subjects outside the local territories are based in Florence, the city where Dante was born in 1265. Collaboration between Ravenna and these subjects (Accademia della Crusca, Associazione Amici dell'Accademia della Crusca, Teatro Nazionale della Toscana) has deep meanings, as it ideally connects the places where Dante was born and died. Moreover, the local actors have many different links to Dante's figure, each of them from a different point of view.

Collaborations with local and Florentine subjects have grown throughout the years of the festival, giving the events an increasing richness. As mentioned, the first strong collaboration that led to the creation of Dante 2021 was with Accademia della Crusca, one of the leading institutions in research on the Italian language¹⁰². Another subject based in Florence which collaborates to the network is Associazione Amici dell'Accademia della Crusca (Friends of Accademia della Crusca), a cultural non-profit entity that financially supports Accademia della Crusca. Associazione Amici already had links to Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Ravenna, as the Fondazione is one of the Associazione Amici's members. However, the relationship became even stronger as Associazione Amici participates Dante 2021 initiatives, giving support, expanding the local network to Florence and helping the Fondazione reaching a wider variety of speakers and collaborators.

The municipality of Ravenna also supports the network, both making public locations available for Dante 2021 events and including them in the wider programme of the town's events for Dante, which is published by the municipality every year.

Among other collaborations, the ones with Centro Dantesco dei Frati Minori Francescani (Dante's Studies Centre of Franciscan Friars) and Casa Matha have some peculiar aspects and strong links to Dante, both belonging to ancient history and current times. Centro Dantesco is a not-for-profit entity aimed at spreading the knowledge of Dante's works and managed by Franciscan Friars. They have strong links to Dante, as Franciscan Friars have been long hiding Dante's bones from the Florentines, who wanted to bring them back to Florence. Franciscan Friars are then considered those who kept Dante's bones safe, till they were discovered, opened and brought to Dante's tomb in 1865.

¹⁰¹ "Il nuovo Festival si propone ora, infatti, di traguardare il 2021, anno del VII centenario della morte del poeta, con una costellazione culturale di approfondimenti e riflessioni che abbiano particolare riferimento alle ragioni e ai valori della lingua italiana come fattore portante della nostra identità nazionale e dello stesso processo unitario. (...) E' anche un segnale che abbiamo voluto fornire alla Città, per contribuire, crediamo, a proiettare ancora di più la sua realtà e le sue connessioni storiche e culturali in una prospettiva nazionale e internazionale. (...) Lo festeggiamo con entusiasmo, nella speranza che, insieme ai volumi che seguiranno via via fino al 2021, possa offrire anche uno strumento di riflessione per la comune crescita culturale e sociale, nel riferimento alla lingua, ai valori letterari e civili di Dante." (Le conversazioni di Dante 2021, 2011).

¹⁰² Among the main aims of Accademia della Crusca, it supports scientific activities, helps spreading the historical knowledge and evolution of the Italian language, collaborates with national and international institutions. More info can be found at: www.accademiadellacrusca.it.

Casa Matha¹⁰³ is considered to be the world's oldest association of fishermen, as it was probably founded before 943, thus being more than a thousand years old. As for now, it is a private non-profit association that organises and hosts many different cultural initiatives, including some focused on Dante. It is one of the latest entities that joined the Dante 2021 network. In fact, it was contacted for the 2016 edition and they hosted a Dante 2021 event in the associations' historic building. Collaborations will continue and further develop in 2017 and in following editions of Dante 2021. It, too, has strong historical links to Dante. In fact, the first "cartolare" (the first statute) shows a person named Pier Giardini (or Pier Zardini) among the first Casa Matha's members. In the 19th century, scholars found out that Pier Giardini really existed and was one of Dante's best students – which meant that at least one of the members of Casa Matha actually knew and studied with Dante himself. More recently, at least ten Casa Matha's members happened to attend the re-opening of Dante's bones in 1865. To sum up, Casa Matha has deep roots into Dante's history, has been promoting events on Dante on its own and has recently joined the Dante 2021 initiatives, offering its spaces.

Overall, such evidence shows that the common local cultural background brings many different subjects to start different activities on Dante. This also helps the formation and development of cultural networks: as each subject has a different perspective and specific know how, collaboration may be easier and could lead to higher the richness of the events jointly organised.

As some interviewees mentioned, "everything here recalls Dante"¹⁰⁴, and "it is not the same to do the same thing in Florence, in Ravenna or in Catania, it is different because there is some history, there is a texture that brings connections. (...) The centenary of Dante is the centenary from Alaska to Vietnam, but there are some places that have different reasons, emotions and vibrations"¹⁰⁵ To sum up, the common cultural background seems to help in many ways: first, as a variety of subjects starts their own initiatives on Dante, second, connections seem to build easier as the promoting subjects already share a cultural interest. Living in a rather small territory helps social and institutional connections, too. In fact, an interviewee pointed out that living in the town helps being involved in local initiatives: "living here you have the chance to meet (people), and being involved (in initiatives)"¹⁰⁶.

4.5 Coordinating the network and creating new outputs

The coordinating activities are managed by the Artistic Director appointed by the Fondazione, as it is the main promoter and financier. The other network participants actively collaborate in different ways, depending on their role, know how and where they are placed. They are also involved in the decision-making processes, even though the main decisions are made by the Fondazione.

The local municipality is also involved with another type of collaboration. In fact, as Dante 2021 is just one of the many initiatives concerning Dante held in Ravenna, the municipality puts them all together

¹⁰³ Please find more info at www.casamatha.it.

¹⁰⁴ "Qui ricorda tutto un po' Dante" (Paolo Bezzi, Casa Matha).

¹⁰⁵ "Cioè non è indifferente fare la stessa cosa a Firenze a Ravenna o a Catania, è diverso perché c'è una storia, un tessuto che lega (...). Il centenario di Dante è il centenario dall'Alaska al Vietnam, esistono però dei luoghi che hanno delle ragioni, delle emozioni, vibrazioni diverse" (Domenico De Martino, Artistic Director).

¹⁰⁶ "E stando qui hai la possibilità di conoscere, e quindi di essere coinvolto" (Father Egidio, Centro Dantesco).

into a calendar, which is now called “Ravenna per Dante” (Ravenna for Dante). Doing so, the municipality seems to have a role of *ex-post* coordinator.

As a main output, the network creates a series of events with a great variety of speakers and locations. Both are a result of connecting with different subjects: some help contacting speakers or are owners or responsible for places.

Collaborating and meeting different speakers becomes a chance for creating events that never existed before¹⁰⁷, while setting the events all around the town makes citizens live their territory and developing stronger roots with their culture and history. Some collaborations evolve in time: Casa Matha, for example, was first involved for hosting an event in the 2016 edition, and will probably increase its participation in the following editions.

Overall, Dante 2021 becomes a chance to offer citizens some understanding of current research concerning Dante, strengthening cultural and historic roots with their territory and reflecting on current themes and beliefs with a connection on Dante’s life and works.

However, the main output are cultural events, which don’t usually last after that fixed moment in time and space. To avoid this, the promoter decided to start a small publication, “Le conversazioni di Dante 2021” (Dante 2021’s talks). The book is published every year and is meant at collecting the main speeches and dialogues after each edition, in order to make the events last in time.

4.6 Advantages and criticalities of collaborating

Managing cultural events and collaborating leads to advantages and criticalities. Many interviewees agreed that funds for culture are diminishing, both from the public and private sectors. However, it seems that limited availability of funds leads to higher sense of responsibility for those managing the economic resources. It also has some impact when looking for speakers, mainly attracting the most motivated and passionate ones. Networking helps by means that participants may allow events to be held in their properties, thus lowering or eliminating costs of finding appropriate locations. Among criticalities, some interviewees raised the need for a stronger collaboration and shared planning activity.

Networking seems to bring some advantages, first helping varying locations and lowering some costs. Collaborating with outside institutions (e.g. Accademia della Crusca, which is based in Florence) brought something new to the town and citizens. Such connection may also help in strengthening collaborations between the two cities, Ravenna and Florence, which may become particularly important for celebrating the centenary. Some interviewees also believed that past initiatives helped stimulating citizens to participate not only to Dante 2021 events, but also to other similar cultural ones. In this sense, the cultural network appears to help developing citizens’ participation to the cultural events of their territory.

¹⁰⁷ “Hanno creato una cosa che non esisteva, che è esistita in quel momento” (Domenico De Martino, Artistic Director).

4.7 The Local Government's approach

Both the local municipality and the region gave their patronage to Dante 2021, which meant that they positively acknowledged its initiatives. Dante 2021 and the municipality also have an *ex-post* kind of collaboration, as Dante 2021 enters the town's calendar of cultural initiatives concerning Dante, which are usually held in Autumn. The calendar contains all the main events concerning Dante organised by different subjects in the territory, putting together more than 60 events a year. In short, Dante 2021 also belongs to the bigger network put together by the municipality's calendar. Coordination is managed by the municipality, which also calls together the participants in a round table once or twice a year, to collect and organise all the events.

Ravenna also participates a wider national network of the "città dantesche" (dantesque cities), also formed by Firenze and Venezia. These three cities are part of a national committee aimed at celebrating the centenary, which was formed between 2014 and 2015.

While the national committee is institutionalised, the town network is mainly an operative one – it is not formalised except from the calendar.

4.8 Potential for development

Four out of seven interviewees hoped for more coordination and integration of cultural initiatives concerning Dante. In particular, some of them believed that more coordination should help improving the external image of Ravenna as a town culturally and historically connected to Dante. One of the interviewees wished they had more private sources of income to sustain their cultural initiatives, which would also support the public sector's cultural services.

It seems that the 2021 centenary is seen as a chance to do more together, strengthening collaborations with all the town entities concerned in Dante's cultural initiatives and creating one bigger network, which would have a better known outside image¹⁰⁸. Foster the collaboration between the public and private sector might help as well¹⁰⁹. While most interviewees believe that local entities and institutions should join their forces to work together with more synergy and collaboration,¹¹⁰ some believed that they should start thinking and developing a common strategy. This would mean getting over the *ex-post* coordination and start building a strategy before the events are already planned¹¹¹.

The local municipality is also willing to promote an inter-regional committee, bringing together the two main regions of Dantesque cities: Emilia-Romagna and Tuscany. Two interviewees also highlighted the importance of creating an international network, as more integration and collaboration even at the

¹⁰⁸ "(...) coordinandoli insieme, creando una cosa che sia non voglio dire un organismo unico, ma una testuggine in cui tante persone poi costruiscono una grande immagine, forte e che può conquistare spazio." (Domenico De Martino, Artistic Director)

¹⁰⁹ "In questo senso è importante, ci può essere una cosa tra pubblico e privato, cioè trovare quel punto in cui il pubblico e il privato hanno interessi comuni, c'è un punto in cui si trovano." (Domenico De Martino, Artistic Director)

¹¹⁰ "Si potrebbe fare molto di più, però in un altro spirito, ed è lo spirito della sinergia, della collaborazione, rinunciando un po' alle proprie autonomie." (Father Egidio, Centro Dantesco)

¹¹¹ "Sarebbe bello che ci fosse la capacità di vedersi, prima cioè di pensare una strategia" (Domenico De Martino, Artistic Director)

international level might help, in order to celebrate the 2021 centenary.

Overall, there seems to be some interest for more integration and collaboration, at different levels: local, inter-regional, and international.

5. Final remarks

This paper explored one specific cultural network between private, non-profit and public actors, providing a better understanding on how cultural networks are born, work and if there is some potential for developing long terms collaborations. Doing so, the paper was aimed at contributing to the theoretical debate concerning the need to rethink governance and management models for the cultural sector. In fact, scholars suggested that collaborative processes and networks between public and private actors might help in delivering public services. Furthermore, the recent financial crisis, which led to a reduction in public expenditures and affected the cultural sector, should be considered a chance to innovate the ways to deliver cultural services.

To address the need for more research on this field, the empirical analysis focused on one specific town in Northern Italy, where peculiar cultural initiatives are held. Specifically, the paper analysed one cultural network focused on the figure of Dante Alighieri, Dante 2021, as it well represented the characteristics highlighted in the literature. First, the research briefly described the territory, then it outlined the basic characteristics of the case, including the level of formalization, the year the partnership was born and the kinds of subjects. Then, it focused on the reasons that lead to the creation of the network and on how collaborations were born and developed, what the output of the network was and what the advantages and criticalities of collaborating were. Finally, the empirical part discussed the local government's approach and possible potential for development.

The research showed that private non-profit entities spontaneously start cultural initiatives to fulfil their aims and to make the territory grow. It confirmed the tendency of private and public entities to cooperate, also creating networks. It seems that where there is a strong common cultural background various subjects start to promote their own initiatives on that cultural theme. Among them, collaborations may be born more easily, with different levels of integration and formalization (Turrini, 2015). In these cases, networks are a chance to exploit and boost the different perspectives and specific know how of the entities that form the network (Pencarelli & Splendiani, 2011). The case of Dante 2021 also showed that a cultural network helps innovation (Montella, 2014) in cultural events. Low funds seem to be a problem shared by many interviewees, confirming that public and private funds for culture have lowered – however, it appears to be a major issue when considering single entities, while collaboration seems to help.

Results also showed encouraging perspectives for developing town networks: most interviewees shared a positive attitude towards the creation of a stronger network which could share a strategic approach to improve the town's image. This would mean bringing information sharing to a higher level: not only with *ex-post* communications, but with joint strategies as well (Bonet & Donato, 2011), which

could help raising the culture attractiveness of the local area (Golinelli, 2008) – Ravenna, in this case. Dante 2021 seems to operate within other networks. Overall, there seem to be different levels of networks, with different levels of formalization, aims and scopes. As for now, Ravenna seems to have some basis and potential for a “diffuse museum” (Cerquetti, 2007) for Dante as well.

To sum up, the research contributes to confirm the current theories on cultural networks. It shows that there is some potential for developing new governance and management models for the cultural sector, based on collaboration and networking between different actors. It might also be useful for practical implications, being an example for cultural players who want to innovate the cultural sector (Donato, 2015).

However, this paper has a quite limited scope: it analyses a relatively small network in a wider framework of subjects and networks. Future research could analyse and compare how the networks work and the ways they are interconnected, in order to understand the best practices for each level. Analysing the national networks could be a basis for international comparisons between Italy and other countries.

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Devolution and deconcentration at the regional level: insights from the French cultural sector

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ABSTRACT

The article focuses on the implementation of two forms of decentralisation – devolution and deconcentration – in the French cultural sector. After an overview of the devolution of functions from the State to the Regions and of the deconcentration operated by the Ministry of Culture to its regional services, the article presents the main evidences related to their implementation at the regional level in Rhone-Alpes Region. The purpose is to understand whether the professionalisation of Regions as cultural policy makers could be affected by the combined process of devolution/deconcentration.

Keywords:

devolution,
deconcentration,
regions, Ministry of
Cultural Heritage,
cooperation

1. Introduction

From the late 1970s-1980s many European countries started developing processes of decentralisation from the central to the regional level, with different instruments and achieving different results, in some cases also reinforcing the state administration at the territorial level. Starting from the 1990s, also the diffusion of New Public Management principles and its "reinventing government" purpose (Osborne & Gaebler, 1993) stressed the need for a stronger decentralisation as a way to increase public sector

performance. A wide range of definitions of decentralisation have been proposed (Furniss, 1974; Porter & Olsen, 1976; Mintzberg, 1980; Rondinelli, Nellis & Cheema, 1983; Devas, 1997; Litvack, Ahmad & Bird, 1998; Bray, 1999; Cohen & Peterson, 1999; Manor, 1999; Treisman, 2000; Benz, 2002; Smoke, 2003; Schneider, 2003; Shah & Thompson, 2004; Falleti, 2005; Pollitt, 2005). We focus here on two forms of decentralisation: devolution, corresponding to the transfer of authority to legally-established organizations run by elected representatives (Pollitt et al, 1998), and deconcentration, that is an intra-organizational transfer of functions from the central government to its regional and local offices (Hutchcroft, 2001).

Our purpose is to investigate if their interplay might affect the process of professionalization of Regions in the cultural sector. The difference between devolution and deconcentration is in fact widely-accepted and debated, but the possible relationship and integration between the two is less evident and infrequently analysed (Cheema & Rondinelli, 2007; Wollmann, 2007; Utomo, 2009). We analyse devolution and deconcentration reforms at the national level in France, taking into account both the legal provisions and the implementation instruments, and their implementation at the regional level in the case of Rhone-Alpes Region. We adopt a case-oriented approach (Ragin, 1987) combining a national analysis and a regional case. The research is the result of a document analysis, semi-structured interviews and participatory observation.

2. Devolution and deconcentration framework in France

French devolution reforms started mainly in 1982-83 and are usually classified into three waves:

1. 1982-2002: starting with Law Defferre, the reform process defined local government's responsibilities and functions. During the 1990s important laws referred to territorial administration, *aménagement* and development¹¹².
2. 2003-2009: in 2003 a Constitutional reform recognized France as a "decentralised republic". In 2004 a law on the financial autonomy of local bodies and a law referring to local responsibilities were promulgated.
3. From 2010: many reports were elaborated for a new reform of the territorial organisation, promulgated in 2010 and then reviewed with other reforms. In 2014 Law MAPTAM aimed at the modernisation of public action and the promotion of metropolis. In 2015 Law NOTRe provided the new territorial organisation of the country, reducing Regions from 22 to 13 that also lost their general competence clause.

Attempts of modernisation of public administration have also been carried out, through specific acts and instruments, having an indirect impact on the devolution and deconcentration processes since they affect national and territorial administration. The most important ones are *LOLF-Loi organique relative aux lois de finance* (2001), an accounting reform law reorganizing the national budget structure and performance evaluation, referring to effectiveness, efficiency and quality criteria, and *RGPP-Revision générale des politiques publiques* (2007), a review of the goals pursued by public

¹¹² Law ATR 1992, Law Pasqua 1995, Law Voynet 1999, Law Chèvenement 1999.

administration mainly devoted to the reorganisation of its structure in order to achieve economies of scale (Dreyfus, 2010).

Starting from the 1980s and thanks to a strong political will, due to the presidential election of François Mitterrand and the nomination of Jack Lang as Minister of Culture in 1981, the State developed a devolution process in the cultural sector. As regards Regions, their intervention in the cultural sector was based on a voluntary basis thanks to the general competence clause. At this early stage, devolution in this field did not rely on legal transfers of competences from the State to the Regions, but rather on the development of an accompanying activity of the State towards regional governments, also through financial support. In fact, according to art. 93 law n.82, March 2nd 1982, the State decided to increase the budget for culture, with the assignment of 500 MF as “special cultural endowment” for regional and local authorities, in order to support their action in the field: 70% (350MF) as burden reduction for regional and local authorities, 30% (150MF) as a special fund for cultural development for regional authorities. In addition to that, the Ministry allocated funds through funds through its regional administration (DRAC).

As part of the accompanying activity, in 1982 some regional funds were created: the FRAC-Regional Fund for Contemporary Art and the FRAM-Regional Fund for Museums collections enrichment, managed in cooperation by the regional authorities and the decentralised services of the Ministry (DRAC), as it is for the regional cultural agencies created by the State in the previous years. Other regional funds were created as well in the following years: in 1990 the FRAB-Regional Fund for Libraries collection enrichment and in 2000 the FRAR-Regional Fund for Restoration. Meanwhile, the State developed an intense contract-based activity with regional and local authorities. After the first experience of Cultural Charts, signed only by three Regions and ended in 1979, the State launched the Cultural Conventions with regional authorities and the Cultural development agreements with local authorities, in order to elaborate joint cultural policies and projects. Cultural policy can in fact be considered as based on multilateral partnerships (Saez, 2000). Starting from 1984, the cooperation was regulated through CPER – the State-Region program agreement, the French national planning instrument, including cultural projects in some strands.

In 2001-2002, an experimental instrument was launched in some Regions in order to clarify the distribution of competences in the cultural sector and to identify possible transfers to be included in the following devolution reforms: the Cultural Decentralisation Protocols (*Protocoles de décentralisation culturelle*). Signed by four Regions and three Departments and lasting three years, it experimented a management delegation in the field of cultural heritage or artistic education, to be chosen freely by each administration. In 2002, the State decided to experiment a concertation process in two Regions as well, Lorraine and Midi Pyrenées, also involving cultural professionals, aimed at defining transfer proposals in all cultural fields¹¹³. In this devolution process, the State, on one hand, developed an intense cooperation with the regional level, thus encouraging the emergence of Regions as important

¹¹³ Although neither the 1st nor the 2nd experiences will be included in the following devolution reform of 2004, they represented an important experience of cooperation for public administration and professionals, also to recognise the importance of developing a more structured regional cultural system.

actors in the governance of culture, but, on the other hand, it did not really transfer important functions in legislative terms. The 2nd wave of devolution, transferring to Regions the responsibilities for the Inventory of Cultural Heritage, for professional artistic education and other secondary issues, and the 3rd wave of devolution strengthened the role of regional governments, but without significant changes as far as culture is concerned.

In France, devolution reform has been associated with a deconcentration process, with a complementary approach (Bizet, 2002), in order to ensure the presence of the State at the territorial level and its coherent action. This occurred from the 19th century, with “exterior services” of the Ministries, then become “decentralised services” thanks to Law ATR 1992 and its Deconcentration Chart, and mainly starting from the 1960s with the enhancement of the role of the prefect at the department level and the creation of the regional prefect. In 2004 other decrees aimed at reorganising the territorial administration of the State at the regional level.

As regards deconcentration in the cultural sector, after an experimentation started in 1969, the Ministry of Culture created the DRAC- Regional Direction for Cultural Affairs in 1977, regulated with three main decrees in 1986, 2004 and 2010. DRAC are at the same time responsible for the cultural policy implementation of the State at regional level and for the cooperation with local authorities regarding cultural development objectives. According to decree 633 8th June 2010, its main tasks are:

- implementing the policy of the Ministry of Culture at the regional and the departmental level, in the following domains:
 - o knowledge, conservation, protection and enhancement of cultural heritage;
 - o promotion of architecture;
 - o creation and distribution for all artistic disciplines;
 - o publishing and reading;
 - o cultural and artistic education and knowledge transmission;
 - o promotion of cultural diversity and audience development;
 - o development of cultural industries and of the economy of culture;
 - o promotion of French and other French languages;
- ensuring the consistency of the policy actions carried out by the Ministry of Culture services and its related public institutions;
- monitoring the enforcement of existing regulations and exercising scientific and technical control over the aforementioned domains, in collaboration with other ministerial services;
- ensuring the implementation of the actions defined by the Ministry of Culture and developing a cooperation with regional and local authorities, also providing technical support;
- contributing to the dissemination of public data related to culture at the regional and the departmental level;
- contributing to scientific research within its fields of competence;

- contributing to *aménagement du territoire* (spatial planning), public policy evaluation, sustainable development and social cohesion policies.

DRAC played a crucial role during the devolution process by accompanying Regions in their engagement in the cultural sector, thanks to the already mentioned cooperation practices like the contract-based activity and the joint management of regional funds and agencies.

3. Devolution and deconcentration at the regional level: the case of Rhone-Alpes

In the following paragraphs we focus on the role of DRAC Rhone-Alpes, as resulting from the deconcentration process, of the regional agency NACRE, one of the devolution practices serving as accompanying activity and allowing the State-Region cooperation, and on two examples of Rhone-Alpes Region intervention in the cultural sector.

3.1 Deconcentration: the role of DRAC Rhone-Alpes

DRAC Rhone-Alpes was created in 1969 as one of the first experimental regional directions launched by André Malraux, with Pays-de-la-Loire and Alsace ones, before the 1977 founding decree. The DRAC Rhone-Alpes was also the one in which the State decided to test the LOLF accounting reform in 2004 and 2005, reorganising its budget following the same classification of the Ministry one, that is divided into three main items and related actions: cultural heritage, creativity, knowledge transmission and democratization of culture, and increasing its accountability as well.

DRAC Rhone-Alpes is organised around three main services: cultural and territorial action, cultural heritage and architecture, creativity and cultural heritage, each of them divided into specialized departments on the basis of its competences. As stated by the above mentioned decree of 2010, DRAC is responsible for different technical, financial and promotional tasks, thus providing a variety of services to local authorities and cultural professionals.

Since the 1980s DRAC Rhone-Alpes has been involved in an increasing cooperation with the Region, both in terms of financial support and joint projects. Rhone-Alpes Region started to identify the main objectives of its cultural policy, in terms of support to creativity and employment and vocational training in the artistic field, cultural heritage enhancement and development of new initiatives, thanks to the Cultural development Convention signed with the State in 1982. Later on the State-Region cooperation was increasingly strengthened thanks to the other instrument of contractualisation that is CPER. The Region could in fact identify specific interventions to carry out with DRAC support, both in terms of expertise and of funding. DRAC Rhone-Alpes in fact also participated to the preliminary work leading to the elaboration of the multi-year CPER, including cultural stands in its programmes (1984-1988, 1989-1993, 1994-1998, 2000-2006, 2007-2013). Joint policies and projects became in fact ever more frequent, besides the joint management of regional funds and agencies. Rhone-Alpes Region and DRAC also collaborated in the regional implementation of national ministerial agreements like

“*Culture et santé*” (signed in 1999), aimed at introducing cultural projects in hospitals, and “*Culture et agriculture*” (signed in 2002), aimed at promoting cultural development in rural areas.

The role of DRAC Rhone-Alpes in the governance of culture at the regional level has been, and still is, crucial, although its reorganisation is invoked by many nowadays, due to the well-established role of the Region in field and an ever increasing overlapping between the two actors. Taking into consideration 2012, DRAC Rhone-Alpes mainly operated in the following directions: protection and enhancement of cultural heritage, ensuring access to culture for a variety of audiences, supporting artistic creation and creative industries. As regards the first objective, the main activities regarded the restoration and protection of historical monuments and artworks, the implementation of AVAP (the reform related to the enhancement of heritage and architecture), archaeological excavations and research, technical and scientific control over the 107 “*Musées de France*” of the region, organisation of a meeting with the “*Ethnopoiesis*”- ethnology research and resource centres recognised by the Ministry and networking for ethnology professionals, publication of the booklet “*Viv(r)e l'Europe: l'Europe et la culture en Rhône-Alpes 2001-2010*”. As regards access to culture, it mainly developed and implemented agreements with other Ministries (Education, Agriculture, Health, Justice, Urban policy) and local bodies, in order to carry out interministerial programs like “*Culture et santé*”, “*Culture et hospital*”, “*Culture et prison*” and to promote cultural development in rural areas. It also took part to the “*La caravane de dix mots*”, a project related to the promotion of French language, through workshops for general public. It also signed an agreement with the Region and regional education authority to support educational activities in high schools. As regards artistic creation and cultural industries, it supported training, production, employment of performing arts professionals as well as the functioning and renewal of venues. It also supported the “*Écoles supérieures d'art*” of the Region, that are the national art education institutions of Grenoble-Valence, Lyon, Saint-Étienne and Annecy, libraries and literary events. It also promoted educational activities in the field of cinema through the national programs of “*École et cinéma*”, “*Collège au cinéma*”, “*Lycéens et apprentis au cinéma*”, “*Passeurs d'Images*”, and it supported film events and festivals.

In 2012 the total amount of funding of DRAC Rhone-Alpes was 75,5 million €, allocated as follows: 42% to support creativity, mainly in the performing arts field, 17% devoted to cultural heritage and architecture field and 12,8% to knowledge transmission and democratization of culture. The remaining 1,3% to book and creative industries. It is interesting to stress the fact that, from 2004 (total funding 73,3 millions €) to 2012, the support to the specific cultural domains of cultural heritage and creativity increased equally of 11%, while the support to cross-cutting activities like knowledge transmission and democratization of culture decreased of 35%. It could also be related to the emerging role of Regions, mainly to their cross-cutting action in the cultural sector, the DRAC thus refocusing on the specific artistic and cultural domains.

DRAC Rhone-Alpes developed a wide range of funding opportunities, besides the regional funds in partnership with the Region (FRAC, FRAM, FRAB and FRAR), and in 2012 it also joined the SCAN Fund created by Rhone-Alpes Region in order to support art creation by digital means. The beneficiaries of DRAC funding are individual artists and cultural professionals, companies, facilities

and single projects in different domains, for different actions, such as training, purchase, restoration, distribution, production. In 2012, in Rhone-Alpes the Ministry of Culture allocated an additional amount of 44,8 millions € for its staff and some national cultural institutions of the region.

3.2 Cooperation as a devolution practice: the case of NACRE regional agency

The State and the DRAC have been cooperating with Rhone-Alpes Region for cultural policy objectives through different instruments, like the Cultural Conventions and the CPER, ad-hoc agreements for specific projects and regular meetings, and also by co-managing regionals funds and agencies. Among the most interesting examples, we could mention the case of NACRE, the regional agency for performing arts of Rhone-Alpes.

The Regional Cultural Agencies are a peculiarity of French public administration: they were promoted by the Ministry of Culture during the 1970s as part of the devolution process. They are set up and financed by the Regions and the State though the DRAC. They act as an interface and a mediator between the political bodies and the cultural actors, facilitating the cooperation between these two actors for a joint regional cultural development policy and developing an important concertation with cultural institutions and professionals. They also deliver services to professionals and can deal with different sectors (performing arts, visual arts, books, etc.) at the same time (e.g. The Cultural Agency of Alsace), or with only one (e.g. The Cultural Agency of Rhone-Alpes, that focuses on performing arts)¹¹⁴.

NACRe is the regional agency of Rhone-Alpes for performing arts. It was founded in 2007 in Lyon from the merger of two already existing regional agencies: ARSEC-*Agence Régionale pour les Services aux Entreprises Culturelles* (Regional Agency for the Consulting to Cultural Enterprises), and AMDRA-*Agence Musique et Danse Rhone-Alpes* (Agency for Music and Dance). Although it is a regional agency, its legal form is that of an association according to law of 1st July 1901. In February 2009 its articles were modified and a membership drive has been launched. Three-hundred and nine persons/corporate bodies have joined the Association so far. It is regulated through a three-year objectives agreement signed by the Region and the State that are the main funders of the association. It serves as an advising, monitoring and networking body for performing arts professionals and public administration. In some of the projects carried out by NACRE, Rhone-Alpes Region appears a partner (e.g. COEF Agreement) or as an initiator (e.g. International mobility for international trade fairs program), while DRAC supports financially the agency and sometimes it calls for its expertise (e.g. in some technical commissions). The agency also provides the Region with reports and surveys since it also serves as performing arts observatory.

Its main aims are: consulting, information, training and research, that it achieves, on one hand, by participating in the definition and the implementation of cultural policies, in co-operation with the State and the Region, and on the other hand, by assisting the professionals in their activities. It also fosters

¹¹⁴ After the reduction of Regions in 2015, also regional cultural agencies have been reorganised according to the new regional framework. For instance, NACRe Rhone-Alpes and the regional agency of Alsace have been incorporated in one agency. In this analysis we take into consideration NACRe agency before the last reform.

consultation and co-operation among the different actors of the cultural sector: artists, companies, local authorities, professional organisations, networks, etc. In order to promote them, it also manages the website *rhonealpesart.com* that gathered the regional performing arts, music industry and digital culture professionals.

The consulting function is ensured mainly through the following activities: assistance and information to cultural professionals also with individual consulting; organization and coordination of working groups, think-tanks, workshops (i.e. *A Start [Me] Up* and *Culturdiag*); publication of surveys and reports. The Information activity is carried out mainly thanks to the organization of thematic conferences, the library service and the updating of *RIC-Réseau Information Culture*. It also offers training opportunities for professionals, mainly with vocational courses, and it participates to regional and interregional projects. NACRE has been working in partnership with many national and international networks over time, such as *RCE-RelaisCultureEurope*, *ENCATC-European Network on cultural management and policy*, *Banlieues d'Europe*, *PFI- Plate-forme Interrégionale d'échange et de coopération pour le développement culturel*, *AGI-SON- AGIr pour une bonne gestion SONore*, *CRESS-Chambre Régionale de l'Economie Sociale et Solidaire*.

In recent years, mainly from 2012, NACRE has been the subject of a reorganisation, mainly due to budget cuts because of the general trend of reduction in public expenditure and to a new positioning of both the DRAC and the Region in the governance of culture. We assist in fact to their gradual disengagement in the NACRe activity, DRAC refocusing on its mandatory competences and the Region having acquired a greater expertise in the cultural sector. This led to a restructuring and a re-orientation of the agency activities towards the following aims: being the resource centre for performing arts sector, providing technical support to artistic and cultural professionals and enterprises, accompanying territorial cultural development with a cross-cutting approach, promoting inter-professional dialogue among performing arts networks.

Until 2012, the staff was made up of 29 persons and 4/5 interns per year: 13 executives and supervisors (*cadre*), 15 employees (*non cadre*), 1 apprentice. After the reorganization, the staff was reduced to 10 people, divided into 3 services: consulting and resources, public policies and territories, professional training.

As regards funding, NACRE suffered drastic budget cut in the recent years. In 2008 the regional funding was of 952.257,00 € and the State one of 694.208,00 €, for a total amount of 2.274.540,00 €. In 2009 it was allocated as follows: 41% by the Region, 28% by the State, 21% income, 10% by local authorities. The profit, which represents a modest part of the total income, (even if it is high if compared to other Regional Agencies) derived from: vocational training, consulting services, payroll service, participation in call for tender, re-invoicing expenses related to events organized with some partners, membership fees. Starting from 2012, the regional funding decreased significantly (-55,5% from 2008 to 2015), as follows: 687.000,00 € in 2012, 550.000,00 € in 2013, 420.000,00 € in 2014, 423.000,00 € in 2015. Now NACRe is also supported by the EU in the framework of the DAV Project for the development of performing arts in the Massif Central. In 2014 a reorganisation of its

association status led to a new governance divided into six boards representing the diversity of performing arts professionals, whose representatives constitute the board of trustees.

3.3 The emerging role of Rhone-Alpes Region in the cultural policy-making and the devolution of Cultural Heritage Inventory

Alongside the practices of cooperation with the DRAC that served as a learning process in the devolution reform, the Region was increasingly strengthening its cultural policy and its role in the governance of culture, also developing its own objectives, projects and funds, in some cases inspired by the State/DRAC model. In 2004 the Region received the competence for the Cultural Heritage Inventory, thanks to the devolution process, and the election of the new Rhone-Alpes Region President, Jean-Jack Queyranne, represented a turning point for the regional cultural policy, thanks to his strong political commitment to increase the regional support to culture.

As regards the devolution of the responsibility for the Cultural Heritage Inventory, conceived in 1964 by André Malraux and André Chastel in order to “survey, study and make known heritage elements having a cultural, historical or scientific interest”, mainly through ad hoc information systems, databases, publications and other dissemination activities, the Rhone-Alpes case turned out to be effective. First, since the devolution process carried out by the State and its national methodology allows a decentralisation of administrative competence while maintaining a centralised control, also implying the transfer of expertise (the 16 people Inventory staff passed from the DRAC to the Region), and of funds (the Inventory budget passed from the DRAC to the Region, that also increased it in the following years). According to Decree n.834 20th July 2005, the State should in fact ensure the quality of the Inventory activities and its consistency, sustainability, interoperability and accessibility, and should exercise its powers of control on documents and on the premises. It also sets standards as regards methodologies for the conduct of operations, vocabularies, models and layout of data, whose control is exercised by the *Inspection des patrimoines* (Cultural heritage Inspectorate) on its own, and in some cases in partnership with other ministerial services. Second, the implementation process of the transferred competence by Rhone-Alpes Region improved and developed the inventory functions that became not only a technical but also an educational and promotional tool, thanks to specific dissemination activities.

As regards policy formulation, in 2005 the regional administration launched an interesting process: a consultation and a concertation activity with performing arts professionals, in partnership with the *OPC-Observatoire des Politiques culturelles* (the National Observatory of Cultural Policies), based in Grenoble. This process was repeated in the following years for other sectors: in 2006 for contemporary art, in 2007 for book and publishing, in 2008 for cultural heritage and, starting from 2009-2010, with an integrated approach concerning digital culture, culture and university, popular education. The *Rencontres du spectacle vivant*, this was the name of the concertation process, took place with different meetings throughout the year (on April 26, July 1, September 14): participants were divided into 3 working groups covering different issues, each group made up of 35 participants and 2 experts. The choice of the topics clearly shows the integrated approach to culture developed by

the regional government: one group was devoted to employment and training, another group to audiences-partnerships-territories and the third one to creation-production-distribution. The results of the concertation process formed the main contents of the new policy (reflecting the topic of each working group), thus constituting a co-construction process of the new policy. We could point out that this concertation process had primary and secondary effects¹¹⁵. Besides the formulation of the new policy, it also allowed the Region to gain expertise from the exchange with professionals and to approve and implement deliberate policies. Concerning the secondary effects, it served as a capacity-building process for cultural professionals, which became acquainted with cultural policies and governance issues, and as a structuring process of the dialogue between public administration and professionals. It also provided an ex-ante evaluation of performing arts sector for the Region, from which it could identify subsequent policy measures.

As regards implementation, the Region identified and carry out specific measures also providing adequate support, both in terms of financial support and expertise (human resources). It decided not only to rely on the dedicated regional agency NACRE, but it also strengthened its internal administration (*Direction de la Culture*) by increasing the number of employees and its specific competences, and it increased significantly its budget in order to meet the new policy needs. As regards staff, the Cultural Service counted 17 people in 2004 and included 45 people in 2010, among which 16 employees transferred in 2006 from the DRAC as the Inventory of Cultural Heritage service. This means that Regions increased its staff of 12 units from 2004 to 2010 (that is during the 1st mandate of Jean-Jack Queyranne).

As regards budget, table 1 shows that the overall budget for culture increased of 28,8% from 2004 to 2010 and the performing arts strand increased of 77,2% from 2004 to 2010. The financial support for performing arts ensured by Rhone-Alpes Region is mainly divided into 2 categories: support to structures (theatre and dance companies, festivals and facilities) and support to projects (mobility, employment and training, cultural action and mediation, innovation). The Region kept the already existing supporting instruments but it also created new ones¹¹⁶. In fact, in 2006 it launched a new regional fund for artistic and cultural innovation, *FIACRE - Fonds d'innovation artistique et culturelle en Rhône-Alpes*. It is constituted by two different strands: international cooperation and mobility, and cultural mediation, to support cultural action and innovative and experimental projects.

Along with the development of ad hoc financial instruments to face with the new policy challenges, it is worth noting a consistency between policy objectives-measures-actions as regards the new performing arts policy. Its major aim was to support cultural professionals by: boosting employment and providing training opportunities; supporting production, creation and distribution; supporting and

¹¹⁵ Emerging from the analysis of the concertation process working documents and of interviews.

¹¹⁶ The financial instruments of Rhone-Alpes Region to support performing arts are the following ones: *Appel à projet spectacle vivant; Aide aux équipes artistiques; Aide à l'insertion des jeunes artistes formés en Rhône-Alpes; Aide aux lieux de diffusion; Aide à la filière phonographique; Aide aux festivals; Fonds d'Innovation artistique et culturelle en Rhône-Alpes (FIACRE) / Volet médiation - Fonds d'Innovation artistique et culturelle en Rhône-Alpes (FIACRE) / Volet mobilité internationale; Culture et hôpital; Soprano / Clubs culture - Soprano / Lycéens et apprentis à l'opéra ; Carte M'ra – Avantages culture; Aide à l'investissement pour des espaces de travail partagés; Aide à la mutualisation d'emplois*. In *Répertoire des dispositifs de financement et d'accompagnement du spectacle vivant en Rhône-Alpes*, NACRe, 2010.

promoting cultural action and mediation.

Strands	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Audience development	4.255.000	4.553.000	2.010.000	2.230.000	2.290.000	2.290.000	2.290.000
Training	3.100.000	3.066.000	3.800.000	3.820.000	3.700.000	3.700.000	3.715.000
Festivals and distribution	6.295.000	6.844.250	7.767.000	8.200.000	8.280.000	8.451.000	8.205.000
Performing arts	8.000.000	9.839.000	12.700.000	13.150.000	13.470.000	13.870.000	14.180.000
Cultural heritage enhancement	2.200.000	2.644.000	2.750.000	3.450.000	3.550.000	3.585.000	3.885.000
Cinema and books	1.390.000	1.820.000	1.820.000	1.860.000	2.210.000	2.210.000	2.665.000
Cultural heritage Inventory			130.000	190.000	300.000	294.000	300.000
Accompanying activity	100.000						
Total amount operating	25.340.000	28.766.250	30.977.000	32.900.000	33.800.000	34.400.000	35.240.000
Cultural investment	13.764.000	16.466.000	18.000.000	10.800.000	9.000.000	9.800.000	11.765.000
cultural investment enhancement			1.500.000	2.000.000	1.000.000	1.200.000	3.372.000
Total amount investment	13.764.000	16.466.000	19.500.000	12.800.000	10.000.00	11.000.000	15.137.000
Total amount	39.104.000	45.232.250	50.477.000	45.700.000	43.800.000	45.400.000	50.377.000

TABLE 1 EVOLUTION OF RHONE-ALPES BUDGET FOR CULTURE FROM 2004 TO 2010

Source: data from *Direction de la Culture, Rhone-Alpes Region*

To this end, it identified specific measures and actions, as illustrated in Table 2, thus demonstrating a specific capacity in formulating and implementing cultural policy. By analysing the working documents of the concertation process, we can notice a similarity with a strategic planning process, as defined by Osborne and Gaebler in 1992¹¹⁷. Starting from the analysis of the performing arts sector situation and needs, the Region identified goals, defined a strategy and specific measures to reach them, also relying on the consensus of professionals which became co-creators of the policy.

¹¹⁷ "In essence, strategic planning is the process of examining an organisation's or community's current situation and future trajectory, setting goals, developing a strategy to achieve these goals and measuring the results. Different strategic planning processes have different wrinkles, but most involve a number of basic steps: -analysis of the situation, both internal and external;-diagnosis, or identification of the key issues facing the organization; -definition of the organization's fundamental mission; -articulation of the organization's basic goals; -creation of a vision: what success looks like; -development of a strategy to realise vision and goals; -development of a timetable for strategy; -measurement and evaluation of results. In government, one other element is necessary: a consensus" (Osborne et Gaebler, 1992: 232-233).

Objectives	Measures	Actions
Boosting employment and providing training opportunities	A Develop a training and employment framework	1. since 2006, creation of a performing arts observatory in Rhône-Alpes
		2. Implement a <i>contrat d'objectif</i> employment-learning for performing arts, cinema and audiovisual
		3. Ensuring participation of cultural professionals to the definition of life-long learning needs
	B Develop a specific programme to accompany innovative projects related to employment and training	1. professional insertion devices
		2. mutualisation devices
		3. support life-long learning of artists and technicians
Supporting creation, production and distribution	A Structuring measures for artists, facilities and festivals	1. reform of the support system to artistic groups: increasing support towards independent companies - support to artistic group outside the agreement framework - develop agreements - new investment grants - rebalancing support with regard the weakest artistic disciplines
		2. develop <i>contrat d'association</i> (association agreement) between facilities and independent artists/companies
		3. support to facilities - <i>Scènes régionales Rhône-Alpes</i> : tools sharing and increase of production support - support to the most important cultural institutions of the region, to National dramatic centres, National choreographic centres, National music creation centres and <i>Scènes nationales</i>
	B Innovative measures for creation and distribution	1. <i>Appel à projets spectacle vivant</i> to host national and international shows and productions and for the distribution of regional companies productions
		2. support to artistic emergence: the <i>réseau des lieux</i> , the <i>tremplins</i> and other initiatives
supporting and promoting cultural action and mediation	A FIACRE <i>Fonds pour l'innovation artistique et culturelle en Rhône-Alpes</i>	1. support projects in two strands: international cooperation, mobility and cultural mediation
	B <i>Carte M'Ra</i> for young, involvement priority audiences	1. support <i>Carte M'Ra</i> for young cultural consumption 2. specific initiatives and support to projects for priority audiences
	C Annual meeting of performing arts professionals	1. organisation of the meeting

TABLE 2 OBJECTIVES-MEASURES-ACTIONS OF THE NEW PERFORMING ARTS POLICY.

Source: our elaboration from Rhone-Alpes documents.

4. Preliminary findings

In the French case, devolution and deconcentration processes has been conducted simultaneously and their interplay affected the professionalisation of Regions in the cultural sector. Regions could in fact benefit of the accompanying activity of the State during the devolution process that relied on

legislative disposals but mainly on implementation practices, allowing an intense cooperation between the State and the Regions. This was made possible and effective also thanks to the presence of the regional services of the Ministry of Culture, as resulting from the deconcentration process. The DRAC are in fact unitary services playing a strategic role in the overall cultural sector, in technical, financial and policy-making terms, and the cooperation with these services served as a learning opportunity for the Regions.

The case of Rhone-Alpes confirms the professionalisation of the Region in the cultural policy-making as a result of the interplay between devolution and deconcentration. By cooperating with the DRAC, the Region implemented the devolution practices promoted by the State (joint policies, projects, funds and agencies) thus benefiting from the State expertise in the field. In the case of the devolution of the Cultural Heritage Inventory, Rhone-Alpes Region could rely on an effective devolution methodology fixed at the national level, and at the same time it could also develop its own strategy to implement the transferred responsibility. Starting from the 1990s-2000s, and also thanks to a strong political will of its President Queyranne (2004-2015), the Region was able to develop its own intervention and to build its own expertise in the field, as confirmed by the case of performing arts policy.

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The Art of the Business Improvement District: Exploring Interactions Between Active Stakeholders in the BID Model

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ABSTRACT

Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) have become a popular mechanism to develop place identity due to their perceived ability to rebrand and improve blighted areas. Overseen by a quasi-public agency, the goals of a BID are to rebrand and reshape the neighborhood for the benefit of consumers and businesses. However, for the cultural assets of the neighborhood, the benefits are less obvious. Many BIDs engage in creative placemaking practices, often leveraging or overshadowing existing cultural assets. Analyzing three BIDs located in Northern Virginia reveals advantages and disadvantages to the cultural sector in a community with a BID. Analysis includes the use of cultural assets in the BID's strategies; the type of community engagement each BID fostered; and the kind of cultural support each BID lent as an organization. Analysis afforded three distinct administrative models that can teach future BIDs how to collaborate with the cultural sector in a more equitable fashion.

Keywords:

business improvement districts, creative placemaking, economic revitalization

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1. Introduction

As Old Town Alexandria, located in Northern Virginia, a coastal state in the United States, embarks upon the beginning stages of forming a Business Improvement District (BID) in its city center, community members, commercial and residential property owners, and arts administrators and their advocates are questioning whether a BID is an appropriate vehicle for community revitalization and change. A BID serves the community through a tax levied on property owners. It is flexible, designed to solve myriad social, political, and economic problems. However, this flexibility provides various advantages and disadvantages. Depending on the set-up, a BID can do many things: rebrand a city's image, bring in more consumers and foot traffic through branding and marketing, act as a tourist agency, or offer extra physical maintenance services. The question of who pays for and who benefits from a BID's services can be nuanced. Each individual city and its community must navigate that question expertly for a BID to work. While commercial property owners are the ones who pay the compulsory tax, a BID's services ultimately affect the entire community.

Due to the rise in popularity of creative placemaking practices designed to manufacture place identity,

many BIDs incorporate arts and cultural programming into their strategies. This kind of programming can affect cultural assets in the area, including arts nonprofits. Since a BID is a neighborhood commercial organization tasked with rebranding the neighborhood and bringing in more consumers, it can act as a major stakeholder in the creative placemaking process. But a BID's rebranding goals can put it at odds with existing cultural assets depending on the types of interactions the staff and board prioritize in regards to the community and the existing cultural assets. To ensure that all of the BID's constituents benefit, it is essential to understand the ways in which BIDs are formed, governed, and administered, as well as how a BID will interact with various stakeholders throughout its district.

Three active stakeholders in the dance of who benefits and who pays must be considered: the commercial property owner, the community-at-large, and the existing cultural assets of the area, including arts nonprofits. The commercial property owners are an active stakeholder within the creation and governance of the BID, as commercial property owners within a BID-zone pay the assessed tax and sit on the BID agency's board of governors. The community is another active stakeholder to consider, as many of the BID agency's services, including tourism efforts or extra physical maintenance efforts, affect the shared public space enjoyed by the community. The third active stakeholder are the existing cultural assets, including arts nonprofits, that lie within the BID-zone. Depending on the administrative model they adopt, BIDs may help arts nonprofits in their district prosper or act as competition. The BID's services can negatively affect arts nonprofits by providing a direct source of cultural competition to existing arts nonprofits, or can positively affect arts nonprofits by providing sustainable spaces in the community via commercial property owners, or by providing a resource network for arts nonprofits.

The most succinct legal definition of a BID comes from Hoyt and Gopal-Agge of MIT (2007): "BIDs are... [a] privately directed and publicly sanctioned organization that supplement public services within geographically defined boundaries by generating multi-year revenue through a compulsory assessment on local property owners and/or businesses".

These public-private partnerships have grown increasingly popular over the last three decades in the United States and abroad due to their perceived abilities to revitalize and rebrand downtown areas, provide more foot traffic to current businesses, and to create safer sidewalk cultures (Hoyt & Gopal-Agge, 2007). Localities, neighborhoods, and cities that have implemented business improvement districts have often done so in order to alleviate specific social or political problems (Hoyt & Gopal-Agge, 2007). In the Northern Virginia area, BIDs often focus on rebranding and marketing efforts, issues that impact the community beyond the property owners who pay the compulsory BID tax.

The intricacies of a BID structure vary from state to state, but all BIDS have five legal characteristics in common:

1. A BID consists of a geographical zone in which property owners of spaces such as office buildings, commercial buildings, or apartment buildings choose to share the costs of supplemental services (Ratcliffe & Flanagan, 2004). These supplemental services are usually designed to

enhance to area that the buildings are in, making the place more attractive for both consumers and businesses alike. The established boundaries are the BID's operational limits, and the district is the only location in which the BID can provide its services (Ratcliffe & Flanagan, 2004).

2. BIDs also have a dedicated funding stream in the form of a tax on commercial properties that guarantees a revenue source for multiyear projects (Ratcliffe & Flanagan, 2004). The guarantee of a revenue source allows a BID to operate with a predictable budget, and gives the services a BID provides long-term stability.
3. A BID, or an organization like it, is passed into law by the local legislative body either by referendum, council vote, or other legislative means (Ratcliffe & Flanagan, 2004). Without legislation supporting the district's creation, a tax assessment would not be possible. The local government collects the tax assessment required by the BID's legislation, which is given to the agency overseeing the implementation of the BID's services.
4. The legislation for the BID defines the purpose, its governing structure, and any authorization terms and limits that the commercial property owners may wish to impose on the BID itself (Ratcliffe & Flanagan 2004).¹¹⁸
5. A nonprofit entity or quasi-public agency runs a BID, the former being the most common option in the Northern Virginia area (Ratcliffe & Flanagan, 2004).¹¹⁹ The nonprofit agency operates the BID using dedicated tax revenue supplied by the property owners paying the tax. This tax revenue pays for the BID's services and its staff. Like all nonprofits, a governing board oversees a BID and asks the BID agency to supply budgetary information to the public. The leader and staff of this agency helps to define the way the BID interacts with its key stakeholders, and shapes the administrative model of the BID.

While the legal definition of a BID encompasses the characteristics that make it an entity within the eyes of a state, the cultural definition of a BID encompasses the ways in which a BID agency leverages, incorporates, and interacts with culture to accomplish its goal of revitalization. BID agencies commonly leverage cultural assets in their district to rebrand and market the neighborhood, and incorporate creative placemaking activities in their strategic plans. While the legal structure does not necessitate these cultural interactions, BIDs and their governing agencies have developed them over time due to their position as active stakeholders in the creation of a shared public space. The BID agency has become the cultural *arm* of the BID structure. Shared public space can include parks, sidewalks, pavilions, and market squares, and can include less defined spaces such as alleyways and other corridors. The cultural definition of a BID and its managing agency considers these interactions within the shared public space. The services provided by the BID's tax revenue often directly affect these shared public spaces, enhancing or creating semi-privatized spaces for consumers to enjoy

¹¹⁸ Informational Note: many BIDs have *sunset clauses* that exist to limit the time in which the tax is levied against business owners. These *sunset clauses* are also joined by re-authorization terms, which states how a BID may extend the period of its life. Most BIDs are not indefinite, and do have a time limit.

¹¹⁹ When discussing BIDs, the term *BID* can refer to the geographic district or the agency running the BID. These two terms have been used interchangeably within different literature.

(Steel & Stymes, 2005).

Residents, small businesses, arts nonprofits, and the community-at-large all share these public and semi-private spaces. Interactions between the BID agency and its staff, the commercial property owners, and the community — including residents, visitors, office workers, and arts nonprofits — all take place in this shared space. This shared space creates the cultural fabric of the community, where active stakeholders cross paths in varied ways. However, a BID is merely one of the stewards of the cultural fabric of the community, not its creator (Borrupt & McNulty, 2011). Shared public space does not belong to the BID, and is not under direct control of the BID agency. Nevertheless, a BID can be an essential stakeholder in the revitalization in a city. “Neighborhood commercial organizations [such as BIDs]... brand the neighborhood and increase retail activity”, (Moran et al, 2015) while other stakeholders, including artists, arts institutions, and even audiences, are charged with cultural expression and building pride. Therefore, a BID’s direct services must remain in the scope of rebranding and marketing for retail and consumer purposes, while making sure to support the community-at-large.

2. History of the BID Framework

The origins of the BID framework can be traced back to business membership organizations and civic associations popular in cities around the U.S. in the 1930s and 1940s (Hoyt & Gopal-Agge, 2007). These organizations and associations were often membership-based, supported by revenue from membership dues. A primary reason for forming these associations and organizations was to combat decentralization in American cities; the consumer base that American cities had counted on for their revenue and population had begun to shift toward the suburbs (Hoyt & Gopal-Agge, 2007). This shift caused many cities to look for inventive strategies to attract consumers. Many of these strategies focused on increased marketing and tourism to draw consumers back into downtown areas (Hoyt & Gopal-Agge, 2007).

These early membership organizations and associations faced a common problem in the form of *freeloaders* — businesses that benefited from the marketing and tourism mechanisms provided by the associations without paying into the mechanisms themselves. As membership was not mandatory, revenue was not stable and thus fluctuated based on the number of businesses in each association. To circumvent this situation, businesses formed the first *business improvement district* in Toronto in the late 1960s (Hoyt & Gopal-Agge, 2007). By forming a tax district that required each property owner to pay an extra tax, businesses could no longer benefit from the mechanism without paying. The legislation necessary to create a special tax district was passed in 1969, resulting in the formation of the BID structure (Hoyt & Gopal-Agge, 2007). The model was adopted in the United States throughout the 1970s to “improve the pedestrian experience in downtown areas”, an idea that can be traced back to urban planning theorists Jane Jacobs and Oscar Newman (Hoyt, 2004). The impetus behind the creation of many BIDs was the idea that a cleaner, more pedestrian-friendly place would equate to more consumers and more businesses (Hoyt, 2004). Today, many cities hope that BIDs can transform them into *destination places*.

3. The Interactions between the Active Stakeholders

The BID framework used today has emerged as a special tax district that serves as a private provider of a public service. The BID provides a supplementary service that benefits stakeholders of a district using tax assessment dollars levied on the commercial property owners within the district's chosen geographic area (Meltzer, 2012). The current BID framework has a few general advantages and disadvantages for the taxed commercial property owners, the community at large, and the arts nonprofits residing in the district.

One of the key advantages of forming a BID is the supplemental service it provides to the surrounding community on behalf of the commercial property owners. This supplemental service often increases property values for all community members, commercial or residential, while providing missing amenities such as extra safety measures, physical maintenance crews, or other physical space improvement measures. These improvements are meant to benefit the welfare of all community members.

A key disadvantage of forming a BID is the cost of the tax on smaller commercial property owners, such as small independently-owned businesses who own their space. Since a BID tax is a percentage of the assessed property value, any increase in property values from the BID's services directly increases the amount of tax paid by each commercial property owner. Owners of properties with larger, commercial businesses and profits will not feel this increase as much as smaller businesses would. In addition, commercial property owners in BID-zones have the option of passing on the tax to small business tenants; this has the effect of displacing smaller businesses who do not own their space and cannot afford to pay higher rent or higher property taxes. There is a distinct separation between the *commercial property owner* and the *small business owner*. Additionally, increasing property values can displace community residents and existing cultural assets. Higher rents can become a barrier to long-time residents and businesses, including community arts nonprofits.

In the current BID framework, a natural tension arises between the tax-paying members and the community, as well as between different tax-paying members in the same BID (Meltzer, 2012). A key assumption of the BID framework is that there is a *common service interest* among paying commercial property owners — in other words, that all paying commercial property owners agree to and benefit equally from the services that the BID provides (Meltzer, 2012). This type of *service match* is a necessary assumption to streamline the BID's services, and create a common purpose for assessment dollars. When all commercial property owners in a downtown area agree to the same key supplemental services, the BID becomes a viable option for revitalization. However, services that benefit the community at large — including clean-up crews, safety measures, and physical space improvements — do not always equitably benefit all types of commercial properties. A *service match* between all types of commercial properties in a district, and between the commercial property owners and the community, is a challenge that the BID framework does not fully address.

Finally, the fact that a BID's services benefit more than just the commercial property owners who are

paying the property tax can lead to tense interactions between commercial property owners and the community at large, including arts nonprofits. Different administrative models of BIDs deal with these interactions in different ways.

Other issues within the BID framework include the democratic governance of a BID and its agency. A board of directors typically runs a BID, with the board largely comprised of the commercial property owners being taxed (Ratcliffe & Flanagan, 2004). The board of directors sometimes includes residential property owners and community advocates, but most seats are held by members who are paying the compulsory tax. In the BID framework, the commercial property owners are assessed a compulsory tax. There is no ability to give freely, presenting potential conflicts-of-interest if tax assessment dollars are used for purposes that do not benefit the majority of the commercial property owners. Additionally, there can be conflicts-of-interest between the community and the BID if the commercial property owners use the tax assessment dollars for purposes that the community deems undesirable or unnecessary. When most of the voices on the board belong to commercial property owners, it is difficult for other perspectives, such as the voices of residents and arts nonprofits, to be heard. Interjecting the voice of the community sometimes falls to the BID's directors, and a BID that does not have strong leadership can fall victim to a single-minded board.

Part of the power that lies within these board of directors is the capacity to dedicate part of their privately-owned property to the entire community or to other cultural endeavors. Thus, it is imperative to understand and navigate the cultural dimensions of a BID. The BID structure allows arts administrators and arts nonprofits in a BID's area the opportunity to work with BID staff and board to use privately-held properties to transform a *space* into a *place* (Borrupt & McNulty, 2011).

4. Three Administrative Models: The Rosslyn BID — The Crystal City BID — The Ballston BID

Three districts in neighboring Arlington County — Rosslyn, Crystal City, and Ballston — use three distinct administrative models in their BIDs. Each model can be defined in terms of: how it structures relationships between the three active stakeholders, the challenges and advantages each presents to arts nonprofits, and the overall problem the BID was designed to solve. Each of these administrative models presents its own challenges and advantages to existing arts nonprofits. To develop accurate profiles of the following administrative models, information was gathered through available strategic plans and other documentation on each BID's current website, as well as through an interview with the Director or CEO of each BID. These interviews allowed further insight into the complex nature of each individual BID's goals and how each BID best serves its community members through the tax assessment granted by the commercial property owners in the district. The services rendered through the BID, regular community events hosted by the BID, existing partnerships, monetary support, or partnered-events with arts organizations were examined. These relationships were outlined to gauge the type of interactions each BID has with existing arts nonprofits in their area, and to define the advantages and disadvantages of each administrative model.

4.1 The Rosslyn BID

A BID can be part of a larger coalition working within a neighborhood's revitalization process. The Rosslyn BID exemplifies this model. Located in the northwestern part of the Ballston-Rosslyn Corridor of Arlington, Virginia, Rosslyn was the first neighborhood in Northern Virginia to form a business improvement district in 2003 (Pyzyk, 2013). In the 1990s and 2000s, Rosslyn suffered an issue endemic to cities around the country: it had become a neighborhood with only one primary use (Jacobs, 1965). Originally built as an office community, Rosslyn's leaders realized it needed to bring in more foot traffic for its businesses and property owners to create a more vibrant city (Rosslyn BID 2013-2014 Annual Report). Rosslyn also realized that to sustain itself as a city, it needed to become a mixed-use neighborhood. Under direction from a majority of the commercial property owners in Rosslyn, the Rosslyn BID made its debut in 2003 with a number of ambitious goals, including the goal of transforming Rosslyn into an urban center, with ancillary goals of marketing and programming for the neighborhood (Chamis, 2001). It is unclear how the BID pursued these goals in its early stages, but as of 2017 the BID is focusing on *Realize Rosslyn*, a multi-stage and multi-year project that will redevelop the visual design of Rosslyn with varied building heights, wider sidewalks, and mixed-use buildings and streets — advice touted by Jane Jacobs herself (Realize Rosslyn, n.d.).

The administrative model of the Rosslyn BID focuses on the collaborative part of its mission, placing the BID's agency within a larger coalition of stakeholders interested in Rosslyn's future, including the Arlington County government, Arlington Economic Development office, Arlington Chamber of Commerce, and Arlington Business Licenses and Permits Office (External Business Resources, n.d.). The Rosslyn BID is part of a larger coalition working to engage the community with the arts as partners in its revitalization efforts (Interview with Mary-Claire Burick, 2017, email).¹²⁰ According to Mary-Claire Burick, CEO of the Rosslyn BID, the main priority of the organization is engagement, including building and maintaining relationships with their current partners and potential partners. These partnerships provide an extensive resource pool for businesses and nonprofits, including arts nonprofits that seek to start or continue to engage the Rosslyn community. For an existing or new cultural nonprofit, the BID's extensive network of resources can be advantageous. The resources provided by the BID and other coalition members in Rosslyn can set businesses and nonprofits up for success.

The Rosslyn BID has a varied history of cultural support, which includes providing partial funding for Artisphere. Artisphere, an ambitious arts center designed as a cultural anchor for Rosslyn and a provider of after-hours foot traffic for businesses, was a joint effort between Arlington County and the Rosslyn BID early in the BID's history (Regan, 2015). The venue was well-received by critics, but failed to produce an economically-viable model while in existence (Smith, 2015). Treated more like an economic vehicle than a cultural anchor, Artisphere was not managed by an arts nonprofit from its inception (Devine, 2015). A series of management missteps led Artisphere to close after just four

¹²⁰ Three professional interviews were conducted during the course of this research in addition to other qualitative analysis. These interviews are referenced within the individual BID sections. They were conducted with Mary-Claire Burick, CEO of the Rosslyn BID; Angela Fox, CEO of the Crystal City BID; and Tina Leone, CEO of the Ballston BID.

years (Cauterucci, 2015). After Artisphere closed, the Rosslyn BID recalibrated its cultural support to include supporting local arts nonprofits already in existence, including the National Chamber Ensemble (Interview with Mary-Claire Burick, 2017, email).

While the history of cultural support from the Rosslyn BID has been somewhat marred by the closure of Artisphere, the BID is still active in promoting cultural events around town (Interview with Mary-Claire Burick, 2017, email). The BID is part of a larger coalition of members actively seeking to create a more vibrant Rosslyn, and acts as both a funding body and marketer of arts in the area. This administrative model allows the BID to serve as a supporter, not a censor, of the arts. The artistic events tend to exist on their own, without much interference or direction from the BID. The cultural events that the BID does take lead on, such as Arts and Beat in April 2017 and the annual Rosslyn Jazz Fest, do not have a corporate or commercially-branded feel. This allows the events to exist for their artistic purpose, instead of existing as a reflection of the Rosslyn BID itself.

One of the bigger disadvantages of the coalition model is that support for cultural events and arts nonprofits is not mandatory, and shifts from year to year. Artisphere was a cultural project that eventually closed due to its inability to provide economic success, despite the engagement that it provided for the art community. Coalition members created and funded Artisphere, while eventually those same members took funding away. Another disadvantage of the coalition model is the size of the coalition. When dealing with many partners, there are many opportunities for things to fall through, or for motivations to become unclear. A good example of this disadvantage is the rise and fall of Artisphere. Artisphere provided the BID with a cultural anchor to further its goal of achieving a more vibrant Rosslyn. However, one of the partners in the coalition — the Arlington County Government — wanted Artisphere to serve as an economic vehicle for Rosslyn. These conflicting motivations caused Artisphere to fail. Dissent of opinion is one of the dangers of having many members of a coalition supporting one major end-goal. Additionally, a neighborhood that engages in a coalition member model BID must have the infrastructure to deal with the high level of communication needed between the members of the coalition. The coalition member model works best when communication between members exists freely; if a city or neighborhood already is mired with bureaucratic inefficiencies, this model would add another layer of complexity.

When dealing with a BID that is a part of a larger coalition, arts nonprofits and other cultural assets need to be aware of the possibility of different members of the coalition disagreeing on cultural support. The possibility of a multi-layered process of support or a confusing network of members also exists.

4.2 The Crystal City BID

A BID can become a partnership facilitator, working as a mediator between commercial property owners and arts nonprofits to ensure that communications between disparate groups remain healthy. The Crystal City BID exemplifies this model. The Base Realignment and Closure Act (BRAC, n.d.), a piece of Federal legislation that would ultimately affect upwards of 15,000 workers in the Crystal City

neighborhood of Arlington, Virginia (Crystal City Business Plan, 2006), led to the formation of a BID in Crystal City. Crystal City's BID was an answer to the oncoming issue of empty office buildings and the lack of a distinctive brand as the area was home to transient military workers who were now in the process of permanently leaving. After forming in 2007, the BID's first goals were to create a distinctive brand that allowed Crystal City to shine as an urban center for young professionals (Crystal City Business Plan, 2006). In its original business proposal, the BID lays out a strategic plan dedicated to unifying the district through specific gateways, events, transportation and pedestrian upgrades, better signage, and a "breakdown of physical and psychological barriers" (Crystal City Business Plan, 2006). The steering committee of the Crystal City BID decided that to benefit all stakeholders within its district, the focus of the Crystal City BID should be on "place-making and promotion" (Crystal City Business Plan, 2006). In 2007, a nonprofit entity took control of the tax assessment funds, and began operating as the Crystal City BID (CCBID).

Unique among the Northern Virginia BIDs explored here, Crystal City had the task of fighting a negative image associated with its district. Crystal City was facing the prospect of losing both its consumer base and its government image. According to one property owner, a common vision of Crystal City was of a "concrete wasteland" (Crystal City, n.d.). Thanks to the BRAC legislation that moved federal workers out of Crystal City, the BID had the opportunity to truly redevelop and recreate the brand of Crystal City.

A core component of the CCBID is ARTFUL (Crystal City BID: About, n.d.). Over the past decade, the BID has provided space for public art through its program Art Walls (Goldchain, 2017). The BID agency actively brokers the spaces for these public art initiatives between the artist and the commercial property owners. Angela Fox, CEO of the BID, has said that Art Walls was a way to "shift perceptions" of the city from the concrete wasteland of its past to a more vibrant and artful experience (Goldchain, 2017). Art Walls uses art from artists found at local institutions and arts nonprofits such as the Torpedo Factory, Artomatic, and other nearby exhibitions (Goldchain, 2017; High Rise Art, 2014). In addition to providing buildings as a canvas for local artists, CCBID has also transformed part of the city's infrastructure into a cultural center (Art Underground, n.d.). Art Underground provides five blocks of underground tunnel retail space for cultural events, galleries, exhibits, and more. The Arlington Artists Alliance currently uses Art Underground as their main exhibition space, furthering CCBID's connection to local arts groups.

For Fox, CCBID largely focuses on facilitating partnerships between commercial property owners and community groups, including local arts nonprofits. The focus on facilitation has led to increased interaction between the three active stakeholders identified in the BID's sphere: commercial property owners, the community-at-large, and arts nonprofits. The staff of the Crystal City BID's agency act as translators between the needs of Crystal City's commercial property owners and the needs of the community and the arts nonprofits that exist within the BID-zone. The BID even promotes and advocates for the local arts nonprofits, commissioning studies showing the economic and social impact of local theaters, and other local arts groups in the area, on the restaurants and businesses in the BID-zone (Theatres Contribute Significantly, n.d.).

The advantage of this synergistic relationship is that every stakeholder has some measurable benefit: the community-at-large has varied events, the arts nonprofits have audiences, and the commercial property owners see an increase in interest in their spaces from both commercial and residential tenants. This increase in interest also comes with a shift in perception, as Angela Fox stated. The CCBID's model actively engages in creative placemaking, through Art Walls and Art Underground; the lynchpin in this type of creative placemaking is that the artist is in charge, not the BID's agency. As a partnership facilitator, the BID acts as a cultural translator between commercial property owners and arts nonprofits, two groups who historically have not spoken the same language.

This model does have some weak points, however. As a partnership facilitator, the administrative model is only as strong as the staff and leadership of the BID's agency. The need for a high level of communication is clear, too. If the ability to communicate between groups suffers, then the BID will fail to act as a partnership facilitator. In addition, as a facilitator, the BID needs a staff and a leader who can communicate effectively between the commercial property owners paying into the BID and the arts nonprofits in the area. If the BID actively translates between the commercial property owners and the arts nonprofits, the model succeeds. If communication falters, the arts nonprofits do not have their own relationships to fall back on, since the BID is the primary mechanism for those relationships.

4.3 The Ballston BID

A BID can become a type of cultural agency, providing the community with cultural products and events. The Ballston BID exemplifies this model. Ballston formed a business improvement district in 2011 with the goal of establishing a unique brand for its half urban/half suburban neighborhood (State News Service, 2010). Spurred by the BIDs popping up across Northern Virginia, Ballston sought to use tax assessment funds to revitalize its core downtown. As part of its strategic plan in 2012, the Ballston BID named one of its goals "to create a recognized identity and brand that maintains and enhances Ballston's competitive advantages" (Ballston BID Strategic Plan, 2012-2014). Ballston, a neighborhood with an even mix of residential and commercial properties, including condominiums and apartments, is a place where commercial property owners, the community-at-large, and arts nonprofits interact in ways that are different from the two other BIDs explored here. Crystal City and Rosslyn each have very different identities, while Ballston has held on to its suburban-like qualities despite being in an urban area. Through marketing and branding, as well as placemaking efforts, BID CEO Tina Leone sought to bring a technology-based image to Ballston (Ballston BID Strategic Plan, 2012-2014). According to the 2012 Strategic Plan, this brand image is a critical factor in Ballston's success as a neighborhood since the DC metropolitan area has seen an increase in mixed-use neighborhoods similar to Ballston.

The unique mix of residential and commercial properties has given Ballston a demographic edge: in 2014, the typical Ballston-dweller was 36 years old (Edleson, 2014). With a young demographic in mind, the Ballston BID announced in 2015 that its mission was to "imagine and implement innovative programs, partnerships and collaborations that bring people together, create a sense of community and strengthen the economic vitality of [the] businesses and commercial partners in Ballston" (Ballston

BID Strategic Plan, 2015 – 2018). By 2016, the strategic plan had morphed the mission of the BID, instead focusing on the community of people in Ballston, not just the brand itself (Ballston BID Strategic Plan, 2015 – 2018). Indeed, the vision of the BID changed to include “support[ing] and connect[ing] the most creative, compelling, and ambitious minds in the region”. The BID’s goal is to make Ballston distinctive enough to be desirable for outside residents and businesses.

Ballston BID’s budget is smaller than both Rosslyn or Crystal City. This is due to a smaller base of tax-assessed properties (Interview with Tina Leone, 2017, Alexandria, VA). When the BID formed, residential property owners, such as condominiums and apartment building owners, refused to sign on for the tax-assessment. Due to the exclusion of residential properties, the Ballston BID is one of the few agencies that also fundraises for its projects under the name *BallstonGives* (Interview with Tina Leone, 2017, Alexandria, VA). The smaller budget, combined with the fundraising needs of the BID, mean that the BID has had to become a part of the cultural fabric of the community, if it is to remain a relevant and active stakeholder.

One of the ways the Ballston BID has actively become a steward of the cultural fabric of Ballston is by engaging in multi-year placemaking activities such as the Taste of Arlington, weekly Farmer’s Markets, and a multi-arts project called *Public Displays of Innovation* (Ballston BID Mailing, 2017). The Ballston BID has also actively become a steward of its relationships with the commercial, residential, and retail owners by engaging each in discussions and presentations during its Tenant Presentations, Property Managers Group and Retail Committee (Ballston BID Mailing, 2017). The Ballston BID has made every effort to stay connected to the residents, consumers, and office workers that live, work, and play in Ballston. Interactions between the commercial property owners and the community are strong.

The connections between the property owners and the arts nonprofits are more tenuous. The Ballston BID, because of its strong connection to the community, has taken on the role of creating cultural events and bringing cultural events into the neighborhood. There are many partnerships between the Ballston BID and other groups. For instance, local artist Nancy Belmont brought the art installation the “Courage Wall” to Ballston. The Ballston BID has created its own application for smart phones that allows any community member to access events like this art installation (Ballston Connect, n.d.). The BID also partners with Arlington Arts Center, one of the larger and more well-known arts nonprofits in Arlington County, to bring in temporary arts exhibits (Ballston BID Annual Report, 2015). One of the common cultural themes to these Ballston art projects and installations is the quality of content they bring. As Tina Leone puts it, the BID is looking for art projects that crafts an image of Ballston for outsiders of the community. The BID wants to bring in iconic art that has the most impact and that makes the most sense for their area (Tina Leone, Interview, 2017).

However, the BID’s desire to create an image may outweigh the voices of existing smaller arts nonprofits who may not produce *iconic* art, or art that is up to an individual BID’s standards. By presenting the community with a certain standard of art, the BID is cultivating a brand that the community may come to expect from other arts nonprofits in the area. Arts nonprofits may lose audiences and even donations to the BID if the community feels that the BID’s offerings are more

worthwhile. Thus, the BID walks a fine line between offering too much and offering just enough to entice people into a neighborhood to enjoy all the unique cultural aspects.

Despite its disadvantages, there are some advantages of the cultural agency model. One of the advantages of this kind of BID is that it can create local cultural activities where a distinct and unifying cultural presence is lacking. However, creating a unified cultural component can lead to the possibility of ignoring smaller cultural assets that already exist in the neighborhood but do not have large enough resources or voices. Without tying into existing arts nonprofits in the area, the risk of erasing existing cultural assets increases.

5. Conclusion

Northern Virginia BIDs have three distinct administrative models, each with advantages and disadvantages for arts organizations. The interactions between three active stakeholders — the community, arts nonprofits, and the property owners paying into the BID — shift in each of the models, depending on the needs of the neighborhood and the goals of the BID. For the Rosslyn BID, the focus on collaborative partnerships over the last decade has created an active web of partners that has formed a larger coalition. The BID exists as a member within this coalition. The BID can act as a cultural supporter, lending monetary support to arts nonprofits in the area. It can also act as a marketing agent for cultural events around town, showcasing exhibitions and events that are happening around town without actively creating them. The possibility of differing motivations behind cultural support from different members of the coalition is the distinct disadvantage of this model, and was one of the reasons behind Artisphere's eventual failure. A coalition model is only as strong as the individual members of the coalition. Arts nonprofits need to be aware of the potential for disagreement among coalition members, including the BID.

For Crystal City, the BID acts a partnership facilitator between the arts nonprofits and the commercial property owners of the BID. This mediation model works well when it is led by someone who speaks the language of economics and culture, but falters if communication is not strong. In Crystal City's case, the leadership and the staff of the BID agency have done a remarkable job placing arts nonprofits and artists in spaces within the community. The inclusion of ARTFUL as one of the main goals of the BID has proven fruitful, as the arts are a vibrant part of the Crystal City landscape. For arts nonprofits, having an organization act as a facilitator is instrumental in bringing opportunities for better venue space, increased shared public space, and creative use of space. The ability for arts nonprofits to be able to discuss their needs with commercial property owners through the BID is a clear advantage of this model, and has enabled Crystal City to use private commercial property for arts events and exhibitions.

Ballston, a neighborhood that struggled with being both urban and suburban, needed to provide a unifying cultural presence with its BID. The BID has branded the neighborhood, while offering cultural activities to its residents. The advantage of this model is that Ballston now has a distinct cultural identity, separate from its neighboring BIDs. Innovation is the brand and image associated with

Ballston, and the BID makes sure that its cultural offerings are high quality and reflect their brand. However, the disadvantage of this model is that the identity may limit other cultural offerings of existing arts nonprofits. The Ballston identity limits the direct exposure that arts nonprofits can receive if their cultural products do not fit in with Ballston brand. By offering such a high level of cultural events in terms of quality and content, the BID pits itself against other cultural assets in the area. The competitive atmosphere this creates causes tension between the arts nonprofits and the BID itself.

For Old Town Alexandria, the question remains: is a BID the right vehicle for the city's revitalization, and if so, which model would be the most useful? Looking at the historical interactions between the community, arts nonprofits, and various governmental and arts agencies present in Alexandria, a BID that focuses on physical services and improvements rather than cultural offerings would benefit the city. The City of Alexandria is home to many official departments and agencies that oversee cultural offerings, including Visit Alexandria, its tourism agency (Minutes from DC, n.d.); the Office of the Arts, the city's grant making body and event organizer for arts activities, as well as the current manager of the Torpedo Factory (Office of the Arts, n.d.); the Commission for the Arts, a separate body dedicated to providing City Council with advice in "regard[s] to policies that will strengthen the arts and further public access to the arts and cultural matters" among other accountability measures and funding decisions (Alexandria Commission for the Arts, n.d.); the Alexandria Arts Alliance, an outside arts advocacy membership agency that serves to advocate on behalf of arts nonprofits and artists in Alexandria (About Us, n.d.); and many well-established and small local arts nonprofits (Arts Grant Program, n.d.). A BID that focused on cultural offerings would hamper these groups and the events they host all over the city.

As of now, an Old Town BID proposal exists that identifies six major goals, including two goals that directly impact the cultural fabric of the neighborhood: to improve quality of life through "enhanced and sustainable public spaces", as well as "curate and execute meaningful... events that align with other BID goals" (Old Town BID Proposal, 2017). Any future Old Town BID would become an active stakeholder in a field of stakeholders who are working to revitalize the town. Some of the goals in the BID proposal lean towards becoming the sole active stakeholder instead of one of many. By positioning the BID to become the only active stakeholder in the town's revitalization, the Alexandria BID threatens to erase historical and cultural identity, instead of working with other active stakeholders to enhance current identity (Sepe, 2013). Alexandria's BID will need to build on the town's existing cultural assets. By building on the town's cultural assets in concert with other stakeholders, including arts agencies, arts nonprofits, and the city council, the BID can provide the necessary services that are missing in the neighborhood without interfering with other stakeholders' current goals or strategies. This would most closely resemble the coalition model exemplified by Rosslyn — working together to form partnerships with other members and agencies in the community to accomplish tasks larger than any one member.

In the three models presented above, the BID acts as one agency in a town that can either spearhead or help to rebrand a city's image, revitalize its downtown core, or bring more foot traffic to its businesses. However, the three models above also represent the various levels of partnerships and

equity in partnerships available to BIDs. Rosslyn, Crystal City, and Ballston are all imbued with a sense of collaborative spirit. The Old Town BID Proposal speaks of the BID as the advocacy agency for the businesses and commercial property owners, as well as the unified service provider for the town (Old Town BID Proposal, 2017). These goals are worth striving towards, but it is best to accomplish them in concert with the other agencies and partners already in existence.

Legally and culturally, BIDs are not standalone agencies. While they are representative of the stakeholder who pays — the commercial property owners — they affect and interact with many different stakeholders during their time in existence. A BID is both a steward of the cultural fabric of a neighborhood, as well as part owner of the public space of a neighborhood. A BID has a responsibility to both its stakeholders and its community. At the heart of a BID's purpose is to define a place, and to make a neighborhood more inviting to its current residents and visitors through the services it provides (Sepe, 2013). A BID's job is to rebrand and make a city more attractive to visitors and residents through rebranding and marketing efforts, creative placemaking efforts, and other direct physical improvements (Moran et al, 2015). It is up to other stakeholders to carry out their goals to effectively revitalize a city. When a BID works together with its community — including existing cultural assets such as arts nonprofits — the result can be a shared public space imbued with authentic and undeniable identity.

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Developing an Evaluation Approach for Arts and Soft Power

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ABSTRACT

The British Council was founded to create a “friendly knowledge and understanding” between the people of the UK and the wider world. The British Council aims to use the cultural resources of the UK to make a positive contribution to the people, institutions and governments of the countries it works with. The British Council approach is based on mutuality and co creation across its cultural relations programmes operating in 110 countries.

This paper aims to explore the British Council’s developing evaluation approach into arts and soft power drawing on a range of evaluation material:

- desk review of 85 British Council evaluation reports,
- recent external evidence review of the British Council’s evidence base,
- thinking outlined in the University of West Scotland’s report (McPherson et al., 2017) on evaluating arts and soft power,
- review of the evidence submitted to the UK House of Lord enquiry into Soft Power and UK’s Influence¹²¹.

Keywords:

arts evaluation,
soft power,
cultural relations,
British Council

¹²¹ Evidence to the Committee is available online <<http://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/lords-select/soft-power-and-the-uks-influence/publications/>> (accessed 15th August 2017).

1. Introduction

Professor Joseph Nye, used both in his 2004 book, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* and in his more recent work, *The Future of Power* (2011), to describe the ability to attract and co-opt rather than coerce. The notion of soft power implies that cultural relations are concerned with projection, making a statement about what a country stands for through its culture. As the academic Weihong Zhang (2010), commenting on China's cultural future: "Soft power as strategies meant using power softly in seeking normal economic and political advantages abroad. Soft power as outcomes meant the rise of China and its cultural renaissance". (Zhang, 2010:383) Agnès Poirier described, to the Lord's Committee on Soft Power and UK's influence, "Soft Power to be about powerful images and potent feelings that one associates with one country or one culture."¹²²

Understandings of soft power, its content and potential value as a diplomatic and social tool, are less tangible than its 'hard' variant. Soft power relates to the:

- "ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments." (Nye, 2004: 256);
- "power achieved when people, institutions or nation states accept the authority of others as normal by way of culture, politics or policies." (Schausteck de Almeida et al: 2014: 273).

Soft power is often discussed interchangeably as either an initiative (or input) into a cultural or other process or an output/outcome of a set of cultural interventions. The University of West Scotland (McPherson et al, 2017) looking at how the British Council might approach evaluating the arts and soft power considers soft power as a dynamic process. However, the vagueness of the concept has limited its effective deployment. Evaluation of soft power suffers from the absence of clear objectives or overly generalised objectives. There is the difficulty in identifying and isolating the *object of study*, developing meaningful indicators of success and agreeing routes to evaluation (McPherson et al, 2017). The evaluation of soft power effectiveness should be two directional, looking at both the delivery agents resources, capabilities and behaviors along with the receiving audience's perceptions, behaviors towards the soft power delivery agent.

It is relatively easy to measure the process dimension of soft power e.g. partnerships formed, number of attendees, number of 'eyeballs' on a film or cultural performance. Discovering or knowing whether an increase in soft power has been achieved (and whether or not any of that change emerged as a direct result of the cultural activity undertaken) and evaluating the quality of that impact, is a far more complex and indistinct process. The UK's Arts Humanities Research Council's Cultural Value project and related research evidence suggests that there may be greater value in trying to explore a more qualitative appraisal of the role of art and culture in soft power of the intangible elements of which it is comprised. Focus on isolating clear objectives for the contribution of arts and culture to soft power from the outset and the need to take cognisance of both process and outcomes if the value of arts and

¹²² Oral evidence given to the House of Lord Committee <<http://www.parliament.uk/documents/lords-committees/soft-power-uk-influence/SoftPowerEvVol1.pdf>> (Accessed 15th August 2017).

cultural activity is to be understood effectively.

Britain has a long, rich and complicated series and nexus of relationships with countries all over the world. “That baggage of history need not be a problem. It is an editorial opportunity.”¹²³ The then UK Culture Secretary, Maria Miller, considered in 2014 that:

Culture matters. That’s why it holds a unique place in our hearts. It has a central place in shaping our national identity, and has an enormous impact on our global standing— our reputation as a place worth doing business with; our reputation as a place worth visiting; and our reputation as a place worth experiencing culture in its many varied forms. The reputation of UK culture equips us with a level of trust, soft power and influence to which other major countries can only aspire.¹²⁴

This was followed in 2016, by the launched of the UK government’s Culture White Paper, which stated that:

Culture continues to expand the UK’s influence, promotes trade and investment and attracts visitors to experience the beauty of our landscapes, the treasures of our national heritage and the life of our towns and cities. This respect and influence gives us status in global networks and international organisations. In turn, those networks give us the opportunity to promote our cultural and creative talent. (DCMS, 2016:42)

Sebastian Faulks noted after a literature visit to Russia, organized by the British Council, “this is how culture reaches the parts that mainstream diplomacy cannot.”¹²⁵ As the UK government commissions more soft power programmes and soft power services such as through the GREAT Campaign, the Empowerment Fund and its Gulf Strategy, we need to consider how the arts contribute to soft power. There is some early developing evidence from the literature review of the arts engaging with large scale global audiences and then influencing people on an emotional level, however, there is the real challenge of measuring this over the long term as highlighted in the Art of Attraction report (British Academy, 2014).

This paper reviews some possible ways to start to develop the evidence and some of the possible indicators of change like using the arts to develop at an individual level empathy and perception change, on cognition and changes in behavior and some of the challenges we face in evaluating this area of work.

2. Changes in Individual Level Empathy

The AHRC review explored the ability of arts and cultural engagement to help shape reflective individuals thereby facilitating greater understanding of themselves and empathy for others and

¹²³ Peter Horrocks, BBC World Service, giving evidence to the House of Lords Select Committee on Soft Power
¹²⁴ Speech given January 2014 <<https://www.gov.uk/government/news/culture-and-creativity-the-key-to-our-soft-power-success>> (accessed 15th August 2017)
¹²⁵ Quote taken from the Spectator <<https://www.spectator.co.uk/2017/01/diary-695/>> (accessed 15th August 2017).

diversity, as well as producing more engaged citizens, thus promoting civic behaviour and expression. (Crossick & Kaszynska, 2016) Engelen & RöttgerRössler (2012), in a brief overview of a special issue of the Journal Emotion Review devoted to empathy, declared in their first sentence that “there is no accepted standard definition of empathy—either among the sciences and humanities or in the specific disciplines”, (Engelen & RöttgerRössler, 2012:3) but nonetheless emphatically endorse the importance of continuing to develop better understandings of that fundamentally social capacity to “feel one’s way into others, to take part in the other’s affective situation, and adopt the other’s perspective... to grasp the other’s intentions and thus to engage in meaningful social interaction” (Engelen & RöttgerRössler, 2012:3).

The Churchill Global Leadership Programme (British Council, 2015b) explored the issue of the arts and soft power suggesting that there is some evidence that the arts can support the development of empathy with then a further possible connection is then made to influence and changing people’s perceptions of themselves and of each other may follow this initial connection. The AHRC Cultural Value Programme (Crossick & Kaszynska, 2016) considered the role of the arts in developing the ‘reflective individual’, facilitating greater understanding of themselves and their lives, increasing empathy with respect to others, and an appreciation of the diversity of human experience and cultures. One of the projects, funded by the AHRC Cultural Programme at the University of Oxford, explored the impact of music on empathy and found:-

The result of our empirical study provides some evidence for the capacity of music – even when encountered in arguably the most passive circumstances (solitary headphone listening in a ‘laboratory’ setting) – to positively influence people’s unconscious attitudes towards cultural others. Specifically, people with higher dispositional empathy scores show more differentiated positive associations with images of people from two different cultural groups after listening to music explicitly belonging to that cultural group than do people with lower dispositional empathy scores. This is a striking result, and provides what might be characterized as narrow but ‘hard-nosed’ evidence for music’s positive inter-cultural potential, and we have speculated on the broad psychological mechanisms (including entrainment, mimicry, emotional contagion, and semantic elaboration) that may be responsible (Clarke et al, 2016:20).

A number of notes of caution also need to be sounded. There is no evidence for the robustness or duration of the effects that were observed as part of this study: it may be that this is a very temporary shift that is easily disrupted. What, if anything, is special about music as a force for cultural benefit? Why not football, or food – both of which can lay claim to mass engagement and global reach? Is there anything about music that affords either particular, or particularly powerful or efficacious kinds of intercultural engagement? One way to tackle these questions is consider what the mechanisms for empathy and cultural understanding might be, and in what ways those mechanisms are engaged by different cultural manifestations – whether those are music, food or football.

Bazalgette (2017), former Chair of Arts Council England, has explored the issue of empathy.

Bazalgette adapts the Oxford English Dictionary definition of empathy “the ability to understand and share in another person’s feelings and experiences”¹²⁶. Bazalgette considers empathy as the power of understanding others and the growing evidence of the role the arts plays with developing empathy such as around race, religion and conflict resolution.¹²⁷ Researchers in the USA in 2010 tracked a widespread decline in empathy in the USA, especially among college students, the researcher behind the college-student study noted: “We need empathy to inspire a next generation of global citizens who are mindful of our shared humanity”.¹²⁸

The Art of Attraction report (British Academy, 2014) also explored the role of culture in creating the multicultural society of the UK. The arts have been deployed in post conflict transformation such as in Northern Ireland and the British Council’s Create Syria Project, with apparent short term benefits, even if the long term impact remains untested. It is an example of how the arts can enlarge people’s experiences and enable them to think about other peoples, in a setting potentially more neutral and more engaged than would be produced by conventional political dialogue. The Create Syria Project, a collaboration between Ettijahat - Independent Culture, the British Council and International Alert, to enhance the expertise of Syrian artists and cultural activists living outside of Syria. The project aimed to create environments and initiatives to enable Syrian artists, cultural activists, and civil society organisations to play increasingly active roles in improving the lives of Syrians, primarily by supporting creative endeavours which develop long-term cooperation and mutual resilience between Syrians and host communities. The evaluation of the project found that “the resilience achieved by Create Syria is best described as short-term, emotional resilience. As explained in the scope of the evaluation, this evaluation assesses the levels of the immediate outcome and the intermediate outcome within the Theory of Change, excluding the level of the ultimate outcome.” (British Council, 2016b:18)

The British Council’s Golden Thread programme, (British Council, 2016c) funded by the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, also explored the impact of the arts on individual resilience and wellbeing in targeted ODA countries. Golden Thread projects focused on creating open and equitable societies from the ground up, using cultural activity as a catalyst for broader personal, community and societal change. The programme had two strands: Artists in Recovery, aimed at displaced Syrian artists; and Voices and Spaces for Social Change, which provided safe spaces and environments to allow cross cultural dialogues. The evaluation of the Golden Thread programme by BOP (British Council, 2016c) highlighted some impacts on individual self-efficacy, self-awareness and self-expression. As the British Council’s Sustainable Development Goals Baseline report by Collingwood Environmental Planning (2016a) highlights, the programme creates conditions for UN Sustainable Development targets to be achieved. “The arts were found to be a powerful medium for people to find their voice and to establish networks and communications around issues of importance to them. The programme was successful in creating safe places for artists to express themselves or for audiences to be able to explore issues that were usually not discussed, such as domestic violence in Burma. As in the case of

¹²⁶ <<https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/empathy>> (accessed 15th August 2017).

¹²⁷ The Middle East Institute in collaboration with Goethe Institute and Jerusalem Fund ran a seminar The Growing Role of Empathy in the Arts <<http://www.thejerusalemfund.org/17666/17666>> (accessed 15th August 2017).

¹²⁸ Available online <<http://ns.umich.edu/new/releases/7724-empathy-college-students-don-t-have-as-much-as-they-used-to>> (accessed 15th August 2017).

the cultural relations approach, the arts focus facilitates awareness raising and the opening up of conversations” (British Council, 2016a:44).

3. Exploring Individual and Collective Perception Change

DEMOS, in their report looking at Cultural Diplomacy (Bound et al 2007), suggests that culture is a major determinant of how people perceive each other and negotiate their differences that cultures are meeting, mingling and morphing. The DEMOS report also highlights that through arts and culture that we find points of commonality and difference, and the means to understand one another. Exhibitions, performances and other cultural forms enable us to engage with others’ heritage and living culture. One of the most important contributions that culture can make to a country’s public diplomacy is its ability to showcase a diversity of views, perspectives and opinions, breaking down persistent national stereotypes and challenging the perception that a country’s political leaders and their policies are identical with the views of their citizens. Arts and culture provides meeting points for exposition and explanation, for dialogue and debate, arts and culture provide the operating context for politics.

The Brookings Institute report (Schneider & Nelson, 2008) explores the role of arts and culture in reconfiguring relationships in this case between the US and then Muslim world explored how the arts allows contacts between peoples rather than between governments. “Artistic and cultural representations—whether they take the form of a play, a T.V. reality show, a novel, or hip-hop music—challenge traditional stereotypes associated with another culture and humanize “the other.” Thus, investing in arts and culture has the potential to ameliorate the disintegrating relations between the United States and the Muslim world.” This research suggests, in this case, awareness of the critical role arts and culture plays in perpetuating or reversing negative stereotypes (such as those associated with Arabs and Islam in American popular culture) and a desire to contribute positively to increasing understanding across cultures. The report’s conclusions found “the Brookings Institution’s experiment in engaging the arts in bridging the divide between the United States and the Muslim world has demonstrated the value of bringing different perspectives to bear on a common problem. Activities that build partnerships and strengthen arts and cultural institutions within civil society will ultimately take us further than words or “dialogue” (Schneider & Nelson, 2008:60). Through mentoring and exchanges of knowledge and personnel the U.S. private sector can help build the capacity within the Muslim world to produce commercially viable music, literature, theatre and film. Equally important, the U.S. private sector can support the development of commercially viable talent, in the broadest sense, within the Muslim world.

Lord and Blankenberg (2015) in their collection of essays explores the relationship between museums and communities, communities and cities, cities and nations and the way they use museums as soft power tools such as British Museum in the relations between the UK and Iran, with exhibitions such as “Forgotten Empire: The World of Ancient Persia” and the loan of the Cyrus Cylinder to the National Museum of Iran. Hayfa Matar argues, in her essay about museums in the Gulf, it takes considerable courage, as it means examining and confronting the multiple and sometimes painful narratives that

exist in every community. “Attempts to exercise soft power are easily dismissed if the museum does not recognise the agency of those it purports to reach.” (Matar in Lord & Blankenberg, 2015:95) Over the last 10 years or so the British Museum has sought to describe itself, and really be, a museum of the world, for the world. In some senses, there may be thought to be some sort of contradiction or tension between the name, British Museum, and the notion that what it is in fact is a museum of the world for the world:-

The Museum’s major consultancy project in the United Arab Emirates to help the UAE government develop the Zayed National Museum in Abu Dhabi contributes to these agendas within what is clearly an important region for UK interests. The Museum’s involvement with the Zayed National Museum, designed by Foster and Partners, provides a significant British presence in the mind of important stakeholders in the UAE, alongside those of France and the United States with the development of outposts of the Louvre and the Guggenheim. That the British Museum is, by contrast, supporting the UAE to create its own national museum and help present the culture, history and identity of the Emirates to the public – not planting a branch museum - is symbolically very important and a clear example of the attractive power of the British Museum and the name of British cultural institutions more generally as good partners with a reputation for high quality.¹²⁹

The prevailing approach to measuring soft power is that soft power depends upon the credibility of its resources. (Hayden, 2011) The presumption of soft power effects is that soft power will be effective on subjects if they are attractive, charming, credible and trustworthy. An evaluation challenge is to capture snapshots of changes in individual perception and behaviors while being in flux and tracking them over a period of time alongside the difficulty in knowing whose perceptions to track. Even more, knowing how to track them and how to identify and isolate the British Council’s role in any change.

The evaluation of the UK Russia Year of Culture in 2014 found anecdotal evidence of possible perception change through quotes and self-reported questionnaires “We believe our project evoked and deepened interest in British art and culture and our mutual cultural history in the wider audience, including young people, art-lovers and members of the business community” (British Council, 2014:11) according to the curator, Galina Andreeva. “In the current complex and ambivalent political situation our exhibition once more proved the idea that cultural communication is the most efficient way of improving and strengthening international communication, mutual understanding and sustainable development of the world society and civilization.” (British Council, 2014:11) The 2015 evaluation of the UK Iran Season, using the Cultural Value model developed by the Open University, found the “Iran team seized an important opportunity and the right moment to create a diplomatic rapprochement via cultural relations. The Season increased awareness in Iran and the UK of the British Council – its purpose and work and that will have repercussions over time.” (British Council, 2015a:4) The Open University’s interim evaluation report of Shakespeare Lives (2017b), again using their Cultural Value model found, “Connection has a high score of 5.8 social media users often described Shakespeare

¹²⁹ British Museum written submission to the House of Lord Soft Power Enquiry.

Lives (implicitly) as ‘connecting, strengthening connections or promoting mutual understanding between citizens in the UK and abroad’; in the stakeholder survey undertaken by the University of Liverpool as part of Shakespeare Lives, three-quarters of respondents agreed that they had met new potential business partners after participating in Shakespeare Lives” (British Council, 2017b:11).

The Institute of Capital of Culture based in the University of Liverpool research study into the British Council’s Shakespeare Lives programme in Russia, China and the Horn of Africa (2017a) based on a relatively small sample size, suggests the arts might create a connecting ground and unique and secure spaces, opportunities and forums for the reciprocal interchange of culture, or exploration of ideas and themes through cultural practice. According to the evaluation, Shakespeare was often seen as a means through which to encourage engagement with UK contemporary culture, from collaborations with UK companies, to learning about UK history and tourism opportunities in the country. The evaluation also highlights important cultural differences in the reception of the Shakespeare Lives Programme, particularly between Russia and China and recommends further research.

This research echoes some of the findings from the British Council’s research behind its ‘All The World’ publication (2016d) with a survey undertaken by YouGov looked at how Shakespeare is viewed around the world and the role his work can play to support UK soft power. Based on research in 14 countries and a sample size of 16,000 people the survey suggests there being a correlation between liking Shakespeare and being more positive about the UK in general, 70 per cent of those surveyed whose opinion of the UK is positively influenced by Shakespeare say that they want to visit the UK as a tourist.

Moving forward the British Council is currently considering perception change outcomes within its UAE, India and Korea Seasons evaluation frameworks and also within the British Council’s Gulf Culture and Sport programme working across six Gulf Countries over a three year period funded by the UK Cabinet Office. Hull UK City of Culture is also exploring changes in the perception of Hull through being UK City of Culture 2017. The British Council is exploring and developing evaluation tools to try and better capture these changes in a more robust and creditable way building on the work of the University of West Scotland and the University of Liverpool such as through digital sentiment analysis tools through a big data approach. It also worth noting from a cultural organisation’s perspective in a recent Arts Council England report (2015) into the international activity of its funded National Portfolio organisations, the vast majority reported that increased reputation was the greatest factor in undertaking international activity followed by artistic and professional development.

On a city level, the Impacts 08 research into Liverpool for the European City of Culture programme (2010) found evidence that residents’ impression of external views of the city was improving and that residents’ views on how Liverpool compared with other cities was also improving – for instance, the proportion of people agreeing Liverpool was better than the majority of other UK cities for hotels, music, galleries and shopping increased significantly between 2005 and 2008. Through undertaking a media analysis the Impacts 08 evaluation found “since its nomination as European Capital of Culture

in 2003, it is possible to detect some changing trends in the approach to national, local as well as international media coverage about the city. This suggests that the award has had a positive direct impact on Liverpool's media representation." (Garcia, 2010:2) The Impacts 08 approach to media content analysis has relied mainly on the identification of themes and attitudes emerging from selected media clippings over time and across differing geographical environments over a period of a decade. This methodology provides a key image change indicator and is a critical data source for the assessment of the cultural (soft) or symbolic impacts of a major event on its host city.

4. Trust and Economic Impacts

In a recent external evidence review of the British Council's arts evaluation reports from the past three years noted there is emerging evidence that positive perceptions of and trust in the UK might be linked to increases in exports and direct foreign investment. (British Council, 2017c) The British Council's Trust Pays report (2012b) attempted through attitudinal surveys that participating in cultural relations activities has a positive effect on trust in the UK and with it increased in doing business with, visiting or being a student in the UK. This evidence however, is purely attitudinal and only one of the 17 types of activity is about art and culture. There have also been further attempts to link trust and economic impacts such as the work undertaken by Copenhagen Economics (Thelle & Bergman, 2012) and a recent study undertaken by Andrew Rose (2016) which tentatively concludes the effect of soft power on a series of countries exports estimating that a 1% net increase in soft power raises exports by around 0.8%, holding other things constant (Rose, 2016).

Another theme to consider exploring might there a link between culture and global financial centre status and their reinforcing soft power reach? Through a study by Skórska and Kloosterman (2012) highlighted the importance to the arts and culture to sustaining and developing financial 'global city' status, asking the question if they are in fact 'two sides of the same coin'? The arts may help to brand a city and enhance its cultural identity (Mommaas, 2004). This branding may transcend the local or national level, as the images of New York and London as global capitals of arts attest. Arts, then, in a rather different and more elusive way are also be important for cities and may contribute to determine their standing and position within the global urban system. "This first explorative research has, however, made clear that the relationship between Global Financial Centers and Global Art Centers is much more complex that can be expected on the basis of urbanization economies. Place-specific factors as time lags, localization economies, and local cultures seem to be very much part of the equation as well." (Skórska & Kloosterman, 2012)

5. Developing an evaluation approach

Building on the thinking above, the value of the arts is not always easy evidence for a number of reasons; the arts often create conditions for change through a myriad of spillover effects. Evaluation is less about proving impact and more about generating excellent data (combined with excellent analysis) to explore how, and why, impact has or has not occurred to improve and refine future investment and work. (British Council, 2017c:3) To be more theory-driven, and to fully appreciate

where knowledge gaps are being filled or extended, there should be a clear and consistent way in which findings are communicated internally and externally. User-centered and ‘bottom-up’ approaches to evaluation are necessary to understand where cultural values are shared or where tensions may exist. This means that evaluations are designed with users, partners and stakeholders, iteratively adapted based on whether they are generating useful learning, and that findings are fed back to those involved. Designing methodologies to “understand and measure change at the individual, organisational and social levels and to aggregate and analyse data from diverse international contexts to demonstrate impact” (British Council, 2017c:15) such as incorporating the Cultural Value Model participatory evaluation model into workflow, developed by the Open University designed to allow a variety of stakeholders to identify what is important to them thus accounting for the differing perspectives of funders, producers, managers and users such as through the British Council’s Iran Season (British Council, 2015a). A key aim of the Cultural Value Model was to offer a tool for investigating how value is conceived, articulated and assessed, over time, in the dynamic triangular relationship between (i) the audiences, (ii) the organisations themselves and (iii) their funders.

Such efforts have drawn attention to the necessity to build detailed plans for evaluation into the workflow at project inception with clear outcomes and evaluation questions building on the development of the British Council Arts Evidence Strategy and the development of a Results and Evidence Framework. (British Council: 2017c). Cull (2008) and Schneider (2009) both take an extended case study approach to reporting successes (and failures) of cultural and public diplomacy efforts drawing from the history of Public U.S., Franco-German, Swiss, and British diplomatic practice. Hayden (2011:50) proposes textual analysis as an analytical approach to examining soft power “how resources are realised as a capacity for soft power through analysis of specific programmes and actions” through probing qualities and contexts of actors, relationships, messages and technologies.

There is some evidence of tracking in the people-to-people engagement undertaken by, for example, the British Council and the British Film Institute and work has been done to identify how these contacts have led to longer-term investments from key individuals. Usually however, such inputs have been linked to a specific cultural intervention or engagement such as through Shakespeare Lives programme and the UK UAE Season 2017. Moreover, if they are to have any real meaning and lasting impact soft power objectives need to be built into programmes or projects along with other cultural objectives from the start. It is not enough to have a soft power benefit (i.e. raising awareness during an event or a campaign) as a coincidental outcome of a project if this momentum is then lost once the event has left town or the campaign has ended. Also linking to the thinking above, it would create greater value if findings and data could be shared and pooled with other international cultural organisations and funders (e.g. Goethe Institute, Instituto Cervantes, Institut Français). This could be as simple as creating a unified dissemination strategy that seeks multilateral engagement when findings are produced, or attempts could be made to benchmark against each other’s data. The latter is more challenging, but would create the opportunity to explore the different mechanisms, levels and types of impact across programmes; especially where intended programme aims are very close.

Analysis of influence requires a longer timescale in order to track and evaluate input, people-to-people

engagement, output and outcomes effectively such as through the British Council's Next Generation Programme delivered across six Gulf countries. Deployment of soft power assets requires serious and sustained research to understand how audiences perceive a state. Use of in-bound tourism metrics, for example, cannot directly attribute tourism to attraction of soft power assets. There are also variables to further explore and test for example the issue of timeframe, do different art forms have different effects with regards to soft power and the various different starting contexts for our arts programmes in country or region. Coupled to this individuals are starting at different points with their engagement and relationship with the UK. However, metrics used to quantify and demonstrate changes in perception are often problematic. There are attempts to measure the perception of the UK by the population in different countries. For example, the Anholt-GfK National Brands Index is a measure of country's power and quality of each country 'brand image' by combining six dimensions – governance, exports, tourism, investment & immigration, culture & heritage and people. This type of omnibus is very high level and it would be very difficult to track the impact of British Council Arts activity as the scale of the activity is small compared to other factors that will influence people's perception. Arts and cultural activities (particularly events and showcasing) may get more media coverage than some other British Council activities. Tracking this coverage and exposure in mainstream and social media channels could provide a useful sense of reach of the programme and can be used to demonstrate impact around changing perceptions of the UK such as through online sentiment analysis such as explored through the Open University's evaluation of Shakespeare Lives.

As Holden highlights (British Council, 2012a) it is difficult to draw comparisons between different countries because they use different statistical methods for collecting data, have different levels of disclosure and have different cultural structures. It is often more helpful to adopt a discursive and descriptive approach to comparisons rather than trying to draw conclusions from financial data, which can rarely be compared on a like-for-like basis. Soft power concerns development of relationships and the term 'audience' connotes a sense of telling rather than engaging in open dialogue and hearing the voices of the 'other'.

There are limitations and challenges to the current evaluation design around arts and soft power:

- the small sample sizes of the survey groups such as in the Shakespeare Lives Connecting Ground report;
- the issue and challenges of comparisons across different programmes and different contexts;
- the issue of self / subjective reporting by individuals such as through self-reported perception surveys;
- short exposure – for many of the British Council's Art programmes there is a relatively short amount of exposure to an arts output (e.g. exhibition or performance);
- there is a gap in the research base looking at do different art forms have different outcomes towards soft power, what is special or different around UK arts and culture;
- the lack and challenge of longitude tracking and long term evaluation.

Typically, the evidence is self-reported outcome measures, with some qualitative evidence to explore

process improvement and provide reasons for the extent of any impacts seen. The key issues are the absence of matched comparison groups and a lack of longitudinal designs with several data capture points before, during, and after interventions

The 'Art of Attraction' report (British Academy, 2014) also raises the issue that those on the receiving end of soft power do not always respond in the way that politicians might expect them to, flagging up the unintended consequences of this tool of foreign policy, the focus on the projection rather than reception of meanings in complex cultural and communication environments. This is a gap in the literature that has been highlighted by Clarke (2014), that the process of reception of arts programmes within a soft power environment needs to be better understood and attended to, and that critical theory and cultural studies may be useful to this end. To consider moving forward rather than just measuring the effects of perception change, can we identify the causes of the perception changes and attribute back?

A second area often overlooked through evaluation and research, and expressed in the AHRC Cultural Value Report (Crossick & Kaszynska, 2016) is the way that culture itself develops and refreshes itself through cultural exchange. Culture is a 'good' in its own right, *arts for arts' sake*, regardless of its political or economic effects, and develops through dialogue, either with past or contemporary practice. Artistic and technical experiments are spurred on by contact with *the other*. Arts Council England's recent report (2015) into the international activity of its National Portfolio Organisations highlighted that the second main reason for international activity by the NPO's was for artistic development and professional development. Culture itself mutates through exchange, but cultural exchange might also provokes new modes of thinking, doing, learning and sharing; cultural exchange might help us to innovate.

As transnational and global problems proliferate, so we need more innovation to meet the challenges. Seeing problems through other cultures and asking questions prompted by different cultural practices and perspectives might help provide answers. International cultural relations might create the right conditions for innovation to flourish. To further explore through evaluation and research where creativity happens where difference meets and contact between cultures is characterised by flux, stimulation, plurality and diversity drawing on research methods from across the humanities and social sciences building on the recommendations of the AHRC Cultural Value work (Crossick & Kaszynska, 2016).

6. Conclusions

This paper has set out the British Council's initial early thinking on developing an approach to evaluating the role and impacts the arts can play within in a soft power context drawing on a range of British Council evaluation work from across its global arts programmes and external research. Evaluation (in contrast to research) is not possible if the objectives of any programme or initiative are not explicit. And that the evaluation is of much less value if it is not clear how the particular fits with other programmes and with the wider vision. Through the development of an Arts Evidence Strategy

and a Results and Evidence Framework over the coming years exploring how we might isolate better how the arts contributes towards UK soft power over the medium to long term. There is some early emerging evidence of the role the arts can play within a soft power context which helps points us to areas of further research and focus going forward. With a focus on developing the evaluation tools and soft power training for arts managers to enhance the evaluation skills to capture and analyse the evidence working with other international partners and organisations to share our thinking and findings and develop the British Council as a truly learning organisation.

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Decolonizing cultural management: propositions for shifting times

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ABSTRACT

Something has been said about decolonizing museums, decolonizing universities, decolonizing the curatorial. Little is said, though, about the need to also decolonize the cultural management behind all the theory. It has never been more necessary to rethink the paradigms of what institutions understand by *culture* and the way they convey that to the public. That public's shift in profile due to migration 1 demands new reflections from the art institutions in regard to all their spheres: employment policy, their programs, and their staff, if they want to remain relevant for a changing population (Mandel, 2016). Some of the questions we hope to answer with this analysis are: how can we imagine new ways of producing knowledge (including the senses of community and micropolitics) through artistic production? For what kind of meaningful knowledge production should cultural management create the conditions?

Keywords:

decolonizing
knowledge,
otherness,
migration,
indigenous, global
south

1. Relating to the other in shifting times

There is no doubt we are facing critical times: migration crises, authoritarian parties gaining space, xenophobia and fear. There is no discussion about how those themes are serious issues and should be addressed as public policies. At the same time, it invariably arises the discourse of the failed utopias, which commonly leads to discouragement and common sense statements.

Considering this context, the question that moves this article proposition as cultural manager is: what if we take advantage of these shifting times to rethink our relationship to the “other”? How can the cultural management create structures to welcome new epistemological productions which emerge as results from displacement, war and fear? How could we – rephrasing the sociologist Paget Henry – take advantage of these hard times to use the poetic power of artistic practice to un-name and re-name, de-institute and re-institute selves, lower the volume of imposed voices and un-silence suppressed voices in an effort to resolve crisis of entrapment?¹³⁰.

What if, we use this *shifting times* to, as pointed by cameroonian philosopher Achille Mbembe, call for “a set of new cultural practices, the aim of which would therefore be to foster that kind of openness to the entirety of our world, of the world we inhabit, and it would be less about the preservation of what we think our origins or our specificities are, but something that has to do more with the care, the kind of ethics of care, and ethics of openness towards the unknown. (...) Whether it is actually a cultural effort to accept the transcendence and difference, or if it’s not the contrary, meaning that we might not want to accept and transcend the difference and culture is actually the way to preserve the difference” (Mbembe, 2016).

The paradigms of what institutions understand by *culture* and how this is transmitted to their audiences has never been so crucial. The shift of the audience profile due to migration movements (whether in the global South or North)¹³¹ calls for new ponderings from the part of art institutions in all their constituent scopes: at least their employment policies, their programs, and their staff, if they want to be relevant for a changing population (Mandel, 2016).

What if, as affirms the Brazilian psychoanalyst Suely Rolnik: “(...) any effective change in the social field today, depends on an orientation of subjectivity, from which its basis the society in which we live functions” (Rolnik, 1995), how can cultural management – in its operation and results – open up the way for this change in subjectivity? How can it open up the way for new stories and knowledge, that were marginalized in the name of an official discourse, gain space not as peripheral versions – such as the difference that ratifies the official version –, but just as legitimate as any other one that enters the field for the dispute of narratives?

In short: How to think cultural management in synchrony with the shifting times we are experiencing?

¹³⁰ Savvy Contemporary. “The laboratory of form-ideas: a concept re-loaded”. Available at: <<http://savvy-contemporary.com/index.php/concept/>>, access on June 18th 2017.

¹³¹ Around 82 million of South-South immigrants, totaling 36% of the global migratory movement. Available at <<http://www.oecd.org/dev/migration-development/south-south-migration.htm>>, access on May 10th, 2017.

2. “Too long have others spoken for us¹³²”: the positions of speaking and representativeness

This year one of the works selected for the 57th Venice Biennale was the work “Sacred Place”. In it, the Brazilian artist Ernesto Neto recreates, alongside indigenous people from the tribe Huni Kuin (Brazil), the structure of a Cupixawa, a place of sociality, political meetings and spiritual ceremonies of the Huni Kuin, a tribe from the state of Acre, in Brazil¹³³. The participation of indigenous peoples in artistic events of a large, international scale, is always accompanied by an aftertaste, a mixture of a new version of a colonial past in which indigenous peoples were taken to Europe as exhibition objects, together with a tendency of the art market¹³⁴, into which indigenous art has entered once and for all in the last few years. With Ernesto Neto’s work it was not any different.

The fear of this new Brazilian version collides with concepts of *exoticism* and notions such as *progress* and *civilization*, pillars that served as foundations to the discourse of colonial endeavors, and that were based on an assumption of a universal development of human societies, in a linear understanding of time, that ranked cultural differences in a hierarchy, divided societies into progressives and retrospectives, making colonial interventions almost inevitable under the purpose of *elevation* and *civilization* (Conrad, 2012).

The cautiousness of the curation, the critics, and the production of the event in relation to the work is important, legitimate, and well-founded: we know that history repeats itself, altering its surface, all the while maintaining its structure, with new perverse renditions disguised as changes. However, just as important as it is to observe the aspects in permanence, it is beautiful and equally as legitimate to observe its ruptures: the indigenous movement in Brazil has never been so organized and mobilized in its many fronts. On the same measure that advances of a government that has liberal and savage endeavors, and that threatens the Amazon and the demarcation of indigenous lands – the tribes continue to create collectives of independent communication (Radio Yandé), audiovisual production (Xapono and Yanomami Audiovisual Center Project 2017), and inserted themselves into national and international official circuits of the production and broadcasting of images and news, entering full-body into the dispute of a narrative that augments the power of bargain in the resistance of indigenous lands and cultures. This discourse also goes through institutions of art and culture: one of the largest museums of Brazil, MASP, offered in July the seminary “Indigenous Histories”, under the argument that although the institution has already organized exhibitioxns with objects and records of indigenous

¹³² The Freedom's Journal was the first African-American owned and operated newspaper published in the United States. The newspaper founders selected Samuel Cornish and John B. Russwurm as senior and junior editors, which used this sentence “argued in their first issue: “Too long have others spoken for us, too long has the public been deceived by misrepresentations....” (6) They wanted the newspaper to strengthen the autonomy and common identity of African Americans in society” to open the first edition. Available at: <http://ccnmtl.columbia.edu/projects/maap/content/lessons/black_community/TC_FreedomJournal.pdf>, access on 25th august, 2017.

¹³³ More information available at: <<http://u-in-u.com/venice-biennale/2017/viva-arte-viva/photos-arsenale-2/ernesto-neto-huni-kuin/>>, access on 25th august 2017.

¹³⁴ The creation of a pavilion dedicated to the work of Claudia Andujar at Inhotim with drawings by Yanomami artists André, Poraco, Vital, and Orlando, is only an example of this insertion into the market. More information available at: <<https://www.economist.com/blogs/prospero/2015/12/art-and-amazon>> and <<http://www.inhotim.org.br/blog/desenhos-feitos-por-indios-yanomami-revelam-mitos-e-tradicoes/>>, access on August 25th, 2017.

communities, it has never gotten to the point of constituting its own collection, that respects the complexity of indigenous artistic production and establishes dialogues between indigenous cultural practices and productions with works coming from different origins and time periods. And it goes on: “In this sense, MASP – maintaining its commitment to constitute itself as an open and plural museum in its approach towards the most varied manifestations of visual culture – believes in the importance of establishing a broader and more open discussion about these ‘histories’”¹³⁵.

Yes, in Brazil – just like in the whole world – we come across an intrinsic contradiction: curators, academics, and managers of acknowledged cultural institutions – and considering they are mostly the (white) elite of such places – tend to make the form echo the same structural issues that perpetuate the domination of a colonial-oriented thought: events that *select* people and artworks as the chosen ones, that suggest a *hierarchy* between specialists and attendees, that corroborate the existence of a so-called knowledge moat between the guests and the audience.

However, building dynamics, teams, and events that contemplate representation in places of fair speech is one of the many roles that cultural management can play for the opening of spaces, the clearings, and the breathings, into other narratives. Dynamics in which those who have always spoken are now silenced and listening.

Returning to the case of “Sacred Place,” as we listen to Tadeu Xana Hui Bei¹³⁶, one of the Huni Kuin indigenous people who is also the author of the installation, we realize that it is not an ingenuous relationship: it is a relationship of exchange, in which all parties know what is at play, and in which the presence in an artistic event that is part of an international circuit brings visibility to the indigenous cause in Brazil, the the Huni Kuin art, and to the indigenous people who are involved in the process themselves. This is what a decolonized cultural production does: clears out the terrain and allows us to see the world in its polysemic complexity by the agents as narrators, and not as narrative objects.

In this symbolic dislocation – in which the *exotic* comes to occupy a *central* position, I imagine cultural management as a practice that opens up the path within a closed forest, and grounds the terrain so that artistic and cultural activities can meet more fertile lands for the dissemination of knowledge that was suppressed by a colonial idea which defines what is and is not knowledge. As affirms the Portuguese performer Grada Kilomba, on black scholars’ discourse and perspectives: “When they speak is scientific, when we speak is unscientific (...) We are not dealing here with a ‘peaceful coexistence’ of words but rather with a violent hierarchy, which defines who can speak” (Kilomba, 2007).

3. Institution and narrative: power and permeability

The main question relating to this point is: how to make cultural institutions occupy an affection place?

¹³⁵ Museu de Arte de São Paulo. “Histórias indígenas”.

Available at: <<http://maspinscricoes.org.br/Seminarios/detalhes/132>> , access on 30th august 2017.

¹³⁶ Video of the discussion realized in the installation “Sacred Place” in the scope of the Venice Biennale, available on the Episodes of the South project’s website <<http://www.goethe.de/ins/br/lp/prj/eps/epd/pt16382136.htm>> , access on August 23th, 2017.

How to narrow institution to their audience in a really meaningful way to their lives? A meaningful example in this sense is the experience reported by artist Graziela Kunsch that, upon invitation to join the artistic team of the 31st Bienal de São Paulo, was approached by assistant curator Pablo Lafuente with the following question: “How can the Bienal be useful for you? Or better put: how can we be useful or do something useful for the collective living, something that makes sense in our local context and that might find continuity beyond the Bienal?” (Kunsch, 2014:1).

The curiosity that moves the investigation here is: how can cultural institutions be brave enough to welcome the unknown?

In having the idea to write this article, I showed a first draft to a friend who is an artist, and whose opinion I largely respect. As a feedback, he answered: “You know, I do not believe that it is possible to decolonize institutions. I believe that, by nature, institutions are colonial apparatuses and the role of the audience and artists is to bring tension to this nature. But I do not believe that it is possible to change it”¹³⁷.

Perhaps he is right. However, thinking that institutions – besides being colonial apparatuses – can also be places of tests, of imagination (this same friend conducted a workshop on political imagination during the 32nd São Paulo Biennial¹³⁸, so why not?), of prototyping. How can artistic and cultural institutions be turned into places that host symbolic dislocations of narratives, even if, often, these dislocations may have the appearance of a threat to their own privileges?

Marcelo Rezende, who has already been the director of one of the most important museums in Brazil, the Museum of Modern Art of Bahia, defends that the museum as an institution must start occupying other imaginary places, such as the idea of the Museum-School, defended by the architect and creator of the museum, the Italian Lina Bo Bardi¹³⁹. Marcelo talks about how the Museum started realizing actions involving the museum’s neighboring slum, by turning the location into an actual part of the life of the community, and not a place where they were only invited to visit.

Another interesting example of how an institution can occupy other roles in the audience’s imaginary was given by the PACT Zollverein, a center focused on dance and choreography, located in the city of Essen, in Germany. Relying on over 20.000 refugees¹⁴⁰ that arrived at the city in the last years, PACT, as a cultural institution, found itself facing the challenge of communicating with this new public and to create a relationship with it. A simple idea was then established: they open up the doors every Wednesday and open the Café Simpático, “a friendly informal space where local families of all countries of origin can drop by for a cup of tea or coffee and some good conversation whilst children between the ages of 4 and 6 join in playful dance and movement activities”. In this institution, that has

¹³⁷ Amilcar Packer, personal communication held in August 2017.

¹³⁸ To further information about *Oficina de Imaginação Política*, Amilcar Packer’s proposition for: <<http://www.32bienal.org.br/en/participants/o/2672>>, access on August 24th, 2017.

¹³⁹ The seminar “*Políticas da mediação*” (Politics of mediation) was organized by Museu de Arte de São Paulo on the 25th and 26th June 2015. Marcelo Rezende gave a speech where he spoke about his experience at the Museu de Arte Moderna in Bahia. The video is available at: <http://masp.art.br/masp2010/mediacaoeprogramaspublicos_seminario_politicas.php>, access o August 23th, 2017.

¹⁴⁰ Stadt Essen. “*Flüchtlinge in Essen*”.

Available at: <https://www.essen.de/leben/fluechtlinge_1/fluechtlinge_in_essen.de.jsp>, access on August 23th, 2017.

dance and body arts as a vocation, a space is opened up in which it is not necessary to speak German or any other language, does not have a planned program, and many or no people can show up. Another interesting initiative of PACT is the “Katernberg blitzt auf!”, an initiative also articulated by the institution in which social groups, organizations, cafés, stores, and other establishments open up their doors for the community and those who are interested. According to the concept text of the project “this unique communal project offers fun opportunities to explore both familiar and unexpected facets of local life and gain a greater appreciation of the neighborhood’s cultural diversity”.¹⁴¹ PACT is known internationally as a center of excellency in dance and performance, but also as an important local agent and articulator. These are two beautiful and simple examples of how an institution can come down off of its pedestal and turn into just another agent who articulates with its public, lives with it – and, as such – the institution can stay alive.

4. Practical guide for decolonization in three steps

The Kenyan novelist Ngugi wa Thiong’O (1981) made a call to “decolonize the mind”, meaning that project like this means a strong commitment to contesting and subverting the unquestioned sovereignty of Western categories—epistemological, ethicomoral, economic, political, aesthetic, and the rest. In a word, postcolonial theory and criticism is committed to the project of “provincializing Europe” (Prasad apud Chakrabarty, 1992, 2000; Prasad, 1997a).

Regardless if it concerns the North or the South of the globe, when we talk about the teams at cultural institutions we face upon an intrinsic contradiction: curators, academics, and managers of acknowledged cultural institutions – and considering they are mostly the (white) elite of such places – tend to make the form echo the same structural issues that perpetuate the domination of a colonial-oriented thought: events that *select* people and artworks as the chosen ones, that suggest a *hierarchy* between specialists and attendees, that corroborate the existence of a so-called knowledge moat between the guests and the audience. The major challenge in cultural management is: How to envisage a world in which the structure is not re-edited in the cultural program? How to show new structures of possible worlds through cultural management? How to think matters of representativeness, the standpoint of speech, and *modus operandi* in a concrete way? Who is chosen, how this is made, who gets shrunk in this context?

In this sense, let’s start from the principle that in order to think of cultural management as a way to decolonize thought, it is necessary to open up fronts in three aspects: a) content; b) methodologies; and c) institutional *modus operandi*.

1) Content

According to Santos, Nunes & Meneses, “(...) this denial of diversity is a constitutive and persistent feature of colonialism. While the political dimension of colonial intervention has been widely criticized,

¹⁴¹ PACT. “Katernberg blitzt auf! Ein Stadtteil öffnet seine Türen”. Available at: <<http://www.pact-zollverein.de/buehne/programm/katernberg-blitzt-auf-ein-stadtteil-oeffnet-seine-tueren>>, access on August 26th, 2017.

the burden of the colonial epistemic monoculture is still accepted nowadays as a symbol of development and modernity” (Santos, Nunes & Meneses, 2007: xxxiii). Thus, it bears interest for the research to think about projects that question and subvert the notions of center and periphery in the production of knowledge (Appadurai, 1986).

In this way it the cultural management’s role to offer in its program *other knowledges* that bring to surface histories, dynamics, and cosmovisions that were blurred by the colonial apparatus of knowledge production.

2) *Methodologies*

How do we turn content into practices? How can we imagine new ways of producing knowledge (including the senses of community and micropolitics)? Under what conditions, regarding the other and the public, do we produce artistic projects? And for what kind of meaningful knowledge production should cultural management create the conditions? To think of cultural management, more than being a logistical operation, is an ideological operation. No choice goes unpunished: the choice of themes to be handled, of who is invited, of the location. But beyond this matter of content, the way in which the relationships come about, how the mediation with the public occurs, must all be equally considered. How can we search for alternatives to escape the traditional hierarchical way of transmitting knowledge? How can we create conditions so that the production of an event can be “open to unforeseen elements, to the quality of exchange, to the different temporalities that the event itself allows for and embraces, to the openness of unexpected spaces that allow creativity to emerge” (Freire & Borges, 2009: para. 5). In a context of decolonization, cultural management is provoked to think about democratic processes that maximize the space of collective construction, “allowing people to take responsibility for the processes that has been triggered.” (Freire & Borges, 2009: para. 4).

3) *Institucional modus operandi*

As we have seen in cases of institutions that we have mentioned above, we can think of decolonization in two ways: the *endogenous aspect* meaning how do the cultural institutions relate with their staff and the internal decision process; b. *the exogenous aspect*, meaning how do cultural institutions relate with the audience and neighborhood.

Concerning the *endogenous aspect*, it deals with processes inside of the institution, amongst the many levels of the team. It does not only concern guaranteeing diversity within the team, in terms of race, gender, ability, sexuality, spirituality, class and immigration. It is also a matter of guaranteeing that the way in which decisions are made, communicated, and implemented does not reproduce a plantation, hierarchical, violent, and oppressive system.

Concerning the *exogenous aspect*, the main question relating to this point is: how can institutions relate with its public? Is there a relationship that is alive, in movement with the community? Or does the institution occupy a place in the mausoleum, not relating in an affective way and occupying a symbolic place in the imaginary of its frequenters?

5. New propositions in shifting times: Kosmos Labor and Talks with objects

As curator Koyo Kouoh states: “Practice shows you what knowledge you need to acquire.”¹⁴² On the other hand, in a recent text on the acknowledgement of cultural management as a knowledge domain, Birgit Mandel asserts: “Cultural management has nowadays become a multiple discipline at universities, incorporating academic and technical input from many other disciplines. It is not reduced to an adaptation of business management anymore, but also integrates patterns of thinking from political science, cultural studies, social sciences, and the arts” (Mandel, 2016: 10).

Inspired by both these thoughts – which take into consideration the practice, the knowledge, and the research in a well-knit and dialectic manner – this article will now relate two projects that carry out interesting cultural practices and how institutions relate with them.

Therefore, this article will reflect on the application of the points previously quoted (a.content; b. methodologies; c. institucional *modus operandi*) to existing projects, in the sense approached by Bhabha when substantiating that “discourses require forms of dialectical thinking that do not disavow or sublate the otherness (alterity) that constitutes the domain of physic and social identifications” (Bhabha, 2004:173).

We now propose getting to know more closely two projects that occur in different countries, with different publics, and that, in totally different contexts, produce in their operation dislocations of the spaces occupied for who speaks, from where, and about what.

In an antipode way, the two projects are also connected to Kosmos² Labor, a project realized between 2015 and 2017 by the Portuguese artist Grada Kilomba in the Maxim Górkki Theater, in Berlin, which will be the first project analyzed. Kosmos² Labor makes direct reference to the traveler Alexander von Humboldt and the classes in which he lectured after returning from two expeditionary trips to Central and South America.

Afterwards, “Kosmos” also gave the title to Humboldt’s work in which he catalogued animals, plants, and people, under the aegis of universal knowledge. In this story, Humboldt – European, in his colonial expeditions financed by the Spanish crown – had the final word on animate and inanimate beings in the New World.

The second project analyzed is “Talks With Objects”, under the curation of the Brazilian professor Claudia Mattos, the project is part of Episodes of the South. In “Talks With Objects”, the order

¹⁴² In an interview to *Art in America*, Koyo Kouoh defends that the colonialism issue is at the core of Ireland’s Biennale: “Ireland has been the test ground for every kind of submission, exploitation that Britain later applied on a global scale,” according to her. “Every fiber of social organization, linguistic, as well as political and religious, carries the scars of this domination.” Available at <<http://www.artinamericamagazine.com/news-features/interviews/where-the-barbarians-are-a-conversation-with-koyo-kouoh/>>, access on May 10th, 2017. See also Paw, D. “Still (the) Barbarians: Ireland’s Biennial of Contemporary Art goes global.” Available at <<http://www.wallpaper.com/art/still-the-barbarians-irelands-biennial-of-contemporary-art-explores-post-colonialism-through-exhibition-of-visual-art#gVDV0pK0pY1cXUrb.99>>, access on May 10th, 2017.

imposed by Humboldt is inverted: objects recuperate their voices, become agents of the talk, giving back to the dynamic the entire narrative that was silenced for centuries, during which Humboldt's word seems to have been the one that counted the most.

5.1 KOSMOS² LABOR: universal knowledge in question

The name of the project curated by the Portuguese performer Grada Kilomba makes reference to the Kosmos lectures that Alexander von Humboldt made after his excursions to Central and South America. The trips – which were generally financed by the Spanish realty, culminated in these lectures that took place in the old building of Sing-Akademie, today the building of the Maxim Gorki Theater, the institution that hosts KOSMOS² LABOR. In these lectures, von Humboldt described and categorized the “new world” according to the practice of the colonial discourse, and positioned this knowledge as being universal. The project's proposal is to invert the order: marginalized knowledge comes to the center and becomes visible and accessible.¹⁴³

In 13 editions, each one dedicated to an area of artistic knowledge (#1: knowledge, #2: Film, #3: Music, #4: Performance, #5: Activism, #6: Fine Arts, #7: Dance, #8: Literature, #9: Party, #10: Video installation; #11: Illustration and Visual Arts; #12: Photography, #13: Spoken Word), Kosmos² Labor brought artists that found themselves in the situation of being refugees in Germany, and gave space to those artists to talk about their work, their training in their countries of origin, and their trajectories. Below is the reproduction of the synopsis of the first editions, so that we can have an idea of the dynamics:

KOSMOS² LABOR #1: Knowledge

Through her lecture performance *Decolonizing Knowledge* Grada Kilomba gave an introduction into the topic of the series KOSMOS² on 14 November 2015. Using a collage of her literary and artistic work, she raised questions concerning knowledge, race, and gender: Who can speak? and What can we speak about? To touch this colonial wound, Kilomba created a hybrid space, transforming the configurations of knowledge and power.

KOSMOS² LABOR #2: Film

With Sina Ataeian Dena and Richard Djimeli speaking with Grada Kilomba. Sunday, November 22, 6:00 pm

Two film directors discussed their work: Sina Ataeian from Iran and Richard Djimeli from Cameroon. Ataeian was born in the midst of the Iran-Iraq war. After he broke off his physics studies, he began studying art in Tehran. Over a period of three years he shot his first feature film, *PARADISE*, in Iran without official permission. Djimeli was tortured after the premiere of his film satire about President Paul Biya, who has been in power for 33 years, and was forced to leave Cameroon. In 2013, he submitted an application for asylum in Germany, which was

¹⁴³ Kilomba, G. *Kosmos² Labor #5 Activism*. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MvZj1R_KtVU>, access on August 20th, 2017.

denied.

KOSMOS² LABOR #3: Music

The third evening explored forms of emancipative knowledge through music. Guests were two very distinct singers, Lian Khalaf from Syria and Samee Ullah from Pakistan who gave an insight into their work. Lian Khalaf is a rapper whose music became of great importance during the Spring Revolution in 2009, in Syria. He writes and raps his songs in both Arabic and Kurdish. Samee Ullah worked as an aircraft engineer for several years before starting his career as an actor and singer. His first work on stage was *Do Butterflies have Borders*, followed by the play *Letters Home* by the Refugee Club Impulse where he plays a starring role and sings traditional songs in Punjabi, Urdu, Arabic, Hindi and English. Both musical productions played a crucial part on the visibility of asylum politics.¹⁴⁴

According to the curator of the project, “a lot is said about refugees, a word that in itself already brings an identity, and we forget that behind it there are people, biographies, expertise, and competencies. People arrive at the project as ‘artists’ and not as ‘refugees’, and tell us about their work.”¹⁴⁵

How is it possible to decolonize knowledge? How colonial are theaters, the arts, and the academic field in Germany?

Grada Kilomba: My work and the work of several artists target the decolonization of knowledge. It is also an experimental work with new forms and alternatives to the production of colonial knowledge. I want to create spaces and hybrid forms. I think that theaters, the arts, and academic institutions have very colonial structures. The colonial project is intimately tied to European politics’ centralism. This began with slavery and colonialism. They invented objects that were described and categorized. The “other” was spoken of as an object and this knowledge was described as objective and universal. The alternative discourse and the knowledge of marginalized groups are not considered relevant.¹⁴⁶

As such, Kosmos² Labor displays itself as an interesting example of how cultural management can become an important tool for the decolonization of knowledge. As Grada Kilomba has said in another interview:

Classic and colonial knowledge (...) creates an object, maintains distance. It says: ‘Only my vision counts.’ It does not have an awareness of colonial structures and creates objects, classifies them, gives them names, observes and describes ‘others’. As a scientist, you must

¹⁴⁴ Allianz Kulturstiftung for Europe. *Lectures Serie Kosmos²*. Available at: <https://kulturstiftung.allianz.de/en/funding_and_projects/funded_projects/Performing_Arts/lecture-series-kosmos/>, access on May 31st, 2017.

¹⁴⁵ “Es wird so viel über Flüchtlinge gesprochen, dass das Wort schon eine Identität schafft und vergessen wird, dass dahinter Menschen stehen, die Biografien, Expertisen und Kompetenzen haben. Die Menschen kommen als Künstler, nicht als „Flüchtlinge“, und erzählen uns von ihrer Arbeit.” (free translation) Mayrhauser, A. “Interview with Grada Kilomba: “Wenn Diskurs persönlich wird”. Available at: <https://missy-magazine.de/blog/2016/04/22/grad-kilomba-wenn-diskurs-persoendlich-wird/>>, access on August 23th, 2017.

¹⁴⁶ Friess, D. “Interview Grada Kilomba: ‘Es geht um Bilder und die Macht von Bildern’”. Available at: <<http://www.migazin.de/2016/07/01/interview-grad-kilomba-es-bilder/>>, access on August 23th, 2017.

never position yourself, you are objective. Decolonized knowledge [...] , but begins when you produce knowledge starting from your biography and your history.¹⁴⁷

To erase the past of the “other” and gesso it into a fixed category – such as that of a refugee – and of little social articulation, is yet another sophisticated mechanism that colonial thinking makes use of so as to not alter the order of things. Subverting this order and turning this commonly anonymous “other” into a producer of knowledge starts being a means of recognizing other stories besides those that are being told by the newspapers, through mere numbers that are crossing the borders.

5.2 Talks with objects: Neither exotic nor peripheral, new possibilities for narratives in the art history

Within the art history field, the conception of *South* envisaged in this project can be considered a fundamental possibility of displacement of discourse and position. As states Claudia Mattos, the idealizer of “Talks with objects,” the structure of narratives in art history is still largely colonized by an official academic discourse that excludes a significant piece of the artistic production of the country, the continent, and the world. “The discourse of art history operates demarcations of all kinds, which must be rethought. Without a doubt this work of expansion of the field of art history is a political work.”

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The dynamic of the event is the following: an object is chosen to guide the discussion. It is kept secret until the beginning of the event: invited experts and public discover at the same moment what it is. After a brief introduction – when each specialist has only five minutes to talk about one’s confrontation with the materiality of the piece (most of them knowing very little or almost nothing about it) – the audience is invited to alternately occupy a chair in the circle of experts around the piece and elaborate their own speech about their own experience facing the object. What memories does it bring forth? What associations are made possible with your previous repertoire? Under what criteria – since those traditionally employed in the art history cannot encompass the origins and uses of these pieces, so diverse from their own – can these objects be seen? Any person can take the microphone and make his/her contribution regarding his/her appreciation of the play: a memory, an opinion, an aesthetic relationship. The public and those invited take turns in speeches during the event, concatenating new meanings to that object, aggregating new layers.

The two main theoretical sources for the project were the anthropologists Bruno Latour and Alfred Gell, who raised the issue of the capacity of discourse and social performance of objects has become an important focus in the Humanities. Each in his own manner, both anthropologists emphasize the active role that things acquire through their interaction with humans and other living beings, classifying them as part of the network of social relations¹⁴⁹.

¹⁴⁷ Mayrhauser, A. “Interview with Grada Kilomba: “Wenn Diskurs persönlich wird”. Available at: <https://missy-magazine.de/blog/2016/04/22/grada-kilomba-wenn-diskurs-persoendlich-wird/> , access on August 23th, 2017.

¹⁴⁸ Claudia Mattos, personal communication held in February 2017.

¹⁴⁹ Goethe-Institut São Paulo. *Talks with Objects*.

Available at: <http://www.goethe.de/ins/br/lp/prj/eps/epd/en14367478.htm> , access on May 31st 2017.

Aimed at raising public discussion, Talks with Objects¹⁵⁰ relies on objects that, at a first glance, are not part of the traditional art history, but usually make up the collections of ethnographic, archaeological, or popular culture museums. There have already been five different editions of the project, with various different objects: 1) Lobi Sculpture, Burkina Fasso (Rogério Cerqueira Leite Private Collection, São Paulo, June/2015), 2) Fole Punu, Gabon (Rogério Cerqueira Leite Private Collection, Rio de Janeiro, September/2015); 3) Urbna Marajoara, Brazil (Emilio Goeldi Museum, Belém do Pará, June/2016); 4) “Father and Son,” a play by the artist from Bahia, Agnaldo Manoel dos Santos (AfroBrazil Museum, São Paulo, September/2016); 5) Venus of Valdívias, Equador (Museum of Precolombian Art Casa Del Alabado, Quito, May/2017).

The issue that accompanies the project Talks With Objects is that of the revision of the history of art itself in the present days as being a partial narrative, that reproduces a social order and power structure: under which point of view is it elaborated, what is its gender, race, and class representativeness, for which interests is it of service.¹⁵¹

Assuming that art institutions still have the monopoly to legitimize which kind of knowledge should be taken as official and as exception, in which way can the burden of the colonial epistemic monoculture (Santos, - that is still accepted nowadays as a symbol of development and modernity – can be blurred and replaced by new narratives that could make more sense to colonial countries histories? How can museological institutions lift off its discourses of traditional art history and propose new agencies for its collection?

Talks with Objects embodies a viral character: it always takes place in the spaces of museums and artistic institutions, i.e., it is inserted in the circuit. Yet, at the same time, this achievement destabilizes the hierarchical modus operandi of knowledge production of institutions, casting a possibility of producing and circulating different knowledges, based on different criteria and experiences. How can thought be decolonized so as to only afterwards decolonize the museum? (Rezende, 2017)

Confronting the materiality of the object creates a favorable situation for questioning current discursive practices, particularly in the field of Art History, and to examine closely the relationships we establish with things. In this context, the polarity subject-object needs to be revisited, however, this time outside of academic discourses about objects.

Being so, the question that remains is: what can objects tell us is not only about the past, but also about the present and the future? Or, as the art historian Steve Nelson has stated during the “Talk With Objects” that took place here in Rio de Janeiro in 2015, “how can we understand the encounter

¹⁵⁰ “Talks with Objects” – among several other initiatives – also composes Episodes of the South, a project led by Goethe-Institut in South America that seeks to discuss the decolonization of thought in the arts, sciences, and culture, added of a practical endeavor as well.

¹⁵¹ For more information on the subject, the artist Bruno Moreschi made a quantitative analysis of the names cited on books that are the most used in the teaching of art history in Brazil. “This project presents quantitative and qualitative data on 2443 artists from 11 books commonly used in undergraduate courses in Brazil, where the project is based, but also in several other countries. The intention is to evaluate the limited perspectives of the official history of art taught today, by bringing together and comparing basic information about the artists found in these books. The idea is that, through this process, those interested in the subject will have access to material that can aid them in constructing different interpretations of this history, or that this process might even lead to a radical transformation in the field”. Further information and updates can be found on the project’s website: <historyof-rt.org>.

with the object as a starting point to have access to the world.”¹⁵² Or still thinking of the position of Nora Sternfeld: “what do these things do with us; and what can we do with them” (Sternfeld, 2016: 2).

What other stories from objects that find themselves in tension with the art world – that it, from ethnographic and/or archeological collections – can gain new lives in direct material confrontations with the public? What kind of affect does it produce? What memory does it resurge? Which questionings about the present does it make echo? Thinking that behind these plays there is almost always a history of violence and exploration – slavery, massacre of original populations, exploration and smuggling – how does looking at these objects give us clues about the present and the future? Under what criteria – since those traditionally employed in the art history cannot encompass the origins and uses of these pieces, so diverse from their own – can these objects be seen?

In the five editions of the event, the objects that were taken to talk to were the most diverse, just as its public¹⁵³. On the first, second, and fourth editions, a lot was spoken about the African heritage in Brazilian culture. In the third edition, from a past of Amazonian occupation previous to the *discovery* of our country by the Portuguese in 1500; in the fourth, of a past that is also pre-Colombian, but this time in the Pacific coast. In all of these cases, these are histories of art that are very distant from Renoir’s girls or Monet’s flowers, but so close to us, who live in South America.

As the manager who produced all of the editions of Talks With Objects, I will share in this article points in which my gaze was attentive so that the process was in fact disruptive with an order of the production of knowledge: 1) Horizontality between invitees and the public: none of our invited individuals knew which piece had been chosen before the beginning of the event. This fact generated a type of trust pact, a *ground zero*, as if they were all on the same page in the beginning of the event. 2. All of the invited guests received the same remuneration: regardless of the size of their fame. 3. Open microphone: all of the people in the public had the same right to speak, on the same level as the invited individuals. 4. Invited guests from various spheres of knowledge, and not only from the academic world: artists, ceramicists, professors, therapists. The diversity of the guests also sought an interdisciplinary exchange.

Talks with Objects proved itself as a project in the service of other knowledges, that are not those governed by criteria in art history books. It showed that art in fact serves as a light in the solution of enigmas, a lantern of erased memories. In the edition that took place in Belém, in the Amazon, Deo Almeida, a ceramicist, told us about how he had tried to reproduce the marajoara urn from that time period – the object that had been chosen to talk to in that occasion dated back to 1200 – in the present day, and was able to, so great was the sophistication of the technique employed by the pre-Colombian peoples. A lady even recalled the walks that she used to take at the Emilio Goeldi Park with her father, in the times during which a marajoara urn was still kept exposed to the public (today it

¹⁵² Nelson, S. *Talks with Objects*. Rio de Janeiro, 2015.

Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_wv9SGknUic>, accessed on May 28th 2017

¹⁵³ With the exception of the first edition, all of the editions of “Talks with Objects” were recorded and can be accessed on the project’s link, with English subtitles. Available at: <<http://www.goethe.de/ins/br/lp/prj/eps/epd/pt14367478.htm>>, access on August 29th, 2017.

is kept inside a technical collection of the Emilio Goeldi Museum, giving the public rare opportunities to see it).

In the edition realized at the AfroBrazil Museum, one of the people present took the microphone, and, facing the piece of the artist Agnaldo, from Bahia, told the public that it was only in facing that object – by which he was so bothered and had changed places many times throughout the event – that he had discovered the facets of his affective relationship with his black father. In Quito, Juana Paillalef discussed how the Venus of Valdivia, the object that was chosen to be the interlocutor in the event and that was found in various parts of Chile, spoke directly with the history of the mapuche territory, an indigenous group that still to this day fights for autonomy and leadership in the Chilean territory.

Recuperating the speech of Grada Kilomba, when she points not to the objectivity of the production of knowledge, but to an emotional and spiritual facet, Talks With Objects recuperates other dimensions of the existence not only of the object, but also of the public's memories and affects in relation to it, calling the object to other lives that are not only the one which it has lived in the past, in the moment of its execution.

Kosmos² Labor and Talks With Objects are just two among several projects which aims to produce another kind of knowledge, a more representative one, a kind of knowledge that used to be called “produced by the minorities”, but that actually relates to the most majority of the global population.

A Cultural management that – under the current circumstances – could be a tool for empowering new knowledges transfer is, at the same time an exercise of necessity and imagination.

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How communication helps an arts organisation on its brand identity construction: an ethnographic case study

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores how communication, especially online communication, may help an arts organisation on its corporate brand's brand identity construction. Employing an ethnographic case study, this paper aims to find out how a corporate brand's stakeholders interact with the brand and its cultural group and how the interaction influences the corporate brand in an arts organisation. A seven-month participant observation alongside with interviews were conducted in this ethnographic case study. An arts organisation Breeze Creatives is chosen as the case. Two social media promotional campaigns and relevant events are investigated. The analysis focuses on the cultural group analysis, drawing the conclusion that, communication, especially social media communication, helps to strengthen existing cultural groups through enhancing stakeholders' trust and helping identity negotiation between the corporate brand and its stakeholders. Furthermore, this paper finds that identity negotiation benefits both the stakeholders and the corporate brand.

Keywords:

corporate branding,
stakeholders,
arts,
identity,
social media

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1. Introduction

Lidia Varbanova (2013) define arts organizations as a group of entities that work in arts. Kolb (2016) believes that arts organization should be classified into cultural organization that stand for culture and creativity. Existing literature has stressed the significance of branding for artists in the art world (Preece, 2014; Rodner & Preece, 2015). Influential arts organizations, such as the Arts Council England and the North East Culture Partnership, have put emphasis on the branding identity communication in its long-term branding strategies (Arts-Council-England, 2013; North-East-Culture-Partnership, 2015). For arts organisations, branding communication helps organisations to develop their corporate brands (Abratt & Kleyn, 2012). Brand identity communication enhances a corporate brand by providing stakeholders with ideology and identity construction (Holt, 2002; Schultz, Antorini & Csaba, 2005). Yet little research has investigated whether and how branding communication is affected by the identity construction of the stakeholders of a corporate brand in arts organisations. As far as cultural branding theory is concerned, corporate branding in arts may be affected by the cultural factors such as certain cultural group and the identity of the stakeholders within the cultural group (Holt & Cameron, 2010). During branding communication, online media is considered as a useful tool and is increasingly used as a promotion method by arts organisations for branding purposes (Nixon, Pitsaki & Rieple, 2014). Hence, this paper aims to investigate, how, in an arts organisation, a corporate brand's brand identity is affected by the identity negotiation between stakeholders and how the negotiation may impact on the corporate brand.

2. Theoretical background

Fill (2013: 326) defines "brand" as a "promise which frames its position in the minds of stakeholders". The "stakeholders" are the group of people with whom a brand forms relations, including the consumers, the employees, the managers and the collaborators (Gyrd-Jones & Kornum, 2013; Preece & Kerrigan, 2015). The corporate brand focuses on an entity itself, for example, a company, an organisation or an institution (Fetscherin & Usunier, 2012). Kapferer (2012: 12) insists that brand is something that "creates community value around it". The term community used in here is also called "cultural group" in social studies, emphasising the shared cultural and ideological similarity of the people within a group (Arnould & Thompson, 2015). Brand is a symbol-related concept which represents the ideology and identities of the stakeholders (Rosenbaum-Elliott, Percy & Pervan, 2011). The concept may be misinterpreted and misunderstood in communication, hence some researchers

analysed the impact of cultural misinterpretation and identified that individual characteristics such as ideologies, identities are essential factors for marketers to consider during branding communication (Bolton et al, 2013; Moustafa Leonard et al, 2011).

Images, signs, texts and rhetoric are elements used in branding to distinguish a brand from its competitors, these are considered as essential elements of brand identity (Wheeler, 2012). Cultural factors such as cultural group identity and mindshare are also considered significant, especially when the brand is closely related to culture (Holt, 2004). For a corporate brand of an arts organisation, identity stems from the set of beliefs, values and the heritage that the members of the organisation hold in common, and it targets all stakeholders, including the managers of the company and the consumers (Balmer & Greyser, 2003). Therefore, two branding theories are involved in this paper: *Brand Identity Theory* and *Cultural Branding Theory*.

For a corporate brand, *Brand Identity Theory* studies branding from a communication point of view. It investigates why and how to articulate identities for an organisation from a communication aspect (Nusa & Maja Konecnik, 2013). From the identity theory point of view, all visual elements used by a brand, including the name, the image, the rhetoric, are the factors that represent a corporate brand (Hyland & King, 2006). It is assumed that an organisation is able to strategically manage its corporate brand's identity by using visual elements (Olins, 1989; Salem Khalifa, 2012). However, research found that, in arts organisations, the managers are not able to control the branding strategically although they realise they need to do so (Kolb, 2016). In corporate branding, the task is hence to integrate all elements in communication to create value for a brand (Balmer, 2008; Hatch & Schultz, 1997). However, the brand identity is not totally controlled by marketers in online branding communication, since the identity of a corporate brand is negotiated between the brand and its stakeholders (Balmer, 2010). Cultural factors such as cultural group and stakeholders' identities may be essential factors that influence the brand (Konecnik Ruzzier & de Chernatony, 2013). Cultural influence is hence introduced by scholars in *Cultural Branding Theory* (Holt, 2002).

Cultural Branding Theory looks at branding from a cultural influence perspective. It involves the study of identity and ideological impact on branding, which is developed under the cultural changes caused by the use of internet (Heding, Knudtzen & Bjerre, 2016). According to *Cultural Branding Theory*, the cultural activities refer to the actions taken by consumers to distinguish the cultural group to which they consider themselves to belong (Holt, 2006). Heavily influenced by anthropological studies, this theory studies how people see themselves as a cultural group through the consumption of certain brands (Heding, Knudtzen & Bjerre, 2016).

McCracken (1990) points out that individuals negotiate their identities through the consumption of a brand and he relates it to cultural groups. For a corporate brand, the brand's stakeholders "value the brand's stories largely for their identity value. Acting as vessels of self-expression, brands are imbued with stories that consumers find valuable in constructing their identities" (Holt, 2004: 3). In postmodern consumer culture, the "self" is conceptualised not as a ready-to-use product of social system nor as a fixed item that could be simply adopted. Rather, it is described as a thing that is actively created by

human beings (McCracken, 2005). This is partially achieved through communication (Rosenbaum-Elliott, Percy & Pervan, 2011). Thompson (1995: 210) underlines that self is a “symbolic project” constructed by individuals out of the available symbolic materials. Then, the symbolic meanings are woven “into a coherent account of who he or she is, a narrative self-identity”. Individuals’ possible selves derive from the communication through media (Markus & Nurius, 1986). Accordingly, a corporate brand’s brand identity is partially formed through the stakeholder’s identity negotiation.

3. Methodology

Corporate branding is a long-term process: it takes a long-time for an organisation to increase its brand awareness and establish its brand trust to its stakeholders. In this process, dynamic changes may happen in the cultural environment in the real-world (Schultz, Antorini & Csaba, 2005). In order to observe and to investigate what happened in reality for an arts organisation under a dynamic circumstance, this paper employs an ethnographic case study. Ethnographic case study originates from anthropology and focuses on exploring people’s groups and their culture, analysing a specific culture from the viewpoint of its members (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). This method encourages the researcher to immerse him/herself in the studied environment. During the fieldwork, the researcher is considered as a tool, an instrument, for the data collection, through which to understand how and why the intervention of the real-world occurs (Negis-Isik & Gürsel, 2013; O’Reilly, 2012).

In order to investigate what happened in an arts organisation, and what is significant for the brand identity construction in corporate branding, I conducted a participant observation for seven months and interviews with key stakeholders of the organisation. Breeze Creatives, a non-profit community-interest organisation located in the city centre of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, is chosen as the single-case to be studied in this paper. During this seven-month participant observation, I co-curated a solo exhibition for an artist in Breeze Creatives’ gallery, and worked as a curating assistant in another exhibition. During the observation, I showed and observed each strategic meeting, casual meeting, crisis meeting. I also observed the events and the preview nights of exhibitions. I communicated with key-stakeholders on a daily basis when necessary. In this research, I became a tool to interpret what is happening in an organisation. I immersed myself as a member of the cultural group to which the organisation belongs. This helps me to explore how an organisation operates, how the stakeholders negotiate their ideas in conversation and through online communication, how the negotiation might change over time, and to interpret the corporate brand identity within its cultural group.

This paper requires in-depth analysis about the cultural group of the corporate brand Breeze Creatives and the mindshare of group’s members. Intimate knowledge about multi-stakeholders is a must, because it helps this paper to track connections between the identity of a corporate brand and the identity of its stakeholders. In Breeze Creatives, the key stakeholders are the managers of Breeze Creatives, while the non-key stakeholders are the audience, the participants from online and offline. It is essential to know how the stakeholders perceive an organisation through communication or interactions. Notes were taken in the participant observation and a summary was written on each

theme.

Breeze Creatives is established in April 2014. As a non-profit organisation, the goal set for Breeze Creatives is to help people from all classes and social backgrounds to access fine art, including those from unprivileged backgrounds and minority groups in the society of the art world.¹⁵⁴ Breeze Creatives considers that there is a gap between the demand for exhibitions from artists and the limited opportunities offered to artists from contemporary art galleries. The key stakeholders, the managers of Breeze Creatives, believe that barriers are preventing audiences from accessing the arts. Therefore, Breeze Creatives aims to fill the gap and provide more opportunities for artists from all different social and cultural backgrounds. In its mission-and-vision statement on its official website, Breeze Creatives describes itself as operating “arts and cultural projects in the North East of England; Creating opportunities for a diverse range of practitioners, Breeze Creatives fills the gap between the artist’s studio and the contemporary gallery.”¹⁵⁵ A longer version of the mission-and-vision statement, written in the Hannah Directory for arts organisations in North England, reads, “Breeze Creatives is a community interest company based in the heart of Newcastle, with 130 studios; 2 galleries, FAD (Foundation in Art and Design) project and workshop spaces. Breeze Creatives is an alternatively structured organisation championing self-sufficiency and alternate partners, we are home to the most diverse studio practices in the North East and believe that true art lies within collaboration.”¹⁵⁶ Breeze Creatives’ operation is charged by three managers who work as directors of the organisation.

A small managerial team in Breeze Creatives is not uncommon in arts organisations (Kerrigan, Fraser & Özbilgin, 2004). Three managers are the key of strategic branding, decision making, and the key of the establisher of its cultural group.¹⁵⁷ According to my observation, branding strategies are normally planned spontaneously in conversation within stakeholders (including the key stakeholders and the non-key stakeholders), as one of the manager’s comment, “We work through our instinct”.

4. The analysis

In this seven-month participant observation, online communication was seen to be found intensively involved in the marketing operations of Breeze Creatives. Among different online platforms, Facebook, Instagram and WeChat (the mobile application) have been used the most. Being a newly established organisation, promotional budget for Breeze Creatives is in shortage, so, events and exhibitions are most often promoted through Facebook and Instagram. Taking Mao Kai’s exhibition as an example, apart from three articles published by local online media, the providing of updated information about the exhibition and related events relies on Facebook and Instagram.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ According to my interviews with the directors’, the people with unprivileged social backgrounds and minority groups for the fine art world mainly refer to the people from the working-class.

¹⁵⁵ Breeze Creatives, “Breeze Creatives | Contemporary Art Gallery, Artist Studios, Cultural Projects and Events | Newcastle upon Tyne”, Breeze Creatives, 2017 <<https://breezecreatives.com/>> (accessed 26 July 2017).

¹⁵⁶ Hannah Directory, “Official Website”, www.Hannahfestival.Com, 2017 <<http://hannahfestival.com/2016/welcome-to-hannah-directory-2016/>> (accessed 26 July 2017).

¹⁵⁷ Supported by the results of my observation and the interview with Breeze Creatives’ stakeholders.

¹⁵⁸ The three local publications are: Narc Magazine, Art Rabbit and NewcastleGateshead cultural web portal: Narc Magazine: “NEWS: Mao Kai: Superior Animals @ Abject Gallery”, NarcMagazine.Com, 2017 <<http://narcmagazine.com/news->

4.1 The vision and a reality check

Online media, including websites, online newspapers/ magazines, social media, blog, e-mail, instant messaging, and online communities, are defined as the media generated through internet that can be accessed through internet and digital devices (Okazaki & Romero, 2010). In online communication, such as the communication on social media, audience can read a post and leave comment at the same time, they can generate influence on the content publisher (Shirky, 2008). For a corporate brand in arts organization, this provides opportunities for its stakeholders to instantly interact with the key stakeholders of the organization, who normally are the managers; at the same time, the comments are accessible for all stakeholders, including non-key stakeholders, such as the artists and the event visitors (Momtaz, Aghaie & Alizadeh, 2011; Valcke & Lenaerts, 2010). This way, the influence of a brand is imparted to its cultural group (Hodkinson, 2002).

Online communication allowed Breeze Creatives to unify its corporate brand into a narrative that relates to its stakeholders' lives. This helps the corporate brand to strengthen the bond with the cultural group where it belongs. Firstly, corporate branding theory indicated that for a corporate brand "corporate-level of branding plays a vital role", because integrating "all communications in one unified identity and managing the total experience for consumers across all touchpoints requires a strategic level of brand management" (Heding, Knudtzen & Bjerre, 2016: 48).¹⁵⁹ Therefore, if the online communication is operated under one unified vision, expressing unified ideology that represents the identity of the corporate brand, the identity of the corporate brand will be clarified to its stakeholders (Melewar, Gupta & Czinkota, 2013). Secondly, as corporate brand identity stems from the set of beliefs, values and the heritage that the members of the organisation hold in common, it targets all stakeholders, including the managers of the company and the consumers (Balmer & Greyser, 2003). Ideology clarification may help to strengthen the cultural group to which all stakeholders of a corporate brand belong. According to the cases studied in this paper, appropriate ways of using online communication have helped Breeze Creatives to become an influencer within its cultural group.¹⁶⁰ Breeze Creatives' brand elements are delivered and promoted by posts on social media. The strategic movement and plans of this arts organisation are further clarified through the discussions with its stakeholders. The discussions change the strategic movement and the business operation of the arts organisation from a lifeless business matter to a narrative, which has connections to stakeholders'

mao-kai-superior-animals-abject-gallery/> (accessed 31 July 2017); Art Rabbit: "Mao Kai: Superior Animals – Exhibition at Abject Gallery in Newcastle upon Tyne", Artrabbit, 2017 <<https://www.artrabbit.com/events/mao-kai-superior-animals>> [accessed 31 July 2017]; Newcastle Upon Tyne - NewcastleGateshead official website: "Mao Kai: Superior Animals - Exhibition in Newcastle Upon Tyne, NewcastleGateshead", NewcastleGateshead.Com, 2017 <<https://www.newcastlegateshead.com/whats-on/mao-kai-superior-animals-p847561>> (accessed 31 July 2017). The online details of the event updating can be checked in the official accounts of Breeze Creatives on Facebook and Instagram: <https://www.facebook.com/BreezeCreatives/> and <https://www.instagram.com/breezecreatives/>. NewcastleGateshead official website: "Mao Kai: Superior Animals - Exhibition in Newcastle Upon Tyne,

¹⁵⁹ Touchpoints refer to the ways provided by media for the audiences to access the published information (Pitsaki, 2015).

¹⁶⁰ The Guardian recommends for Breeze Creatives and its community space Kommunity in the article "The alternative city guide to Newcastle", which is published on Wednesday 21th December 2016 and modified on Tuesday 14th February 2017. In the article, The Guardian states that "Energetic cultural facilitator Breeze manages artists' studios and rehearsal and exhibition spaces in Bamburgh House, as well as its gallery, Abject, which shows diverse, interrogative work from national and international artists in all manner of media – from video installation to adventurous oil paintings. Breeze was also a main mover in last year's Block Party, which saw the surrounding Creative Quarter come together for a late-night open-house" (Naylor, 2017).

lives. Through the discussions, the stakeholders' online virtual life and the offline real life are connected. The discussions gave stakeholders opportunities to link the strategic vision and the reality together, providing updated information about reality. In fact, as scholars have noted, corporate branding "is a dynamic process that involves keeping up with continuous adjustments of vision, culture and image" (Hatch & Schultz, 2003: 1041). The vision here refers to the strategic vision, it is one of the major factors that affect corporate brand identity building, as it reflects the aspirations of an organisation (Ingenhoff & Fuhrer, 2010; Kantabutra & Avery, 2010). Hence, appropriate communication about a corporate brand's strategic vision help its stakeholders to understand the corporate brand. In Breeze Creatives' case, before the online discussions, the strategic vision and mission of an organisation may not be more than the texts that stakeholders read online or a promise delivered to the stakeholders that may not be realised in the future. Yet, after the discussions on social media, the stakeholders' can receive some supporting information in addition to the vision and the promise that they are given. This way, the strategic vision and mission are more approachable to the stakeholders of a corporate brand. Case studies example this below.

Taking a post as an example: it is published on Instagram 12th April 2017, by Breeze Creatives, as a promotion for its exhibition – "Look At Me". It can be seen that, in addition to notifying the stakeholders of this new exhibition, Breeze Creatives received extra attention through the discussions in the comment area of the post. As a corporate brand, this organisation's logo was mentioned by one of its stakeholders, also linking the logo with its recent strategic movement.

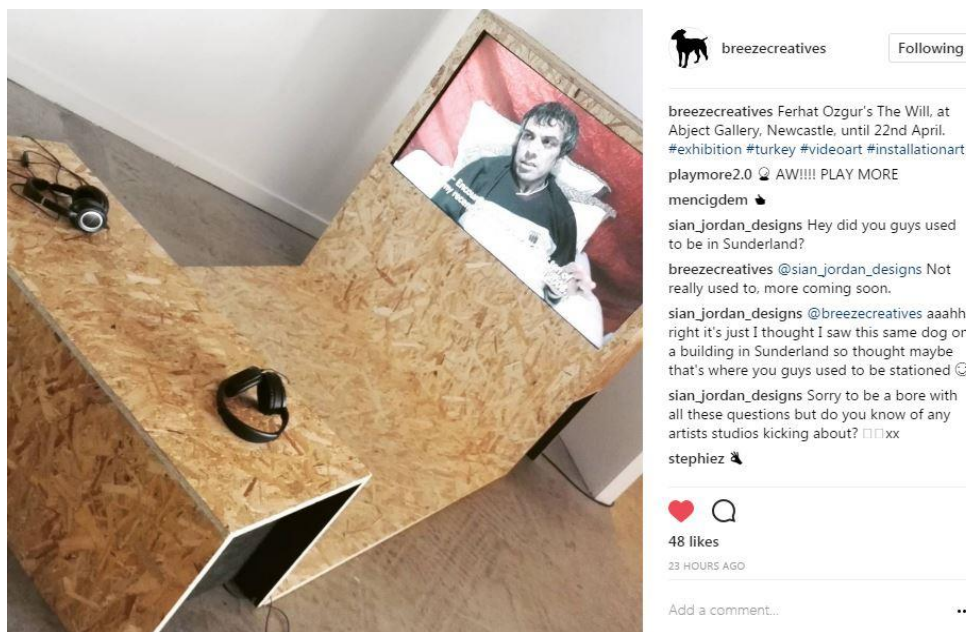


FIGURE 1. BREEZE CREATIVES' INSTAGRAM POST1.

Source: Breeze Creatives' Instagram account screenshot (copyright: Breeze Creatives and Ferhat Ozgur, 2017).

As shown above, a stakeholder actively asked Breeze Creatives whether the organisation was in Sunderland before being told that Sunderland is the place where Breeze Creatives is currently expanding. Then this stakeholder told the organisation that he/she saw the iconic image used in the brand's logo on a building in Sunderland, which made him/her think about Breeze Creatives and asked this organisation to recommend artist studio for him/her. The region, which was mentioned in the comment, Sunderland, is an area where, historically, the residents are mostly working class people. The movement of Breeze Creatives reflects the vision given by the key stakeholders – the managers of Breeze Creatives: providing a platform for the people from all social background, especially the people from a working-class background. Corporate branding theory indicates that, through aligned communication, visual branding elements, such as Logos, help to enhance the identity of a corporate brand within its target group (Podnar & Balmer, 2013). Breeze Creatives' case shows that the image used in a Breeze Creatives' Logo helps its stakeholders to recognize the visual identity of the organisation as a corporate brand. The conversation the corporate brand had with its stakeholder enhanced the understanding of the strategic vision that this organisation gave in its original mission-vision-statement and the ideology that the key stakeholders have. The information exchanged on Instagram increased the stakeholder's awareness of the current strategic movement of Breeze Creatives. At the same time, the visual branding element – the image of the Logo provides the opportunities to link the lifeless plain strategic plan with a vivid image, the dog. Through the discussions in the comment area, the information given online was linked by what stakeholders saw in the real life. More details are added into the background of this organisation, as a corporate brand: this is a pre-condition for stakeholders to understand and to trust a brand. The background of the organisation is the foundation for building trust for a brand (Li, Robson & Coates, 2014). For online communication, especially on social media, the engaging level of each member of a brand's cultural group helps to enhance group's overall trust for the brand (Habibi, Laroche & Richard, 2014). It can be seen that, through the engagement on Instagram, the stakeholders' trust for the corporate brand – Breeze Creatives is enhanced, and the cultural group is strengthened through the discussions on social media.

Apart from enhancing trust, the background of the corporate brand is formed as a part of the narrative of the brand as well as by the stakeholders themselves. This enables the stakeholders to feel that they played a role in the process of the establishing the corporate brand. This way, the bond between the corporate brand and its stakeholders, namely the whole cultural group, is furtherly strengthened.

4.2 Ideology and the mindshare group

Social media platforms provide opportunities for the key stakeholders – the managers of this organisation – to express their ideologies using the topics of interest. When an artwork was used for promotional purposes in certain social media platform, the artwork, which was created by the artist in collaboration with the corporate brand, would be discussed by the key stakeholders of the organisation. The statements and the comments were made on behalf of the corporate brand, and the artist and other stakeholders, including the audience, could see the comments and were able to give

feedback on them.



FIGURE 2. BREEZE CREATIVES' INSTAGRAM POST2.

Source: Breeze Creatives' Instagram account screenshot (copyright: Breeze Creatives and Mao Kai, 2016).

Cultural Branding Theory is introduced by Holt (2002) to address the influence of cultural factors on branding. As previously explained, online communication creates a dynamic environment, enabling people to exchange their opinions about a brand (Luo, Zhang & Liu, 2015). When ideological ideas related to a brand are exchanged online, certain cultural issues, such as identity recognition issues, may arise. For branding, these issues may become barriers for people to accept a brand (Holt, 2004). Therefore, Holt (2002) indicates, ideology and cultural issues should be taken into account in brand building for certain types of brand. For Breeze Creatives, ideology clarification appears to help the corporate brand to shape and tighten the bond with its cultural group.

In a post published on Instagram on 6th October 2016, Breeze Creatives showed a painting by the artist Mao Kai, who was to have a solo exhibition called *Superior Animals* in collaboration with Breeze Creatives. The painting was posted the day before the preview night of the exhibition for promotional purposes. In the painting, a long necked rabbit sported long brown waving hair and was dressing in fur clothes standing in front of a view of the countryside that looks like the Lake District. The description beside the post states: "one of Mao Kai's *Superior Animals* #paintings looks rather like someone from a certain royal family." The hash tags beside the image include #katemiddleton #katemiddletonstyle #royalfamily #princess.

It can be seen from the description that Breeze Creatives was trying to express scorn for the Royal family. As previously noted, the key stakeholders (managers) of Breeze Creatives consider this

organisation as a platform that can provide opportunities for people from all social backgrounds to access the fine-art world. The description indicates the similarity between the appearance of the rabbit and someone from royal family: a metaphor for the royal family. The rhetoric style of the language used in this post is sarcastic, which suggests that the key stakeholders of this organisation hold an attitude that is against the differences between social classes. This attitude is carried by the artist Mao Kai's painting and transferred by the description into an ideological message behind this corporate brand and expressed through social media platform. Here, the ideology became a part of the core identity of the corporate brand and received feedbacks from its non-key stakeholders. According to semiotic theory, elements such as texts, images, signs or rhetoric are used in communication as cultural carriers for expressions based on social and cultural purposes (Barthes, 1977). These carriers help people on their self-identity construction and social-identity construction (Berger, 2010). In this post, Mao Kai's painting plays the role of a cultural carrier to express the key managers' ideology, which is a part of the identity of the corporate brand. Ideology – “a point of view on one of these important cultural constructs that has become widely shared and taken for granted, naturalised by a segment of society as a truth” – is considered as a significant part of a brand in *Cultural Branding Theory* (Holt & Cameron, 2010: 174). As Holt and Cameron (2010: 174) indicate, ideology is the foundation of branding and it profoundly shapes the consumers' everyday evaluation and actions into a “mindshare” group. In other words, ideology helps to shape and form the cultural group to which a brand belongs. Also, as mindshare is the basis of a brand's cultural expression, ideology becomes the instrument by which a brand can differentiate itself from its competitors in the cultural consumption market (Holt, 2004). In this post, the description revealed the ideology of the key stakeholders. Subsequently, as a part of the significant identity of this corporate brand, the ideology is delivered through the social media platform to the non-key stakeholders within the cultural group. At the same time, the non-key stakeholders received the message and gave feedback to their cultural group. The revealing of the key stakeholders' mind clarified the significant part of the identity of the corporate brand – Breeze Creatives, while the artwork of the artist, who cooperated with the corporate brand as a stakeholder, became a cultural carrier used for the identity clarification in corporate branding.

Researchers have found that self-identity construction is a significant motivation for the stakeholders of a corporate brand to post comments and feedback online. For example, Davis (2011) found in her research that young people's online behaviour is strongly influenced by the motivation of self-identity construction: through the self-expression online, young people's self-multiplicity can be limited in order to follow the social norms; as a result, their social interrelationship can be enhanced. DeAndrea, Shaw and Levine (2010) also found that culture significantly influences users' online expression in relation to self-identity construction. Calvert et al. (2003) consider symbolic meaning as an essential factor that impacts on people's online expression. These motivations of online communication are supported by the theorist Bourdieu (2010), who states in his book *Distinction* that identity is culturally educated and negotiated. As can be seen in the post, 32 Likes and two emoji icons were given by the non-key stakeholders and feedbacks (emoji icons showed ‘victory’ and ‘loving eyes’ signs). Two texts are “Love this!” and “Well done!”. As it has been discussed, when this post was published on behalf of Breeze Creatives, the attitude, the ideology and the style are representing the corporate brand as an

essential part of the brand identity. By the same token, the text and the signs used in the comments represent the non-key stakeholders' ideology as a part of the cultural group identity construction. The cultural group negotiated its identity with the corporate brand through giving feedback on the comment area.

A cultural group is mainly related to the perceptions, ideologies, identities of the people who belong to it (Holt, 2005; Leonard & Prevel Katsanis, 2013). Therefore, negotiating self-identity is one of the major reasons why the consumers belong to certain cultural groups. This idea offers a huge potential for branding research. As a brand is a highly symbolic composed artefact, it is a product that represents certain symbolic meanings that can speak to its consumers (Grønhaug & Trapp, 1989; Morgan Parmett, 2014). By interacting with a brand, the consumers may recognize their cultural similarities within the cultural group (Berger, 2010). Also, when the consumption takes place, an identity negotiation may occur between the brand and its stakeholders (McCracken, 1990). During online communication, the culture of the organisation is constantly interpreted by and negotiated with its stakeholders (Fournier et al., 2012; Melewar, Gupta & Czinkota, 2013). The cultural group and the stakeholders involved contribute to the branding by expressing their opinions on social media (Gummerus et al., 2012). Online discussions also help an organisation to form a tighter relationship with its cultural group (Gallos et al., 2012). The circulation helps the cultural group to gain better awareness of the organisation's overall image through online exposure, which is considered a basic step in the corporate branding (Hyland & King, 2006; Nandan, 2005; Nusa & Maja Konecnik, 2013).

In the post, non-key stakeholders received a message about Breeze Creatives' disagreement with social-class differences. They chose to support this ideology by leaving comments like "well done", "love this", and signs that contain symbolic meaning, such as "victory". By the actions of leaving comment, their ideology relating to social-class differences had an opportunity to be further clarified and enhanced, which benefits each of the stakeholders. Moreover, this mindshare actions help all stakeholders to unify their ideology and to shape it into a consensus for this cultural group. This is what is called the mindshare group by *Cultural Branding Theory*: it is the instrument that allows a corporate brand to differentiate itself from its competitors. For Breeze Creatives, as a part of the brand identity construction of the corporate brand, the feedback further clarified and enhanced the brand identity of the corporate brand. Leaving feedback to support an ideology delivered in the post gave the non-key stakeholders opportunities to reinforce their self-identity construction. Hence, the cultural group is hence shaped into a mindshare group, the stakeholders and the corporate brand are bonded: "Strong brands will sustain ideology – a particular point of view on a cultural construct" (Holt & Cameron, 2010: 174).

4.3 Negotiating identity

During the construction of a mindshare group, the major influencers are the key stakeholders of a corporate brand. In an arts organisation, they are normally the key managers, the directors. Firstly, they fully understand the essence of the organisation as a corporate brand. Secondly, they are in charge of the communication. Even in social media communication, it is still up to the key stakeholders

to choose in which platform (e.g. Instagram or Facebook) the communication should be conducted, from which topics conversation would be started, and how the conversation should be started.¹⁶¹ The non-key stakeholders have the opportunity to provide further opinions and information on the chosen topics, yet they have little chance start a completely new topic that relates to the corporate brand.

The non-key stakeholders' cultural expressions, such as images and texts, may be interpreted as a way to support the key-stakeholders' ideology, as a contribution to the essential part of the corporate brand identity. Even if, in some cases, such non-key stakeholders' cultural expressions may be misinterpreted by the key stakeholders so as they do not match the non-key stakeholders' original intentions, the non-key stakeholders may still be benefited by the misinterpretation. Artworks are good examples of this process, as they have great opportunities to interact with the stakeholders of an arts organisation. Since an artwork is a piece of cultural expression, the artist's artistic works normally reflect his/her own intentions, own views of ideology and identity (Fillis, 2006). Yet during the key stakeholders' interpretation of these views, extra meaning maybe added into the original ideas.

For instance, Mao Kai's exhibition title *Superior Animals* was meant to be a metaphor for the pride, self-righteousness and complacency of human beings. In Mao Kai's artworks, every object, no matter a person or an animal, was painted with an extremely long neck, which made the objects' overall figures look distorted. Each of the animals he painted possesses a human body dressed with human clothes.

The reason why he painted like this was asked by an audience member during the preview night on 7th October 2016. The audience member asked: "could you explain why you gave these people such long necks, they are attractive in a weird way I mean, eye catching." Mao Kai replied "I think humans are animals, we don't have much difference, I paint these long neck to show how proud we are (for being human beings), and actually, it's odd." Similar opinions were expressed in other occasions. He said "this is how the young generation sees itself, especially the generation born in China in the 1990s, they always see themselves as superior to the others. However, no generation is better than other." "Self-righteousness, which is what I would call the new generation, no, not just the new generation, the entire human society." (...) "This is also the common mistake that human beings make." (...) "We always see ourselves as superior to other animals, yet, at the end, we are animals too." (...) "This long neck is a metaphor of human behaviour, the smugness and self-satisfaction, sometimes the selfishness. Especially in the modern society, people cannot care less about others. It is all about satisfying human beings themselves, to become what we want to be in this society."

It can be seen that, for Mao Kai, the long neck was originally a metaphor for human being's self-righteousness and selfishness, a metaphor for the new generation's self-esteem. However, in the post published on Instagram, more meanings were added into the image: firstly a meaning of superiority in the royal family was deducted from the image, the self-righteousness was reinterpreted and was linked to the upper class; secondly, the rabbit was used as a metaphor of certain person from the royal

¹⁶¹ According to the long-term observation.

family; thirdly, the rhetoric of the description delivered scorn for this upper-class family. Here, the painting was used to express the idea of rejecting inequality in society. The interpretation steps further from Mao Kai's original meaning. In this case, the non-key stakeholder's idea was reinvented, manipulated, and used by the key stakeholders as a tool to express the ideology of the organisation, as a part of the key identity of the corporate brand. The negotiation between the two sides is unequal, Mao Kai was in a weaker position, as he had little chance to know how the key stakeholder would promote his paintings and the exhibition. He had small opportunities, even if he would, to correct the idea of the key stakeholders after the post was published. On the contrary, the key stakeholders were holding a stronger position, as they can choose the way to manipulate the non-key stakeholder's ideas and transfer them into other use. This battle of negotiation benefited Breeze Creatives' as a corporate brand on its brand identity construction. From this example it can be seen that, after being discussed and published by the key managers of the organisation on a social media platform, the artist's views, ideologies and identities as expressed through artworks or other cultural expressions may no longer be the same. Meanings that may be beneficial to the organisation may be added into the artworks or the cultural expressions. Sometimes, the interpretation may seem to be biased.

Another example is the proposal of artist Fang Qi's exhibition. The artist's idea in the proposal, was mistaken and interpreted by the key stakeholders in Breeze Creatives. After the artist Fang Qi submitted a proposal for her solo exhibition in Breeze Creatives, I had a conversation with two of the key stakeholders (a manager and an event organizer) asking if they saw the artist's proposal, and what they thought about it. Their response surprised me. They told me that they thought the proposal was bold and cool as it was about human being's nature – orgasm. "It is about the orgasm, it is alternative and cool, nobody did this before, we think that it will be really bold." "I know it should have been done a long time ago but just nobody did it, surprisingly." "It is a natural thing, it is something that human beings share, I wonder why nobody did it." However, in Qi's proposal, "orgasm" was never mentioned. The word used in the proposal was actually "organism". I was confused, because I was sure that there was no 'orgasm' mentioned in the proposal. I asked another director to make sure that I had not misremembered: "Is it orgasm or organism?" She replied that, from what she recalled, "It is orgasm". To establish which was correct – "orgasm" or "organism"— I phoned the artist, who was also surprised and suspected that she had put a wrong word in the proposal. Yet after a double check on the document, she confirmed that she had put the correct word in the proposal. "It is 'organism' not 'orgasm'."

In this case, artist Qi's idea was mistaken because the key stakeholder wanted their organisation to exhibit bold artwork. In the proposal, "organism" was used as the key idea of Qi's artworks, which is a representation of her view and her ideology, relating to her self-identity. Yet this ideology and identity view are misinterpreted by the key stakeholders, because the key stakeholders tend to unify the group identity into the way they want. The non-key stakeholder appears to be in a weaker position during this identity negotiation, just like in Mao Kai's case. The non-key stakeholders' opportunities for the negotiation become small if the key stakeholders have decided how to interpret their ideas. As a matter of fact, the organisation is always in a leading position while collaborating with non-key

stakeholders: the organisation organizes the artist and the audience during an exhibition. There are few possibilities for non-key stakeholders to persuade the key stakeholders' to change their mind. Therefore, in an arts organisation, the initiative of the key identity of a corporate brand and its interpretation/deduction are in the hands of the key stakeholders. The key-stakeholders are the essential influencers of all the stakeholders within the cultural group.

4.4 Cultural myth

Cultural myth is a narrative created with symbolic value and attached to a brand (Holt, 2005). This is commonly used in advertising to increase the symbolic value for a brand (Barthes, 1973; Oswald, 2015). Ideological and identity negotiation may create cultural myth, which benefits both sides of stakeholders in the negotiation and the corporate brand to which the cultural group belongs.

During the preview night of Mao Kai's exhibition, I worked as the interpreter for him to explain his concepts, his ideology, his ideas, the genre and the creating process to the audience. Therefore, I had opportunities to make conversations with the audience regarding the artist' ideas. Comparing with Mao Kai's thinking, the metaphor of each painting was interpreted more profoundly by some of the audience members. The audience reflected upon what were the metaphors delivered through each element of the painting and why, while the artist did not think too much about the metaphors of the elements when he was creating the artworks. The artist created the paintings from more of an aesthetic perspective during the work, although he already had the initial thoughts about the overall idea and the style of this series. For example, for the painting "The pregnant woman" (showing a stag standing beside the swollen belly of a pregnant woman), one audience member asked whether the artist was influenced by the psychoanalytical theories of Freud. He also asked why the woman was wearing an ancient Chinese costume. For this question, Mao Kai privately told me that it was simply because he thought the painting would look better with something beside the woman, in order not to let her stand alone. The added costume was done for the same reason – to make her look more beautiful. However, the artist could not decide which explanation of his work would be better. He considered it may be good for his audience to receive some profound explanation although it may not be his original idea. In this case, Mao Kai's ideas of how to explain his artwork were negotiated during the communication with other stakeholders. More meanings and explanation were added into the artist's artworks that are exhibited in Breeze Creatives' gallery. The added meanings created through the negotiation helped both key and non-key stakeholders to understand which meanings are delivered through the artwork in the exhibition. These meanings act as a part of the ideology of this corporate brand, which can be used by Breeze Creatives in its future communication with its stakeholders. At the same time, the artist Mao Kai and the audience member are both stakeholders of Breeze Creatives, they belong to one cultural group. Although the artist Mao Kai's ideas were misinterpreted by the audience member, Mao Kai still considered it may be a benefit for him to take the misinterpreted version of his ideas.



FIGURE 3. THE PREGNANT WOMAN.

Source: Mao Kai, 2016.

Researchers suggest that cultural myth can facilitate branding if it is conveyed from a brand's ideology. In this process, cultural myth carries the brand and imparts ideologies to its consumers (Oswald, 2015). After studying some of the brands that carry certain ideology, such as Jack Daniel's whiskey, researchers believe that only when the ideology is embedded in myths, does the conceptual statement make sense and become comprehensible, at a visceral level, resonating with the brand's consumers (Holt, 2002; Holt & Cameron, 2010). Research about artistic brands also suggests that when an ideology of a brand is written as a myth, it may make it easier for consumers to understand the brand's ideology hence increase the brand's symbolic value (Preece & Kerrigan, 2015).

What happened in Mao Kai's exhibition showed that ideological communication and identity negotiation between stakeholders may bring inspirations to create the cultural myth. The artwork carries the cultural myth and the ideological interpretation is the core of the cultural myth. When the identity negotiation is conducted by stakeholders, a new consensus may be created and used in the communication with other stakeholders and with the organisation in the future. On the one hand, for a corporate brand, the cultural myth created during the stakeholders' identity negotiation helps other its stakeholders to understand and remember its corporate brand's ideology; on the other hand, the cultural myth may add extra symbolic value to the artwork itself and therefore benefit the stakeholders who created it.

The identity negotiation within a cultural group may depend on knowledge, ideology, and the views that other stakeholders have. Also, the final result of the group identity negotiation may be based on

whether or not the result will benefit the members within the cultural group. Although during the identity negotiation, non-key stakeholders' identity (for example the ideas, the views the ideologies), may be manipulated by the key-stakeholders' ideology. By communication, inspirations can be delivered to each member in the cultural group to help them to create the cultural myth that benefits the whole cultural group and the related corporate brand.

5. Conclusion

Focusing on brand identity construction for a corporate brand in arts and adopting an ethnographic case study, this paper studied relationship between the stakeholders and the corporate brand in arts. The research found that, in an arts organisation, online communication can help to enhance the stakeholders' trust for a corporate brand. This is because online communication links the strategic vision and the reality together giving a more complete narrative of this brand to its stakeholders. Moreover, online communication also helps a corporate brand to shape its cultural group into a mindshare group. Although the key stakeholders of the corporate brand control the initiative over other stakeholders during the identity negotiation, the results of the negotiation may benefit both the stakeholders and the corporate brand.

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Repertory Theatres and International Cooperation

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ABSTRACT

Article presents introduction to the main research – *Repertory Theatres in International Space* (author's doctoral research). In the beginning, article explains the term repertory theatre in Czech context and what is the international cooperation in general. The key starting point for larger research is the mapping of current situation in the Czech Republic – how cultural state strategy operates with international cooperation? How theatres interact internationally?

Keywords:

repertory theatre, international cooperation projects, artistic projects, cross-border cooperation

1. Introduction

The word of globalisation appeals and enables artists and cultural workers act and cooperate internationally - it is the best way for cultural organisations to internationally share their theoretical and practical experience, know-how, and research into specific artistic areas. Thanks to many funds, these kinds of projects are easier to carry out. However, there are still many internal and external factors that discourage cultural workers to get involved in projects like these.

In 2016, I worked on research with Czech Arts and Theatre Institute in order to find barriers, that Czech cultural and creative sectors deals with applying for EU funds. The research helped to understand the fundamental troubles and gave recommendation for Czech authorities. It also opened the internal issues that cultural and creative sector generally have with international cooperation.

In my four years doctoral research, I decided to specifically look at Czech repertory theatres, deeply describe the issues and suggest recommendation.

This article is a summary of initial findings. Its aim is to give a brief look about Czech repertory theatres and how they internationally cooperate so far. With one case study we will also open the topic of fundamental barriers.

2. Czech repertory theatre

Theatre system in the Czech Republic is wide and it has definitely huge role in Czech culture, which proves the number of professional theatres in the Czech Republic and the complex system of the theatre net in general.

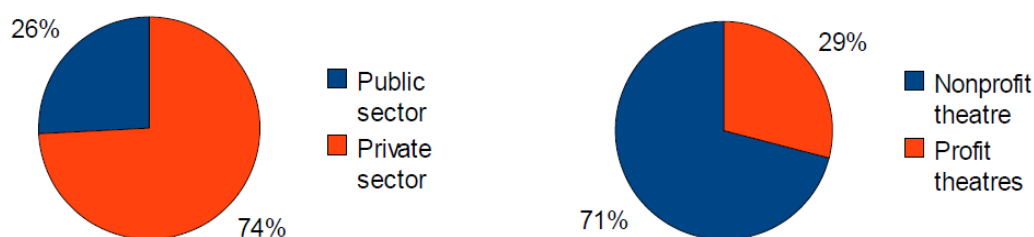
Talking about Czech professional theatres, we divide the theatre organisations to four categories. These following terms are very special for the Czech environment:

- *Traditional Theatre Institution* - theatre with own building, management and resident acting company(ies) (in the Czech Republic, we distinguish these companies according to particular genres - drama theatre, opera, ballet or musical theatre. As the definition indicates, there are theatres with one or more acting companies).
- *Stagiona* - theatre building with its own production team, which hire external actors in order to create own production, or host completed external theatre production as a guest appearance.
- *Theatre company* - groups with legal personality without own stage/building. These organisations have their own repertory and tour within their city, region or country.
- *Theatre production/agency* - organisation usually run by few people (managers, directors), who hired artists. This kind of organisation is project-oriented.

Presenting Czech theatres from legislative point of view, theatres can be established in private or public sector, and as a non-profit or profit organisation. Statistics from 2015 shows proportion of these categories. 155 professional theatres were observed.

Finally, what our main term *repertory theatre* in Czech context means? Repertory theatre is a traditional conception in eastern and central Europe since 18th century and some western countries as well. Theatre presents nightly different play that is on its repertory, while rehearsing and preparing new plays with acting companies (Dvořák, 2005). As repertory theatres have their own building

traditionally in the Czech Republic, this term sometimes blend in something we described previously as “Stone” theatre.



GRAPH 1. THE CZECH THEATRES: PUBLIC, PRIVATE, NONPROFIT AND PROFIT SECTOR

Source: The National Information and Consulting Centre for Culture - *ZÁKLADNÍ STATISTICKÉ ÚDAJE O KULTUŘE V České republice 2015, Prague (2015: 105).*

Although it is relatively expensive way how to maintain theatre, it is still very traditional model of Czech theatres, especially for publicly funded or representative ones. There can be differences between theatre genres though. Opera and ballet usually tend to follow more modern concept. Rebuilding of the stage are time consuming and technically demanding. Common guest appearances are not time flexible as well. For these reasons, opera and ballet (and some other productions) present fewer productions and they do not change them as frequently as in traditional repertory theatres. Drama theatres usually follow the traditional concept, as we introduced above. In contrary to this system, there is serial theatre. Acting company prepares only one production, which is run on the programme as long as possible (depends on viewer’s interest). That is the concept that some expensive productions (as we mentioned opera or ballet) tend to be closer to.

From observing the representative sample of 249 theatre entities, repertory theatres account for a little less than 20% of all theatre “population”. Yet those organisations present the most representative theatre institutions in the Czech Republic (e.g. National theatres in Prague, Brno and Ostrava).

Why repertory theatres were chosen for this research? As we will present in following parts, repertory theatre has not an easy position and possibilities to getting involve to international cooperation from many reasons. Therefore this type of theatre, which represents important part of the Czech theatre system generally, was chosen as research object, so the future conclusion can help to increase number and quality of international cooperation projects.

3. Introduction to international cooperation and international actions

There are many reasons why cultural institutions or cultural workers decide to act/work internationally. They can be *fame/money-driven* in the case of big profit cultural industries (pop music, film industry or others). But in the core of my research, I want to observe those kinds of international projects and cooperation that are not profit driven.

So which fundamental benefit that should bring international projects in culture I seek for? From interviews with cultural workers, international funding institution's strategic documents and other professional literature, we can set few of them.

3.1 Promote yourself and your art

Being internationally recognised artist or cultural institution is one of the elemental key that leads for further international actions. Therefore it is important to build your name and your art work abroad. For some cultural institutions or artists the final benefit does not exceed the purpose mentioned above - fame and money. For some of them, the *fame* (or better expressed *prestige*) is the necessary step to start new international interactions. Also the official Czech state cultural strategy is aware of this need and through its funding scheme provides financial support for short-term mobility and cultural exchanges. There is no need to mention that through promoting artists and institutions, the Czech Republic promotes itself as well.

3.2 Exchange the knowledge and an experience.

One of the main reasons (that I have recognised so far from observation and research about international projects) is the need for professional development. Either we talk about individual or institutional growth, international projects are great way how to move yourself further, when the national level of cooperation is not enough. Through mutual projects and actions, artists can gain new experience, skills and knowledge about the particular artistic field. Cultural institutions can also achieve know-how in non-artistic areas - financial management, marketing, audience development etc. - and build their capacities in the aim of modernize the operation, improve the processes and increase cultural worker's qualification.

3.3 Research together

You can only share experience and knowledge, if the good experience and knowledge already exists. In other case you have to search for the new cognition. Because of that, many of the international projects has research dimension. Again, we can talk about discovering new methods and techniques in artistic field as well as in management and economical areas. When cultural institutions take part in research projects, they usually choose practical experiments (e.g. experimental productions). By discussing and promoting these experiments, they learn from new experience and set new methods and recommendation for the future.

3.4 Lobby together

Just as on national level, institutions come together and lobby for mutual interests, institutions internationally connect with each other for maintaining common goals. By mutual discussion, research and sharing experience, they appeal to higher political institution and try to influence their decision-making to the benefit of cultural institutions. On the EU level, we usually can see this effort in the area of EU funding, especially triggered by networks and associations.

3.5 Help

Social responsibility is not only the topic of enterprises. More and more cultural institutions recognise problems in their environment and through their activity they try to reduce the issues or fully eliminate them. One of the most frequent interventions is social inclusion. Operating on international scale, those issues are observed, promoted and solved in larger geographical and social range. In other words - the issues spread in bigger European regions (e.g. poverty, lack of education etc.) and the solution can be found only by international cooperation.

This listing is not terminal and more of them could be found, if we moved from artists and cultural institutions perspective to public authorities' perspective. List does not approach to typecast the actions and projects either. Because at the end of the day, there can be more than one reason, why we internationally cooperate. Or we recognise that one has to lead to another, so we can fulfil our final goal.

From observing examples of international projects, we can find huge differences between the forms of international collaboration. While we consider some of them as *one short international meeting* (tours, showcases etc., for further text we use *international action*), there are other projects that deeply develop relations between artists and institutions (for further text *international cooperation*).

4. International cooperation in the Czech Republic

Official Czech state cultural strategy for 2015-2020 recognises the need of international cooperation and defines one of the goals: "*Czech culture will be active in in European cultural space, international cultural cooperation will be developed and Czech culture will be more recognised in Europe and the world*" (Ministry of Culture Czech Republic, 2014). The government in own declaration from 2014 promised to accomplish this goal by promotion and new model presentation model of Czech culture and Czech art abroad. That means that official cultural policy is more oriented to something we call international action. This basic orientation can be explained easily – Czech cultural sector is not deeply involved in international cooperation yet and that is because of lack of foreign contacts. Therefore there is a need to support networking first. For that purpose, there are many institutions helping to the cultural environment connect with Europe. For example, The Department of International Cooperation that is run under the Arts and Theatre Institute aims to promote Czech theatre abroad, mediate information about foreign theatre field, incorporate itself to many international networks and platforms and organise special events such as exhibitions, seminars etc. (Arts and Theatre Institute, 2016).

Giving the image about theatre international cooperation in the Czech Republic, we have only statistics from The National Information and Consulting Centre for Culture (NIPOS), which collects data about touring yearly. Again, this gives evidence about the main focus of state cultural policy. Unfortunately, international cooperation is not observed.

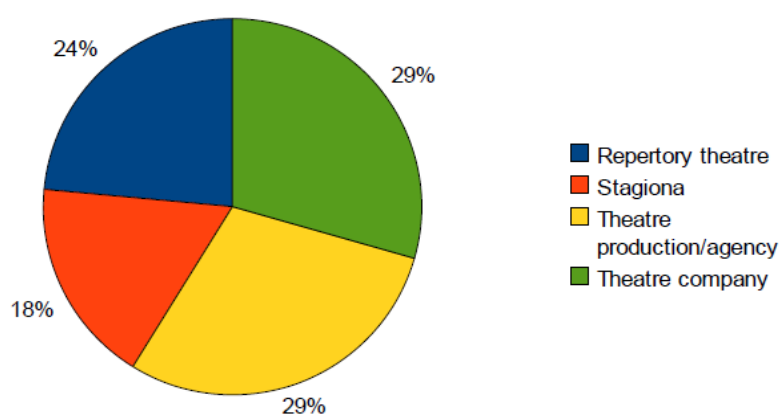
Year	Number of performances abroad	Share of performances abroad in overall theatres production
2015	596	2,09%
2014	718	2,52%
2013	831	3,02%
2012	779	2,83%
2011	808	2,89%

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF PERFORMANCES ABROAD. 2011-2015

Source: The National Information and Consulting Centre for Culture - *ZÁKLADNÍ STATISTICKÉ ÚDAJE O KULTUŘE V České republice 2015*, Prague (2015: 105)

The Study Barriers of mobility in culture (Arts and Theatre Institute, 2010) shows different kind of data that portrays number of foreign theatre employees. 59% Czech theatres employ only Czech citizens. 24% theatres employ maximum number of five foreign citizens and 16% of theatres employ more than 10 foreign citizens. Because of close relation to Slovakia, it is not surprising, that most of the foreign employees coming from there. Other most common countries, that foreign employees are coming from, are Russia, Ukraine, Bulgaria and Japan. Study also pointed to the impact of having foreign citizens in Czech theatres. Most of the respondents expressed positive experience and increasing of artistic level thanks to foreigners. As we can expect, most of the foreign artists coming to theatres are from opera or ballet field. Drama theatre only employs the theatre makers - directors, choreographers, stage designers.

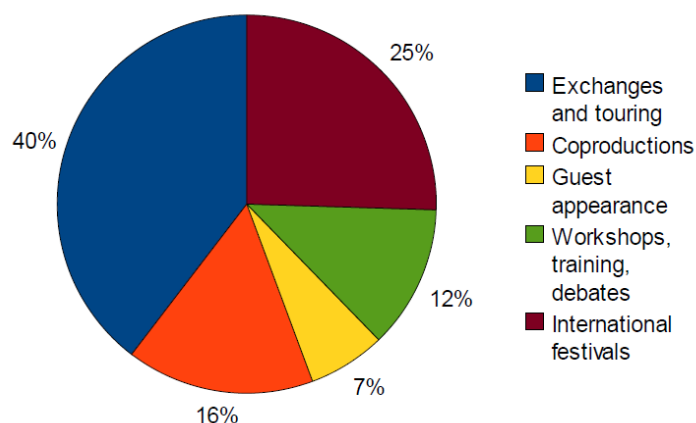
For further information, I did my own initial research on the international cooperation in order to find the international activities taken by repertory theatres and most frequent forms. From observing 86 theatres international projects taking part from 2012 to 2016, theatre companies and theatre productions/agencies were mostly active.



GRAPH 2. THE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC: FORMS OF THEATRES,

Source: Own research.

Focusing on the most frequent form of international cooperation, exchanges and touring (simple international actions) won over the other means of international interaction.



GRAPH 3. THE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC: FORMS OF PROJECTS.

Source: Own research.

In order to have a better picture about these forms, let's present the typical kind of projects with small examples of them.

4.1 Exchange and touring

As presenting previously, exchange and touring is the most common way of the Czech international action that usually does not reach the level of cooperation. It can be part of larger cooperation projects or program though. But the main aim of exchange or touring is usually to promote the Czech theatre abroad (or bring foreign theatre and present it to Czech audience). In Czech environment, is easier to tour with operas or ballet thanks to almost not existing language barrier. It is difficult to send abroad or bring drama theatre production. Usually it is done through international festivals.

At the beginning of July 2017, F.X. Šalda Theatre presented their performance Achich at the Nuremberg festival Talks about Borders. Festival aims to promote classic and contemporary Czech and Slovakian theatre authors through stage reading and lectures. Apart from showcasing the performance, the artistic director Šimon Dominik and theatre intendant Jarmila Levko had a chance to present the topic Status of theatres in Czech Culture (F.X.Šalda Theatre, 2017).

4.2 Guest appearance - mobility

Cultural mobility is one of the key forms in live performance sector. In case of repertory theatres, we are talking about inviting foreign artists in order to be a member in Czech theatre production, or sending Czech member of theatre abroad. As we mentioned above, theatre guest appearance is more common in opera and ballet productions. Drama theatre deals with language barrier when talking about potential actor's mobility (when the speaking word is in native language). Therefore in this special case foreign guest appearances are done by directors, stage designers or other creators instead. Other issue connected with repertory theatre is the way of programming, as we introduced at the beginning. Acting company is performed almost nightly during theatre season and it is quite

difficult to set aside member of the company for long-term exchange.

Artistic mobility can bring more benefits, as one of the examples shows. In 2015, National Moravian Silesian Theatre hosted Norwegian director Victoria Meirik, who directed the play Lesík (Lilleskogen, written by Norwegian author Jesper Halle). Thanks to bringing unusual play, theatre had chance to be guest in several national festivals. Moreover in 2016, theatre performed the play in National theatre in Oslo (National Moravian Silesian Theatre, 2015).

4.3 International festivals

Theatre festivals are usually labelled as showcases. Its main purpose is to promote local theatres and bringing other productions to one local point. The function of the festivals is slowly changing though. From being a simple exhibition, festivals start to be prominent cultural activist, which initiate actions, trigger discussions, educate and train cultural workers and public etc. Speaking of international festivals, some of them start to cooperate with other institutions or other festivals as well.

One of the largest international theatre festival that try to internationally cooperate in long-term period and not to be only the showcase, takes place in the Czech city Pilsner since 1993. Festival is organised by non-profit organisation International festival THEATRE Pilsner with members consisted of J. K. Tyl Theatre, Theatre Community and The City of Pilsner. The festival main aim is presenting Czech theatre and the most outstanding foreign productions. Festival is not just a show case though. Festival aims to create and promote international platform for meeting people of theatre field across the borders. For example in 2015, festival hosted performance Brim made by the Icelandic theatre group Vesturport. Apart from presenting the performance, organizers created a space for discussion about Nordic theatre. Besides Czech theatre professionals and Vesturport representatives, professionals from Norway National Theatre and University in Bergen took part as well (Festival Theatre, 2016).

4.4 Coproductions

Coproductions can be easily mistaken for simple exchanges. There is a difference though. There is not just an artistic guest who participates on creating production. There is a closer cooperation between institutions, which are involved in production - organisationally, financially, or by other sources and means of cooperation.

In 2014, The National Theatre in Prague introduced performance 1914 that connected three theatres: The Comedy Theatre of Budapest (Vígsház), and Slovakian National Theatre. The performance was directed by American theatre director Robert Wilson. Besides Czech drama actors, Hungarian artistic director Enikő Eszenyi and Slovakian actor Ján Koleník were part of the performance too. Apart from actors, project has international scape in the technical part as well. There were 26 technicians from the Czech National theatre and 17 technicians from The Slovakian National Theatre who worked on the performance together. Performance was introduced not only in Prague, but in partner theatres as well. Theatres also shared some of the technical equipment - because of

demanding light design, Budapest theatre lent special spotlights for the show (Wilson, 1914, 2014).

4.5 Theatre as an international organisation

One very specific way how to interact internationally, is being based as an international organisation. In study made by Theatre Institute, we presented the possibility of employing foreign citizens. But there is other special case of international repertory theatre.

Theatre Český Těšín was established as a Czech theatre close to the Czech-polish borders in 1945. Thanks to the Czech director Josef Zajíc and polish director of Teatr Polski, Aleksandr Gąssowski, new Polish acting company was established in 1951. This Polish stage in Theatre Český Těšín is the only professional polish theatre performing out of the Poland. Even both, Czech and Polish, stages introduce their program separately, theatre are many other events and cooperations such as Czech-Polish artistic exhibitions or festivals (Theatre Český Těšín, 2017).

4.6 Professionals meetings

These forms of projects serve for educational and research and they are the best way how to share experience and knowledge. They are rarely open to general public or have some publicly presented output. But they are necessary to theatre (or other cultural) field for professional development (individual and institutional development, but also development of theatre field itself). Forms of such an interaction can be workshops, work demonstrations, training, debates, discussions, conferences etc. Repertory theatres in the Czech Republic rarely organised them as single projects. Usually, these activities are part of bigger projects or programs, as we could find in some examples above.

5. Major barriers in international cooperation

As we can see, theatres do interact internationally, although they choose primary easy ways of international actions. Asking cultural workers and artists about international cooperation, there are not many of them, who would refuse possibility to interact with foreign artists and institutions. But despite the cultural strategy on the state and local levels, we see only small number of those, who are brave to develop international relationship and cooperation. Obviously, there are lot of barriers, which for some of them are difficult or impossible to overcome. Following categories were observed in 2016 through research *The analysis of needs and barriers, that Czech cultural and creative organisations face to when applying for EU financial sources (Zarodňanská, 2016).*

5.1 Financial struggles

Theatres are usually established as non-profit organisation. Simply said, they will mostly struggle with finding needed finances from own sources. One of the ways is apply for a grant from national donators and other funds. Even this possibility is not without barriers. Research from 2015 defined following issues mainly collected with big funding programs (relevant for CR - EU funds, Visegrad fund, Czech-German Future Fund etc.). 1. supported organisations do not know, how to pre-finance grants (if the

condition is to receive grant after project is successfully finished - ex post regime), 2. supported organisations do not have chance to co-finance the project (organisations are obligated to co-finance project with particular percentage). Both problems can be escalated by lack of financial management knowledge that is specially needed for international projects.

5.2 Human resources

Theatres (and other cultural institutions) suffer from being understaffed. Because of insufficient number of employees, many working functions are cumulated, so employees quite often hold more of the work. Repertory theatres have their own regular program, which bring lot of administrative and other work. With focusing on extra project, there is a risk of neglecting the primary theatre purpose. Some institutions do not even have a fundraiser, who could systematically find new sources for international cooperation. Lack of experience with managing the big international projects was also recognised as one of the problem. As respondents said - if there are excellent people working in international management, they usually work in private sphere, which is able to place a bigger monetary value on their work.

5.3 International contacts

Partnership is the key element of the international cooperation. That means that without contacts theatres hardly initiate or take part in international projects. There are ways, how to spread your international address book and make a close relation to foreign institutions - for example being involved in international networks, regular touring, send theatre representatives out for the international conferences and debates. We are not talking about one-time trips though. Good partnership relies on long-term relationship and trust. These kinds of activities require finances and time, which bring us back to financial struggles and human resources.

5.4 Legislative aspects

Cooperation in international space requires familiarity with legal environment. Institution meets with many differences between local, foreign and international rules, mainly with taxation, social and copyrights, visa requirements and others.

There were other areas that complicated the initiation of starting or getting involved in international cooperation. One of the not very often barrier was connected with the level of language skills. Especially older generation, whose second language is Russian, is not able to participate in international projects, where dominant communication language is English. "The opportunities for language learning are rather scarce in smaller places, as well as the opportunities to practise them. This often means their language skills are not as good, and this makes them reluctant to participate in international activities" (SALTHO YOUTH, 2004). Another problem could be fined (especially in Czech environment) in unclear and poorly promoted system of funding opportunities. As research from 2016 showed, many of cultural institution does not know about programmes that could help them to support their international projects, or those programmes are too difficult for understanding (understanding the

rules and conditions, understanding main purpose – what funding programmes support etc.) (Zarodňanská, 2016). At the end, we can also talk about general problem - lack of motivation. While many artists and institutions see big opportunity in international cooperation, some of them do not and rather focus on their local or national programme. This is very common for repertory theatres – as their main purpose is local cultural service (production of Czech theatre plays), some of them basically do not think about international cooperation as something complicated and useless, rather than beneficial.

In order to help theatres overcome these barriers, it is necessary continuously finding good examples and observing their system, so we can set up recommendations and inspire and support repertory theatres into the future international cooperation.

6. Case study – South Bohemian Theatre and international project Platform Shift+

Last part of this article deals with practical demonstration of the international project in the Czech Republic. The aim of this case study is to give an good example and present the goals, form of cooperation and problematic areas already mentioned above.

6.1 South Bohemian Theatre

Theatre is placed in České Budějovice, city in South Bohemia with population of one ninety thousand. The city is residence for many world known Czech enterprises (especially in brewery and food industry), which is the main prominent area, that the city promote outside of its borders. But the city is also the cultural centre of South Bohemia. This is mostly thanks to architecture activities at the beginning of 20th century - city invited eminent Czech architects, who designed nowadays remarkable buildings (České Budějovice, 2017). In these days, city likes to culturally present itself as “City full of life,” slogan of new city cultural strategy. Besides many strategic goals dealing with inner development, local authorities also developed strategy for international cooperation: “International cooperation in order to strengthening cultural sector in the city and increasing competitiveness of the city” (České Budějovice, 2014). City also set the action that need to be taken in order to be internationally active - regular meetings with foreign partners or organising international projects in culture. That is not possible without having a well-established cultural institutions - specifically in the theatre field city register seven theatre buildings and fifteen acting companies performing in these theatres or independently, (also other institutions: three cinemas, thirty galleries, five museums, five cultural centres, thirteen music venues and others).

South Bohemian Theatre is the biggest theatre established in České Budějovice. South Bohemian Theatre is established by the city of České Budějovice, so it belongs to the non-profit public sector. The city founded the theatre with the following purpose: “Preparation and production of theatre performances and other cultural events made by internal or external companies and artists, organisation various cultural and artistic festivals, exhibitions, publishing and printing related materials”

(České Budějovice, 2001).

Building with the main stage served originally as storehouse for local brewery in 18th century. In 1764, local authorities instructed to rebuild this storehouse into small theatre with capacity of 400 spectators. Until 1817, theatre performed the plays only in German language. Theatre “makeover” into South Bohemian Theatre came in 1919. Theatre started the new era by its first Czech performance *Dalibor* by Czech composer Bedřich Smetana. For short time during the II. World War, theatre hosted German company. But since the end of the war, Czech theatre gained the stage again. Since that, the theatre spread from one acting company - drama theatre - to four - drama theatre, opera, ballet and puppet theatre (South Bohemian Theatre, 2017).

In these days, theatre productions are performed in five theatre stages: the main stage of South Bohemian Theatre, studio stage On Loft, Cultural House Metropol, Small Theatre and Revolving Theatre Český Krumlov (summer stage).

6.2 Project Platform Shift+ - introduction and main goal

Even the project Platform Shift+ is not finished yet, it is inspirational example for other Czech repertory theatres, because the existing current outputs are recognised as very positive (by South Bohemian Theatre itself and Czech media as well). Project was supported by European programme Creative Europe (Sub-programme: Culture, Action: Cooperation projects) by 2.000.000 EUR grant in 2014. The basic data about the projects are:

- Starting: 1.11.2014
- Ending: 31.10.2018
- Number of partners: 11 (including project coordinator)
- Number of involved countries: 9 (United Kingdom, Norway, Estonia, France, Czech Republic, Portugal, Hungary, Italy, Germany)
- Project coordinator: Pilot Theatre Limited (European Commission, 2014)

Initial thesis for starting this project is basic: theatre should be current and present (it should reflect current situations). For today’s teenager, social media, digital technologies and digital networks are common part of everyday life. For generation of theatre professionals, it is something they had to learn about during their lives though. Since we can recognise this generation gap, the question for theatre professionals and theatre makers is obvious. How to bring the stories from the world, where these technologies are ordinary? How to bring these stories to teenagers?

The main goal is to recognise new challenges in working with/presenting for teenagers in digital era. The main purpose is not to create performances (even they presented one of the many actions that are planned for the whole project). The goal is to find answers and new methods and techniques in the field of production for young people.

6.3 History of the project

Platform Shift+ is not a new initiative. The origin of the cooperation begun in 2009, when the project

Platform 11+ was launched by 13 theatres from 12 countries. The main aim of this project (funded by EU as well) was to create multi-layered portrait of European youth (age 11-15). Partners created more than 50 productions dealing with topical issues of young generation, organised annual meetings and support youth exchanges and meetings with theatre professionals (Platform 11+, 2009).

In this first phase of the large international cooperation, Czech repertory Theatre Alfa (based in Pilsner) was involved as one of the partners. Thanks to this European project, Alfa created one of the most remarkable international performance FACE ME, Time of Transition, that was prepared and finally presented in International festival of puppet and alternative theatre (annually organised by Theatre Alfa). Also during the period of project Platform 11+, the production of this performance and festival in generally caused enormous increase of foreign guests, participants and spectators (Platform 11+, 2012).

6.4 2014-2018 - actions

Project prepared sophisticated system of international interaction that progress yearly. Partners create theatre productions every year - one of the basic rule is to involve teenagers, schools or other relevant institutions to the process, so they can bring the main topics in their interest relevant to digital technologies and networks. In 2015, theatres presented national productions, in 2016 international coproductions of two institutions, in 2017 they have to create coproduction at minimum of three theatres. Thanks to that, sharing the knowledge and experience is ensured internationally.

Another action involved in Platform Shift+ is Creative Forum that serves for theatre makers and art managers to share knowledge about digital technologies. Through series of intensive presentations and workshops, theatre makers can gain information how to work with modern technologies and incorporate them to the theatre productions. Theatre managers (and other administrative workers) attend Forum as well, so they can learn how to use these technologies for operational processes in theatres.

Annual Encounter is meeting, where partners present their concepts of productions and coproductions.

Finally there is Youth Encounter, international meeting for students full of workshops dealing with theatre and digital technologies. This action is also support by EU program Erasmus+.

6.5 Project from the perspective of South Bohemian Theatre (also SBT)

In early 2017, I had a chance to interview representatives of the theatre, talk about problematic areas and how the theatre deals with them.

Managing the project. One of the biggest advantages is the fact that project Platform Shift+ continue in cooperation after previous project, so the main coordinators are already experienced enough. Even the official coordinator is the UK organisation Theatre Pilot Limited, administrative and operational process is made, controlled and supervised from Germany. This team of experienced managers come

with accurate time-schedule of actions which other partners follow. Still it is not easy for South Bohemian Theatre from the organisational perspective. The most serious problem is planning. This repertory theatre has to plan in advance (1,5 year). So if the international project requires making production and coproductions, the terms as to be set early, otherwise it is not possible to make it. Other trouble is connected with regular theatre programming. The best way how to incorporate productions created under the Platform Shift+, is making them and involving them to the regular theatre repertory. As the first production supposed to be national (project does not required international cooperation first year), the task was easy and South Bohemian Theatre produced the play *Humans of Budějovice*. In second year of project, theatre had to come up with clever idea - how to do international coproduction and still have the play on repertory. The most complicated way is to cooperate with actors (because of their obligation to their own theatre). After discussions with theatres, SBT worked on second theatre piece with London technologist - puppet expert - who helped to prepare the performance.

Financial aspects. SBT has their own budget from the city of České Budějovice that cover costs connected with productions on its repertory. Therefore there is not problem to co-finance these productions/coproductions partially from own sources received by founder. For extra actions (forums etc.) theatre receives money from European funds (Creative Europe, as we mentioned). Other source for co-financing is special program of Ministry of Culture that support international cooperation. As publicly founded and funded theatre, SBT has financial reserves, which can be used for pre-financing.

Legal aspects. The project only integrated artists and institutions from European Union. One of the biggest advantages of the SBT is having opera company. Due to common guest appearances, theatre management and economical department have huge experience with legal and taxation rules valid in European Union.

Human resources. SBT confirmed that being involved in international project is demanding in the case of human resources. Luckily they are able to manage the project with own employees. At the beginning of the project, Tomáš Froyda helped with project implementation. As a former director of Theatre Alfa, which was project partner in previous phase Platform 11+, he had experience with the project already. The rest of the stuff has to learn during the project. But as current theatre director claims, after project will be over, management will be experienced and informed enough to continue in other international cooperation. In his words, everything is learning process and without current experience, theatre would not move forward.

Partnership. Many partners from previous Platform 11+ continued in following project Platform Shift+, therefore they know each other. SBT struggles with being completely new. If the theatre wants to do coproduction, it usually chooses the similar theatres with similar dramaturgy. Both of the partners need to know, that mutual cooperation will be beneficial for them. Before SBT chose the coproduction partner for the second year of the project, they only saw few performances, so it made difficulties with coproduction planning. Otherwise, the system of communication with partners is clear and effective. Twice a year, Advisory Board meeting takes place in one of the partner's cities. These meetings are

important for presenting and solving organisational and operational problems and forthcoming actions. The base of the great communication and cooperation is compliance with mission, tasks and duties, which works for this project. Only reliable partners make the project well-organised.

Final question was not connected with problematic areas of the international project, but the positive impacts that it brings. It is necessary to balance obstacles and hard work with beneficial results. According to head of SBT, big contribution is sharing the knowledge and contacts. Thanks to the project, Czech theatre makers can travel around Europe, visit other theatres and learn from their experiences. At the same time it helps to be aware more about its own position. But there is not just artistic dimension - through workshops and seminars for theatre employees, the project brings new ideas and information from other managerial areas - marketing, business etc. Besides that, the international project increase artistic and media prestige as well. Very specific benefit for the SBT is also eliminating the "regional theatre complex". Regional theatres are connected with paradigm of withdrawn institution, which is active only in an isolated locality. Being involved in the international project lends self-confidence to regional theatre workers and other employees - regional theatre does not have to be close to the words, but it can be internationally recognised institution with various foreign contacts and opportunity to affect national and international theatre field.

7. Conclusion

This article summarises the first part of the research that finishes at the end of 2017. It opens main topics which will be further deeply explored. We can see the importance in observing and promoting good examples. These case studies can help to discover barriers deeply and open some new ones. The task for next few years will be searching for these examples and interviewing managers and directors with all kind of experiences. Final output of doctoral research should set models and techniques, how to easily and successfully manage international cooperation projects in repertory theatres. Also, the future case studies should motivate the theatres in the Czech Republic, so they can clearly see positive impacts that international cooperation can bring them.

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