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The Ecology of Culture:
Community Engagement,
Co-creation and Cross Fertilization

The Ecology of Culture: Community Engagement, Co-creation, Cross Fertilization

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Welcome to *Remote Vilnius*: The guide to Self-Reflection

Alperyte, Irena

Vilnius Academy of Visual Arts and Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre
Vilnius, Lithuania
alperyte@gmail.com

Abstract

Remote Vilnius is a performance created by the company *Rimini Protokol* (Germany) inviting to *escape* from the conventional theatre. Headphones with an artificial voice is giving instructions while you are exploring the city of Vilnius, whereas the musical soundtrack and noise of the city is *acting* as a background. The public explores new territories, while the creators watch the audience being manipulated remotely. The author of the paper is analyzing the feedback of the audience to the artistic material presented in the virtual tour. The qualitative research investigates public responses to the new artistic experience. The period of surveying took place two months in May and June 2015, while 60 performances were demonstrated. The main theories are the impact theories by Bennett and Belfiore, Steven Holzner, and David Throsby. Both quantitative and qualitative research is applied here analyzing the impacts of digital performances on public.

Keywords: virtual performance; digital marketing; ecology and the arts; theatre for young audiences; new media

Introduction

“Welcome to Remote Vilnius. Welcome to the cemetery. Thank you that you came all the way out here to meet me. If it is not wet, lay down on the lawn, if you like. Or sit around the lawn on the small wall. Don’t go too far away. If the signal breaks, go back towards the centre of the lawn until it gets better again. Take your time. Look at the grass, the trees. Here nature is supposed to look natural but it is created by humans. You also grew up in an artificial surrounding. You are also nature, in the end. But sometimes it’s hard to distinguish, what is nature and what man-made.”

This is the greeting text that you hear when you start your journey at the virtual show *Remote Vilnius* (text from the script by Jörg Karrenbauer, courtesy to *Rimini Protokol*).

Remote Vilnius is a performance inviting to ‘escape’ from the conventional theatre. It premiered in 2013 with the project *Remote Berlin*. The project also had its premieres in dozens of cities in Germany, France, Brazil, India and Russia. As it is stated in the promo materials, the audience of the show is bound to see and learn the town of Vilnius with different eyes than usual, wearing the headphones and being a part of a group of 50 people. Headphones with an artificial voice (reminding you a GPS) is giving instructions of what to do, whereas the musical soundtrack and noise of the city is ‘acting’ as a background. Virtual guides bear the names of Rachel and Peter in the original version, and in Vilnius they turn into Aiste and Juozas. The public explores new territories, while the creators watch the audience being manipulated remotely.

1. Theories that support the idea of the impacts of artistic innovations on society

Remote – this was the command that flashed out on the screen, when I turned on my recorder to decipher the interview for this article. I spontaneously smiled at it because virtually all endeavours that we undertake these days seem to be managed remotely.

Frankly, the first impulse to write this article was my encounter with a film “Her” and the voice of Scarlet Johansson. The story of how a real man who knows how to influence people emotionally by writing nice texts

to/for the others falls in love with the female ... IT apps.

The main theories are the impact theories by Bennett and Belfiore (2008: 92); also, the sense of understanding PR campaigns in Steven Holzner's Facebook Marketing concept (Holzner, 2008: 159). In addition, the paper is into the parallels between natural and cultural capital (Throsby & Throsby, 2000: 51).

Pierre Bourdieu says in his *Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*: "Whereas the ideology of charisma regards taste in legitimate culture as a gift of nature, scientific observation shows that cultural needs are the product of upbringing and education: surveys establish that all cultural practices (museum visits, concert-going, reading, etc.), and preferences in literature, painting or music, are closely linked to educational level (measured by qualifications or length of schooling) and secondarily to social origin" (Bourdieu, 1986:1). The idea implies that the audience will always react to artistic endeavours based on their background. We will try to check this via our research. What really matters to us is explained in the other quotation by Bourdieu: "To be able to play the games of culture with the playful seriousness [...], a seriousness without the 'spirit of seriousness', one has to belong to the ranks of those who have been able, not necessarily to make their whole existence a sort of children's game, as artists do, but at least to maintain for a long time, sometimes a whole lifetime, a child's relation to the world. (All children start life as baby bourgeois, in a relation of magical power over others and, through them, over the world, but they grow out of it sooner or later.)" (Bourdieu, 1986: 54).

By exploration of the project offered by *Rimini Protokol*, we are dealing with what the researchers call *terraforming* – "the creation of a liveable habitat on a new and uncharted planet." (Dennis, Larsen, & Macaulay, 2011).

Trying to grasp the modern values of the IT driven artistic products, we need to examine the term of *values*. As O'Brien puts it: The usual way of valuing culture has been through an understanding of its social and economic impact (O'Brien, 2010:16).

Belfiore and Bennet attribute new artistic experiences to the components of the *personal well-being* (Belfiore & Bennet, 2008: 92) and dividing our time into two categories: the times that we *have* and the time that we *do not have*. Using this Gadamer's classification, Belfiore and Bennet want to prove us that art is the way to *fulfil our time* (Belfiore & Bennet, 2008: 97).

Throsby adds: "Cultural capital exists as a source of cultural goods and services which provide benefits both now and in the future. As individuals or as a society, we can allow cultural capital to deteriorate over time, we can maintain it, or we can augment it, in short we can manage it in a way that suits our individual or collective purpose" (Throsby, 2000: 53).

What else can make us humans happy in this digital era? "In a word: friends. That's what social networking is all about. And Facebook excels at connecting users with friends and keeping them in touch. That's a vital need [...]" (Holzner, 2008: 7). And the project *Remote Vilnius* can serve a proof that interaction via Facebook was a successful tool to attract new audiences.

While exploring our audiences, one notion was worrying me – why in Lithuania we are still so vague in using the so called *citizen journalism* (Tremayne, 2007: 240). It is rather vivid in societal issues but seems to be dormant in the field of arts. "Whereas newspaper, television and web media use the journalist as a gatekeeper in the process of selecting and presenting news, in the citizen journalism format the journalist is a 'shepherd' in the process." (Tremayne, 2007: 241). In a way, our survey has been so rich in content that we would have wished the audience to take the public space for sharing their opinion on *Remote Vilnius*.

Also, while doing the research, I was thinking of the *Sirenos* festival Feedback page, because the experiences that people obtain in each year's cultural programme are not documented anywhere, whereas if you take tourism, each object of interest nowadays is striving for visibility (take examples from booking.com or other portals that are public rating sensitive) and it's linked to many other sites of interest. "Content is not the real change ushered in by the Web. The Web content itself is not remarkably different from what you can

read in books, magazines or newspapers. What does differ is the ease with which surfers can move from one piece of content to the next – that's the power of links" (Moran & Hunt, 2009: 338).

Probably the last aspect I wished to touch upon in the theoretical review was the immediacy (Leboff, 2011: 166). The link between the theatre festival and the media agency seemed to me rather under-developed, as I felt that more attention should be paid to PR while promoting your artistic products. "The most important aspect for a company is its ability to solve issues and enhance people's situation, 'in the moment' (Leboff, 2011:167).

2. The *Rimini Protokol's* creations – a new trend or just an experiment?

In this article I will quote some ideas from the interview with theatre manager Rimantas Ribaciauskas, the Vergil who was a physical guide at all the tours of *Remote Vilnius*. He was responsible for the physical logistics of the virtual happenings – so that actions and text match for the audience of the show.

I.A. After deeper studying of the artworks by *Rimini Protokol*, would you agree that the crew are interested in the reality deconstructed and made up to the theatrical pieces anew?

R.R. Director Stephan Kaegi's background is journalism. And this determines the way he creates. One of my friends calls this theatre the supreme example of journalism. Regarding de-construction, what do you exactly mean?

I.A. Well, our illusions, for instance, that everything that you see on the news is true. It's unquestioned. But I propose that it is rather a product of communication than identically depicted reality. In the case of Kaegi it seems that he does not allow you to trust the communication product. In the contrary: he deconstructs it, saying – *take the headset. Do this and that*. As we have learned at theatre direction class – the life does not have a genre. It only becomes the genre by the will of the artist.

R.R. I would just say that Stephan's approach is a very intimate attitude towards the issue he is analyzing. And then as a result – theatre making.

I.A. Let me remind you American documentarist Michael Moore's attitude – he is initially 'infuriated. And his journalism is angry. He is also doing something weird. I saw something similar in Kaegi's *Sabenation*.

R.R. True. It was in car manufacturing company where the only way to get to the shareholders meeting was to buy some shares. So they bought a portion to each spectator, and this led them to get inside. Indeed, they have a dose of hooliganism, and Stephan as personality himself is rather a hooligan. However this all hides his willingness to approach a human. And his all artworks are soaked with this passion.

I.A. Coming back to the research I am glad to state that people feel that they are doing the serious deed by responding to the questionnaire. With rather small negativity, most of the spectators are very receptive. For instance, their initial reluctance and then increasing involvement into the show. Or irritation regarding the orders to watch the other or the feeling of being watched. Or that they did not like to dance in the Cathedral square. What is the most promising that the majority said that they experienced something new. Especially precious were the responses that people have found something new in themselves.

R.R. I think that people wearing those headsets during the show feel a certain conspiracy scent. Firstly, because nobody can hear what you hear in the

headphones; secondly, you belong to a certain team. Then you are teasing the environment in some extent. Besides, nobody from the outside has a clear understanding what is going on. That is why they enjoy the show. For the joy of discovering something new, I think that all good artworks help to discover yourself. To me, this project is not about self-discovery. To me, it is about a human and technologies. I recall the case in the US when a man slid down to the ditch because instead of watching the road he was studying his GPS, whereas the GPS did not know that a part of the road was under construction. But other people conceive the show as you described – as one of our literary authors Ilze Butkute called it a *pilgrimage to yourself*.

I.A. I think that IT in Kaegi's works are employed really skillfully. Aren't they?

R.R. While being a supporter of the symbiosis of the performativity and technology, but to visit a performance by let us say Krystian Lupa is a real treat. Because the technologies can both impress you and devastate. And the whole stream of technologies (I wrote about it in my Master thesis) will lose against the theatre because theatre now becomes a place of rest and escape from the speed and stream.

I.A. What is the feeling to lead people's group as Stalker to the Zone in Tarkovsky's movie *Stalker*?

R.R. I am keeping my records. As you can recall, we first demonstrated the show during the festival *Sirenos 2014*. Then we had 20 sessions. I had them all alone. The rest 60 times I had a substitute with whom we switch. This time he had 40 times and I had 20. Including the rehearsals. How does it feel? It is very exciting to watch the groups, although I get a bit exhausted of constant surveillance whether people are not having any problems like broken receiver. It's a special tension to be constantly alert. But I am enjoying it.

I.A. Were there any unexpected incidents?

R.R. Many things happen. Sometimes we have certain 'separatists' who are walking aside from the group and not following the voice orders. It is difficult to guess whether they are doing this consciously or not. There were people who disconnected all the equipment and returned it all. It often happens in the Cathedral square. However, a lot of positive reactions happen. People are clapping, shout during the *rally*, when you realize that they are totally into it.

I.A. What do you think is the future of this project? Where will it go further?

R.R. As for myself, I was interested in this back to the time when I was doing my Masters. It was an audio – tour *When Trinity talks* (it was a tour over the Trinity campus). I studied Digital Media at Dublin University. There were four of us and we did the campus tour telling various fictional stories. My Masters was under the title *The future of the theatre in the face of digital technologies*. At the moment I am working on the project of the Vilna ghetto, arranging the audio-tour in the Vilna ghetto. But this will be designed for individual visitors. Audio-tours are not novelty nowadays. Berlin has its B-tours. The success of the Lithuanian project has shown that there is potential and the target audience to continue with the projects like this. I think however that there are more inventions to discover, including hologram spectacles, virtual reality etc.

I.A. You mentioned the word *rehearsal*. How do you rehearse this kind of a

show?

R.R. We just walk through the list of the locations. There is me and the three guides and they have Mp3 recorders. Each scene is divided into tracks. When we approach a certain point, we push a button, then the *fade* function switches on so that the text would keep its integrity, which is not the case in reality. And the guides are switching the files of the scenes.

I.A. So the guide is constantly on his way? Is there any common *centre*?

R.R. Everything is in real time. As you might have noticed, there are three guides, and at certain point they divide the audience into three groups. This is the essence of the rehearsals. It was also a part of logistic when some person was visiting the locations by the car and unlocking all the gates, and they locking them again, after that seeing what the situation at tennis courts is and whether there is no control in the transport. We called them scouts. Later we agreed to the City Transit office that controllers do not inspect the trolley buses when they see our project. You can imagine that it is physically impossible to swipe 50 ticket cards.

I.A. The guide names are Rachel and Peter in English version, and Aiste and Juozas in the Lithuanian version. It would be interesting to compare the English speaking and the Lithuanian speaking guides. Whether the comprehension is identical. By the way, I know that the Lithuanian tracks are recorded by the Lithuanian actors. How about Rachel and Peter?

R.R. With Rachel and Peter is a bit different. *Remote* is using the program *Text to Speech* which is designed for the blind. It works the following way: you enter the text, and the voice animates it. Just like in Google. When *Rimini Protokol* came to Lithuania, we failed to find a proper *Text to Speech* program, but luckily we contacted Vilnius University scientist and by that time their program *Liepa* was developed. Four people were given their voices to this project. The scientist created a successful algorithm that transfers text into sound and back. It happily coincided that the program was nearly finished when our project started, so they shared the program with us. I had the script on my PC, and was just manipulating it with the help of the program. The most exciting moment for me was when the voice actress came to me and listened to her own voice. She was absolutely out of control over her own voice and was only gasping out of surprise and shock when was listening to herself, because all the powers of the text were in my hands.

I.A. Let's put aside the technologies. Don't you find that these days the artistic projects tremendously advance in their quality, but the promotion or marketing techniques tend to lag behind the artistic novelty? For instance, having this absolutely innovative webi-formance, the sales campaign was conducted only via the portal *Tiketa* and Facebook account. The marketing technique then needs to be as innovative as the show.

R.R. The National Drama theatre has a special person for PR, and among her responsibilities is the virtual media campaigns. For the *Sirenos* the specificity of the festival determines the way of communication. I am absolutely amazed by Google Adwords and Facebook, if we take their general experience. I agree that marketing needs separate attention. Media agencies exist for this particular

purpose. The agency *Inspired* which supports *Sirenos* is rather efficient. Probably there are some gaps in management of the communication process.

I.A. I have heard that this show has been a unique financial success. A championing sales campaign. Is that so? The ticket cost 17 Euros!

R.R. I would also add *Expulsion* by Korsunovas. It also sells very well. However, I agree that this project generated great financial assets. Both to the 'Sirenos' and the National Drama Theatre. I think a lot of success was reaped by good preparation in the autumn during the trial shows.

I.A. Is 'Rimini Protokol' happy with *Remote Vilnius*?

R.R. Well, when you have done over 20 productions, naturally some of them are more successful and the other are not so fun. The coming project is *Remote Abu Dhabi*. The success of the *Remote* is because of the unity of the content and format. They become inseparable.

I.A. Any plans to expand the audience? Something for kids? For instance, one author complained that he wasn't able to call up their kids being in the same house for lunch. And he once realized the solution – he texted them. They gathered for the lunch immediately! Maybe the format also matters?

R.R. We have won the grant for theatre tours that are called *Mondays in the theatre*. Probably those the most active would be children.

I.A. Oh, those theatrical tours. One of them was magic to me, too. The theatre stage manager asked the kids whether they know where the titles of the whole stage equipment came from? And when the kids replied to not knowing this he said - *from the boat*. It was disclosed to us that marine navigation is where the theatre stage utensils got the names from because theatre stage hands had to come from other crafts than theatre.

R.R. This is why I would not give the future to the virtual interaction. I would not like to fetishize this. I believe in 'real' theatre.

3. The feedback of the public after the show

"You came to understand me. I will try to understand you. You weigh between 25 and 120 kilos. You are between 1.2 and 2 meters tall. You are between 8 and 100 years old. Your I.Q. Is between 70 and 160. Close your eyes now and imagine who I am. My name is Rachel [...]" (text from the script by Jörg Karrenbauer, courtesy to 'Rimini Protokol')

So who is the audience and how would they react to the show? The paper applied both quantitative and qualitative research to learn that. A total of number of 100 on-line respondents gave their insights to the open-ended questions concerning the content and popularity of the show.

In addition, series of the in-depth interviews was conducted analyzing the impacts of digital performances.

The author of the paper has been analyzing the feedback of the audience to the artistic material presented in the virtual tour. The questionnaire was established and spread through the audience mainly via the portal *anketa.it*. The period of surveying took place two months in May and June 2015, while 60 performances were demonstrated.

The response that struck author's highest attention was the following: "I learned a lot of new things about Vilnius, but they were rather my own thoughts and psychological state than anything else."

To just comment on what we did, the author of the paper has been interested in the way of how the show was reaching its artistic goals and later - visibility, and what the outcomes of this new trend might be.

Table 1. The questions and most remarkable answers to them published online at portal 'anketa.lt'

RESPONSES TO Question 1	How you accepted a virtual guidance by the guides? How do you take their guidance? Please comment.
No 4	Awesome. It's like your inner voice, only this time it's not you who is managing it, but at the same time you realize that you are not managing yours.
No 5	It was uncomfortable at first, and I did not want to listen, but then I accepted the rules of the game, and since then it became interesting.
No 6	Pleasant. It was weird that although you realize that someone is leading you, but tend to obey.
No 11	Hypnotic
No 24	Initially, the guide was a bit hard to accept; I did not want to succumb to the influence, and wanted to be like some kind of "anarchist", who creates own rules. But then a voice, telling orders became increasingly closer and cuter. It caused different feelings, but mostly I was dominated by curiosity, what will happen next and a bit of a fear of the unknown.
No 34	I was pleasantly surprised by the calculated precision towards the objects, e.g. waiting at traffic lights.
No 35	For me it was not a <i>guidance</i> and not <i>conduct</i> but rather manifestation of some of my own ideas, expressed by somebody else's voice. Ideas that rest in me, but I not always find time to listen to them.
No 38	It was great that there was a living leader whom you were able to follow and recognize.
No 39	Amazingly, I found myself being an excellent <i>working tool</i> - I had no restraints, issues, doubts or extraneous thoughts to be able to obey to the orders. Apparently, it's all thanks to the hypnotizing voice that causes full confidence. Strangely enough, with the headset I felt invisible. As if I were a ghost, an invisible performance participant, capable together with me leading voice to look and watch the performance and the players fully from the inside.
No 49	At times I felt as if I were an actress myself.
No 55	Virtual tour guides very quickly became an integral part of the journey. Especially, Aiste. Her voice and the manner of speech (mechanical, robotic) was very persuasive. With great mastery she flushed away all my past thoughts (everyday problems and work), which allowed to concentrate only on what she said. Aiste's transformation into a guy made me a bit confused, but I did not feel rejection. Rather on the contrary, her exit was like another proof that things are changing and that it is impossible to live in the past and should not be. That moment, when Aiste changed, it was a <i>superb idea</i> . It was one of the best moments in the show. It was very touching.

No 66	Super solution. I am still thinking, whether our virtual guide was not somewhere near us and questioned the fact that everything was entered only by the GPS location (I doubt it, because the deviation would have been too high), such as traffic lights turning green. Since the virtual guide asked a lot of questions, I got very curious about how things really went precisely. To the virtual guide – my 100 points. As the girl's voice was very gentle, sometimes it seemed to me that this my inner voice speaks.
No 81	Knowing that I was going to have a walk around Vilnius with headphones (just as much as I knew), I expected to have the guide. However, I never expected that the guide would make me think. The variety of different feelings came – I burst in laughter, then in tears, and sometimes felt anxiety.

RESPONSES TO Question 2	What parts of the guides' texts were of particular sensitivity?
No 6	When it comes to death and transience.
No 8	That we all were in a herd, a gang of people
No 16	From the outset, at the cemetery, where we had to be alone; then in the hospital, with a sharp smell of drugs.
No 20	When I was asked <i>what if I told you, or would you do that for me?</i>
No 29	Near Sapieha hospital, when I stood in front of the mirror, the guide's words about who will be the first for the cancer, or would need a wheelchair.
No 30	The concept of the gang, and the group that does not want to be a group.
No 31	The text did not touch me.
No 42	The texts mostly affected me at the beginning by the guide asking questions about our being, about the body, existence and what will remain after our death. Later, during the journey these issues rose again.
No 45	First words: <i>Thank you very much for coming to me</i> , because it was a graveyard, so I thought this to be the voice of a dead person.
No 60	There are no specific passages that touched me the most. By nature I am an observer, so I really liked when Aiste and Juozas told us to look at other people into their eyes and to see their body language. Every person has a story. I like the one that is deeply hidden, because it is usually sad. Sad things attract because most of the events, occurrences in life shape you as a person. Particularly charming was to watch people when they were discovering the burnt house, which once the family lived, and the children played in the yard.
No 63	Persistently asked question: <i>do you trust me?</i>

No 74	Somehow it in that place, when we were told to go to the sidewalk and to choose one side of the street the guide commented that everyone chooses a way that they want [...]
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RESPONSES TO Question 3	What were the "guided tour" points you were particularly affected by? Please share.
No 5	Hospital. Trolleybus. Cathedral Square. Theatre roof. The strongest impression - hospital.
No 10	The running. It particularly stirred me.
No 20	The whole action took place in the Cathedral Square - where the mundane was proven to be a real theatre.
No 29	The simulation rally, and dance at the Cathedral Square.
No 32	the smell of Hospital and of the corridors of Lithuanian National Drama Theatre
No 34	The mirror close to the hospitals (then some intimacy and the 'gang' togetherness emerged), the ride on the trolley-bus and the scene at the Cathedral Square, where the passers-by were the actors in the beginning and then the participants became actors.
No 37	The cemetery, hospital and burnt house. Made aware of the transience of life and joy of what you have.
No 39	Moment of the mirror signpost. The ability to look at all the different crowd at the same time and without any diplomatic niceties and courtesies contemplate the immediate scenario of these people's possible fate.
No 40	A lot of fun it was to see the Drama Theatre and Vilnius from the roof. A special view :)
No 43	Hospital. As long as we were going through it, I felt shivers.
No 47	Cemetery. Also, when we looked at each other to guess - who is the first to develop cancer?
No 54	The spectator's and the actor's roles at the Cathedral Square.
No 59	The cemetery, I saw it from a different point, and the hospital, because recently my dad was there.
No 60	Mostly – the burned house. Especially, the moment where Aiste tells us about the children who were playing in the yard. In addition, a tennis court and a wave scene - sometimes I think that it is regrettable that we are not able celebrate each other's successes and achievements. Happiness must be build and one should not wait for it. The same feeling found me sitting at the Cathedral square. I smiled when I had to applaud. I wanted to not just stand up but also shout. What an awful lot of added value have we developed to people - everyone was happy, even swirling a finger to the friend's head.

RESPONSES TO Question 4	What uncomfortable moments during the tour stroke your attention?
No 5	When everyone stood at the mirror signpost, and I and another couple of people got an 'earlier' signal to go to a hospital inside. This was the feeling that there is somebody who indeed is specifically communicating with me [...]
No 6	None of them. Throughout the tour I felt really well as a team, exclusive from the other groups of people, because of ability to hear what others cannot hear, and that they are <i>tortured</i> by the curiosity to find out what and why these people are doing.
No 8	Going inside the hospital, the wheelchair row, and the fear that I will see the sick.
No 14	The very beginning in the cemetery.
No 20	It was fun when we started to move along the Park and the Cathedral Square, where passers-by reacted differently to our raised hands, walking backwards and so on. Good to be <i>an actress</i> .
No 33	My mood was totally different, so all the text was annoying and <i>depressive</i> .
No 35	I felt uncomfortable during the rally in the shoes of participant.
No 37	Maybe the mirror was a bit confusing while in the yard of Sapieha hospital. And the command to take photos.
No 38	Burnt-out house, the smell of the hospital medicines.
No 40	It rained heavily, and seemed that we lost part of the fun. And it was even more annoying because of the negative content during the performance.
No 50	Rally. I need to firmly believe in the message which is sent in rallies, otherwise - it's not me!
No 60	Even if they were, I do not want to mention them. I expected for the tour to be the threshold to step over. I managed: I did everything they ordered. And all other reactions caused a sincere smile to me.
No 63	When Aiste slowly turns into Juozas.
No 64	Not very comfortable feeling waving for those departing by the trolley, and also dances in the Cathedral Square.
No 66	Request to imagine our tomb and the thoughts on how we will end our existence, thoughts of us being controlled by the machines and systems - these mainly caused discomfort and unwillingness to ever think of this. Most of the actions to be carried out and which we do not always do: dance in public, participate in the parade.
No 77	I cannot run, so when everyone ran, I just walked, I was not ready for this, and I felt really uncomfortable.

No 83	The trolleybus. :) In fact the decker trolley arrived, whereas the guide said the opposite :) All the other 'uncomfortable' texts were rather comfortable to me: I am a writer myself and I write much more uncomfortable texts :)
No 89	Trolley ride - I was thinking, if control officers would board, after all, I do not have a ticket :)

RESPONSES TO Question 5	What were the moments highly hitting your inner state?
No 5	Hospital. Corridors. Smell. Trolleys at the walls. Foreboding of sickness and death.
No 6	It's hard to say, but the appropriate music contributed a lot to enhance the experience. And I especially liked the environmental sounds adapted to the set, because they compelled us to feel confused and wonder whether it is a natural or a headphone volume.
No 11	In the cemetery.
No 13	Moments at the cemetery, the hospital, the burnt house.
No 15	Trolleys, hospital, cemetery
No 16	Peaceful sitting on a lawn or at the Cathedral Square.
No 17	The gang [...]
No 19	The rally :)
No 26	I enjoyed watching the 'performance' at the Cathedral Square. It was a good feeling to empathize and believe that everything around is just acting, and that there are other people who act for us on purpose.
No 31	Looking at people and thinking, what they are and what they do.
No 34	The <i>tombstone choice</i> ; also, the mirror. And the end – <i>everything will vanish like the smoke</i> .
No 35	Great fun was riding a trolleybus: fun music, and I wanted the whole trolley could feel our attendee's status.
No 39	The day before I was at the funeral, a very important person to me unexpectedly died. Therefore, moments at the cemetery, the hospital and the combustion of the house was extremely accurate, although, in some cases, painful.
No 40	River metaphor as a whole.
No 43	Almost the entire tour, I felt that everything that is being said over the headphones describes what I have already contemplated some time ago.
No 45	When Juozas commanded to me to show the finger to my husband :)
No 48	I could not pick out individual moments, but it made a very strong impact on the whole. After the tour it

No 52	took several hours for me to recover. Mostly, I think, I liked the scene on the roof of the Theatre and at the Cathedral, when we watched the people as if they were actors.
No 62	I often think about how it will be when I am away, so when the performance started, it was particularly interesting.
No 82	One of my biggest fears is of losing my loved ones, so watching in the mirror and all the crowd seen behind and thinking whose turn is the first to for the grave was really uncomfortable.
No 83	I enjoyed talking about the old age, sport, cramped spaces. In general, all the text was very close to me.

RESPONSES TO Question 6	What did you learn about Vilnius that was new to you during the tour?
No 11	I first climbed onto the roof of the Drama theater, and loved it.
No 12	I learned a little about the city of Vilnius itself, because I have known those places (except maybe the interior of the hospital). But I learned that there are opportunities in Vilnius on how to create stories, experiences, myths and mysteries in the city and that Vilnius is excellent for this.
No 18	I've never been in particular places of Antakalnis that we visited, including the hospital.
No 20	What the theater backstage, stage, roof look like, and the first time that I was in Antakalnis cemetery.
No 22	I have been in places where I had never been before - in the cemetery, a hospital, a tennis court, inside the theater and the roof.
No 25	I learned that I do not know the city.
No 30	That in the unexpected places there are always gates awaiting to be opened by someone.
No 32	Since I live in Antakalnis, the beginning for me was a little bit disappointing, but I had not been to corridors of Sapieha hospital, which was an absolute Twin Peaks exemplified.
No 35	I learned that Vilnius is not only a city, but it's a big theatre, a big stage.
No 43	I learned a lot, however not about Vilnius, but rather my own thoughts and psychological state.
No 46	How beautiful Antakalnis cemetery is; how gloomy Sapieha hospital is; how people are watching others behaving <i>strangely and inexplicably</i> .
No 50	Vilnius is fabulously spacious, although it is far not New York or Moscow.
No 55	Antakalnis cemetery! The new lanes! I saw that I can be dissolved in Vilnius, that it can be calm, quiet, and cozy here. I have always loved Vilnius

No 59	before, but I saw it as a noisy and ever seeing city where you cannot hide or stay unnoticed.
No 67	I saw my town as if with completely different eyes – seemingly familiar places, but I saw them in a new way - both Cemetery, the river, and the Cathedral Square.
No 77	I realized that riding a public trolleybus can be fun.
No 84	I learned that the people are friendly adopts the group of weirdos waiting at the bus stop, rallying with some strange objects above their heads, walking backwards and dancing at the Cathedral Square.
No 87	I have even more realized how great, comfortable and versatile city Vilnius is.
	New? Everything is more or less familiar. I realized that the chosen format of those performances about Vilnius has many <i>materials</i> .

RESPONSES TO Question 7	What did you learn about yourself?
No 8	That it is easier to do something freer, when someone is commanding, because then you know that you were told to do so. Without this regulation I would hardly have felt upon freely while dancing at the Cathedral Square.
No 10	That I can do all sorts of things; that we are untreatable with the herd. I knew it before, but there was a solely different space and unfamiliar strangers. The experiment succeeded.
No 12	This is not new, but I realized that even though I know how it is technologically designed, but to me it still works. As for the self-analysis and self-reflection, and analysis of society I am practicing this every day. There was a great laboratory to ascertain the validity of hypotheses. Ha.
No 13	I realized my own humanity.
No 17	That I would prefer somebody would think for me.
No 19	It's hard to be a part of the gang.
No 21	I like to be in a gang :)
No 24	I met with several of my fears that I have overcome during the Remote Vilnius; I also realized that I am an individualist, and I prefer to do things alone, but if in a group, I prefer when it is headed by someone, but not when it comes to manage the group by myself.
No 25	I do not know that myself.
No 29	In fact, during the event because of the variety of the visual material and continuous narrative of the guide, it was hard to take the time for self-analysis.
No 30	At what ease in everyday situations I hide my own fears.

No 31	I like experimental theatre.
No 34	I realized that I am not afraid of death :)
No 35	I've learned that my life is going in the right direction and this gives courage.
No 42	Unexpected was how good I felt being with the strangers' gang, while walking in one step according to the rhythm of music, and doing things that surprised passers-by and made them smile. I realized that to do something unusual is endless fun.
No 48	I'm afraid of losing humanity, so I responded to myself that my salvation is love. I think, no one can take it from a human, and any artificial intelligence is capable of it.
No 50	I appeared to be still a rebel. The human is not substantially altered, no matter how old he is, or whatever experiences he has gone through. The essential, fundamental traits do not disappear.
No 51	That I am not very thoughtful about what remains after the death of us.
No 54	I'm part of a stupid herd whatever I do not like it.
No 56	I am not a gang man.
No 58	I am one of the million <i>droplets</i> ; and this is like a reminder of how things are temporary.
No 60	I realized that if necessary, I can do quite a lot of things. I confirmed to myself that I'm more artistic person, a dreamer, a developer, rather than what I am by profession. Although on the whole I would eagerly consider myself a fairly versatile young man. I am a strong personality, and I can really fight for myself, and not to be ashamed to do things that are out of context.
No 66	It turns out that I know the city of Vilnius very well! I never thought so. What else is new that I learned about myself: that I like to go to the front of the crowd, I hate to lag behind, or be in the middle; I do not like the word <i>herd</i> , and I prefer <i>gang</i> , or at least superficial sense of being exclusive. I do not know whether it's new, what I learned, but I really felt that while this project was running. By the way, it appears that I have a great respect for the cyclists, because I did not cross their paths, whereas the <i>herd</i> was doing this and the most of the residents of Vilnius are doing.
No 75	I like to be a herd, I like to listen.
No 76	I am afraid a lot of hospitals.
No 83	I've learned [...] well, maybe I was reminded that I am no longer so young :) Together with a friend we were the oldest in the audience :)
No 84	I'm not accustomed to thinking about death.
No 86	Although I came to the show being full of doubts, because I got a ticket as a birthday gift and I thought that I would rather stay in the theatre hall

No 89	but after everything I'd experienced I'd be happy to attend another performance. I can dance in the middle of the Cathedral Square :)
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RESPONSES TO Question 8	What would you like to say to the project developers - comments, requests and other thoughts?
No 4	It should be noted that very little is known about the <i>Remote Vilnius</i> . I liked people's reactions, who see the herd's procession with headphones through the city, their crazy actions and look confused and embarrassed [...]
No 5	I wanted a more interesting and deeper text. For me, this project does not seem complete, there is more emphasis on format, not content.
No 8	I would like more contact with outsider people who do not participate in the play. The most interesting place was when we had to watch the others, or just to do something, to call their attention. I would want more regulation, on what to do. I think that would make people feel freer and climb over their fears.
No 9	This is a great idea to make such trips, but they might be more positive. (Not about death, cancer and diseases anymore).
No 10	I liked it very much. In the end I would really wish to take off by the rocket, but I can understand the budgetary constraints.
No 11	I liked the <i>sound track</i> very much.
No 12	To create further. To think how it can grow, develop and change. Just not leave it. All they are doing is well. Maybe it could be more tied to the city itself and the specific objects with specific historical or maybe fictional stories and narratives.
No 16	It seems to me, that it has maintained a good proportion between the existential and entertainment. Anyway, it is an original installation, especially because Lithuania lacks this kind of site-specific performances.
No 24	I would like to thank you for an excellent experience and highly praise for the excellent knowledge of human psychology and the knowledge of how psychology could be employed so that the viewer can be immersed into a strange dream.
No 25	Fabulous idea.
No 26	I want more of these performances, and experiences. Vilnius and Lithuania generally lacks the event of this kind.
No 28	The artist creates, and what is has to do with my wishes. After all, we do not give advice to Korsunovas on how to direct? Another silly question.
No 31	Stereo sound was great. An airplane that is non-existent. The dog barking that does not exist.

	Comments on the tennis court, which are not pronounced. I would love that there were more of those 'notes'. They are stunning, puzzling, worrying - and expand the imagination, make one wonder.
No 32	I was skeptical, but after the first instructions on headphones I changed my mind. The scene on the roof of the drama theatre caused a feeling of complete euphoria.
No 34	It is a great project. The only note - to write on the ticket, that the audience would wear comfortable shoes.
No 36	20 years ago, when I was 40, I organized school excursions and invited guests on the roof of a building in the center of Kaunas to feel what our guide invited us to feel. He was called Juozas (my name is Juozas, too).
No 40	A very strong and very interesting format, but the content was filled with totally negative emotions, no brightness but only complete depressive stuff. We failed to understand for we paid so huge money.
No 46	Super project, which allows not only see the city anew, but also to look at yourself in different eyes.
No 48	A very interesting and unexpected project, a very clear message that we are just puppets. If we never think of and only rejoice the achievements of civilization, we can lose ourselves.
No 50	An interesting experience. I felt that it was a very gentle attempt to get out of the <i>comfort zone</i> and to bring the viewers out of it. I welcome such initiatives.
No 54	I have read that the access to the church was denied for the project. This is what we lacked.
No 60	I think the honest answers to the questions showed that your project really had an impact on me :) I am very happy that there were such an opportunity to participate in this project, and take a walk together. The interesting thing is that after the event, when it was necessary to withdraw the deposit, and a woman with whom we were a group and we showed the middle finger on the Cathedral Square, said that it was a pleasure to meet me, and <i>hope to see you soon</i> . As if those words told by Juozas to the team that there will be two people you will remember, and you will want to take their phone number came true. So far, I recall two faces and I would like to communicate with them in the future. Well done!
No 66	Repeat the cycle of events! Give more actions / tasks go out from the comfort state, ask more compromising questions. The more undiscovered places the visitor can discover - the more you feel the value received, and that is very important!
No 73	I lacked of adrenaline.
No 78	More performances that more people could experience it! At one time I thought that at the end

No 80	<p>of the show I would have liked to get familiarized with the voices :) It still might be fun to get some photos from the show, I still want to somehow perpetuate this even though only being on the roof I raised a hand to make a picture: during the time of the whole performance I did not want to interfere with the others and myself. But if somebody could monitor this from aside, it could be cool :)</p> <p>The end of the performance was too weakly tied up with the whole spectacle. Also we would have liked to have more such pieces as a dance or a rally at the Cathedral Square. Very pleased to have been a "gang" of 50 people. This made it possible to feel courageous, freer and watch other people.</p>
No 90	<p>Thank you. Maybe on the topics. Touched just a few. Maybe something can be to look onto deeper. For example, human kindness/awareness/egoism.</p>
No 91	<p>Stop the creations like this.</p>

RESOUNSES TO Question 9	Do you think that other similar projects would be popular in Lithuania?
79 out of 100 responses	yes
No 6	<p>I think so, because I perceived the project with great interest. New things, new experiences are always interesting and attractive because of their uniqueness.</p>
No 10	<p>The second time perhaps would have different expectations and the standard would be raised considerably higher, however, with a meaningful follow-up including questions of existence, and ties to a geographical feature, I would try the second time.</p>
No 21	<p>I think so. This is a new and really interesting idea, but it should improve over the time because there is still a lot of untapped potential in this format.</p>
No 32	<p>It would be the case, but the text is really important.</p>
No 34	<p>I think, it went really well, but the project needs more advertising. Even the people who already came to this performance, were surprised that they will need to <i>walk by themselves</i> (non-static)</p>
No 36	<p>I think that for most people: regardless their age, professions, religious and philosophical attitudes, it would be a good idea to try it. Whether it would be popular - I do not know, but it would be highly recommended.</p>
No 42	<p>I think that projects of this kind would undoubtedly find their audience and the circle of loyal fans, so not to do the similar job would be just a sin :)</p>
No 43	<p>Once experienced you still want more and more.</p>
No 48	<p>I think so. It's exciting, touching, and thought provoking.</p>
No 49	<p>Definitely. People are looking for new experiences.</p>

No 51	I think that it would be really popular, the evidence is this project's popularity.
No 60	I learned about your project quite unexpectedly – a girlfriend of mine has told me about it. Previously to that I saw a lot of advertising on the project, but from the posters and promotional material I made the conclusion that this event is designed for IT professionals. After the weekend, when a friend of mine told me about the project, I investigated further on it. I realized that all tickets were gone, but there was a great opportunity that one company had a spare ticket, so I grabbed it. Excellent investment.
No 66	Interactive entertainment is still an untapped niche these days, and people's need for such alternative theater / entertainment, seems to be significant.
No 78	Definitely, I think people are looking for non-traditional projects. Plus it's not just a trip to yourself, but also the other way to get to know their beloved city.
No 80	Absolutely. Because it is a completely new and non-experienced way to get to know the city and yourself.
No 81	Definitely yes! I am already looking forward to other projects!
No 87	I think so, but I suspect that the audience's needs will be different in Vilnius and let us say Siauliai.

RESPONSES TO Question 10	In what else location you would love to see the project similar to <i>Remote X</i> ?
No 6	Druskininkai (resort in Lithuania), because it's my hometown, and it would be fun to see how the project would affect me in a city like this.
No 7	Rome
No 8	Bergen
No 9	Palanga, Klaipeda, Nida (seaside of Lithuania)
No 11	Kaunas
No 11	I wish I could have the opportunity to walk along the way in every city. Depends on the context [...] it would be interesting both in Chernobyl, and Kaunas (Lithuania).
No 14	In all major Lithuanian cities. It would be a great opportunity to become acquainted with other cities and see the unexpected and <i>un-popular</i> places of the city :) Good luck.
No 16	Riga, Tallinn, Warsaw
No 18	Sidney
No 19	Lithuania? Any lesser town.
No 21	In fact, it does not really have a difference. In Vilnius I would be happy with the new route. Myself I am from Trakai (first capital of Lithuania), so it

	would be interesting if there were something to happen.
No 22	It would depend on the ability to travel to the city, but I think there are some interesting things in any city.
No 24	Paris
No 31	Gdansk
No 41	Scandinavian capitals.
No 43	It does not matter. I would visit it again in Vilnius, only with a different route.
No 52	London
No 54	In some small, downtrodden, but distinctively Lithuanian town.
No 60	All possible. The most important thing is not to see the area where you have /or have not been, but the message. I would repeat myself - there is no difference, I would explore all locations.
No 63	This is not the city that matters.
No 69	The well-developed (format) - even in Pagegiai (edge of Lithuania). For the well-developed and not artificial scenario the city is not so important.
No 74	You would not believe this, but in our family there was a discussion to celebrate husband's birthday this way because the daughter had seen the project and wanted to take away a bus from Kaunas for the group of 26 people, buy the tickets to the tour, and then have after-coffee at the Kempinski hotel, but eventually we gave up because of the weather and the threat of being misunderstood.
No 76	Barcelona
No 77	Not so easy to go to another city.
No 78	I think that Kaunas has many interesting and yet undiscovered spaces. On the beach also there can be quite interesting, and the show maybe more focused on nature and its relationship with the man.
No 82	It would be interesting to see my own city (Elektrenai, town of power plant, Lithuania) with different eyes.
No 85	Visaginas (town of former power plant, Lithuania)
No 87	The more terrifying place, the better [...]

4. The interpretation of the on-line research results

An interesting fact is that a rather limited media, including the event ticket sales portal *Tiketa* and the Facebook account, promoted the performance otherwise owned by the Theatre festival *Sirenos*.

The main tool allowing us to learn the feedback of the audience was the online survey. We examined 100 answers, 95 of which were valid. The results turned out to be rather optimistic. The artistic content of the show was mainly accepted by the audience. 79 out of 100 responders stated that they would recommend a similar production to the others. Also, the technological side (the tour being guided with the help of the virtual voice) was in general welcomed and, if confusion ever appeared, it only was the case in the very beginning

of the show. What is also important is the fact that thematically the content identified special target groups of attendees. Some of them – hypothetically, the younger ones – avoided gloomy topics like death or hospital; whereas the rest of the spectators – also hypothetically – more mature, welcomed the existential challenges of the script, provoking to discuss more *uncomfortable* issues.

The technological side of the show was the least uncomfortable to the spectators – a very small number of them complained of the headset being a drag. In general, the show was welcomed by the Lithuanian public and has a great potential for growth.

Below you can see the title page of the survey (Figure 1).

Now, when the new theatrical season has begun and the *Sirenos 2015* have started, we can summarize our experience.

While writing these notes, I have visited Pere Lachaise cemetery in Paris. I was really astounded to see the groups of people with their smartphones exploring the tombstones of the celebrities. I was a bit upset that I didn't have mine because the Information Office was closed on that day and I didn't have a paper map to find my beloved ones. Only thanks to a nice company of American ladies I discovered the tomb of Chopin that I wanted to pay a visit for. However, I missed M. Proust in the section 90 (see Figure 2) and then I kept on contemplating the idea of being lost in time and virtually turned off from the location.

Then I remembered the words from *Remote Vilnius*:

"You and your horde, you were a system. You were in the same state together. You were running the same software. You have worked together like a perfect machine. The 50 of you together, you were the horde. I was the shepherd without a face. I hope you will miss me. The first level is complete" (text from the script by Jörg Karrenbauer, courtesy to *Rimini Protokol*).

I was stepping on the real ground but not able to navigate. It was a weird moment of reality. I am not criticizing the Parisian Cemetery Information Office or nagging myself for not being online. I was just stuck in the middle – between the reality and the virtual space. Very Proust-like. And the cemetery was closing then.

"Welcome to Remote Vilnius. Welcome to the cemetery. Thank you that you came all the way out here to meet me" (text from the script by Jörg Karrenbauer, courtesy to *Rimini Protokol*).

Conclusion

Conclusions embrace the following statements:

The artistic content of the innovative virtual show was mainly accepted by the audience;

The experimental idea of the creators to monitor public response to the manipulative acts proved to be very fruitful and gave a lot of material for further research;

However, different values by diverse segments of the audience were identified by the research;

Due to different values of the audience, different approaches towards the technological factors could be observed;

Due to different values of the audience, different approaches towards the content of the virtual show could be noticed among spectators (mentioning gloomy or depressive topics);

Due to the specificity of the show, the production team should be aware of the same level of technological advancement in their marketing means;

Because of the uniqueness of the artistic event, the balance between the artistic value and adequate communication should be considered when launching digital art to the market;

Having analyzed the feedback of the audience and the opinion of the experts, the necessity to assess how far the theatre should go applying IT methods in their artistic practice.



Figure 1. The look of the front page of the on-line questionnaire at the survey portal 'apklausa.lt' (Retrieved on 2015-09-20¹)



Figure 2. The excerpt from the view of the Information Desk Panel at Pere Lachaise Cemetery in Paris. 2015-09-05. (Photo by the author)

¹ <http://apklausa.lt/f/anketa-tiems-kas-apsilanke-remote-vilnius-spektaklyje-9q69xrr.fullpage>

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Evaluation of Educational Programs for Cultural Events in Greece

Athanailidou, Elena

Democritus University of Thrace
Thessaloniki, Greece
elenath91@hotmail.com

Athanailidis, Ioannis

Democritus University of Thrace
Thessaloniki, Greece

Arvanitidou, Vasileia

Democritus University of Thrace
Thessaloniki, Greece

Introduction

Nowadays in the context of major technological changes the strengthening of the production system's competitive is urgent. The enhancement of competitiveness on a regular base which focuses on innovation and technological upgrade is basically the best guarantee for both economic prosperity and assurance of social cohesion. With the coalescences of small communities to municipalities and the organization of existing municipalities to cultural organizations a major labor market were created. This market needs qualified employees.

Rogoff, Radziszewska (1995) argued that all situations are social and cultural; a person's efforts in any activity provide some (but limited) information allowing inferences regarding what kind of support person might need or responsibility they might be able to manage in related circumstances. Evaluation would involve attention to the person's participation in actual events, not attempts to infer context-free knowledge or skill. The individual cannot be dissected from the activity (including the involvement of other people, the constraints and recourses provided by cultural tools such as maps and language and institutional traditions such as ways of behaving when told to demonstrate knowledge)

Cultural clubs and cultural organizations produce annually programs of cultural events which are related to local history, local tradition and the special characteristics of residents. Those events include musical, theatrical, puppet shows, book fair, photo exhibitions, exhibition of agricultural products and sports events. These events need to be designed, viewed, advertised and also be implemented by specialized staff. The training of staff should cover a wide range of information and skills which will make them capable to compete for a job.

There are a lot of positive results of the workers' education at large. With the implementation of practical training in companies the trainees will acquire personal knowledge, perception and behavior which are appropriate for the workplace and the labor market. This will have as a result they to be promoted in high positions of responsibility, stability and high income. Moreover they will acquire the ability to use efficiently the time and the available resources and the ability to handle simultaneously many tedious tasks. They will be also able to make flexible movements in order to organize, enrich and complete their work. Thus they will also be able to cultivate their creativity and their critical thinking. Last but not least they will have to become more responsible in handling various situations in their work in order to gain their employers' admission.

As long as the cultural events are concerned, education will also affect positively the trainees. This kind of education will have as a result trainees to be able to design a cultural event and make a survey of the publics' musical interests. Moreover they will acquire the ability to advertise the event and ensure for its' quality at the same time. It is also very important the ability that they will have to help people with special needs to participate and create incentive for special occupation groups such as economic immigrants etc.

This kind of education actually includes three areas. To begin with, there is the theoretical knowledge that the participants must have in general for cultural institutions and programs. Moreover, there are the technical skills that they must also have in order to practice their theoretical skills. The third category is about the internship that participants do in cultural institutions or projects.

There are three specific purposes of that kind of participants' education. Firstly, the trainees have to acquire theoretical knowledge. This theoretical knowledge is about how to organize and run a cultural event. Secondly, there are the technical skills. It is undoubtedly important for participants to be aware of the theoretical knowledge of a field but it is also important and useful for them to know how to accomplish this knowledge and turn it to real project. So as long as the technical skills are concerned, the trainees should be able to know how to work or participate in the secretariat or any other part of a project. Lastly, it is also significant for the trainees to know how to organize a whole project or event from beginning to end. To put it in another way they must be able to lead a team in order to create and organize an event.

1. Purpose

The specific purpose of our research is to analyze the evaluation of the educational program. There are two kinds of evaluation, the external evaluation and the internal evaluation.

More specifically, in the external evaluation the purpose of evaluation is the objectively signalization of the advantages and the disadvantages of the institution.

2. Methodology

This research took place in vocational center in Kilis during training program of unemployed citizens with the subject *Organizing cultural events*. In this program there were participated 25 people (25-55 years old) from Kilis area. 22 of the participants were female and only 2 of them were male.

At the time, the great theories of Piaget, Kohlberg and Erikson had created a compelling agenda for examining the nature of age differences in abilities, perceptions, conceptions, attitudes and performances of all kinds (Damon, 1975, 1977)

Most of them were members of cultural clubs. Those clubs focus on music, theatre, local tradition etc. During their education there was internal and external evaluation.

For external evaluation the work has been done by an external evaluator in cooperation with the competent Scientific Committee. The whole external evaluation system is based on observations and interviews of the external evaluator and to questionnaires and reports which will be completed as well. Those reports are fulfilled at intermediate points during the course of the training program (interim evaluation and monitoring projects), at the end and after training.

For methodological reasons, the External Evaluation System can be divided into five sub-systems which include autonomous actions - Work Packages, which have to be completed.

The whole External Evaluation System is based on the following tools:

- Results of trainees' written and oral exams by the trainers
- Questionnaires which will be completed by learners at intermediate evaluation points-monitoring
- Reports and questionnaires which will be completed by the educators in the intermediate evaluation points

- Reports and questionnaires which will be completed by the Scientific Coordinator at intermediate evaluation points
- Monitoring Report of the Science Officer at the end of the training

All these tools will be used throughout the evaluation subsystems since all of them contain references, inquiries and reports.

1st module: Trainees' Evaluation

This evaluation concerns the measurement of skills in undergoing training persons and the measurement of capabilities, knowledge and skills which are acquired by the trainees during the training program.

The objects that are evaluated are knowledge, skills, qualifications, perceptiveness etc.

2nd Module: Trainers' Evaluation

This evaluation concerns the gathering of information and data in order to measure the effectiveness of their teaching methods and trainers' technique.

The objects that are evaluated are:

- Patience
- Consistency
- Willingness
- Behavior
- Transferability
- Communication with the trainees.
- initiative Ability trainees
- Team spirit
- General mood in the room
- Prepare a suggestion
- Scientific competence
- Implementation of innovative teaching methods
- Adequate of educational material
- Quality of educational material
- Development of the time suggestion
- Knowledge which were offered by the suggestion
- Interesting suggestion
- Use media
- Ability of trainees' participation
- Useful knowledge about entering the labor market
- Connection between theory and practice

3rd Module: Evaluation of Program's management

The objects that are evaluated are:

- The cooperation with administration
- The cooperation with the scientific staff
- The suitability of training spaces
- The adequacy of the notes and other aids
- The quality of notes and other aids
- The adequacy and quality of the H / Y
- The adequacy and other equipment
- The teaching hours
- Nutrition
- The cooperation between the trainers

4th module: Evaluating Training Programs' Content

This evaluation concerns the gathering of information and data to measure the effectiveness of scientific professional training program.

- Occupancy scientific coverage
- Time needed to develop the subjects
- The connection of theory and practice
- The usefulness of knowledge for finding a job
- The development of skills -
- The monitoring system - program evaluation
- The effectiveness of teaching methods
- The innovative actions
- The professional staff and colleagues
- Learners' homogeneity

5th Module: Evaluation of Achievement Goals

The objects that are evaluated are:

- Digestion of teaching topics
- Ability to use professional knowledge
- Response to trainees' educational needs
- Offered knowledge
- The regularization of scattered knowledge
- Programs' Interest
- Programs' relevance with work (future)
- The presentation of new ideas and view points
- The desire to repeat the training program

On the other hand, the internal evaluation is based on questionnaires. More specifically after every thematic unit those questionnaires were spread to the participants.

The questionnaires evaluated the thematic units of the training program.

How obvious and understood the subjects were

The connection of the subjects with the cultural events

How significant and important the subjects were

Trainers' contagiousness

Trainers' interest about the subjects

Trainers' teaching methods

Trainers' leadership

Trainers' encouragement to the trainees

Moreover, those questionnaires were spread at the end and after training program. Thus, the trainees were able to evaluate how affective the education program was to their knowledge, qualification, skills etc.

3. Process

In order this research to be succeeded we had to follow a specific procedure. As far as the internal evaluation is concerned the trainees had to fulfill questionnaires during the training and after the training. Those questionnaires included questions about the procedure, if the trainees are satisfied with their education, if this education really helped them with their work etc. The external procedure includes interviews to the trainees from an external monitor. Those interviews are about the skills and the qualifications of trainers and trainees. Additionally all the trainees, at the end of the were separated in discussion groups in order to organize a cultural event

4. Results

In order to analyze the result , we used descriptive statistical analysis. From researches' results we realize that internal and external evaluation had some positive affects.

Due to the education the participants acquire above other three specific things. The first of them is the theoretical knowledge. After the training the participants know a lot of things about cultural history, they are familiar with other cultural projects and the way that cultural constitutions and companies work. Secondly, trainees acquire technical skills. That means that they are able to take part in every field of the project that they may be needed and be part of the secretariat as well. Last but not least after the educational program they are able to organize a smaller or bigger cultural event with their team. They are aware what a project need in order to be successful, how they have to promote properly the event, how to organize it, who can participate etc.

Conclusion

What it has proved is that the internal and the external evaluation are very important tools and guides that help us to evaluate the educational procedure. More specifically those kinds of evaluation help us to realize if this procedure is comprehensible and easy for the participants and if the same procedure is interesting and pleasant for the participants as well. Additionally, we can examine if the subjects that the procedure deal with, are relevant and related with the subject of the education. As long as the trainers are concerned, those tools help us to explore if they have developed an interactive and functional communication and relationship with the trainees. Furthermore, through those tools we are able to examine if the trainers succeed to achieve the expected benefits and targets of the program.

To conclude with, the internal and the external evaluation plays a significant role because it helps us to reject subjects or whole units which are not useful for our education and our work. A lot of new and enterprising actions can be added which will help participants' education. This evaluation helps in order to bring out problems which are presented during the process and design more effective future programs as well.

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Strategic Profiles of Ecomuseum Management and Community Involvement in Italy*

Badia, Francesco

University of Ferrara

Ferrara, Italy

francesco.badia@unife.it

Deodato, Giuditta

University of Ferrara

Ferrara, Italy

giuditta.deodato@gmail.com

Abstract

The aim of this work is to understand how and if the ecomuseum could be considered an instrument of social and economic development through the enhancement of cultural heritage on a territory. With an ecomuseum view, such heritage is made up of all those aspects that help to define a social system, from the natural to the folk traditions, from the architectural landscape to food and wine production. Only in this way it can be constituted as a resource for a participatory and sustainable local development, where every social actor and stakeholder feel responsible for their own future and the cultural heritage.

Therefore, the work aims at investigating the degree of feasibility of different ecomuseum strategic models. Generally, they should achieve positive effects on the territory in terms of image, social cooperation and involvement of local people in decision-making processes, cultural knowledge and identification in the local heritage and finally in creation of a shared *public value* and economic development (mainly, but not only, through tourism and the production of local products).

Different strategic approaches can lead to different action plans for the ecomuseums. Some of these relate more clearly to the economic potential of the eco-museum, others focus toward the opportunities offered by the ecomuseum for the awareness and knowledge of the territory and its cultural heritage. Among the proposals for local development in an ecomuseum perspective, the most significant appear to be

- (1) the sustainable tourism promoted by the ecomuseum;
- (2) the cultural district linked to the ecomuseum;
- (3) the quality of the territory to be pursued by the ecomuseum for the local development in a broad sense.

After a review of the basic elements of each of these three strategic approaches, we focused the analysis on four specific empirical cases of ecomuseums in Italy, the *Ecomuseo del Paesaggio* of Parabiago (Milan), the *Ecomuseo Val Taleggio* of Taleggio (Bergamo), the *Ecomuseo di Argenta* of Argenta (Ferrara) and the *Ecomuseo della Collina e del Vino* of Castello di Serravalle (Bologna). For each of these cases we have identified the key features and, in a comparative manner, we evaluated which of the three elements of the outlined strategic profiles were present.

The cases represent different management practices that reflect different conceptions not only of the eco-museum principles, but of its objectives, as we will try to show in the empirical analysis.

In the conclusions, we placed some possible future elements which are to be developed for the construction of a coherent approach between the strategy of the ecomuseum and its management system.

* The work is the result of a joint research of the two authors. Nevertheless, Introduction and Sections 1, 2.3, 2.4, and 3.3 were written by Francesco Badia, whereas Sections 2.1, 2.2, 3.1 and 3.2 were written by Giuditta Deodato.

Keywords: ecomuseum; management; cultural heritage; social and economic development; participatory tools

Introduction

The ecomuseum is a concept that had its origin in the early seventies, as part of a process of innovation of traditional museology, which was called *new museology*. Over time, most of the ideas of the new museology and the ecomuseum itself have become a cornerstone of the theories which are applied to the museum in general.

After more than forty years since the birth of this concept, which is due to Hugues de Varine (1978), and its development, on which have had a fundamental role other important scholars such Riviere (1985), Davis (1999), Maggi (2001a) and Corsane (2006) appears still interesting to analyze its relevance and its current role in society.

This work is proposed to the scientific debate in a time when the ecomuseums have significantly slowed their growth and spread that, albeit discontinuously (Maggi, 2006), had been observed since the Seventies.

In recent years, moreover, not only fewer cases of ecomuseums have emerged, but some new museums that were recalling, fully or partly, the concept of ecomuseum have deliberately avoided the use of that term (and on this point de Varine (2002) has expressed favorably).

The just outlined picture would exclude at first sight an interest in a scientific or academic analysis of the potential of the ecomuseum as a tool for local development linked to the cultural heritage of the area.

There are two reasons which bring us to consider a study on management of ecomuseums and their effectiveness as worthy of interest, both from a conceptual point of view that practical application. The first, beyond what has already been pointed out, is that the ecomuseum is still a widespread form of museum around the world. The second reason is that, in recent years, theories aimed at analyzing the role of participatory policies and tools of participatory governance had new emphasis (Edwards 2001; Fung 2015), in part as a response to the global financial crisis (Bonet & Donato, 2011), in part due to the development of the new tools of digital communications (Robbins *et al.*, 2007).

In light of this framework, this paper aims to develop the following research questions:

- 1) Starting from the definition of ecomuseum, what concrete models of implementation are now present, in relation with the path of local development of the territory?
- 2) What are the strengths and weaknesses of each model analyzed?
- 3) What tools of managerial nature need to be adopted by an ecomuseum in order to its strategic approach to local development can be more efficient?

1. The basic feature of the ecomuseum and its relationship with local development

The ecomuseum has been described by many authors and scholars in many circumstances. One of the most famous definitions is that of Riviere (1985: 182):

An ecomuseum is an instrument conceived, fashioned and operated jointly by a public authority and a local population. The public authority's involvement is through the experts, facilities and resources it provides; the local population's involvement depends on its aspirations, knowledge and individual approach. It is a mirror in which the local population views itself to discover its own image, in which it seeks an explanation of the territory to which it is attached and of the populations that have preceded it, seen either as circumscribed in time or in terms of the continuity of generations.

De Varine, who is credited with the invention of the term, has stressed on several occasions some important elements of the concept of ecomuseum. Firstly, "the 'eco' prefix to ecomuseums means neither economy,

nor ecology in the common sense, but essentially human or social ecology: the community and society in general, even mankind, are at the core of its existence, of its activity, of its process. Or at least they should be [...] This was the intuition of the "inventors" of the ecomuseum concept in the early 70s [...]” (de Varine, 2006: 60).

Again De Varine noted how, in the years following its first definition, the ecomuseum has assumed in practice two different paths, partly opposite each other (de Varine, 2002): in fact, the original definition, introduced in 1971-72 thanks to de Varine himself and the aforementioned Riviere, sought above all to highlight the link between the museum and the natural environment, coming to take shape almost like a museum park. Simultaneously, from 1973 until the early eighties, a concept derived from ecomuseum was developing, notably because of the experience of Le Creusot in France, as a museum becoming instrument of community development.

This path of distinction of different forms of ecomuseums on a global scale has gone widening more and more over the years, until now. Currently, therefore, types of museums that are also very different from each other are called ecomuseum (Davis 1999; Maggi 2002); moreover, in certain cases other forms of management of cultural heritage that could be called in that way do not adopt such a name (Maggi 2001b; de Varine 2002), preferring other forms as *territorial museum*, *community museum*, *theme park* and others.

In this very diverse picture of concrete cases and practical realities, some common elements seem to emerge anyway and essentially refer to strategic profiles, or rather, the mission of the ecomuseum.

In particular Maggi (2006: 63) noted that “almost all ecomuseums, even when using different denominations, have a particular mission: they try to promote sustainable development and citizenship through local heritage and participation. The most relevant obstacles they face seem to be the same almost everywhere: people involvement, effective leadership and the continuity of the initiatives”.

The mission is therefore the basic strategic element, the common character to all the different and varied forms of ecomuseum which are present in the world scenario. Cogo (2006: 97-98) developed this concept by explaining the most important points of the ecomuseum mission:

- the safeguarding and valuing of local socio-cultural traditions;
- the safeguarding/rediscovery of collective memory in terms of the intangible heritage comprising the identity of a population, and its mediation with contemporary society;
- the study, research and dissemination of local naturalistic, historical and social topics;
- the promotion of sustainable economic and tourist development, by using natural and historic resources, the social heritage and other local resources, via a network able to attract tourists and the additional exploitation of cultural resources,
- the promotion of socially responsible business enterprise and the active participation in processes of sustainable growth.

The ecomuseum has been analyzed with reference to the existing literature on its definition and its basic strategic elements so far. But now the analysis will focus on the possible relationship between ecomuseum and local development. This analysis took inspiration in part from the literature on ecomuseums and on the management of cultural heritage and in part from the analysis of some concrete empirical cases analyzed both in the literature (Davis 1999; de Varine 2002; Maggi 2002; Su *et al.* 2006; Corsane *et al.* 2007) and through specific research field.

This research has led to the emergence of three different types of inclusion of the ecomuseum perspective within specific projects related to local development, with respect to (1) sustainable tourism, (2) theory and practice of the cultural district, and (3) the model of the quality of territory.

The first model is identified with concept and practice of sustainable tourism (Hunter 1997; Ritchie & Crouch 2003). Sustainable tourism strives to combine the paradigm of sustainability (UN-WCED 1987; Elkington 1998) with that of economic development based on tourism. Sustainable tourism is not aimed at unlimited growth, but is consistent with the enhancement of existing resources. The ecomuseum project, in its various forms, aims explicitly to initiate socio-economic activities compatible with the logic of sustainability. Specifically, tourism is sustainable if it is developed as environmentally friendly, economically viable and socially equitable for local communities: in other words, it refers to a level of land use that can be maintained in the long-term, as it produces social, economic, natural and cultural benefits for the area in which it is implemented (Cicerchia, 2009).

For example, at the economic level, the positive impacts of sustainable tourism can be identified in job creation on the site, in the redistribution of income, and in restraining the depopulation of rural areas. Besides that, sustainable tourism can reduce some negative effects, such as the seasonal nature of the labor market, the income earned by external companies of the tourism industry that do not have a direct impact on the territory, the instability of local revenues, a transport and infrastructure development oriented only to tourists and not to local people.

From an environmental point of view, sustainable tourism is concerned to reduce, if not break down, the negative impacts of traditional mass tourism, e.g. like depletion of natural resources and pollution. For the socio-cultural perspective, finally, sustainable tourism aims to limit negative impacts such as the commercialization and standardization of cultural heritage, sometimes with products built only to attract more tourists (Romei, 2008).

In summary, what characterizes sustainable tourism is its high level of economic, social and environmental responsibility towards a territory. Unlike traditional tourism, sustainable tourism satisfies both the needs of the local community in terms of quality of life, both the demand of tourists, protecting cultural and environmental resources and maintaining a certain degree of competitiveness. The ecomuseum is part of the paradigm of sustainable tourism at its base when there is research, not without difficulties (Howard, 2002), to implement this type of local development in terms of sustainable tourism.

The cultural district stems from the concept of industrial district (Becattini, 2004), defined as a local production system, characterized by a high concentration of industrial companies specialized in that industry sector. The cultural districts, therefore, can be seen in an industrial district where culture and cultural heritage are the dominant factors (Santagata, 2002: 15):

The content of the goods produced in these districts is strictly connected to the local civilization and *savoir vivre*. Furthermore, the economic advancement of these products is naturally correlated with the local culture: the more their image and symbolic icon is identified with local customs and cultural behaviors, the more they seduce consumers (cultural lock-in) and the more their production is fostered. In this case, the importance of culture is all-inclusive, mobilizing the aesthetic, technological, anthropological and historical content of the district.

The territorial element is, first of all, the common ground between industrial district and cultural district. The ultimate goal of a cultural district is to be a product of a particular territory, on the basis of the territorial integration of the cultural offer. The cultural district can be defined as a system of relations between the process of enhancing cultural heritage of an area, the infrastructure and all areas of production related to that process (Valentino, 2003).

Specifically, the cultural district on the one hand implements a process of enhancement of cultural resources of different types, on the other hand connects this process with the system of professions, services and infrastructure connected with the same enhancement activities. According to this perspective, the process of development of cultural resources in the form of a district can have positive consequences in terms of

employment, entrepreneurship and innovation in various sectors.

Not all the places, however, are suitable to be transformed into cultural districts, i.e. are able to attract a critical mass of demand. The support to the implementation of the cultural district, in fact, should be based partly on the ability to produce competitive cultural products, partly on the ability to create demand that will ensure profitability for potential private investors. In addition, the critical mass of demand should be both internal and external, facing not only cultural products but also of other industrial sectors (communication, tourism, publishing, transport, etc.).

In this context, an ecomuseum is part of a cultural district, when it is able to integrate with this productive and industrial system on the territory.

A further development model, as a crucial tool for underpinning the mission of the ecomuseum, is represented by the paradigm of the quality of the territory. In this case, the promotion of tourism in itself is beyond the scope of the ecomuseum, and even the development of entrepreneurship does not appear as central or primary factors. The ecomuseum task is instead primarily improving the quality of the territory. This can help to promote social development, and possibly economic growth, also through sustainable tourism initiatives.

The link between ecomuseum and local development in the view of the quality of the territory seems to converge, to a greater extent than in the two previous models, to the idea of local development based on cultural heritage, proposed by the current of the new museology of the seventies / eighties (Boylan 1992; de Varine 2002; Song 2006).

A thorough knowledge and understanding of the natural and man-made components of the territory are the first fundamental elements of this paradigm. Such knowledge and understanding, however, are only possible with a real involvement of the community, to be achieved both by local knowledge development initiatives at the local population, and through its involvement with participatory tools.

With reference to participatory tools, community (or parish) maps (Clifford & King 1996; Parker 2006) emerged as one of the most widely used tools for ecomuseums. The community maps are instruments through which residents can expose their own representation of the cultural heritage in its broadest sense, including landscape, knowledge and traditions of the place. The map of the community is also a place of memory, as it sheds light on what the people want to pass on to future generations. Specifically, it consists normally of a cartographic representation (or any other composition inspired by that logic of representation), in which the community can identify itself.

The basis of the above mentioned knowledge and understanding can still lead, secondarily, to the development and eventual rediscovery of a gastronomic production and handicraft traditions, which could allow even the promotion of territory and its products, again through the active involvement of the local community.

The model of the quality of the territory seeks to strengthen the community feeling that is the basis of every ecomuseum project: with its different ingredients this model attempts to root a sense of responsibility and awareness of an area that becomes a place of culture, and potentially socio-economic development. After all, the ultimate goal of the ecomuseum is to improve the quality of life of the local community: the first step in this process should consist precisely in the awareness of the quality of the territory, with its advantages and its critical issues through an integrated and holistic perspective.

2. Empirical analysis of four Italian ecomuseums in Italy

This paragraph is intended to develop the empirical analysis aimed to four ecomuseums: two of them are located on the territory of Lombardy (the Ecomuseum Val Taleggio and the Ecomuseum of the landscape of Parabiago), and two in Emilia-Romagna (the Ecomuseum of Argenta and the Ecomuseum of Hill and Wine of Castello di Serravalle).

The research in these four realities was conducted through interviews with the directors of the ecomuseums. Each of the interviews was conducted with a homogeneous methodology, based on a series of open-ended questions. With the support of the management staff, additional documents regarding the activities of the ecomuseums were collected in order to complete the empirical analysis.

Each of these case studies will be presented highlighting the following points: - introduction and history; - governance and role of the managing entity; - most relevant activities; - involvement and participation of the community; - analysis of the economic fundamentals (available annual budget and degree of self-financing of the revenues); - special projects and future strategies. However, these points represent only a trace of the following exposure and will not be analyzed exactly in that order ever, but depending on how the different points have emerged during the open interviews.

Ecomuseum Val Taleggio

The Ecomuseum Val Taleggio is located in the homonymous Val Taleggio, province of Bergamo, Lombardy. Born in 2005, its managing body is the not for profit association *Ecomuseo Val Taleggio*. The association is formed by private citizens and is open to the contributions of all those who are involved in territorial initiatives linked to the ecomuseum (individual citizens, stakeholders of various kinds, other associations, etc.). The governance of the ecomuseum comprises a Board of Directors, a Scientific Committee and an internal staff which follows its specific activities.

The Ecomuseum Val Taleggio is tasked to design and implement projects of development of cultural and environmental resources in order to protect, promote and enhance the artistic, cultural, historical and environmental values, through training, management and diffusion of participatory practices. The ecomuseum has been strongly supported by the small local authorities of Taleggio and Veduggio, starting from the initial stage of definition and design. In this regard, the idea of the ecomuseum was born in 1998, as an open air museum, to be developed in a naturalistic ecomuseum optical. It was a project formed within the general plan of the municipality of Taleggio.

The definitive fulfillment of the project took place, as already mentioned, in 2005, after the construction of a conference in which the ecomuseum project has been exposed to the citizenship and after the obtaining of a grant from a banking foundation which has allowed the definitive start. Then further substantial public funding have been added to this private funding. These ones, albeit for smaller amounts, are those who still allow the continuation of the ordinary activities of the museum to date. In 2008 the Ecomuseum Val Taleggio has achieved the official recognition by the Lombardy Region.

Many efforts have been directed towards the participation of the local population, in particular through the project *Tools and actions for the awareness and involvement of the local community*, which got a contribution from the Lombardy Region. The project stated some lines of action in the belief that only citizens' participation legitimized the existence of an ecomuseum. The participatory methods were mainly open meetings to the community, i.e. meetings for the dissemination of activities and objectives of the ecomuseum. Another instrument consisted in working groups, during which all social actors should be involved without the establishment of authoritarian and hierarchical relationships: all participants were considered on the same level.

The concrete action lines of the ecomuseum have been developed in the direction of the development of a cultural tourism, sustainable and conscious. The most important projects were *Baita & Breakfast*, the *Five thematic routes*, the *Ecomuseum gates* and the *Ecomuseum station*. These initiatives are a model of a tourism which is self-managed by local people, attentive to their requests, and sustainable, where the impact of the same tourist activity does not affect the existing balance between the social, environmental and economic dimensions of territory.

In particular, the main project was *Baita & Breakfast*: it consisted in the promotion of structures that

combined in themselves the recovery of the territory with its products and traditional architecture, revitalization and new functionalization for tourism. The ultimate goal of this initiative was, in fact, the realization of slow tourism experiences in Val Taleggio, based on the action of a shared network of private owners, restaurateurs, artisans, tour operators, non-profit associations, and farmers. Therefore, the Ecomuseum Val Taleggio intends to pursue strategies of sustainable tourism, if *Baita & Breakfast* is the main activity. The development model of reference is focused on creating a widespread wealth that see culture, in its broadest sense, as an instrument of competitive strategies with positive effects on the territory. The sustainable tourism activities involve a thorough knowledge of the area, as evidenced by the activities of education and knowledge developed in collaboration with schools. The schools were designed as recipients of awareness campaigns to ecomuseum issues. These activities consisted in introducing young people to the ecomuseum culture through educational and recreational activities, such as structured meetings in class with the allocation of duties, which will have to accomplish in the classroom with teachers or at home with their families. For example, the students have received some cards-interviews which have to be proposed to the grandparents and the elderly of their knowledge, in order to investigate stories of real life, typical crafts and expertise and traditions of the local people.

Therefore, a conscious use of the territory for tourism should be aimed both to the awareness of the community about its resources, and outward, toward the tourists who become aware that what they are visiting is characterized by a uniqueness and specificity related to certain places, landscapes and cultural traditions. In this case, also a brand of the territory has been identified: the Taleggio. It is a local product (cheese) which has a strong appeal and is recognizable to a wide audience. Consequently, a path with local entrepreneurs has started, to enhance the brand and to give economic benefit to the ecomuseum.

In terms of figures, the ecomuseum has an annual business volume of around €75,000. These amount is resulting for a roughly 80% from government grants (prevalently from the Region), while the remaining 20% comes from the sale of its own products and services. As for costs, the resources are mainly destined to the activation of networks, growth and implementation of local economic resources, and the management of environmental and natural resources of the valley for educational projects and tourism activities. This confirms the efforts of the ecomuseum to become an engine for the local economy. In this context, also the costs for promotion and marketing of the ecomuseum are quite relevant, as well as those directed to external expertise, coordination and direction activities, and to professional fees.

The impact of the ecomuseum in the territory can be measured in relation to employment that it generates, especially in tourism. In this regard courses have been organized for ecomuseum professionals with duty of education for the local residents, especially young people. Four of these professionals are working for developing the activities of the ecomuseum. In addition, other collaborators are involved from time to time depending on the running projects. However, the Ecomuseum has not created permanent job positions but a form of employment which is variable and flexible.

From these considerations it emerges that the economic development promoted by the Ecomuseum Val Taleggio is a complex process that still requires long conceptual elaboration and practical implementation.

Ecomuseum of the Landscape of Parabiago

The Ecomuseum of the landscape of Parabiago is located in the northwestern part of the metropolitan city of Milan: it is a highly urbanized and industrialized area with the presence at the same time of significant woodlands and natural areas. The managing body of the Ecomuseum is the local council of Parabiago, and the coordinator is a public officer of the Municipality, with an education background of naturalist and ecologist.

The Ecomuseum project started in 2006 as a spontaneous product of the adoption of Local Agenda 21 by the City of Parabiago, as a stage of a project funded by the contributions of the European Union. Agenda 21

is an action plan for environmental protection and sustainable development adopted by the UN Conference on the Environment and Development, held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. The Local Agenda 21 is a tool of implementation for the local level of cities, municipalities, regions (Lafferty, 1998). It consists of participatory planning processes at the local level, in order to build a consensus among all stakeholders in the community, and develop action plans for an economic, environmental and social sustainability in the long term.

The Ecomuseum of the Landscape of Parabiago has proposed, since its conception, to pursue these participatory aims, which are intrinsic for an ecomuseum project, applied to the knowledge and exploration of the territory. The management model that this ecomuseum seeks to implement, in fact, has not yet addressed directly to well defined paths of development for the local economy. The focus of this institution has always been oriented towards the relationship between man and landscape. The participatory initiatives have been declined for cultural purposes, specifically for recovery and strengthening of the relationships between citizens and natural and man-made landscape.

The constitution of the Ecomuseum was founded in all its phases on participatory processes involving institutions, communities, associations, and experts. Citizens, and in general the whole community, were invited to inquire, discuss and interact through the instrument of a public forum, in order to enable knowledge, resources and skills for the implementation of an action plan for the Ecomuseum. Therefore, this public forum represented a collective entity representing all components of the community, its social actors and stakeholders and able to allow the implementation of shared action plans.

One of the main initiatives of the Ecomuseum was the creation of the community map, which had a major impact on the population in terms of participation and awareness of their landscape heritage. The map was intended as the social construction of what is perceived as cultural and environmental heritage by the community, with a symbolic and affective meanings and identity aspects. The map was prepared by a working group set up within the public forum of the Ecomuseum.

The group initially drafted a questionnaire which was submitted to the associations of the territory and to the students of primary and secondary schools of Parabiago, which had to involve their parents and grandparents. The working group, with the results of the questionnaire, discussed and identified the heritage items which have to be included in the map and made a proposal that was subsequently approved and shared with all the inhabitants of Parabiago.

The map is not a simple photography of the status quo, but a means for displaying the strategies for the future, both for the Ecomuseum and for public institutions. This community map has an online version on the site of the Ecomuseum, which is presented as an interactive and multimedia map. It contains the thematic studies related to tangible and intangible assets of the territory: each object on the map is connected by a link to a web page that contains in-depth texts, images, photographs, audio-visual documents, in order to give more information. The huge accession and the results obtained by the Ecomuseum of Parabiago with this activity have been recognized by the local government, so that the objectives of landscape quality, defined in a participatory way by the Ecomuseum, have been adopted as strategies to be implemented through the official planning instruments of the Municipality.

In addition to the community map, other activities of the Ecomuseum were: - *Give life to parks*, a project of participatory reading of the places, education to nature and biodiversity, with organized trips from the city to the countryside; - *Re-enable the past*, the project of a *memory bank*, which contained elements of the intangible heritage of the area, from the dialect to the traditional crafts and local customs; - *Landscape of meetings*, consisting in the organization of itineraries to know the places and their cultural heritage.

As for the financial profile of the Ecomuseum, the annual budget is around €60,000. The revenues are exclusively from public funds of municipal or regional provenience. So, there are no other forms of revenues resulting from the activities of the Ecomuseum. As for the expenses, the Ecomuseum focuses its resources towards the organization of the activities which have been previously described. Personnel expenses are

contained, because of the voluntary participation of local people. Finally, the current preeminence of the cultural element does not mean, however, that a reflection on the possible development of the activities towards a greater rate of self-financing is excluded, especially within the municipal administration.

Ecomuseum of Argenta

The Ecomuseum of Argenta is a museum with an official recognition of the Council of Europe and it has been listed as a quality museum by the Emilia-Romagna Region, i.e. it respects certain quality standards. The Ecomuseum is based on the integration throughout the area between local landscape and museum locations, that the staff of the ecomuseum defines as *antennae*. The Ecomuseum of Argenta is in a lagoon landscape, inside the intensively cultivated Po valley, close to the delta of this river. This landscape presents issues related to biodiversity, sustainable farming and traditions manufacturing linked to the agrarian sector.

The Ecomuseum of Argenta is managed through in-house providing by the Municipality of Argenta. The director is an employee of the Municipality and the Ecomuseum have other three employees (one full-time and two part-time) as well as further cooperation with external professionals and a cooperative. The director has a good degree of autonomy in her management decisions.

The Ecomuseum of Argenta was founded in 1991 with its first antenna, the Museum of the Valleys, following the will of certain groups of associations in Argenta of enabling projects of restore of the environment and of the river around the oasis of Campotto, Po Delta Park. Then, between 1994 and 2002, the Ecomuseum has been extended with the second antenna, the Museum of Land Drainage, at the water pump of Saiarino, which is the heart of the hydraulic system of government of the waters between the Apennines and the Adriatic Sea. Finally, in 1997 the Ecomuseum is completed with the third antenna, the Civic Museum, as a center for the town and urban landscape. Subsequently, the members of the associations during the eighties and nineties were alternated, due to generational needs, by other subjects that are expression of active citizenship. This is a typical feature for an ecomuseum, that has the dynamism as one of its key elements (de Varine 2002; Cogo 2006).

In the specific case of Argenta, has assumed participatory functions for the social and economic development by the different actors in the territory. The Ecomuseum of Argenta can be defined as an internal agreement of the local community to take care of the territory. Therefore, the fundamental objectives which are the basis of the Ecomuseum are mainly related to the quality of the territory and to increase the level of awareness by the citizens on its values, history and local traditions.

In this sense, participatory processes have been conducted by the instrument of the community maps in Campotto and Benvignante (hamlets of Argenta), between 2007 and 2010, and in a more simplified way in other areas of the municipality of Argenta. Then, executive actions have being implemented. For example, between 2012 and 2013 a space dedicated to the repopulation of native fish (such as pike, tench and carp) has been created and new alliances have been developed with companies, consortia and associations of agricultural and fishing industries.

In parallel, the Ecomuseum has enabled relations systems with the restaurants for the revaluation of the gastronomy of the valley, with the reintroduction of the specialties of freshwater fish and the use of wild herbs in the kitchen. The economic boom of the sixties and the extensive agrarian reform, in fact, had deleted these elements, favoring the consumption of sea fish and plant species which were alien to the local traditions. Still, the Ecomuseum is working for the rehabilitation of inland water navigation, by electric boat, with the flat bottom keel which retools in modern the historic "Batana", which is used both for monitoring fish and for natural excursions.

Among the initiatives and activities of the Ecomuseum, an important role is played also by the activities of restoration and enhancement of cultural and monumental heritage. In particular, Benvignante, Renaissance village dominated by the residence of the Dukes of Este (this residence is part of the UNESCO recognition of

the site of *Ferrara, City of the Renaissance and its Po Delta*), is at risk of dropping along with the campaign and the rural village.

After the earthquake of 2012, which damaged the Este's residence, there was a first restructuring in 2011 and a second one activated between 2014 and 2015. These actions were linked to the implementation of the community map. Another goal of the map of Benvignante is to build the basket of the typical gastronomy products, restoring knowledge, taste, culinary innovation, with identification of specific target markets. In future, the residence will be equipped with kitchens and will be used for testing the taste from gastronomic associations, agricultural and catering and hospitality schools, with a link to the annual Fair of the Ecomuseums.

Other areas of the municipality of Argenta, which are located near the Valli di Comacchio and the Romagna, are characterized by biological fine dining with short production and distribution line, as the golden tomato, the cereal crops of wheat, barley and spelt by which are derived organic flour and the incipient production of craft beer emerged from Renaissance treatises of the Este period, and finally the typical *wines of the sands* and of the Bosco Eliceo.

The artisan companies in the territory of the ecomuseum move in terms of knowledge and skills, specifically yarns, wool, handcraft. This is the tradition of tailoring and knitwear factories, which were important in the years of economic boom for women's employment. These elements also emerge from the community map of Campotto, with the tradition of mulberry and silkworm breeding, silk yarn and domestic wool, which engaged families and neighborhoods in partnership. Today these skills have left the silk, but still emerge in other fields as diverse tailoring and wool.

A prominent role in the activities of the Ecomuseum is occupied by networking activities with other institutions of neighboring territories. The most important initiative in this regard appears the constitution of the CEAS (Centro di educazione alla sostenibilità – i.e. Center of Education for Sustainability), which in 2013 was set up as a network with other neighboring municipalities, as part of a regional project for the promotion of institutional networks aimed at the development of sustainability on the territory. This center has assumed the name of CEAS "Valleys and Rivers" and is headquartered at the Ecomuseum of Argenta. The partners are identified, in addition to the Municipality of Argenta, in other neighboring Municipalities (Mesola, Comacchio, Ostellato, Portomaggiore). Besides having importance from the point of view of establishing relations and exchange of experiences, the CEAS also has become a center of attraction for public funds, particularly from the region.

Finalizing the analysis of the main projects of the Ecomuseum, specific attention is also given to educational projects, with a constant attention to the relationship with the teachers and the schools in the area.

Moving on to a brief analysis of an economic nature, the Ecomuseum of Argenta has an annual budget that is around € 150,000. The largest part, for nearly €120,000 euro per year, is provided by contract between Ecomuseum and Municipality of Argenta, which is particularly directed to the payment of the salaries to employees of the structure. Even the rest of the funding is for the most part from public sources, but it is worth highlighting the Ecomuseum's staff presents a particular to access to various funding lines on different public projects, partly regional, partly national, partly from the EU.

Ecomuseum of Hill and Wine of Castello di Serravalle

The Ecomuseum of Hill and Wine has been running since May 2004. It was born with the aim to protect and enhance the cultural and natural heritage of Castello di Serravalle, the evidence of the centuries-old human use of the land and the important buildings that express the relationship between landscape and population. Owner of the venue and of the exhibitions is now the Municipality of Valsamoggia, which comes from the merger of the Municipalities of Castello di Serravalle (the owner entity of the Ecomuseum at its birth) with

those of Bazzano, Crespellano, Monteveglio and Savigno, which are all located in the territory of the metropolitan city of Bologna.

The Ecomuseum management has been entrusted to the public trust Foundation *Rocca dei Bentivoglio*, which in turn has assigned the functional and operational management to the nonprofit cultural Association *Terre di Jacopino*. The Ecomuseum has no employees, as the operational management is carried out by volunteer members of the association.

The Ecomuseum has a main exhibition venue, at a building called *Captain's House*, built in 1235 by the Captain of Mountain Jacopino from San Lorenzo in Collina, within the fortified village of Castello di Serravalle. The Ecomuseum comprises also nine systems of routes, which are the main themes of the relationship between man and land. The visitors can find at the main exhibition venue educational panels for each system with detailed text and images and symbolic objects with evocative aims: summary information and an essential exposure aim to bring the visitor outside, in contact with the real aspects of the territory.

Currently the Ecomuseum is considering the following systems: - Nature and landscape: the gullies; - Architecture and land: the castle of Serravalle; - Man and landscape: work in the fields; - Humans and animals: zootechnics; - The vine, the wine, the landscape; - The territory and its inhabitants: the first censuses; - The post-war period and the reorganization of the territory; - Culture and folk tradition: folklore; - Archeology and territory.

In addition to the panels and the objects for the nine systems, in the main exhibition venue of the Ecomuseum there is a room with archaeological findings of a Roman villa of the imperial age, which was located just downstream of the fortified village. The most interesting artifact is a large terracotta dolio that could hold more than 1,000 liters of wine and that inspired some local producers to revive the wine in amphorae, like the ancient Romans. In addition to educational programs for kindergartens, primary and secondary schools, the Ecomuseum offers guided tours and tastings by appointment.

One of the primary goals of the Ecomuseum is to become a tool for the development of a form of cultural sustainable tourism in the territory. In part, some of the results have already been achieved, taking into account that after the birth of the Ecomuseum an economic appreciation of the buildings has been observed, in testimony of the revitalization of the area for tourism.

Another important aim of the Ecomuseum is the involvement of the population in creating a sense of awareness about the values of the territory. In particular, the engagement initiatives have been addressed to two specific targets: the segments of the older population and the younger one. Towards the elderly initiatives were put in place aimed at preserving the memory and the typical know-how of the rural world. To young people, instead, activities were promoted aimed at the knowledge of their territory and the importance of taking care of it.

In agreement with these objectives, there have been meetings at the community center for the elderly and at classes at the middle school, on the ancient crafts and the cycle of Parmesan cheese. There were three exhibitions to engage especially the citizens with local origins, with the use of pictures which were taken from family albums and provided directly by the citizens themselves. Involvement activities could then be further developed with the community map. The idea is to involve the primary schools, but the process of planning and implementation is still under discussion.

Other activities organized by the Ecomuseum are addressed to the conservation of the peasant theatrical culture and to the use of dialect, supporting and disseminating performances of a recreational spontaneous group that animates the local carnivals and makes representations in dialect, staging especially *La Flepa*, a comic opera written by Giulio Cesare Croce, which has been orally transmitted for over three centuries and was reconstructed twenty years ago from the fragments that the elders of the valley recited by heart.

From the point of view of financial management, the annual budget available is approximately €8,000. Although this budget is significantly lower than one of the above presented cases, it appears interesting to

note how, from a point of view of the percentage distribution of resources, this ecomuseum has a good degree of self-financing. In fact, the Municipality contributes only about 30% of the budget, by incurring the costs of managing the main exhibition venue and its offices. The remainder of the budget is covered by revenues raised by the association. They come for about another 30% from themed events in the village, for another 20% from the organization of tours and for the remaining 20% from sales of local products.

3. Discussion

Discussion of the evidences of the empirical analysis

The four cases of ecomuseum are declined in different ways, demonstrating variety and complexity that characterizes the ecomuseums' world and its expressions. The common elements mainly concern on the one hand the genesis, development and participatory actions, which in all cases are respected and implemented, on the other hand the presence of a political will which is a decisive and stabilizing factor for the ecomuseum.

The divergent aspects relate to different management structures, different purposes and different operating modes of realization of the activities, mainly attributable to the specificities of the territories. Consequently, referring to the three models presented in the theoretical part, the local development that the four ecomuseums are pursuing seems to be as follows:

- Ecomuseum Val Taleggio: sustainable tourism that could evolve in the cultural district;
- Ecomuseum of Parabiago: quality of the territory;
- Ecomuseum of Argenta: quality of the territory that could evolve in the cultural district;
- Eco-museum of Castello di Serravalle: sustainable tourism.

From this brief analysis, two paradigms emerge essentially as already present: sustainable tourism and the quality of the territory. In two cases (Parabiago and Castello di Serravalle) the Ecomuseums appear unable, at present, to move towards an evolution of their local development model, both because of real difficulties (especially in the case of the Ecomuseum of Hill and Wine), and for a specific will of the staff (especially in the case of the Ecomuseum of the landscape of Parabiago).

Instead, in the other two cases a certain predisposition, will or ability emerge to evolve the current model of development to that of the cultural district. Foundation of this possible evolution are respectively the brand linked to taleggio cheese for Ecomuseum Val Taleggio, and the possibility of creating a cultural district based on historical and cultural features, gastronomic and handicraft factors, all related to the agricultural world, for the Ecomuseum of Argenta.

However, the different expressions of the paradigms of development of the four ecomuseums should not be seen as conflicting in every case a clear and positive contamination of cultural and economic factors emerges in an evident way. In fact, the four cases demonstrate that sustainable tourism projects, for example, have an impact on the cultural side of belonging and knowledge to the area and its heritage, as well as that the community maps can become instruments of governance and territorial planning, and can lead to re-functioning of brownfield or derelict areas.

Therefore, these Ecomuseums do not embody those categories clearly and rigidly, but are all examples where the economic and cultural dimensions are intertwined, creating synergies and connections.

Three critical nodes in the ecomuseums' management

The theoretical and empirical analysis of the ecomuseum phenomenon highlights some critical issues. These critical issues need to be studied, in order to give a reading a comprehensive reading as possible of the ecomuseums in general, beyond the paradigm of local development which has been pursued. These critical nodes are prevalently: (1) the identity belonging promoted by the ecomuseum, (2) the political dimension, as a decisive element for the realization of the ecomuseum project, and (3) the time factor as a determinant for

the implementation of the ecomuseum objectives.

A first consideration that cannot be ignored is the question of identity. The ecomuseum is by definition, in fact, a museum outside the museum or an open air museum, where the territory is presenting itself through instruments including community maps, supply chains of local products, and tools of environmental education. Precisely for this reason, the essence of the ecomuseum is closely related to the element of identity that characterizes a given territory.

In this scenario, the task of the ecomuseum is to be an instrument for citizens to identify themselves with a community. The identity sense of belonging should emerge from the ecomuseum project as something in perpetual becoming, without getting lost in fictitious and constructed identity claims. The ecomuseum, in this sense, should meet the renewed interest in the local dimension. This could happen because it is particularly suitable to accept instances of identity and territory, in order to reach out to the greater attention of scholars and administrators towards the local heritage as a platform for building a sense of belonging rooted in the territory.

The second critical node concerns the political dimension that permeates the basic idea of the ecomuseum. In fact, it consists of a design approach that needs to be on the political agenda of local (and maybe not only local) government. It is also true that the initiative for the creation of an ecomuseum project can be carried out by a single association or a private entity; however, the ecomuseum seems to have more effectiveness and chances of success if it is implemented and endorsed by the representatives of the institutions.

Only in this way the ecomuseum can take root more easily in the area, mobilizing broader community participation, and, last but not least, can raise more human and financial resources. This fact, however, can lead to some problems. First of all, the risk that the ecomuseum could become a tool for political propaganda should be considered. This risk could cause or be accompanied by the loss of a positive set of bottom-up pressures, from the representatives of civil society.

This second critical issue is particularly relevant in the present historical moment, when funding for the cultural sector, in the post-financial crisis scenario, tends to decline steadily, especially for micro-projects related to small territories. Specifically, the problem of the relationship between politics and initiatives of participatory governance is well known to the management literature, which has already been analyzed in detail in reference to participatory budgeting (Goldfrank & Schneider 2006; Wampler 2007)

The third critical node concerns, however, the necessary time necessary to the development and the subsequent implementation of the project activities of the ecomuseum. They normally take a long time and several steps are needed in the implementation process. For example, the definition of the strategic aims requests the structuration of a long-term strategic plan; then it is necessary to proceed with phases of planning for medium and short-term, on infra-annual or annual basis. This is perhaps the most complex phase of an ecomuseum project. For these reasons, time, consistency, will, mutual respect, openness, ability to listen, and compromise are necessary qualities of an ecomuseum planner. The time factor may also be a critical element in the moment in which complexity and dilation over time of the ecomuseum activities become obstacles for their own implementation and effectiveness.

Conclusion and possible future developments

In addition to the critical nodes for a strategic approach to the ecomuseum, in line with its purposes, this conclusive section tries observing the possible steps to develop a more efficient and effective management of the ecomuseums. Among them, the most important seem to be: (1) the need for adoption of monitoring systems of the ecomuseum activities; (2) the adoption of the most appropriate modalities of social involvement; (3) a further reflection on the size scale of reference for ecomuseums and on their funding systems.

First, the area of monitoring of actions and results appears a subject on which further enquiries, investigation

and applications appear as necessary. In this sense, specifically the adoption of a new practical application, consistent with the performance measurement approach would be very appropriate.

Several studies have already been carried out on this subject both in the field of cultural heritage management (Badia 2011; Badia & Donato 2013), and in the specific field of ecomuseum management (Corsane, 2006). Nevertheless, this topic needs further application developments, maybe with the concrete testing of new performance measurement systems for ecomuseums. Even initiatives, that seek to establish minimum standards for the qualification of the ecomuseums or for the attribution of quality parameters, are, in this sense, useful and opportune. In this regard, the local contexts analyzed in this paper (Lombardy and Emilia-Romagna Regions) have been making efforts in this regard, with specific regional regulations.

Second, a broader reflection is needed on how involvement and mobilization of the society to the ecomuseum project. The goal is that this experience should be an aware and participatory action of subsidiarity, oriented towards the sustainable development of the territory. These aims cannot be reached without an interactive communication and dialogue with the local community.

An effective community involvement in the ecomuseum activities must be, therefore, favored by a permanent communication to the territory and its inhabitants, which not only encourages participation, but also is capable of making the community aware of the social and economic benefits, that the ecomuseum can produce. Only in this way the ecomuseum can be considered and may actually act as an instrument of popular knowledge, community planning and local development, in its economic and socio-cultural meanings.

Third and finally, the problem of the size of the ecomuseums and their funding systems require further development. The problem of the size scale is an issue that concerns the cultural institutions in general (Donato, 2013). The ecomuseum, by its nature, cannot be separated from being rooted in small realities, even characterized by low population density and difficult access to financial resources. The overcoming of the reduced size scale of ecomuseums would mean in some cases the overcoming of the proper meaning of the ecomuseum and therefore this cannot be the correct way to go through.

A correct solution in this regard would appear instead to develop (and in the experience of the Ecomuseum of Argenta is interesting) a system of networking and institutional partnerships with other ecomuseums or similar situations, which would allow the increase the critical mass and the political weight of the ecomuseum, without distorting its original meaning. This possible solution, however, is not enough to solve the problem of access to finance. In this sense, an increased focus on systems and tools for fund-raising in the ecomuseums appears necessary. In particular, a quite innovative tool as crowdfunding (Belleflamme *et al.*, 2014) seems to be particularly suitable for developing and financing the ecomuseum activities. This tool has already been introduced in the cultural sector in general, and has produced many success stories. The ecomuseum perspective seems particularly suited to meet the goals of crowdfunding, and represents therefore an important opportunity for the future development of ecomuseums, which can still give an important contribution to the collective growth of the society.

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Diversity and Social engagement: Cultivating a Working Class Theatre Audience

Barrett, Maria

PhD Candidate, University of Warwick Centre for Cultural Policy Studies

Warwick, UK

Head of Enterprise, Liverpool Institute for the Performing Arts

Liverpool, UK

m.barrett@lipa.ac.uk

Abstract

Bourdieu's *Distinction* examines the relationship between "taste" and class, and identifies culture as a field of struggle. Thus theatre venues, their rituals, and "paraphernalia", are sites which signal and reinforce ownership of valorised capital and audience members' relative positions in the field.

This research uses empirical, ethnographic methods such as thick description, depth interviews, and organic digital data analysis to examine theatre as a site for struggle, using Liverpool's Royal Court Theatre as a locus.

It finds that the Royal Court has cultivated a working class audience by promoting a particular form of theatre repertoire and content including tropes around nostalgia for a shared class experience. Moreover, the redesign of its auditorium and its distinctive business model has created a ludic physical space which exploits liminality and encourages participation.

The paper has implications for policy makers, theatres and cultural institutions in deepening understanding of how the "socially disadvantaged" can be cultivated. It further explores the relevance of Bourdieu's "conceptual triad".

Keywords: theatre; theatregoing; audiences; class; taste

Introduction

Despite the ongoing policy focus of participation and inclusion, various studies (Chan *et al.* 2008; McDonnell & Shellard 2006; Bunting *et al.* 2008) suggest that those who are "socially disadvantaged" remain less likely to attend theatre. While funding and ticket subsidy are often justified in terms of social inclusion, empirical research (Morris *et al.* 1999; Chan *et al.* 2008) shows that pricing is only one small part of what are sometimes called "barriers" to attendance (Morris *et al.*, 1999: 11). At the same time, contemporary policy-inspired empirical research into theatregoers and non-theatregoers (Hayes 2006; Creative Research 2007; Scollen 2008; Bunting *et al.* 2008) reveals an anxiety about theatregoing expressed through a preoccupation with dress, convention and other forms of ritual. However, much of this research does not distinguish on the basis of class.

This study uses empirical methods to examine mainstream theatre as a site for struggle, using the Royal Court Theatre, Liverpool, as a locus. The Royal Court has been successful in attracting to its audience people from the most deprived wards of the country, as well as many first time attenders, in stark contrast to the class origin of the prevailing theatre audience according to the empirical studies. The paper uses "thick description" (Ryle 1971; Geertz 1973; Denzin 1989) and focus groups to examine the field of theatregoing and the perception of it by theatregoers from some of the most disadvantaged wards in the UK, in order to illuminate some of the signs that may make working class people aware of something of which they are, according to Bourdieu, generally unconscious.

This builds on Pierre Bourdieu's work on the relationship between "taste" and class (1984). In *Distinction* Bourdieu (1984) suggests culture as a field of struggle, creating and amplifying class-related aesthetic preferences. According to Bourdieu, theatre venues, and the rituals and "paraphernalia" (1984: 34) associated with them, are sites which both signal and reinforce ownership of valorised capital and audience members' relative position in this field, although this is something the agent in the field is generally unaware of. Expressions of anxiety suggested in the empirical research however may suggest that people are in fact conscious of unwritten rules and conventions which may seem "natural" (1984:172) to the regular theatregoer, and can be reflexive about their own position in the field.

The paper addresses issues such as how people who are "socially disadvantaged" (Harvie, 2009:75) experience the theatregoing event; what are the signals that reinforce ownership of valorised capital and audience members' relative position in the field of theatregoing; whether anxieties about theatregoing expressed, and if so what are the anxieties, and how far they relate to unwritten rules or *nomos* in the theatregoing field. Thus the paper also further explores the relevance of Bourdieu's "conceptual triad" (Wacquant, 2006:9) through contemporary theatregoing.

1. Bourdieu: taste, and the conceptual triad

Bourdieu (1984) explains the relationship between social class, educational attainment and attendance at cultural events, including theatre, as having multiple factors linked to the conceptual triad of habitus, field and capital. His explanation encompasses firstly a class-related aesthetic preference, an enjoyment of or antipathy to certain elements of form and content, and secondly a distrust of formal innovation that may be about creating distinction between the initiated and uninitiated. This distrust and preference is not "natural" (1984: 68) but has been inculcated through socialization, particularly upbringing and then education, and is manifest in the "conceptual triad" (Wacquant, 2006: 9) of field, habitus and capital. "Taste" is exhibited as well as reinforced by the environment of the cultural activity such as the theatre venue, and the manifestations and "paraphernalia" (34) within it that both signal and reinforce ownership of valorised capital and reinforce their position in the field; by the nature, and presence (or otherwise) of discourse around the event; and by the cost in both money and time, relative to poor or negative return on social capital. By using the conceptual devices of "field", "habitus" and "capital" (101), Bourdieu escapes narrow determinism and allows for agency within a structure. The ownership of the correct sort of cultural capital, a "competence and familiarity" (63), passed down by the family or learnt in school, the reinforcement through a validation by social capital, and its continued embodiment in the habitus, gives an advantage to the bearer in the correct field. While habitus is difficult, if not impossible, to be reflexive about, the more contemporary empirical research suggests that there is a consciousness of habitus or indeed its lack within the field of theatregoing. Contemporary empirical evidence by Creative Research (2007), Scollen (2008), Bunting *et al.* (2008) and Hayes (2006) suggests, amongst other things, a sense that the less regular theatre goer is conscious of unwritten rules or *nomos* which s/he expresses through a preoccupation with these *nomos* in terms of dress, convention and other forms of ritual; an anxiety about the correct habitus and intellectual/aesthetic capacity (being able to understand the art form or its content); and a sense of being out of one's "comfort zone" (Creative Research, 2007: 51) within the field. How this consciousness of capital, habitus and the sense of knowing your place is transmitted within the field of theatregoing is the focus of this paper.

2. Methodology and methods

The study uses a single case approach in order to investigate "a contemporary phenomena [sic] within its real life context" (Yin, 1994: 13). The Royal Court, Liverpool, was selected as the locus of this study following a visit where the researcher had noticed not just the constituency of the audience, but also some of the unusual tropes and rituals utilized at the theatre. These included Liverpool-centric programming drawing on a

“Scouse”² mythology, facilities such as the bar within the auditorium that recalled popular music hall or the working men’s club, the breaking down of the fourth wall, and the interval screen that showed local advertising reminiscent of the Pearl and Dean advertising of 1970s cinema (de Castella, 2010). On the face of it, there seemed to be a relationship between working class theatregoing and the experience of theatre and its environment, and illumination was sought in theory such as Bourdieu’s work on the stratification of taste in *Distinction* (1984).

2.1 The Royal Court Liverpool

In 2009, The Royal Court undertook an *Economic Impact Analysis* (2009) using a range of data including audience data captured at the box office, and postcode analysis of that data. According to this analysis, The Royal Court attracts audiences of 150,000-200,000 people per year, of which almost a third (32%) (Royal Court, 2009:2) report that they had previously never been to a theatre show before. As it also attracts a high number of repeat visits (70%, attend more than one show per year) (Royal Court, 2009:11), it may be inferred that some of the remaining 68% may have been first time theatre attenders who at the time of the study were on repeat visits. In other words, the Royal Court may not only be attracting a relatively high incidence of non-theatregoers, but perhaps converting some of them to regular theatregoers, or at least regular attenders at the Royal Court.

In terms of social class, postcode analysis presented in the Royal Court’s *Economic Impact Analysis* (2009) tends to support the notion that The Royal Court, Liverpool has been successful in attracting to its audience the socially disadvantaged, in that it attracts people from the most deprived wards of the country, as well as many first time attenders. This in stark contrast with the class origin of the prevailing theatre audience according to the empirical studies (Grisolia *et al.* 2010; Chan *et al.* 2008; Scollen 2008; McDonnell & Shellard 2006; Millward Brown 1991). The analysis reveals that a preponderance of Royal Court attenders come from north Liverpool (*top ten* postcodes mentioned in the report include L12, L4, L9, L13, L31, L36) (Royal Court, 2009: 6). The Royal Court further states that this is counter to the usual south Liverpool postcodes of “traditional” theatre attenders in Liverpool.

Liverpool City Council’s *Index of Multiple Deprivation* (2010) is useful in putting these postcodes in a socioeconomic context. Compiled a year after the Royal Court report, the *Index of Multiple Deprivation* uses data on a range of indicators including income, skills, environment and education from a wide range of sources to assess Liverpool’s deprivation against the national picture. Its overall finding is that “Liverpool remains the most deprived Local Authority area in England” (3). The analysis is broken down by ward. It finds that “The level of deprivation is particularly widespread and severe in neighbourhoods in north Liverpool [...] where almost all of the neighbourhoods are in the most deprived one or ten per cent” (ii) of the UK. Many of the Royal Court’s reported attenders come from these deprived areas, including Everton and Kirkdale (L4) which are particularly deprived, being home to “the most deprived one per cent nationally” (ibid.). Also in the Royal Court’s “top ten” attenders are three Wirral postcodes. “Wirral remains 60th most deprived [borough] nationally [of a total of 354] in the IMD [*Index of Multiple Deprivation*] 2010” (Risnes, 2011: 2). In other words, the Royal Court is not only reaching a non-theatre audience, but also an audience from the most deprived areas of the country. This is counter to the origin of the prevailing theatre audience according to the empirical studies referred to above. As the Royal Court puts it, “This leads us to believe that audiences are not traditional theatre audiences but are new to the theatre” (Royal Court, 2009: 6), not just in individual habits of theatregoing, but as social groups.

² Crowley (2012:107) defines *Scouseness* as a sort of performative socio-cultural identity, “not simply of Liverpool identity, but of Liverpool working class identity”. It is self-mythologising and self-referential; it goes beyond relating to an accent or dialect, and is an embodiment of an identity that is not only related to place but is gendered and class-based. It is a working class, white, male, Liverpool *habitus*.

Consequently, the Royal Court is a useful place to illuminate what it is about the Royal Court experience that helps socially disadvantaged audience members to feel within their “comfort zone” (Creative Research, 2007: 51), despite being in a cultural field that may be predicted to make them feel uncomfortable.

2.2 Thick description

Given that there are a variety of signs manifest that demonstrate ownership or otherwise of the appropriate cultural capital and habitus, and that those signs transmitted by the field of legitimate culture can all be deduced by those entering the field, thick description was judged to be a useful method by which to identify the signs themselves and to examine the ways in which these signs may be transmitted.

Thick description was conducted using the “descriptive-interpretive” aspect of Geertz’s thick description (Denzin, 1989: 544) to describe the context of the theatre venue at several events. Specifically, one performance of each shows in the 2013/4 season was attended, the selection structured to include a variety of matinees, and first and last nights.

2.3 Focus groups

Alongside this, an ethnographic approach was taken, using focus groups made up of members of the Royal Court, Liverpool’s Community Choir in order to explore audience members’ theatregoing experience. It was important to understand what signs were felt to be important by working class people who do attend theatre, how such signs are perceived, and how the perception of these signs might reinforce a sense of habitus, of being in or out of “a personal ‘comfort zone’” (Creative Research, 2007: 51), or of feeling “excluded or unwelcome” (Creative Research, 2007: 55). In other words how a sense of habitus is transmitted and perceived, or to use Bourdieu’s terminology, what are the manifestations of the field, produced by the field in question. Questions and prompts were based on categories drawn from both Bourdieu’s work and the contemporary ethnographic research (e.g. nomos, ritual, discourse, dress), as well as from the thick description (topography, architecture, relationship with/between audience members, tropes).

2.4 TripAdvisor

TripAdvisor was a useful online forum from which to scrape existing data created by audience members who had not experienced the Royal Court Choir. TripAdvisor is a Web 2.0 site publishing content about holidays and travel, hosting the opinions and ratings of consumers on a range of attractions including theatres and entertainment venues such as the Royal Court, Liverpool. The subsequent data in the form of reviews and images is readily available to all accessing the site.

Advantages of using TripAdvisor include the advantage for much User Generated Content (UGC) and other organic data, that is that the data is already collected and is accessible to the researcher. In addition, it is user-generated and is without the bias of a researcher or corporate moderator; as Branthwaite & Patterson (2011) point out, some of the advantages of such data are similar to that of other qualitative data collection, in that it *gathers spontaneous views and opinions* and gives *freedom for respondents to set the agenda and produce spontaneous ideas*. This leads to a greater level of neutrality, with a range of aspects of the venue/event being discussed based on the interests, observations and experiences of the theatregoer and their impression of what would interest their peers, rather than being framed or constrained by the interests and preconceptions of the researcher or the corporate moderator.

Users of TripAdvisor are also relatively free to share a range of opinions without risking the negative judgement of the site owner or moderator, compared to other sites which use UGC, such as fan sites and Facebook groups. Users also relate their reflections in their own vernacular, to an audience that may be imagined to be much like themselves. Consequently, whether reviews are positive or negative, the language tends to be open and helpful, intending to encourage, guide, or warn peers. Finally, in contrast with Twitter

and its 140 character limit, and with Facebook where *reviews* tend to be limited to one or two sentences, TripAdvisor reviews tend to use a paragraph or more to make their point, and so can comment in depth on an issue or can take in a broad sweep of issues. All of this results in rich data which may tell us much more about the experience than had people been asked in an interview. Finally, there are few ethical issues as contributors have volunteered their reviews and placed them in a public arena, and use of pseudonyms means individuals cannot be easily identified.

Using this *organic data* to supplement the *designed data* collected from interviews, focus groups and thick descriptions further strengthened it, as data tended to confirm or enrich data collected through the ethnographic and phenomenological methods outlined above.

The 2013-14 season of plays at the Royal Court, Liverpool, was selected as a sampling frame for the TripAdvisor analysis as it was the same season as the thick descriptions that had already been undertaken for this study. This meant that the researcher had the advantage of familiarity with all of the shows reviewed, as well as with the venue and its operation over that period. The TripAdvisor site is dynamic and is constantly updated with new reviews; in addition, it would be possible (although unusual) for reviews to be removed by users or by site administrators. Consequently, all reviews of events from the 2013-14 season ($n = 66$) were isolated and archived for analysis.

2.5 Methods of analysis

The data from thick descriptions, focus groups and TripAdvisor reviews was analysed using the categories drawn from both Bourdieu's work and the extant contemporary ethnographic research, as well as new categories drawn from close reading of the material (Jola *et al.*, 2011). This led to "thick interpretation" and consequently "thick meaning" of the findings (Ponterotto, 2006: 543). Themes included for instance, the importance of humour/comedy to working class theatregoers according to both Bourdieu (1984: 26) and McGrath (1989: 54); the importance of other audience members according to both the Creative Research (2007) and Scollen (2008) studies; the importance of *Scouseness* and the friendliness of staff according to some interviewees and focus group members. New themes, such as nostalgia, emerged and were added as the data was further analysed. Themes were then grouped into hierarchies of theme and sub-theme, leading to four final overarching themes: Show and Content; Venue; Comfort zone; and Discourse.

3. Findings and Analysis

3.1 Cultural Capital

As would be expected from both Bourdieu's discussion of the transmission of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984; Wacquant 2006: 31) as well as contemporary empirical research, many focus group members had been introduced to the theatre by family members, with focus group participants mentioning mums, dads, sisters and aunts as pivotal in passing down cultural capital. School trips were also important, not just in passing down capital but in reinforcing and valorising its importance, as in this example of Lynne's experience:

I had a teacher at school, the music teacher, who collected threepenny bits every Friday. If you were interested...and then when we had enough money, she'd buy tickets for the gods in every theatre in Liverpool, so by the time I was like ten, eleven, I'd been in every theatre, granted we were on the ceiling, y'know, but we'd been in every theatre, and, erm, she was my first introduction...she took us to *Lady Windermere's Fan*, or the operas, y'know, everything, *The Importance of Being Ernest*, every, every play, and it was, it was her that really gave me my love of theatre.

As may be expected from members of a community choir, participatory activities were also important as

introductions to theatre, with youth theatre being central to one member's introduction and a theatre open day to another:

Angie: When I first went to a theatre I was about 15, it was an open day at the Playhouse, and we tried all the costumes on and took pictures, and my picture was actually in the paper

Maria: Oh fantastic. You look very proud about that Angie

Angie: Yeah, I was like [laughs] *My God!* And then we kept going over to the theatre over there. With me Nan, and me Mum.

The unanticipated finding in terms of how people felt they were introduced to theatre was a familial relationship with entertaining. This is not necessarily family members who were part of the adjacent field of cultural production, and nor were they necessarily owners of a sanctioned understanding of culture or aesthetic appreciation of art which Bourdieu calls a "pure gaze" (1984:3). Rather these were families and family members who performed for enjoyment and to entertain each other:

Well my dad used to play the piano and the ukulele and the banjo, couldn't read a word of music, but he used to play, and we had a big bay window in our house with curtains that came across like that, we used to have our own pantomimes and plays, we'd sing, y'know lots of songs and everything, loved it (Patsy, Focus Group 2).

This and similar experiences were spontaneously volunteered by several older focus group members when asked about their early introduction to theatregoing, and in that sense they saw no particular separation between this and going to a theatre space for a professional performance of a valorised piece of theatre. This does not refute Bourdieu's conception of the inheritance of cultural capital, but adds a mechanism of transmitting capital that is perhaps culturally specific to the time and place where focus group members were growing up, i.e. Liverpool, England from 1940-60. As well as enlarging on methods of transmission of cultural capital, it may also suggest early embodiment of habitus leading to a level of comfort in the field.

3.2 Aesthetics

In *Distinction* Bourdieu (1984) lists a range of aesthetic elements and discusses these in terms of social class and education, suggesting that an "aesthetic disposition" (28) acquired through aesthetic training leads to a particular, valorised, bourgeois taste. Bourdieu's catalogue of aesthetic elements of theatre preferred by working class audiences encompass form and content and include a "less euphemised" form, "plain speaking", and "hearty laughter" (34). In addition, Bourdieu states that theatrical forms such as "circus and melodrama [...] offer more immediate satisfactions". Bourdieu summarises this working class aesthetic as a "pragmatic, functionalist 'aesthetic' [...] built on all the choices of daily existence and of art of living which rejects specifically aesthetic intentions as aberrations" (Bourdieu, 1984: 377). His list of aesthetic elements can be compared to McGrath's "Tastes of working class audiences" in his work *A Good Night Out* (1989:54), in which McGrath identifies "directness", comedy ("working class audiences like laughs"), and "effect" (defined as a need for constant engagement and "clear results") as important to a working class enjoyment of theatre. Thus both Bourdieu and later McGrath suggest a sort of working class aesthetic in terms of culture and specifically theatre. It is important to state that for Bourdieu (and for McGrath), this taste is not natural, but has been inculcated via the family through an inheritance/transfer of cultural capital, habitus and an inculcated understanding of the field, and completed and ratified via education (Wacquant, 2006: 31).

3.3 Aesthetics and repertoire: *local theatre for local people*

Analysis of the Royal Court's repertoire reveals a very Liverpool-centric, perhaps chauvinistic, programme. In addition to what What's On Stage (2009) describes as "Liverpool classics" (mostly local author Willy Russell,

such as *Our Day Out*, and occasionally Alan Bleasdale), most subject matter is local with repertoire drawing on local landmarks and vernacular; new commissions tend to use puns and local landmarks to identify themselves with Liverpool (*Scouse Pacific* 2010; *The Hitchhikers Guide to Fazakerley*³ 2013; *Scouse of the Antarctic* 2014). Plays that originate outside the city are adapted to fit local topography. For instance, *Dirty Dusting*, a comedy about three women working as cleaners who, threatened with redundancy, set up a sex chat line, was originally written for a Durham audience (Waugh & Wood, 2013). In the 2009 Royal Court Liverpool production, references were changed to suit a Liverpool audience. Similarly, *Ladies Day* had originally been developed by Hull Truck to coincide with Royal Ascot at York Racecourse, but for its run at the Royal Court, Liverpool, had been transposed to Aintree during the annual Grand National horse race. The word “local” is constantly reiterated in press releases and on the theatre’s website, and the unique character of Liverpool and its audience is emphasised: The Royal Court has “developed a unique style of theatre for Liverpool audiences [...] produced in Liverpool, starring Liverpool actors, written by Liverpool writers [...]” (Royal Court, 2011a). These strategies are seen by focus group members as one of the things that make them feel “at home”, with one member, Ursula, describing the repertoire as “local theatre for local people”. These strategies of localisation are not unique to the Royal Court, Liverpool, but the saturation of the programme in this way perhaps is.

3.4 Comedy: “hearty laughter”

Examination of the Royal Court’s repertoire certainly sustains Bourdieu’s notions of the importance of comedy and “hearty laughter” (1984:34). Every in-house show is a comedy. Comedy, and Liverpool’s alleged relationship to it, is highlighted throughout the programme and beyond (the press releases and the website, emphasised on poster). This is reflected in the building too; in 2007 the Royal Court hung in the foyer a plaque “commemorating four great Liverpool comics, Arthur Askey, Ted Ray, Robb Wilton and Tommy Handley...[Liverpool comedian Ken Dodd] said: “[...] I have always wanted to have a celebration of the great comedians of Liverpool who started it off. They made the Liverpool sense of humour famous all over the world” (Liverpool Echo, 2008).

Comedy is used to promote accessibility and to counter the notion of theatre as an elitist pastime. Shows are sold as “a good laugh [...] to round your week off” (High, 2009a). The audience is itself emphasised and (unusually for theatres) depicted on the website; the image shows the audience laughing (Royal Court 2011b).

3.5 Identification: class

The Royal Court’s repertoire contains what may be called heroic tales of working class people in working class professions, often depicted in the site of struggle that is the workplace. Protagonists are working class and the subject matter is their workplace; characters have low-skilled, blue collar occupations such as taxi driving (*Night Collar*), cleaning (*Dirty Dusting*), council workers (*Council Depot Blues*), shop assistants (*A Fistful of Collars*) or beauty technicians (*The Salon*). The *mise-en-scène* is the workplace (shop, factory, call centre), or the night out (the bingo or the club). Characters make good, often by getting rich quick, either through luck (*Funny Money* - Danny finds “two million quid” on the bus (Royal Court, 2010); *Lucky Numbers* - Nana wins the Lotto); or cheek/resourcefulness (*Dirty Dusting* - cleaners threatened with redundancy make money by setting up a weekend chat line).

A closer examination reveals recurrent themes, such as local rivalry (*Brick up the Mersey Tunnels*, but also untrustworthy characters played in a Manchester accent in *Ladies Day* for instance) and a distrust of authority. The theme of wish fulfilment is often centred on money, but lack of money is also a barrier without

³ Fazakerley is a north Liverpool suburb known for its housing estates, hospital and prison.

which the action cannot proceed (in *Ladies Day*, the finding of a handbag containing tickets to an enclosure and money to enjoy it is essential to the plot unfolding). There is perhaps further potential; for these plays to be about subversion, about revealing inner psychological truths, about exposing the nature of society to the audience, about education in its wider sense. However, according to some critics, the plays are “too formulaic, the characterisation baldly stereotypical, and much of the humour wouldn’t be out of place in the crudest standup routine” (Hickling of *The Guardian* in 2009, here about the sell out and oft-repeated *Night Collar*, although he is similarly unenthusiastic about *Dirty Dusting*).

Fearon, the theatre’s Chief Executive, says they “aim to provide the best for our audiences and they can trust us to send them home happy” (What’s On Stage, 2009), and this is supported by regular performer Eithne Brown, who defines “a Royal Court show” as “a lot of fun for audiences, with characters that they will immediately identify with” (High, 2009b).

3.6 Aesthetics: form

Fused with content is form, and Bourdieu’s empirical research suggests a class-related aesthetic preference in form, and a distrust of formal innovation. According to Bourdieu, working class people preferred a “less euphemised” form, “plain speaking”, and “hearty laughter” (1984: 34), as well as forms which “offer more immediate satisfactions” (he gives the culturally-specific example of melodrama). Similarly, McGrath in *A Good Night Out* (1989: 54), identifies “directness”, comedy, and “effect” (defined as a need for constant engagement and “clear results”) as important to a working class enjoyment of theatre.

Drawing on thick description and the published repertoire, the form of shows at the Royal Court, Liverpool can be briefly analysed. Plays are almost always set in the present day and in settings familiar to a working class audience. There is little abstraction in set and costume design, and often set items are what they purport to be and require no suspension of disbelief. *Ladies Day* for instance is set in a food-packing factory, so the actors are uniformed in white overalls and catering hats.

Stories tend to be narrative and told sequentially in chronological fashion, although flashback can be used. First person narrative is sometimes used as a structuring device. Language is robust. Lines are “nearly always deliver loudly and with little subtlety” (Liverpool Live, 2014). Characters tend to the caricature rather than the well drawn, and there is little character development. As for a West End musical, the actors are miked. Some commentators have described delivery of content as “crowd pleasing” (critic Jones, 2014, on *Special Measures*) and “playing to the gallery” (local arts blog Made Up, 2011, on *Scouse Pacific*).

Music is important, not just in programming musicals or music-inspired shows like *Lennon*, but in other plays too. There is much use of local music (for instance Northern Soul in *Special Measures*, and Liverpool bands the Lightning Seeds and Mighty Wah in *YNWA*). In addition, *Special Measures* used music and dancing to cover the transitions, perhaps to make the message more palatable: “I think that [the music], that made it as well. So it was a balance of it being fun and musical light with the political side” (Susan).

Music is used as a point of recognition and for participation, rather than to move the story along as in the case of musicals.

The most important and distinctive element of the form of theatre at the Royal Court though is the atmosphere generated. This is festive and communal, and audience participation, in the form of call and response or singing along, is encouraged. The *Fourth Wall* (the convention of an invisible separation between audience and performers) is often breeched, and verbal exchanges take place between audience and cast, creating a relationship with the actors and adding to the experience of the show:

Sarah: Yeah. But I think it’s different here in terms of if you’re heckling [agreement from the group] and the performers that you have here can deal with that, whereas it would be very unseemly in anything else [...]

- Maria: So you like participation here but you don't [at the Everyman]? And it's partly because it's a sort of banter
- Sarah: Yeah. I don't shout out, but I like to, I enjoy the banter, it doesn't spoil the performance
[....]
- Susan: I think here the banter sort of makes the performance more; the shows are funny as is, but with the banter, I think it makes it more, it adds [yeah, it adds].

The emphasis is on having fun through direct engagement between the audience and the performers, but the *banter* goes beyond this to participation, almost collaboration. While some shows have little by the way of narrative flow or dramatic urgency, this doesn't seem to matter, it's the taking part that counts. Endings are not moral or constructive, but rather celebratory and participative. There is resolution to narratives, but the real resolution is for the audience; invariably there is an opportunity to get out of your seat at the end and dance, sing along, or, in the case of *YNWA*, a history of Liverpool Football Club, wave your scarf. There is an almost cathartic sense; audience members can finally join in. Hickling (2010) characterises this as "adult pantomime".

It is important to note that while there are similarities of form across many of the shows, there are some that conform less to these fixed categories, particularly where they are productions with origins elsewhere, such as *Once A Catholic*, a co-production with Tricycle Theatre. *Sons of the Desert* was literally a live version (word for word, action for action) of the short Laurel and Hardy film of 1933, although the first half compensated by being set in a Liverpool music hall. *Special Measures*, the only overtly political play in the 2013/4 season, used an almost agit-prop form with dialectic and polemic, interspersed with music from the Northern Soul back catalogue. Nonetheless, the important elements of plain speaking and robustness of language, identification, participation and celebration were very much present.

Overall, the form of theatre at the Royal Court can be described as hearty, honest and down to earth, full of "plain speaking" and generating the "hearty laughter" suggested by Bourdieu (1984: 34). There is constant audience engagement and this is an embodied engagement, with the audience's contributions to the show important to what is a "good night out".

3.7 Environment

Bourdieu also suggests that the very environment of the major theatres, alongside galleries and museums, serves as a separating mechanism which is perhaps discerned by the working class audience:

Formal refinement [...] is part of the paraphernalia which always announces the sacred character, separate and separating, of high culture – the icy solemnity of the great museums, the grandiose luxury of the opera-houses and major theatres, the decor and decorum of concert-halls. Everything takes place as if the working class audience vaguely grasped what is implied in conspicuous formality, both in art and in life [...] (Bourdieu, 1984:26).

In contrast,

At the Royal Court, theatre is sold as part of a package which includes dinner and a drink in the "cabaret style" stalls (Royal Court, 2015a). The stalls seats were removed in an earlier incarnation as a popular music venue but have not been replaced by traditional red plush tip-up theatre seats; this gives the effect of breaking down the elitism which is otherwise inherent in or associated with a proscenium arch. Instead there is a newly restored auditorium, the Art Deco splendour complementing the traditional proscenium arch picked out in gold.

The auditorium is full of traditional red plush, and there is a beautifully-lit red velvet gilded curtain. To the sides, the royal boxes remain, facing outwards to the auditorium to show off their occupants rather than towards the stage to see the show. Contrasting with this are very modern gloss white curved bench tables, like a casino or an expensive lecture hall, following the sweep of the whole auditorium. At the front are several round, cabaret-style tables. Some audience members sit around the tables in convivial groups, with pints, wine buckets and food. Half the stalls have come for dinner, and the auditorium smells of salt and vinegar and chips. Other audience members share the long white curved tables, sitting in rows on comfy red plush swivel receptionist seats. Tables have numbers on, displayed in number holders like placements at a wedding. During the pre-show, there is some movement around the auditorium, to get drinks and to say hello and mingle. Most of the audience are already seated when I get here, the preshow as important as the show, perhaps facilitated by the bar at the back of the auditorium (Thick Description 1, *Ladies Day* 12th July 2013).

The eclectic, “pub grub”-style dinner menu includes the “The Royal Court’s famous ‘scouse” (Royal Court, 2015b), and this is the only dish available at the daytime *Variety Lunch* events:

This is the first time I have entered the auditorium without being overwhelmed by the smell of fish and chips, but there is a homely food smell nonetheless. I’m at the curvy end of row again, between a big woman and a small man. Somehow being sandwiched between this Bamforth postcard coupling seems fitting for a *Variety Lunch*. I realise I really have no idea what to expect from a *Variety Lunch*. I’m surprised by how busy the auditorium is though, busy enough to have the Circle seats open upstairs. A hot bowl of scouse arrives unordered just as I sit down. I look around. Everyone’s having scouse. The set for *Once a Catholic*, the evening show, is up, but with a mic in front, centre stage. The set is a stained glass sunburst surrounding a purple rhombus of plush curtain. The bar is open at the back of the auditorium and is moderately busy, mostly selling pints and halves of lager. There is also a tea urn set up at the front with a small queue that never seems to go down, one patient grey haired person in a cardigan replacing another.

My scouse arrives. Scouse is the eponymous local dish, apparently named for Lobsouse, a sailor’s stew. In Liverpool, it is traditionally served with red cabbage, and everyone seems to have their own recipe, claiming everyone else’s as “not proper scouse”. This one is a soupy version, eaten from a bowl. There are chunky potatoes and carrots and big pieces of lamb with ribs of savoy cabbage. It isn’t dainty, it’s old school and traditional. And it isn’t bad at all. A grey woman in powder blue walks very slowly up the aisle trying not to spill a mug of tea. Everyone has mugs, there are no genteel cups and saucers. People with sticks are struggling to get along rows. People are laughing. (Thick Description 5, *Variety Lunch*, 2014).

The environment then is relaxed, homely and friendly, with strangers chatting and offering drinks to strangers when they get a round. The seating, reminiscent of a bingo or social club, facilitates group chat. Members of both focus groups mentioned feeling “at home” in the environment of the Royal Court. This is reinforced in an

interview with a local newspaper by actor and Royal Court regular Eithne Browne: “[...] a woman stopped me to say ‘thank you, we love coming to the Royal Court, it’s our place’” (Jones, 2009).

3.8 Discourse

In his chapter *The Choice of the Necessary*, Bourdieu (1984: 373-397) suggests that the lack of value placed on “legitimate culture” limits its discussion amongst working class people, and further that entering into such discussion would actually create a loss of social capital due to the social opprobrium gained through “pretension”, of being seen as wishing to distinguish oneself, which would ultimately be interpreted as a “refusal or repudiation of the group” (Bourdieu, 1984: 379-380). When asked about the difficulties of talking about cultural experiences in social groups back home after the performance, the members of the focus groups did not find a resonance here. For example, one member, Lynne, says:

Yeah, yeah, my parents were very interested and my grandfather, my grandfather especially, you know what ever I went to see, I used to go home and relate the whole thing to him and do all the actions, and what was going on, and y’know, this one did this one and she had a fairy hat on and y’know all the rest of it.

There was general agreement amongst focus group members that they had not found this “social opprobrium” to be an issue. This may be for a number of reasons. One may be that it had not been experienced, that, contrary to Bourdieu’s findings, such discussion actually occasions a rise in social capital within this particular culture/social group, perhaps because of the culture or social group’s familial relationship with theatre and performance as discussed earlier. Another reason may be an unwillingness to discuss social opprobrium within a setting such as a focus group. It is also possible that some members may be actively seeking to use the distinction lent by such capital as a separating mechanism themselves, to step out of their class, rather than having the positive desire for class identity and solidarity that Bourdieu suggests. Indeed, one focus group member consistently indicated her distinction from her peer group and family, talking of her special interest and discernment (“I used to pick all the music, because I was the one that was always interested in classical music”. Lynne, FG2).

3.9 Sense of “distinction”

Theatregoing as a separating mechanism was talked about in three ways. The first was between “proper theatre” (Lynne, Focus Group 2), and more populist entertainment such as musicals and pantomimes, and the people who attended them.

Maria: So that’s interesting because you talked about it was “just” musicals, and you said “proper plays”. [...] What’s a “proper play” then?

Sarah: “Proper plays” in my head are the ones that not a lot of people have heard of and they might be a little bit more obscure and it’s, sort of, you know, thespian, y’know, rep [repertory theatre, a valorised form of theatre] kind of thing

Interestingly though, many of the participants of the focus groups claimed a liking, and sometimes a preference, for valorised works from what might be called the theatrical canon, such as Euripides’ *Medea*, or for the social comedies of Oscar Wilde. It was interesting that where this was the case, some focus group members sought to downplay or apologise for their own aesthetic preference, as focus group member Edna does here:

they did some brilliant stuff on there, lots of musicals, erm, Roy Orbison, the Beatles, loads of stuff, and also, erm, things that I loved - call me a miserable

cow! [Laughter] - I loved Greek tragedy like *Medea*, would sit for four hours, and erm Shakespeare stuff and all that.

This tempering of enthusiasm is consistent with Bourdieu's discussion of social pressure and the desire to not be seen as wanting to step out of class positions, and a positive desire for class identity and solidarity (Bourdieu, 1984: 383).

The second way in which theatre was talked about as a separating mechanism was in relation to dress:

Sarah: You know, because I'm, I'm sort of looking at all these people who have got dressed up dead posh and I'm going in there going, I do this all the time, this is nothing different for me, and it sort of...you know, you think you're better than I am, but you're not. [Laughs]

Maria: I think it's really interesting. So you're consciously saying, I'm not..

Sarah: This is a not an elitist pursuit. You know. And it shouldn't be. [...]

Ursula: Because you go so regularly, it's normal for you...

Sarah: It's normal, and I want it to be normal for other people

Ursula: [...] other people who do it like every blue moon and think of it as a so special that they have to get dressed up

Sarah: But I think there's something else, I think there's other people that go *look at me because I'm dead posh* at the theatre.

It is interesting that Sarah felt not only that dress was used as a separating mechanism and that this had a relationship to elitism, but was something she felt she actively tried to subvert. It was also interesting that Ursula felt that others who attended theatre less often would not have the same confidence, and later Susan in the same focus group felt the need to reclaim her right to dress up.

Finally, theatregoing and aesthetic preference seemed to be used as a mechanism that distinguished some audience members from others in their own social class. As mentioned briefly in the previous section, focus group member Lynne re-asserted her particular taste and discernment: "The teacher was interested enough to pick the ones out who were interested" – of which she was one, and a significant one at that. She claims this for her family too, as if this is an inherited distinction: "Yeah, I've got a very subtle sense of humour [...] I've got an eldest daughter [...] she went to university and did literature, but she read Shakespeare when she was six". It is perhaps not surprising that some working class people are using theatre as a strategy for distinction, but this is against Bourdieu's sense of a desire not to be seen to step out of your class. This may represent a change or difference in 21st century working class culture in England where social pressure is individually aspirational rather than communal, reflecting an atomising of society and a fracturing of class (Voigt 2007; Tyler 2015:112); or perhaps it exposes a generalizing about class solidarity in Bourdieu's thinking.

3.10 Field

According to Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992: 105), a field should be analysed by its power relationship with other fields, alongside "agents or institutions" within that field. Some of the focus group discussion does give some sense of the Royal Court within its field: "You get your regional kind of humour, local theatre for local people here, then you get your big West End shows, you get your proper musicals up at the Empire...you get your comedies or your locals at the Neptune" (Sarah, FG1). A field analysis, further exploring and examining the relationship with power that is expressed by, through and within the field of theatregoing through its various distinctions, and how these signs of distinction are manifest and perceived, would be useful.

Conclusion

While Bourdieu himself was clear that the findings of his empirical research were culturally-specific, he is similarly clear that he had attempted, through using the specific “exemplary case” of French society at a certain time, to propose a “model which aspires to universal validity” (Bourdieu, 1996). To achieve this, he suggested avoiding concentration on particular cases and practices (such as a working class preference for melodrama) in favour of looking at the relational model, the invariant, the structure. Consequently it is neither possible nor desirable to map the experience of working class theatre in Liverpool in 2010-14 onto the socio-cultural conditions of 1960s and 1970s France. Nonetheless it is interesting to see that the power relationships Bourdieu described are present, relevant, and being played out in Liverpool theatregoing in 2014.

Specifically, cultural capital for these participants has been transmitted largely as Bourdieu suggested, through upbringing and ratified by education. However there is the added dimension in some cases of a socialised feel for theatregoing inculcated through participation in informal performance at home. This may in some cases be responsible for a “feel for the game” (Bourdieu, 1990: 109) that becomes embodied in the habitus, allowing some socially disadvantaged people to feel comfortable in a milieu that might be expected to make them feel discomfited.

Working class aesthetic preference in content and form is being delivered at the Royal Court Liverpool, and attendance figures suggest that this is successful in attracting and retaining working class audience members. Participation is central to that, as is a sense of nostalgia and shared references. However, some working class people claim a more “omnivorous” preference (Peterson, 1992), to include valorised theatre such as the classical, alongside popular forms such as musicals.

The theatre environment is central in making people feel “at home” (Focus group members). “Icy solemnity” (Bourdieu, 1984:26) has been replaced at the Royal Court by a more open and relaxed space, creating a sense of home, of “our place” (Jones, 2009). Some evidence of this emanates from members of the Community Choir, who may have been assumed to feel more “at home” than audience members with no participatory connection to the theatre. However, the evidence from the TripAdvisor sample suggested that they experienced a similar level of comfort within the Royal Court.

Contrary to Bourdieu’s assertion, participants in the research do not report any sense of social opprobrium when discussing theatregoing, and some positively stated the opposite, that discussion of theatre increased their social capital. Indeed, some working class theatregoers are using theatregoing as a separating mechanism within their class, to demonstrate superior discernment or intelligence. This may be due to a fragmentation of class solidarity, or perhaps an overstatement of homogeneity on the part of Bourdieu.

It is interesting to see that theatre and theatregoing continue to act as separating mechanisms in twenty-first century Britain. The Royal Court, Liverpool, has successfully countered this by transmitting a range of signals that tell the audience that the theatre is their space. This includes a repertoire of straightforward storylines based on local and class-related themes including nostalgia; and familiar, local performers, giving audience members a sense of knowingness. In addition, the redesign of the theatre’s auditorium with its clusters of tables rather than rows of traditional theatre seats, and its distinctive business model in which food is sold alongside theatre, has created a ludic physical space which exploits liminality and encourages participation. Other cultural spaces could learn from this model by adjusting the content of their cultural offer not only by presenting subject matter that may attract non-traditional audiences and participants, but also to reflect their modes of being an audience member, that may for instance be participative rather than passive. Finally, addressing how the space is occupied and allowing audiences to congregate and use the space in ways they may be more familiar with and that allow them to engage socially with others like themselves can help audiences to make the institutional space into a place of their own.

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Eastern Partnership and European Project: Cultural Ecosystem, Policies and Values

Biletska, Tetiana

Independent consultant on capacity building and policy elaboration, Capacity Building Expert of the Eastern Partnership Culture Programme 1 (2011 – 2015), Expert of Culture Coding EaP project

Dresden, Germany / Kyiv, Ukraine

tetiana.biletska@gmail.com

Abstract

The research, aimed to analyse cultural cooperation between the European Union and the Eastern Partnership (EaP) countries, resulted in the following main conclusions. Identification of common interests of the EU and partner countries should be the central point of cultural relations based on a comprehensive strategy and an in-depth multicultural approach. The projects exploring and formulating common values and addressing the theme of reunification of Great Europe could be in the focus of cooperation. Attention to national culture as a key element of overcoming post-colonial syndrome and importance of national identity formation in the context of societal transformation of the EaP countries should be properly understood and interpreted by the EU side. Coordinating of efforts of all donors active in the region is essential in order to avoid duplication of activities and concentrate resources in support of cultural reform.

Keywords: culture in external relations; cultural diversity; policy reforms; capacity building

Introduction

The research is aimed to analyse the current successes and gaps of cultural cooperation between the European Union (EU) and the Eastern Partnership countries⁴ and identify opportunities for closer and more efficient cooperation. The methodology combines desk research, interviews and consultations with cultural actors conducted in October 2011 – February 2015 in the framework of the Eastern Partnership Culture Programme 1 (2011 – 2015) and in May – July 2015 within the project by *More Europe – external cultural relations* on the cultural dimension of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) of the EU. Interviewees represented public and private institutions, the civil society, think tanks, independent cultural actors and activists, national and local authorities, and international and intergovernmental organizations from the EaP and EU countries. The recommendations and conclusions are also based on over nine years professional experience of the author gained within cultural management and policy assignments for Ukrainian public and private institutions and projects. Specific goals of the cultural policies of the EaP countries are formulated in the context of ongoing Culture Coding EaP policy project (September – November 2015) and aimed to elaborate concepts and road maps for cultural policy development in the four EaP countries – Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine.

Cultural relations have an important impact on many areas, including conflict prevention and peace-building, the development of cultural and creative industries (CCIs), the reinforcement of dialogue between societies, the strengthening of freedom of expression, and the support of social, human and economic development, which are all objectives of the EU external policies. Therefore, culture plays a key role in the relations

⁴ Six Eastern Partnership (EaP) countries – Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine – are “Eastern Partners” of the EU and along with ten South Mediterranean countries form so called “European Neighbourhood Partnership countries”/“ENP countries”. In this article cultural sector and policies of only six EaP partner countries are addressed, but some remarks on common issues for both neighbourhood regions are also done.

between the EU and its Neighbourhood countries and the Eastern Partnership countries in particular. Cultural cooperation of the EU with the Eastern Partnership countries is studied and evaluated in line with such category as “contribution of culture to sustainable development”. EU foreign policy values and goals and culture related values and goals of the partner countries were also in focus of the research. The differences between the six EaP countries were taken into consideration as far as possible. Proposed recommendations are focused on identification of the area of common interest of both sides of cultural relations – the EU and the partner countries. The article includes extensive information on available EU-funded instruments for cultural cooperation with the EaP countries. Special attention is dedicated to recent cultural policy elaboration processes and initiatives in the Eastern Partnership countries and to best practices of cultural cooperation projects with partners from the EaP and EU countries.

1. Political context of the cultural relations between the EU and the Eastern Partnership countries

Geographically, the Eastern Partnership region unites two smaller regions: Eastern Europe and the countries of the Southern Caucasus. The region is very diverse ethnically, religiously, linguistically, and politically. There is no distinct leading country in this region in terms of political aspirations and intention towards integration with the EU that are different from country to country. In addressing cultural issues at a regional level in EU-funded and other programmes, the fact that national interests and sensitivities will inescapably prevail over the regional dimension shall be considered. Post-soviet countries need first to distinguish themselves, before being ready to bond with other countries in the region, and able to do so while keeping their diversity.

The political changes that have taken place in the EaP countries over the recent three to four years need to be carefully considered and correspondingly reflected both in the agendas of the EU technical assistance in the cultural domain, and in respect to cultural relations as such. The political environment and socio-cultural climate in some of the EaP countries have changed dramatically. The political leadership of Armenia has decided to move towards closer connections with Russia by joining the Customs Union. Azerbaijan reconfirmed its slowing down democratic developments, and is imposing further limitations on its civil society. At the same time, it is also trying to promote itself as a mediator between East and West, and is interested in cooperating with the EU, but still on a rather formal level. Both countries suffer from the on-going Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. After the 2010 crackdown on civil society, Belarus’ national policies remain far from democratic. Cooperation with the EU, specifically on engaging civil society, has nonetheless continued in certain areas of mutual interest, such as the environment, regional development, and people-to-people exchange, including culture and education. Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine have all signed Association Agreements with the EU, which define their perspectives for the years to come. Georgia and Moldova keep up their attempts at democratisation and reform in a relatively systematic way. Ukraine’s intentions on European integration have radically transformed in form and content in recent two years, as it experienced a major political crisis, economic failure, and socio-cultural turmoil. The country is still coping with considerable internal problems and threats to its territorial integrity, including the military aggression from the Russian Federation on its Eastern borders and annexation of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea.

2. Cultural ecosystem and policies of the EaP countries

In relation to cultural policies, EaP countries differ in various aspects from many of the EU Member States. These countries are also very different from one another, and their cultural sector is very diverse too. At the same time, common problems and priority needs of the cultural sector can be identified (Sandell, Gloor, & Biletska 2012; Sandell, Gloor, & Biletska 2015). For instance, the structural weakness of the EaP countries includes such characteristics as a low level of development of the independent and private/commercial

cultural sector and “cultural market”; underdeveloped leadership in various parts of the cultural sector; and absence of shared agendas between the various parts of the cultural sector. All countries experience problems inherited from Soviet times and related to demographics, ethnic, and language issues; absence of genuine reform and change; lack of available information and transparency; capital-regions and urban-rural divides; and inadequate supply of trained personnel for cultural heritage and preservation priorities and needs. There is a tendency to neglect contemporary cultural production or give it low priority, and no real development of the creativity, creative economy, or CCIs agendas. There is also a lack of effective professional membership associations promoting various sub-sectors and their members, and generally developing the market and enriching the environment in which they create and produce. There is still a weak conception of culture as a potentially dynamic contributor to social, human, and economic development and to a wider modernisation (societal transformation) process at national, regional, and local levels. The current situation of the cultural sector in EaP countries is also characterised by a *great need for an inclusive and comprehensive cultural policy*, and yet by a *lack of clear strategy for sector development*, and an inadequacy of the institutional frameworks.

Since gaining independence, EaP countries keep making substantial steps to meet recognised international standards appropriate to their new statehood. EaP countries are active members of UNESCO and of the Council of Europe (CoE) (only Belarus has special Guest Status). The ratification of relevant conventions and introduction of a legislation related to culture, generally based on European models, reflects good intentions and a genuine aspiration to be earnest members of the international and European cultural community (Sundell, Gloor, & Biletska, 2012).

The transition to a new phase of socio-political and cultural transformations that is taking place in all the EaP countries and in the whole post-Soviet space within the last three years needs to be considered by the EU in line with the elaboration of a concise and clear strategy for its cultural relations with the ENP countries. In the case of some EaP countries, some of these changes could potentially result in a return to out-dated forms of governance and social structures. In other cases, on the contrary, it could lead to fundamentally new models of governance and social structures. These new models are most likely to be built with a strategic approach to reform and change, and a new type of relationship between the state and the civil society. This invariably entails a revision of the role of the different actors in all spheres of society, including the cultural sector. Such transition can be well illustrated, for instance, by the examples of Ukraine and Georgia.

The recent political and social conflicts in Ukraine pose sharp questions for *culture* in regard of its values, its role in society, its influence, and its place in the democratic development process. The current situation in the country and the development of national, regional, and local cultural policies and strategies – happening despite economic and political crisis and the military conflict on the Eastern borders of Ukraine – can fulfil the role of a *laboratory of changes* for other EaP countries and, possibly, other countries in transition. The so-called *Georgian Cultural Strategy Process* provides a noteworthy example of successful bilateral cooperation of the EU with one of the ENP countries. That inclusive process involves a wide range of national stakeholders and could be used as a case study for other EaP countries.⁵

3. Current status of the EU – EaP cultural cooperation

EU-funded programmes contributed to promoting the role of culture as a vector of democracy and human rights, mutual understanding through intercultural dialogue and exchanges, and collaboration on the preservation of cultural heritage. They also highlighted the access to culture for all as an essential right, and a means to understand and address fundamental matters that modern societies face throughout their current profound transformation. At the same time, most international and EaP local experts would agree that EU

⁵ More detailed information on both cases is provided in the chapter 3.2: *Contribution of Culture to Sustainable Development*.

cooperation in the field of culture has a great but not fully explored potential to foster societal transformation in the EaP countries. There is a lack of evidence-based systems of evaluation of the progress of the cultural sectors and policies, and of systems to assess the contribution of the EU-funded programmes and projects to positive changes happening in the region. Therefore, it is difficult to assess whether these changes resulted from the cultural cooperation with the EU, or if the ENP programmes successfully supported natural processes happening in the EaP countries.

3.1. EU programmes and instruments for culture⁶

The ENP supports culture in the six countries of the Eastern Partnership through regional and bilateral programmes.

Regional funding opportunities for culture-related activities in the six EaP countries started in 2009 and 2010 under the Special Action of the EU Culture Programme, with a clear political conditionality linked to the ratification of the 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. Ongoing regional support for cooperation projects involving the EaP countries is also provided through the Cross Border Cooperation Programme and Investing in People actions.

Since its launch in 2014, the Creative Europe programme is open for full participation to all European Neighbourhood Partnership countries, provided that agreements are signed with those countries wanting to participate in the programme and with a view to strongly encouraging artists and cultural and audio-visual operators to cooperate in a broad cultural space around Europe. At the moment, only Georgia and Moldova have signed agreements with the EU to join the programme. In May 2015, Georgia also launched two Creative Europe desks aimed at supporting the participation of national cultural institutions in the media and the culture sub-programmes of Creative Europe. Ukraine has been in the process of adjustment and preparation for the signature of the agreement.

The programme, however, is perceived by many EaP cultural professionals as “open but not accessible”, because of the strict conditions underpinning their participation (the so-called “entry ticket”, the signature of a Memorandum of Understanding between the EU and the partner countries’ national governments, the procedures requiring co-financing, etc.) Apart of the fact that only three of the six countries can have access to the programme (Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine), condition of co-financing of 40% within the grants under Creative Europe completely blocks the programme for independent cultural institution of Moldova, for instance.⁷

There has been only one EU-funded special regional programme for culture in the EaP region – the Eastern Partnership Culture Programme. The first edition of this programme was implemented from 2011 to 2015, and had two main components: support civil society and reinforce CCIs through regional cooperation grant projects; and technical assistance in preparation for cultural policy reform. According to some EaP experts and practitioners, the lack of a national focus in the programme has led to lower ownership of its results than expected.

The second phase of the programme, called *EU-EaP Culture and Creativity Programme*, is ongoing from 2015 to 2018. It involves all EaP countries, and has a much stronger national focus for each country. It is dedicated to research and mapping, to CCIs and cultural policy development, and to fostering cross-sector collaboration in the cultural sector, and increasingly involving EaP countries in international cultural cooperation projects. The programme does not include however grants to support cultural institutions or industries through regional cooperation projects. The overall objective of the programme is to further support the role and contribution of culture and creativity to the social and economic development of the EaP countries. Its specific purposes are: to develop and further strengthen the cultural and creative sector as

⁶ More information is provided in Appendix 1: *Additional information on cultural cooperation programmes and projects*.

⁷ More information is provided in chapter 4.4: *Tailor-made and efficient financial instruments*.

vectors of cultural, social, and economic development; to create synergies between public and private actors for a more efficient cultural sector; to enhance the contribution of civil society to cultural policy development and reform in the region by bridging the gap between state institutions, the private sector, and the civil society; and to strengthen the capabilities of the public institutions to facilitate their participation in international cultural cooperation initiatives, including the Media and the Culture sub-programmes of the Creative Europe programme. Based on a deep analysis of the lessons learnt within the EaP Culture Programme 1 (2011 – 2015) and the current state of play in the EaP countries, it was decided to pay special attention to the national aspects of this regional programme.

In regards to large scale regional cooperation projects, e.g. EaP Culture Programme, cultural actors from the region claim that the tender conditions simply do not provide the possibility for EaP local operators to compete with consultancy and technical assistance organisations from EU Member States. Besides, as EaP cultural operators cannot become main partners in the consortia implementing such programmes, a substantial amount of EU funds for the European Neighbourhood Partnership instruments returns to the EU, and supports the capacities of EU institutions and organisations rather than those of the partner countries.

In 2009 – 2011 the EU also supported the Council of Europe's Kyiv Initiative Regional Programme (and the Pilot Project *Rehabilitation of Cultural Heritage in Historic Towns* in particular), which brings together five countries of the EaP – Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine – and potentially attracts Belarus. Another joint EU – CoE project the *Community-led Urban Strategies in Historic Towns* (COMUS)⁸ was launched in January 2015 as a part of the EU-EaP Culture and Creativity Programme. It will be pursued until June 2017 in partnership with the Organisation of World Heritage Cities in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine. COMUS is made for exploring and testing urban planning models which respond to the practical problems in small- and medium-sized historic towns. The project is based on a set of existing conceptual guidelines inherited from other previous European heritage projects, e.g. *HerO: Heritage as Opportunity*, or the *Ljubljana Process: Rehabilitating our Common Heritage*, etc.

Independent European organisations, such as some cultural institutes or foundations, are also important actors in the field of culture for the EaP. For instance, projects funded by the European Cultural Foundation (ECF) aim at developing the capacities of the independent cultural sector, as well as public cultural institutions and policymakers, in order to positively influence on-going processes of cultural policy reform in the EaP countries.

There are no special EU-funded bilateral programmes for culture in the EaP region, but the needs of the arts and culture sector is addressed through bilateral programmes dedicated to territorial development, strengthening the civil society, education, youth, etc. Special bilateral cooperation tools like TWINNING and TAEIX (Technical Assistance and Information Exchange Instrument) are available for culture as well as for other sectors. Several TWINNING projects in the field of museum management, tourism, and heritage protection have been in the phase of implementation or are planned to be launched in the near future in Georgia and Azerbaijan.

Although the EU-EaP Culture and Creativity Programme is formally a EU regional programme for its Eastern Neighbours, it should nonetheless be mentioned in the context of bilateral cooperation due to its 'national' focus, its attention to the peculiarities of the situation in the arts and cultural sectors in each of the EaP countries, and its presence in the countries through individual focal points.

3.2. Contribution of Culture to Sustainable Development

Four years ago in the EaP countries, there was a tendency to define culture as a static element, consisting exclusively of heritage and *high* classical or tradition-based elements coupled with ethnic folk culture

⁸ It continues and develops mentioned above Pilot Project *Rehabilitation of Cultural Heritage in Historic Towns*.

(Sandell, Gloor, & Biletska, 2012). This was one of the major factors delaying cultural policy development and modernisation of the artistic and cultural sectors. The inclusion of culture into developmental frameworks and their specific agendas (e.g. culture and employment, culture and social cohesion, culture and *well-being*, etc.), which in the 21st century are becoming an integral part of the economic and social policy in most European countries, was also obstructed. Such an attitude was a psychological and practical barrier on the way to understanding the true nature of culture and its potential for economic, social, and individual human development in countries in transition.

The understanding of the role of culture for sustainable development in the EaP countries gradually changed within the life span of the Eastern Partnership Culture Programme 1 (2011-2015). These changes happened not only in the independent sector or among a limited number of cultural professionals, but also on the level of national and local authorities of the EaP countries. Different programmes and projects in the cultural field carried out by organisations and institutions such as the Council of Europe (cultural policy review and the Kyiv Initiative Regional Programme), the European Cultural Foundation and others mentioned in chapter 4.5: “Donors’ Coordination” contributed to this change. It is possible to illustrate the understanding of the role of culture for sustainable development in the EaP countries using the Eastern Partnership Culture Programme 1 as an example of a successful cultural cooperation between the EU and its Eastern Neighbours.

The programme provided multiple opportunities for public and private cultural actors of partner countries, (which in the past often stayed at the opposite sides of the barricades) to begin an inclusive dialogue on cultural policy matters. This process contributed to a further promotion of a better integration of culture into national, regional, and local development policies of the EaP countries. Cultural policy reforms became the major topic on the agenda of national and, in some of the EaP countries, local authorities. Combined with other capacity-building and cultural policy development initiatives, supported by independent players such as the ECF, these reforms resulted in promising advancements, e.g. the National Strategy for Culture adopted in Moldova in early 2011, and the Culture Concept of the Republic of Azerbaijan adopted by presidential decree in February 2014. There were also encouraging cases of practical application of the know-how skills transferred by the programme through country specific technical assistance provided to national and local authorities in Georgia and Ukraine. In 2014 and 2015, three participatory cultural strategy and policy elaboration processes were supported by international experts of the programme: the elaboration of the long-term Strategy for Culture 2025 in Georgia, at the request of the Ministry of Culture and Monument Protection; the elaboration of a developmental concept and an action plan based on cultural resources (film production), at the request of the Office for Economic Affairs of the Municipality of Tbilisi, Georgia, and; the elaboration of the long-term National Strategy for Culture 2015-2025 in Ukraine, at the formal request of the Ukrainian Ministry of Culture.

Both participatory cultural strategy and policy elaboration processes in Georgia are under way and have a chance of being supported within the EU-EaP Culture and Creativity Programme. The elaboration of the long-term Strategy for Culture 2025, also called by the national cultural actors Georgian Cultural Strategy Process was developed by the Ministry of Culture and Monuments Protection of Georgia and local experts in collaboration with the EU Delegation in Georgia, EaP Culture Programme, and international experts. In 2015, a major national consultation exercise has been undertaken by the present ministerial team. The Government of Georgia has initiated the process of laying foundations for the new national cultural strategy until 2025 by inviting cultural professionals to join the Georgian Culture Strategy Coordination Group.⁹ That has never happened in Georgia before in any sector, including arts and culture. The consultation process included dozens of sub-sectoral and public meetings in the country, and considered outcomes of previous teams managing the process since 2013. This seems to be the best example of an open and efficient

⁹ The invitation can be found at the ministerial web-site: <http://www.culture.gov.ge/topicdetails-11.13215.html>

cooperation between public authorities, civil society, and professional community in the country, as well as in the EaP region.

Elaboration of the National Strategy for Culture 2015-2025 in Ukraine had had been initiated by an informal group of cultural professionals initially (in 2014) acting under the aegis of the Ministry of Culture. The situation in Ukraine is different now, due to changes in the direction and coordination of efforts focused on reforming Ukraine's cultural policy, which took place after the new management team joined the Ministry of Culture in December 2014 and January 2015. As is typical of post-Soviet countries, the team, formed by the principle of political loyalty rather than professional competence, did not consider or respect the initiatives and working outcomes of the previous team, and launched its own process of strategy elaboration linked to general national human development strategy. It is possible to observe a variety of initiatives of public bodies, civil society, and think-tanks in Ukraine, dedicated to the elaboration of local and national cultural strategies focused on inclusion of culture into economic, social, and general country developmental strategies and agendas. Many of them deserve to be cited, such as: the work of expert groups on urgent changes to legislation aimed at improving the context for cultural activity coordinated by the Committee for Culture and Spirituality at the Verkhovna Rada (Parliament) of Ukraine; the activity of the Nestor Group, an interdisciplinary expert group working on the development of a strategic vision for Ukraine until 2025; the elaboration of local strategies considering cultural resources among major developmental factors by the cities of Lviv and Vinnytsia; the already mentioned group of cultural professionals institutionalised as Culture 2025 Platform of Strategic Initiative, which is continuing its activity independently; and finally the recent Long-term Strategy of Ukrainian Culture Development, elaborated in spring of 2015 by Ukrainian Centre for Cultural Studies allied to the Ministry of Culture.¹⁰

The change of perception of culture and its role in society is often accompanied by positive developments in the strengthening of civil society organisations in the cultural sector, and development of public-private civic dialogue and partnership. The main problems are a lack of coordination among all these activities, and a very limited mapping preceding many of these policy and strategy exercises. Alike other EaP countries, Georgia and Ukraine have very little experience with democratic and participatory country-wide strategy and policy elaboration processes. Both countries have to overcome their *developmental diseases*, such as the lack of institutional memory and a passion for reinventing the wheel by re-launching policy exercises over and over again. In such situations, the process is not less important than its results – it is much about the culture of participatory cooperation.

In addition to above mentioned initiatives and processes, a series of symbolic declarations were adopted within the EaP high level events in 2012-2014. The adoption of such documents demonstrates that the role of culture and its contribution to other social and economic agendas began to be accepted and promoted in the region. In October 2012, the First Regional Conference of the EaP Culture Programme 1 launched a regional debate on cultural policies in the countries. The discussion was dedicated *inter alia* to the role of culture for social, human and economic development. Over a hundred delegates representing public and private cultural institutions from the six partner countries – including Ministries of Culture, civil society organisations, cultural industries, the EC, the CoE, the ECF, and Culture Action Europe – agreed upon the need for strategic partnerships between the EU and EaP countries, which aim to contribute to the ongoing modernisation processes in the partner countries in the context of recognition of the importance of culture and cultural diversity for human, social and economic development of countries in the EU and beyond.¹¹ In June 2013, the six Ministers of Culture/Heads of the Delegations of the EaP countries agreed on the Tbilisi Ministerial Declaration that called on the EU “to pursue its support for the modernisation of cultural policies in

¹⁰ Preliminary draft document was published in Ukrainian on the ministerial web-site on 15 April 2015 at <http://195.78.68.75/mincult/uk/publish/article/404874.jsessionid=A225A5AD8BDDC02087A1CB96EA36CF4B.app1>

¹¹ *First Regional Conference of the Eastern Partnership Culture Programme Communiqué*. (2012).

the Eastern Partnership countries”.¹² In October 2014 participants of the Second Regional Conference of the EaP Culture Programme 1 stated that “the Programme has laid the foundations for shared values across language barriers”, “established the essential basis for sustainable development by acknowledging and promoting respect for cultural diversity within community-based approaches”, and “successfully demonstrated that culture is a driver and also an enabler for sustainable development that has the potential to contribute to societal changes on a global scale”.¹³

Also worth mentioning are the emerging projects and initiatives of a regional character carried out by the civil society and cultural professional communities in the EaP countries, aimed at developing cultural strategies and policies on regional, national and local levels, as well as promoting the role of culture in society. An ongoing initiative launched by civil society institutions in Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, and Georgia is aimed at elaborating the concepts of national cultural policies, which will serve as examples of cooperation among these four countries in the field. The initiative has a regional dimension and intends to create a road map for the elaboration of national cultural policies oriented to structure and lead societal transformation of participating EaP countries. The initiative as the Culture Coding EaP project is supported under the grants of the EaP Civil Society Forum. The Centre for Cultural Management (Lviv, Ukraine) is the lead organization¹⁴. After the completion of the pilot phase, implementing partners plan to present the first results of the project at the EaP Civil Society Forum in late November 2015, and invite actors from Armenia and Azerbaijan to join the initiative.

Another issue worth mentioning within the context of the role of culture for sustainable development in the EaP countries is that research and statistics systems, and indicators of progress, including those illustrating the contribution of culture to social, economic and human development, are still not elaborated, accepted, or used. Very limited capacities in the fields of research and statistics, and the lack of basic tools to evaluate the cultural sector limit the ability of the countries in the region to develop evidence-based policies. There has been an attempt to develop tailor made evaluation instruments within the EaP Culture Programme 1 – a tool for a status-analysis of the cultural policies in the EaP countries, which was applied in 2012 through the elaboration of the Analytical Base-Line Reports on Cultural Policies and Trends in the EaP countries, with updated annexes published in 2015. As a consequence of the earlier mentioned policy debates in the EaP countries, there slowly emerges an awareness of the importance of statistics and indicators on culture’s “potential to be a powerful driver for sustainable development, with community-wide human, social, economic and environmental impact” in the EaP region.¹⁵ It would make sense to encourage local authorities and cultural sector in EaP countries to continue using and further develop the already existing international and specific regional tools for the elaboration of their own status reports on a regular basis, within the EU – EaP Culture and Creativity Programme, as well as under other projects of cultural cooperation with the EU.

4. Conclusion and recommendations

Based on lessons learnt within the EaP Culture Programme 1 and other EU – EaP cultural cooperation projects and programmes implemented between 2009 and 2015, this chapter includes brief proposal on key principles of effective cultural cooperation and more detailed observations on some of the matters.

4.1 The key principles of effective EU – EaP cultural cooperation

The key principles of and important directions for effective cultural cooperation between the EaP countries

¹² *Declaration of the Ministers and Heads of delegations of the First Eastern Partnership Ministerial Conference on Culture.* (2013).

¹³ *Joint Conference Position Statement.* (2014).

¹⁴ ECF is the main partner from the EU, and other EaP partners are Centre for Cultural Policies, Moldova, Centre for Social Innovations, Belarus, Charity and Support Fund ‘Flying University’, Belarus-Lithuania, and International Foundation LEA, Georgia.

¹⁵ *Joint Conference Position Statement.* (2014).

and the EU meeting the interests of both sides and striving for long term results, can be formulated as following.

Identification of common interests of the EU and of the partner countries and need based support to development should be the central points of the approach to cultural relations with the Eastern Partnership countries including pragmatic aspect of circulation and consumption of cultural products as well as value based aspect.

In case of some EaP countries, for instance, Belarus, Moldova, and Ukraine, their historical self-identification as European countries should be considered and respected. The stress of cultural cooperation projects should be done on the concept of *re-unification of Europe* and rebuilding cultural relationship between the two sides of Europe when appropriate.

Attention to national culture in these countries is a key element of overcoming post-colonial syndrome of dividing themselves from the Soviet and formerly Russian empire should be properly understood and interpreted by the EU side. Art and culture development and *national identity formation* for the countries in transitional phase is closely linked to the process of general *societal transformation*.

One of the main challenges of European level large scale cooperation programmes lays in their regional dimension and the *necessity to balance between a regional approach and attention to national specifics*. EaP countries are very diverse; some are connected to the EU and others are closer to Asia. Ukraine is the biggest country in Europe, whereas Armenia is very small; Azerbaijan has a booming economy, while Moldova struggles and so on. Cooperation with such countries, for instance, as Belarus and Azerbaijan, can't be developed only on the basis of common values having in mind the status of democratisation and situation with the human rights in the countries. At the same time, difference of the foreign policy of the EU in regards to Belarus and Azerbaijan was obviously till recently based on the EU's strong economic interests towards the latter, which do not exist towards the former. Finding the golden mean by developing cooperation without compromising support to the values is another challenge of the EU cultural cooperation policy with some EaP countries (Sandell, Gloor, & Biletska, 2015).

The national actors are interested in *common projects based on two-side exchange of experience* instead of mentoring aimed at exploration and formulation of common European and global values. The involvement of national and local EaP expertise, best practices and learning materials, as well as the invitation of experts and practitioners from the countries recently experienced transitioning to democratic society, e.g. Baltic countries, Poland, Bulgaria, etc. should be always considered.

The methodological approach of the capacity building for the cultural actors of the EaP countries shall consist in the *appropriation of international standards and best practices through the concrete experience of the single EaP countries*, and led to regional recommendations, which suit several or all the partner countries.

Developing *relationships with national and local authorities* in the EaP countries, and supporting and stimulating *public-private partnership* between national stakeholders of the partner countries are also key issues. While developing public-private partnership and uniting different groups of stakeholders is crucial, it is also essential to dedicate a specific attention at the same time to the needs of different categories of audiences (e.g. representatives of the national authorities).

A *special communication strategy* for the Ministries of Culture and each country's national and local authorities shall be developed. Each of the EaP countries has its own specific situation in regard to the level of democratisation and advancement in cooperation with the EU.

Local authorities and communities in EaP countries are often more open to accept innovations and reforms. The *local level could serve as a pilot ground for initiatives* that should then be broadened to the central administrative level. In order to overcome the lack of institutional continuity in the process of change in the EaP countries, it is vitally important to develop professional communication with local and national authorities

at both personal and institutional level. In this respect, support to the elaboration and adoption (or endorsement) of strategy and policy documents within technical assistance activities is also essential. Attention should be paid as far as possible to the relationship with the *neighbours of the neighbours* including support to building of cross-border networks. Majority of the Eastern Partnership countries are interested in developing relations with other post-Soviet countries including exchange of best practices and experience and implementation of common pilot projects addressing common or similar needs. Such topics as *culture and migration*, *culture for reconciliation* or *culture and national identity of post-colonial countries* could be a subject of such cooperation projects. *Corners of Europe* is good example of a project aimed at creating new works of art through cooperation between artists deriving from countries on the *periphery* of the EU. The project included several two-week expeditions to Georgia, Azerbaijan, Ukraine and Kaliningrad (Russia), as well as *peripheral* EU regions and the Balkans. The relationships forged have led to many new works which have been toured around the regions. The project was initiated by Interkult, Stockholm and later supported by Creative Europe. Now it is led jointly in association with about 10 international partner organisations. One of the advantages of the *Corners model* is that it is decentralised with most of the power and functions devolved to individual members. This is in contrast to most large EU projects which seem, according to experts and practitioners, to be very hierarchical and hidebound with regulation.

4.2 Culture and crisis

In conflict-affected regions, cultural projects can help to reduce barriers in understanding and foster cooperation among different communities. This is particularly relevant in areas where “frozen conflicts” can be as much about cultural identity as about economic and political differences. At the same time, an under-evaluation of cultural factors and a shortage of appropriate culture related actions can become the crucial factors allowing internal – national level – conflicts as well as external conflicts between the countries to be established and developed. The case of Ukraine in respect to internal conflicts of socio-cultural nature as well as external conflict with Russian Federation illustrates the statement.

Reconciliation involves the acknowledgement of common values and a common space. Based on the fact of “transitional” status of the Eastern Partnership countries in political, economic and socio-cultural aspects, special attention should be paid to *internal reconciliation* of these countries and particularly Ukraine. The main, or the first task, would be to consolidate the society consisting of many groups with different (sometimes absolutely polar) visions of country’s future and the way of desired development and acceptable civilization model(s). Therefore, any cultural policies should be backed by profound sociological research and concentrated on identification of common and non-contradicting values that can be shared by majority of the groups in each country.

With appropriate design, cultural cooperation initiatives can help reduce the tensions. The EU is already engaged in certain efforts along these lines in South Mediterranean countries by supporting, for example, the bi-communal projects on both sides of conflict zones. Similar projects could perhaps bring partners together across the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan (including Nagorno-Karabakh), or across the border between Abkhazia and Georgia, or South Ossetia and Georgia (Burlyuk, 2014). Here again, the role of cultural institutes, networks and foundations have a crucial role to play in acting as the interlocutors and channels between civil society and authorities. Artists of both sub-regions are eager to learn from each other regarding the different experiences lived and beyond comparison. Some practical field work in that direction is already happening in Ukraine and in Georgia, but serious research is urgently needed.

In on-going conflict areas, culture can represent a space for mediation and transformation, a space of interaction, interconnection, and communication. Dozens of initiatives by art activists, volunteer movement and public institutions aimed at development of intercultural dialogue and reconciliation within the country were launched in the arts and culture sector since the beginning of military conflict in Eastern Ukraine.

Recently some projects aimed at developing dialogue and preventing escalation of the military actions are happening with the involvement of cultural actors and intellectuals from both countries – Ukraine and Russian Federation. Many charitable concerts, lotteries and other events have been held to raise funds for wounded soldiers, displaced citizens and museums in the conflict zones. Groups of artists, such as People's Philharmonic Initiative,¹⁶ visit Donetsk and Lugansk regions to play concerts before those on the frontline. Some projects provide art therapy and psychological support to the residents of the towns, e.g. Slovyansk and Severodonetsk in Donetsk region, freed from separatists. Within the New Donbas Initiative¹⁷ cultural actors focus their efforts on teenagers as one of the most vulnerable groups and offer creative programmes combining drama, pantomime and filmmaking to relieve the psychological pain in children and rebuild their trust in "mainland" Ukraine through human relations. The recently established Charity Foundation "The Depths of Art"¹⁸ has been organizing interdisciplinary art forums in Kyiv and other cities devoted to certain regions of Ukraine. Today, DonCult is the most remarkable of these art-forums. Support for Dialogue and Reconciliation in the Regions of Ukraine project by STAN Art Group,¹⁹ a civil society organisation from Lutsk, should also be noted in this context. The Art Group attempts to strengthen the social dialogue and understanding in different Ukraine's regions by studying stereotypes towards internally displaced persons from eastern Ukraine in cities such as Dnipropetrovsk, Lutsk, Kremenchuk, Melitopol, Kharkiv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv and Kyiv. They give recommendations on how to address such stereotypes.

4.3 Transfer of knowledge

Each country is unique and requires a tailor-made approach, but cultural relations still benefit from knowledge transfer and learning across borders. Up to date the EU has under-exploited this potential. *Knowledge transfer and capacity-building* between culture professionals from the EU and partner countries and *between South Mediterranean and Eastern Partnership countries* would greatly contribute to strengthening civil society and supporting actors of change.

The multiannual ECF-funded TANDEM experiences could serve as a good example of 'partnership-style' capacity building activity with a stress on knowledge transfer in the ENP countries.²⁰ There have been several iterations of Tandem, e.g. TANDEM Shaml (involving South Mediterranean and EU partners), TANDEM Moldova, and TANDEM Ukraine. Creating peer-to-peer knowledge exchanges among equally based individuals or organisations generates new knowledge, and puts the partners on an equal footing by placing them out of their context and providing them with fertile ground to develop new projects together. The format also gives an opportunity to share responsibilities in project design and implementation, and capacities for developing further transnational collaborations. Relatively short term investment (e.g. two-year investment) can support a long-term outcome: investment in individuals, but also in organisations, indeed enables them to have a stronger impact on their communities. The TANDEM creates intense experiences which forges relationships which endure beyond the period of funding. It created a strong network of relationships across the EU and European Neighbourhood area which is leader to many spin-off activities and more ambitious longer term relationships. Although TANDEM is open to participants from institutions of all sizes and from the state, NGO and private backgrounds, it is the smaller civil society actors who make the best use of it. This raises a general point about a paradox that exists in many ENP countries, i.e. that much of the authority and power lies within state and large independent institutions, yet these are the slowest to

¹⁶ <https://www.facebook.com/NarodnaFilarmoniya?fref=ts>

¹⁷ <https://www.facebook.com/NewDonbas>

¹⁸ <https://www.facebook.com/doncultforum?fref=ts>

¹⁹ <https://www.facebook.com/lgstan>

²⁰ <http://www.culturalfoundation.eu/tandem/>

adopt new ideas or to open up to learning from elsewhere.²¹

Mainstreaming of the Eastern Partnership culture, cultural institutions and professionals in the European cultural space is important in the context of knowledge transfer. In particular, support for participation of cultural experts and practitioners from the EaP countries in such network as ENCATC would help strengthening capacities of the cultural sector of partner countries.

4.4 Tailor-made and efficient financial instruments

The fact that Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine, the Neighbours that have signed the Association Agreement, have access to Creative Europe is positive and certainly an added value for cultural actors of these countries. However, Creative Europe is an EU Programme designed for the member states in first instance. EaP cultural actors have to compete with the most experienced and successful of their colleagues all over Europe when applying to Creative Europe. Furthermore, in order to meet the guidelines of Creative Europe, their projects have to address the needs that do not necessarily are the real priority needs of their own countries. The authorities also asked to facilitate the participation of the EaP countries in the Creative Europe programme by ensuring the necessary information and communication about the requirements for participation, and, if necessary, to co-finance their participation²². It would be also useful to share experience of the countries that recently joined the programme and the EU, for instance, Serbia.

Unlike in the Southern Mediterranean region with its variety of multi-phase EU-funded programmes, e.g. Euromed Heritage, Euromed Audiovisual and Euromed Culture, there is only one special regional programme to support culture in the region of the Eastern Partnership. Many cultural operators in the EaP region stress on the serious need for *multi-annual and multi-stage continuation of a targeted culture programme that includes calls for proposals* to support concrete projects and long-term initiatives in the region as an important component allowing the partner countries to work on democratic transition together. Possibilities for re-granting and working at micro-level prospective through local smaller institutions are seen by the cultural actors as essential elements of such a programme. Capacity building for the cultural actors of the EaP countries including training on project elaboration and proposal preparation skills is also mentioned.

4.5. Donors coordination

Cultural actors from the Eastern Partnership countries often stress the key importance of coordinating of efforts of all donors active in the region, and even more so between EU-funded programmes involved in policy reform and capacity building relating to the cultural sector. This would help avoiding duplication of activities, concentrating resources, tools, and facilities in support of cultural reform and, finally, achieving tangible results. Donors' cooperation in the field of cultural relations remains fragmentary and underdeveloped. Successful initiatives have been launched in some countries by local members of the network of European Union National Institutes for Culture (EUNIC), but this cooperation has remained *ad hoc*.

There is an extensive experience of common projects by the EU and the Council of Europe in the Eastern Partnership countries, e.g. COMUS project and Intercultural Cities programme described in chapter 3.1: *EU*

²¹ Phil Wood, Freelance urban and cultural policy maker, principal advisor to the Council of Europe for the Intercultural City programme and co-author of *The Intercultural City: Planning for Diversity Advantage*, UK: "One advantage of TANDEM is it opens opportunities for cultural managers of ENP countries not only to work at close quarters with EU colleagues, but enable partnership across generational and professional boundaries. For example, a fashion designer in her 20s from Berlin twinned with a textile maker in her 70s from a deeply rural part of Moldova. Despite language difficulties, a very productive collaboration resulted in a new fashion collection which was showcased on international catwalks. Currently a digital artist in his 20s from Donetsk is twinning with a carnival producer from Belfast, Northern Ireland in his 60s. Their common cause is one of making art in communities which are torn by sectarian violence. Incidentally, the Donetsk artist is currently in internal exile, his workspace having been occupied by insurgent forces and transformed into a military prison!"

²² *Declaration of the Ministers and Heads of delegations of the First Eastern Partnership Ministerial Conference on Culture*. (2013).

programmes and instruments for culture and Annex 1: *Additional information on cultural cooperation programmes and projects* to this article. According to the experts involved in common EU/CoE initiatives, the value of cooperation is still not fully recognized by both sides, and more clear long-term strategy for such cooperation is obviously needed in order to ensure consistency and coherence of cooperation and sustainability of results. The Council of Europe is an intergovernmental organization, in which the EaP countries are members or observers (Belarus), and that possesses extensive experience on technical assistance. The CoE responds, first of all, to the country demands and can help EU/CoE projects better meeting priority needs of the partner countries and identify the area of common interests of the EU and the Neighbourhood. Consultations with the Council of Europe at the stage of planning and elaboration of the long-term strategy for cultural cooperation for the EaP countries can help the EU to assess current and future cultural cooperation projects and programmes considering their impact not only on the quality of management, but also based on the situation in the beneficiary countries.

Other successfully coordinated projects took place in the Eastern Partnership countries and synergies were created by capacity building activities carried out by several donors such as the ECF, Soros Foundation Moldova and the Swedish Agency for International Development (SIDA) and later on by the EaP Culture Programme 1 (2011 – 2015). Launched in 2009 Cultural Congress was organized by the Institute of Cultural Policies with assistance from Soros-Moldova, ECF and SIDA to bring together arts and culture people in Moldova, including representatives of central and local government, cultural NGOs and the professional expert community. Further development of inter-sector network was continued by the mentioned above TANDEM projects. All that paved the ground for effective capacity building training organized by the EaP Culture Programme 1 in 2013 – 2014. Creation of a network of change-makers representing national and local authorities, public and private cultural institutions, the civil society and independent cultural actors from the six EaP countries was one of the main outcomes of the programme's Cultural Policy Exchange Workshops of 2013 – 2014, and the core of the network was built by the participants of previous projects by the ECF and Soros Foundation. Even more, access to independent cultural actors in Belarus would not be possible without direct cooperation between the ECF managers and the key experts of the Eastern Partnership Culture Programme.

Experts and practitioners mention cases of successful cooperation of the EaP and EU countries funded, for instance, by KulturKontakt, Austria and Pro Helvetia, Switzerland stressing that funding policies of these donors are more focused on real countries needs and their procedures more quick and less bureaucratic than those of the EU.

Transcaucasia project was mentioned as a good example of an EU-supported initiative with partners from Czech Republic, Poland, Austria, Germany, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia which has been existing since 2014 and distinguished by high level of local ownership of the partners from the Eastern Partnership countries.

In line with donors' coordination matter, involvement of new donors as partners to common cultural cooperation initiatives would strengthen the EU-funded programmes in the EaP countries. For instance, strong research, training, and expertise potential of the European Network on Cultural Management and Cultural Policy Education (ENCATC) would be a good asset in this respect and particularly in the context of cultural policy development processes mentioned in chapter 3.2: "Contribution of Culture to Sustainable Development". For example, a research Artists Moving and Learning carried out by ENCATC and partners in 2008-2010²³ can provide insightful findings from Europe, serve as a good empirical source of information and a model to be adjusted and used in the EaP countries. Contribution of ENCATC to the projects aimed at strengthening the capabilities of the EaP public and private institutions and cultural professionals to facilitate

²³ The project was financed by the EC under the framework of the Life Learning Programme: <http://www.encatc.org/moving-and-learning/>

their participation in international professional networks and cultural cooperation initiatives, including Creative Europe programme, would be really valuable.

Conclusion: EU – Eastern partnership cultural cooperation as part of *European Project*

European Neighbourhood Countries of the EU are currently undergoing major political, social, and economic transformations. The European Union itself is also affected by transitional times and crises. In the context of undergoing revision of the Neighbourhood Policy of the EU and reposition of the European Union within a multipolar world, the EU – EaP cultural relations also need revision in order to contribute to the human, social, and economic development with a wider perspective. A clear framework for such cultural relations and a comprehensive strategy based on in-depth multicultural approach is required. Identification of common interests of the EU and partner countries should be the central point of cultural.

Exploration and formulation of the common values addressing the theme of reunification of Great Europe should also be in focus of cooperation. Attention to national culture as a key element of overcoming post-colonial syndrome and importance of national identity formation in the context of societal transformation of the EaP countries should be properly understood and interpreted by the EU side.

Common projects should be based on two-side exchange of experience instead of mentoring. Experts and practitioners, best practices and learning materials from the EaP countries and those recently experienced transitioning to democratic society should be involved with special attention to adjustment of the policies and instruments to national specifics of the Eastern Partnership countries.

A great need for an inclusive and comprehensive cultural policy and clear strategy for sector development, and an inadequacy of the institutional frameworks of the cultural sector of the Eastern Partnership countries should be actively addressed. Knowledge transfer and capacity-building between culture professionals from the EU and EaP countries would greatly contribute to strengthening civil society and supporting actors of change. Institutional frameworks of the EaP countries should be also further developed using tailor-made financial instruments for cooperation allowing more active participation of the EaP institutions and cultural actors in cultural cooperation programmes and professional networks. Such topic as “Culture and Crisis” should be addressed in line with reconciliation between the countries of the region and within them.

Coordinating of efforts of all donors active in the region is essential in order to avoid duplication of activities and concentrate resources in support of cultural reform. Involvement of new partners to common cooperation initiatives would strengthen the EU-funded programmes in the region. Strong research, training, and expertise potential of the ENCATC, for instance, would be a good asset.

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Understanding the Role of Cultural Networks within a Creative Ecosystem: A Canadian Case-Study

Blackstone, Mary

Saskatchewan Partnership for Arts Research, University of Regina
Regina, Canada
blackstm@uregina.ca

Hage, Sam

Saskatchewan Partnership for Arts Research, University of Regina
Regina, Canada
Hage2Sam@hotmail.com

McWilliams, Ian

Saskatchewan Partnership for Arts Research, University of Regina
Regina, Canada
SPAR@uregina.ca

Abstract

Despite prevailing theories which presume the importance of networks linking artists and others in their communities, we lack sufficient systematic, artist-centred, primary research for a good understanding of how such cultural networks function. To address this lacuna, a project fostered by the three major arts organisations in Saskatchewan is employing quantitative surveys of artists and the public as well as qualitative interviews and consultations to understand such networks and their connection with broader networks at local and national levels. With the first publicly funded agency for arts support in North America and until recently, a buoyant economy fuelling a diversifying and increasingly indigenous population, established formal and informal cross-disciplinary networks which created a vibrant cultural ecology in Saskatchewan are in transition. Insights into the current dynamics of these cultural networks and the health of the province's creative ecosystem demonstrate the value of such research in Saskatchewan and elsewhere.

Keywords: cultural networks; arts ecology; cultural ecology; artist networks; creative ecology

Introduction

The assumption that artists are interconnected within complex networks that also include other cultural workers and a broad range of individuals outside the arts sector in the artists' immediate and extended or virtual communities is central to a host of current theories and studies related to the arts and culture. However, surprisingly few scholars have undertaken artist-centred, primary studies that contextualize and test these theories against the practical realities of how such networks are formed, how they actually function, who composes them--or even if artists have access to such networks within a cultural ecosystem in a specific place and time.

Networks within the Creative Economy and Culture

Richard Florida's (2002) initial work on the creative economy, for instance, posited a creative class which included not only artists but also individuals such as scientists, researchers, analysts, engineers, professors,

designers, architects and creative professionals in high tech, finance, law, health and business. Unlike John Howkins (2001) who defined the creative economy as being driven by creative industries, Florida argued that the productive interaction of individuals in this creative class facilitated by their clustering in large urban centres, leads to creative cities which then function as economic generators and incubators for innovation and creativity. In a more recent revision of his theories, Florida (2012) has modified his thinking to recognize the potential for smaller city centres - and virtually any community- to function similarly in providing a place for productive interaction across the creative class, and he has very broadly extended the web of the creative class to potentially include members of the working and service classes as well.

In a more comprehensive review of the relationship between economics and culture, David Throsby (2001) considers not only economic but also social and cultural capital and notes that the latter two are closely entwined and dependent on “social networks and relationships of trust” (Throsby, 2001: 49). As an example he cites Robert Putnam’s (1993) classic study of networks and relationships at work in Italy - a study which today might be easily framed and interpreted in ecological terms. Although he addresses the role of the arts and culture only tangentially, Putnam demonstrates how essential networks of civic engagement are to social capital, especially horizontal networks involving close personal contact between individual peers. Doug Borwick (2012), who has focused less on the economics of culture and more on the importance of civic engagement to the future of arts organisations, has argued that the arts have a responsibility to foster engagement that will contribute to healthy and sustainable communities and culture. Despite his primary emphasis on arts organisations in his examples and case studies, his argument presumes a set of interconnections linking arts organization, artist and public in the construction of social capital. In the final section of his book, he identifies artists as essential “for connecting with the community,” since: “Ultimately it is the artist that is central to community engagement. Performing arts organisations and museums establish and support frameworks through which any community arts project is based” but “artists [...] are often the face of community engagement.” (Borwick, 2012: 350) He assumes that if artists engage in what matters most to their communities this will in turn position artists and arts organisations as indispensable components of a community of individuals engaged by the arts. Like Florida and Howkins, however, Borwick notes the important role of artists and the networks they construct without referencing specifics regarding actual networks and their capacity to encompass and engage the public in a particular place and time.

Networks within Cultural Ecosystems

For scholars who have begun to study the arts and culture as ecosystems or parts of larger ecosystems, a similar emphasis on interconnection and networks is implied because they are as fundamental to cultural ecosystems as they are to any biological ecosystem. Mark Robinson (2010) places the artist at the centre of the arts ecosystem, but notes that the connections between the various levels of the system work both ways, so that “what happens in a town or city [...] impacts on the arts sector. What happens in the arts or in an arts venue changes the city” (Robinson, 2010: 25). In fact, he relates the relative health of the ecology, its capacity to maintain creativity in the face of change, directly to “connectivity” and “networks of relationships enabling adaptive behaviour and resilience” (Robinson, 2010: 26).

Howkins’ (2009) *Creative Ecologies* is in fact promoted as showing “how our ability to develop ideas successfully depends on how we use networks; for example, knowing when to collaborate, when to compete, and when to go it alone.” Bill Sharpe (2010) in *Economies of Life: Patterns of Health and Wealth* also argues that “growth flows from relationships,” but he focuses on the arts as an ecosystem in which money is just one currency of exchange and secondary to art itself which is the currency of the economy of experience: “the value of art is precisely that it concerns itself with reflecting the experience of a particular life in its own terms and bringing that experience into the infinite conversation of shared culture.” (Sharpe, 2010: 17, 39).

Finally, in *The Ecology of Culture*, the report recently produced by our keynote speaker, John Holden, he attempts to shift our vision of the arts and culture from that of an economically driven model to that of an ecosystem with greater attention to how it functions--its "relationships and patterns, [...] how careers develop, ideas transfer, money flows, and product and content move, to and fro, around and between the funded, homemade and commercial subsectors." (Holden, 2015: 2).

1. Understanding how cultural networks actually work

Holden's report for the Arts and Humanities Research Council underscores the currency and influence of such theories which place emphasis on both formal and informal networks encompassing artists, cultural workers and their wider communities--and especially the trend towards situating artists within a broad ecosystem of symbiotic relationships. Increasingly practitioners in arts and culture from around the world cite and draw from such theories in media releases, reports, programming and policies, and the concept of culture as an ecosystem has slipped into the day-to-day consciousness and resulting discourse of artists, cultural administrators, government bureaucrats, agencies and organisations. However, for the successful application of these theories through programming and policy making, it is important to understand how in practice formal networks and informal interconnections function in a given place and time. Artists and other individuals within Florida's extended creative class need to understand how such networking functions in order to maximize creative contributions to their community as well as the benefits of such networking to their own creative practice or innovative endeavours. Arts and cultural administrators and policy makers need to consider how policy and program changes will impact such networks and to regularly ask how effectively and sustainably the arts and culture are functioning as an ecosystem--and interconnecting within an even broader ecosystem beyond the arts. In short, where are the disruptions and gaps? Who is included within existing networks and who is not?

Unfortunately, detailed studies and data relating to artists and their role within cultural networking at the grassroots level are in short supply - and for good reason. Simply identifying the number of artists in a given location is fraught with definitional complexities as well as the practical challenges of contacting and classifying them. Much more work has been done at the level of arts and cultural organisations where identifying the organisations, contacting them and collecting consistently recorded quantitative data over time is much more manageable. Most arts and cultural organisations would acknowledge, however, that the essential and most basic components of cultural networking are at the individual level. For the arts this means the interactions between the artist and other individuals within the extended arts and cultural community - including individuals not always regarded as members of the arts community or even the so-called creative class.

Scholars like Ann Markusen and Gregory Schrock (2008) through the *Leveraging Investments in Creativity program in the US* and even Statistics Canada (2014b) and the Department of Canadian Heritage in Canada have led large scale projects to mine existing census data and other sources such as labour statistics for information about artist demographics and work patterns, but in Canada at least these efforts have proven less than satisfactory or helpful because criteria used in the original collection of the data excluded significant numbers of artists and failed to address some of the most important questions from the perspective of the arts and culture (Hill, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c). Such studies do contribute to a useful constellation of secondary data sources, but other scholars such as Elizabeth Lingo and Steven Tepper (2013) have argued for the importance of primary research focused specifically on artists as catalysts of change. We need to better understand how artists both create changes in the labor market itself and the way cultural work is done. What is their process of innovation and enterprise? What is the nature of their work and the resources they draw upon? How do different network structures produce different opportunity spaces? How do artistic workers create and manage planned serendipity - the spaces and exchanges that

produce unexpected collaborations and opportunities? And how do creative workers broker and synthesize across occupational, genre, geographic, and industry boundaries to create new possibilities?” (Lingo & Tepper, 2013: 348-349).

Evidence in their special 2013 issue of *Work and Occupations* addresses some of these questions and other scholars have undertaken “careful detailed empirical work, involving in-depth ethnographies” of clusters and networks suggest that economic and ecological theories, as they relate to the arts at least, do not always square with the working realities of artists (e.g. Kong 2009: 62-63; Di Maggio 2011; Spencer 2009; Porter 2000; Gibson & Robinson 2004; Markusen 2006; Van Heur 2009).

While commonalities across such existing studies reveal the collective benefits to be derived from increasing this body of quantitative and qualitative data, differences across them also point to the importance of studies situated in the specific place, time and disciplines for which programming and policy-making is taking place. While individual creative practice along with whole disciplines and an ever expanding constellation of consumers and audiences may be converging at a global level, for many artists and members of their communities the generative creative experience remains a local one. In a 2010 report produced for the Saskatchewan Arts Alliance in Canada, Canadian/Australian scholar Marnie Badham called for a specific place-based study grounded in the broad and unique arts ecology of Saskatchewan, a coordinated effort from arts leaders, policy makers, and the private sector to develop a framework that is informed by research expertise from many disciplines including the arts, but also public policy, economics and sociology. This approach will also help us collect better data, both qualitative and quantitative, about the arts and their relationship to our lives and our environment. Over time, this would not only tell us more about the arts, but about how the public feels about the arts, and will help to inform better policy decisions. (Badham, 2010: 19)

In response to this call to action, the three major arts organisations and agencies in the Canadian province of Saskatchewan came together in a research partnership to address this gap as it relates to Saskatchewan artists and their communities. The Saskatchewan Arts Alliance, the Saskatchewan Arts Board, and SaskCulture formed the Saskatchewan Partnership for Arts Research (SPAR) in 2012 with the immediate objective of better understanding the role of artists in cultural networking and addressing the dearth of detailed data on how artists in the province work and develop networks in the process. In seeking out the perspective of both artists and members of the public as grassroots components of an arts ecosystem who together construct cultural meaning, SPAR embraced both the limitations and the potential benefits of such research as articulated by Holden (2015: 3): “There are no parts, only ways of seeing things as parts. The connections, symbiosis, feedback loops, and flows of people, product, ideas and money are so dynamic and intense as to defy complete description. But a deeper understanding of culture can be achieved by applying the multiple perspectives that an ecological approach demands.” The partners had much information and data relating to arts organisations, their audiences and the spaces and programs they controlled, but the partners lacked a good understanding of the position of the artist in the system and how those artists were connected with not only the other components of the arts ecology but also more complex cultural, social and economic dimensions of the broader ecosystem. SPAR launched its first research project, *Understanding the Arts Ecology of Saskatchewan*, in 2013 thanks to funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, and it immediately set about to develop survey instruments targeted at both artists and the public which would begin the process of addressing three basic questions: What is the nature of professional connections and networks forged by artists among themselves and with their community (broadly defined) and are these connections contributing to a healthy and sustainable arts ecosystem as well as the cultural, social and economic dimensions of the provincial ecosystem?

The findings presented here derive primarily from analysis of these surveys as well as early qualitative follow-up consultations in the next stage of the research, but they need to be understood in the context of the broader provincial climate. As observed by Holden (2015: 22): “culture exists within a wider political, social

and economic environment with both proximate and remote connections. No account of the ecology of culture can be complete without recognising the broader context in which culture sits.” Understanding something of the provincial context--both the arts and cultural sector and the extended geographical, social and economic environment-- will also help people determine the extent to which our data may be peculiar to Saskatchewan or more widely applicable to the experience of artists and communities further afield.

2. The provincial context

As the home of the first publicly funded, arms-length arts agency in North America, which later served as a model for the Canada Council at the national level, Saskatchewan has historically placed considerable importance on the arts. Beginning in 1948 the Saskatchewan Arts Board was formed to serve as a catalyst for training and funding amateur and professional artists as well as supporting arts organisations in a wide range of disciplines in the arts and crafts. The ongoing legacy of this organisation is an arts community which boasts a diverse range of artists, organisations and educational programs encompassing the full array of contemporary art forms, traditional indigenous arts and crafts as well as various electronic media. In SPAR's recent sample survey of the province's professional artists they classified themselves as pursuing 967 different art forms or combinations of disciplines in some of the province's most remote regions as well as in its major cities.

In 1997 the Arts Board assumed sole responsibility for professional artists and arts organisations, and the government created SaskCulture which received additional funding through the lotteries to further support an even wider scope of cultural experience, including not only the arts (primarily at amateur and student levels), but also heritage, multiculturalism and cultural industries. In 2013 the government formed a third crown agency, Creative Saskatchewan, devoted exclusively to supporting the marketing of the arts and crafts with a particular emphasis on the creative industries of publishing, screen-based media, music and sound recording. Today the array of provincial agencies responsible for the arts and culture conforms roughly with the three spheres of culture outlined by Holden (2008): publicly funded culture, homemade culture and commercial culture. However, there is considerable overlap and convergence of the three spheres in official programming and cultural practice - especially in the flows of creative ideas, cultural workers and audiences. This backbone of funding agencies began evolving during difficult economic times for the province, but in recent years Saskatchewan's abundance of oil, gas and potash along with its agricultural strength have made it one of the few places in North America where the economy was booming right through the 2008 crash up to quite recently. Although large sections of the province remain sparsely populated with broad expanses of prairie farmland or boreal forest in the north, the economic boom brought ongoing population increases which are ongoing in rural as well as urban centres and pushed the provincial population to 1,134,000. With metropolitan populations of just around 300,000 its two major cities, Regina and Saskatoon, have until very recently regularly been among the fastest growing cities in Canada, in some recent years growing at more than four times the national average and ranking among the top five youngest cities in the country. One result of this influx has been escalating rental and property prices as well as a shortage of housing in some locations--something that has had a particular impact on people in low income brackets like student and emerging professional artists many of whom need space in which to work as well as live.

Another result of the province's economic boom is the diversification of the population. Although the province's share of immigrants to Canada remains comparatively low (3.5% in 2011), 85% of the province's immigrants come from Asia, Africa and the Middle East to a culture where established residents identify overwhelmingly with European ancestry (Government of Saskatchewan - Bureau of Statistics, 2013; Government of Saskatchewan - Ministry of the Economy 2011: 14). Contributing to further diversification is the rapidly increasing indigenous population which comprised 16% of the provincial population in the 2011 census and is projected to become the largest in Canada's provinces at 21-24% by 2031 (Government of

Saskatchewan - Bureau of Statistics, 2014; Malenfant & Morency, 2011).

Within this climate of comparative wealth, increasing urbanization and diversity, it is not surprising that Florida has singled out Saskatoon, one of the province's two major cities (both of which have cultural plans and related funding), as a smaller city which displays the characteristics of a creative city (Florida, 2009: xvii, 95). This perception was corroborated in open responses to our artist survey. As one respondent put it, "Specific to Saskatoon, the creative energy is high. Artists from other jurisdictions have moved, or are considering moving, here. This is a mixture of opportunity, activity, and energy, and a good mix of artistic experience."²⁴ Another respondent noted, "There is a growing younger artistic community in Saskatoon which is invigorating and essential to the breadth of a broader artistic community."

The design of our surveys facilitated feedback like this on the health of the ecosystem as personally experienced by our respondents so that SPAR could determine the impact of the province's new wealth and diversity on the health and sustainability of the entire arts ecosystem -- including the experience of professional artists and the public outside urban centres. There had never been a comprehensive survey of local artists and, in fact, no one really knew how many professional artists lived in the province. SPAR wanted to know how the shifting economic, social and cultural dynamics of the province had affected artist networks, connections and relationships. To what extent were newcomer and emerging artists as well as those not claiming European ancestry functioning within the arts ecosystem and its network of connections? To what extent were artists connected with their broader communities, and to what extent were artists everywhere benefiting from the province's wealth?

A particular disruption to the arts ecosystem just before SPAR was formed provided special impetus for this type of ecological study. The emergence of the crown agency Creative Saskatchewan was partly in response to the devastating effects on the local film and television industry of a government decision to eliminate the film employment tax credit in 2012 and the film commission and funding agency, SaskFilm, in 2013. These decisions were apparently made suddenly on the basis of fiscal priorities and ideological perceptions rather than economic or cultural evidence in the form of studies or even consultations. Because most other provinces and states in North America have funding mechanisms of this kind, the government's decision made it very difficult for local production companies to compete, and a myriad of individuals from film directors and actors to production crew, to find work locally. The result was a fairly rapid mass exodus of production companies and industry professionals (Lederman, 2012) which according to a report by the Saskatchewan Media Production Industry Association led to "a lack of community" - a sense of "isolation [...] as industry activities and awareness decline and people leave." Employers complained "that they no longer knew who was left and available to hire." Workers in the industry complained about the collapse of personal and professional networks for "collaboration and friendship, and students specifically indicated that lack of this community would be a motivating factor to relocate." (Alberts, 2014: 27). At the same time people working in other creative disciplines began to realize that these departing film artists and workers had also been involved in other creative projects. Directors and actors, for instance, had been key players in the province's theatre community. In the context of these disruptions and anxieties, consequently, SPAR had to address two particular questions: if the arts function as an ecosystem, what impact have these changes had on the remaining artists as well as the system as a whole, and how did they affect its sustainability.

²⁴ Apart from the theoretical studies already cited, SPAR's approach to our research and the analysis of our data have been informed by an amalgamation of theory and methodology drawn from sociology and ecology as well as the cross-disciplinary field of sustainability studies. SPAR's comprehensive Process and Methodology statement is available (Blackstone *et al.*, 2015a: 3-5). Unless otherwise noted, the data described herein are from the SPAR Artist Survey Dataset. For more information, see www2.uregina.ca/spar or email: spar@uregina.ca.

3. SPAR methodology and approach

Although conceived and launched well before Holden's 2015 report calling for such detailed ecologically-based cultural studies, SPAR's research on Saskatchewan's arts ecosystem has involved both quantitative and qualitative approaches closely related to the research approach Holden advocates. This presentation focuses primarily on the first stage of the research, the surveys, which were made possible by an artist registry set up by its partner, the Saskatchewan Arts Alliance. It enabled SPAR to draw from a database of more than 3200 artists from whom it invited a sample of just over 1300 to respond to a substantial survey in the spring of 2014. Nearly a quarter (348) of those artists invited to participate responded and many completed the lengthy survey in great detail, often providing extended answers to open questions that exceeded our expectations for qualitative information to be gained from the survey. Simultaneously, SPAR also released an open online survey of the Saskatchewan public in order to compare the perceptions of artists and others in their communities regarding the relative embeddedness and connectedness of artists in the wider economic, social and cultural ecosystems of the province.

Because of the openness of the public survey as well as uncertainty as to how representative the database of artists was of the entire artist population, making general assumptions and projecting to the wider population solely on the basis of these survey results is not possible. Observations and analysis of the data are being used to set up hypotheses and questions as well as to identify gaps that are being further pursued through more qualitative consultations with artists, arts organisations and whole communities. The SPAR partners felt that the challenges of identifying and accessing verifiable artist populations and others connected with arts and cultural ecologies have too often functioned as an obstacle and impediment to primary studies of artists, and they felt that this two-part approach taken in conjunction with other pre-existing studies and data would, in fact, provide them with strong evidence for informed programming and policy-making.

4. Importance of informal and formal networking

When asked to rank the relative importance of informal or formal networking to both their evolution as an artist and their ability to create or interpret work, artists ranked it highly, although they tended to rank networking as being more important to their evolution as an artist than their ability to create or interpret work. Not surprisingly respondents found connections with other artists in their specific arts discipline to be most important although connections with other artists were still ranked as important. Despite indicating a substantial use of electronic means of communication with other artists and arts organisations, two-thirds of respondents placed the greatest importance on connections with artists, arts organisations and/or businesses in the arts or culture at the level of their local geographical neighbourhood or municipality with steeply declining importance assigned to regional, national and global connections in that order (Blackstone, Hage, & McWilliams, 2015a: 23). An important exception to this ranking came from indigenous artists who also placed a high importance on networking at the national and international levels as well as within their extended cultural community (Blackstone, Hage, & McWilliams, 2015a: 8-11). Only approximately 50% of respondents ranked connections with organisations and/or businesses outside the arts in their immediate locale or region as important although 71% placed a high degree of importance on their local context (e.g. their immediate natural environment, particular community or neighbourhood) as facilitating their creativity and art practice (Blackstone, Hage, & McWilliams, 2015a: 20, 23). Generally speaking, the younger the artist the more importance they placed on networking, but the respondent's location whether in rural Saskatchewan or in one of its two major cities seemed to make no difference to the importance they placed on networking despite a slightly lower ranking of outright collaboration by rural artists.

Although the survey asked artists to overtly rank the importance of networking to the evolution of their careers and realization of their creative work, it also asked them to provide specific information about the

individuals, organisations, spaces, events, means of communication, etc. that helped to facilitate those connections. SPAR then analysed these responses to determine their *network density*, a variable derived from individual artists' responses identifying relationships within and beyond the arts. The survey also asked for details relating to income, grants, public and peer recognition, types of employment inside and outside the arts, etc. The detail that artists provided enabled a more complex analysis of the relative correlation between the degree of networking density and their responses to other questions. For instance, there was a nearly perfect correlation between high networking density and the receipt of a publicly funded grant in the past two years (Figure 1). Similarly, both higher incomes and residence in one of the two urban centres were associated with stronger networking density (Figure 2). While it is not possible to ascribe a cause and effect relationship between networking and grant success, income or an urban environment, there clearly is a correlation and a suggestion that the importance of networking overtly registered by survey respondents may be further supported by their responses to other questions.

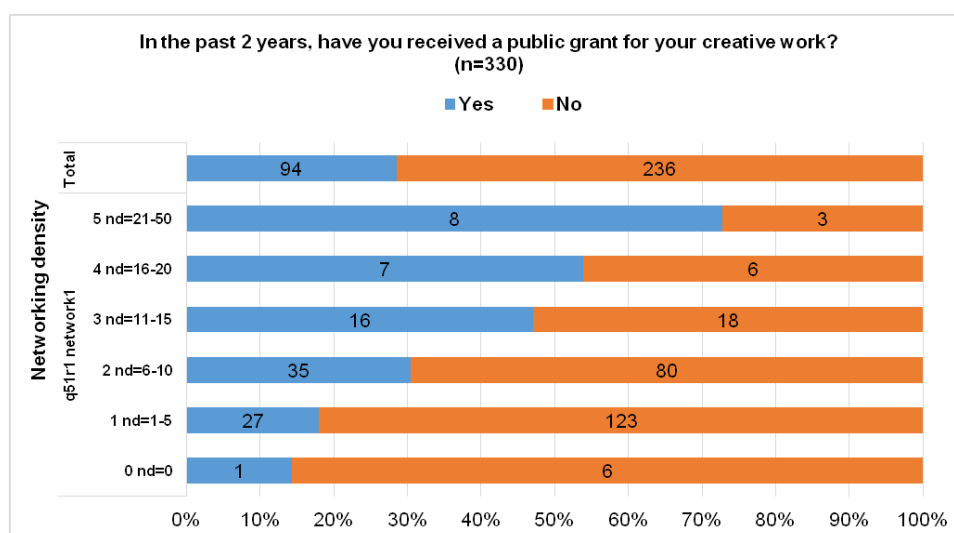


Figure 1. A perfect inverse relationship, the less networking, the more *no* for receiving a public grant.

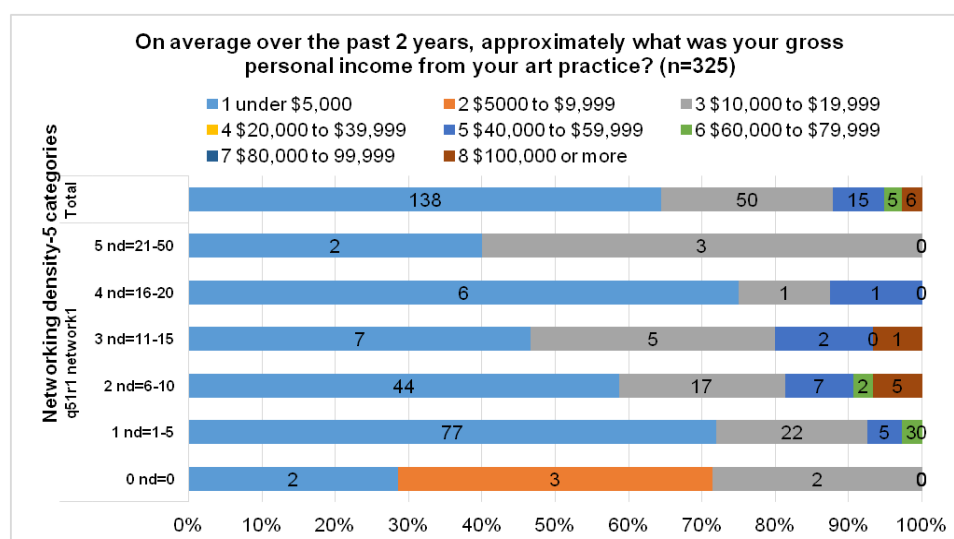


Figure 2. Higher incomes are associated with more networking.

5. The nature and facilitation of artist networks

Disciplinary and cross-disciplinary connections

One of the most striking discoveries to come out of artist survey data was the overwhelmingly cross-disciplinary character of creative practice in the province. Nearly 75% of respondents indicated that they were engaged in two or more out of nine general areas of creative work listed (Blackstone, Hage, & McWilliams, 2015a: 11). The disciplinary breadth of artist networks was further reinforced by the range of organisations, agencies, educational institutions and/or businesses (inside and outside the arts) that had contributed to their evolution as an artist or the realization of their creative work. In three open questions respondents could identify as many relationships as they wished ranging from formal, membership-based organisations in the arts; to other arts or cultural organisations and agencies engaged in programming, production, training or funding; to any kind of entity outside the arts. Not all artists responded to these open questions, but those that did gave more than 1300 specific names which provided both a window into the networks formed by some individual artists as well as a small indication of the broader complexity of the networks which contribute to the ecosystem of the arts in the province (Blackstone, Hage, & McWilliams, 2015a: 19).

Organisations and agencies

While the artists were frequently fuzzy on the exact nature of the relationship (e.g. sometimes citing funding agencies as membership-based organisations) and the particular organisational connections varied according to the disciplinary orientation of the artist, some relationships figured consistently in the responses to these questions. Not surprisingly, the Saskatchewan Arts Board, the primary funding agency for professional artists, was a constant with over 140 references in this initial section (Blackstone, Hage, & McWilliams, 2015a: 19). Later in the survey when specifically prompted to rank the role of the Arts Board as a direct source of income over their entire career as an artist, just of 45% identified it as important despite the fact that less than 30% of respondents reported receiving a publicly funded grant from any source in the past two years (Blackstone, Hage, & McWilliams, 2015a: 16). Of course with reference to the Arts Board respondents would also have recognized that its funding of arts organisations had constituted important if indirect support for their creative work. In another question, 57% of respondents identified arts organisations and festivals along with arts-related businesses as their most important direct source of creative income followed closely by 56% who saw sales to individuals, galleries and collections as important. In the public survey a large number of respondents credited arts organisations, arts-related businesses or related activities and events as the reason they came to know both professional and emerging artists (Blackstone, Hage, & McWilliams, 2015a: 16-17).

Educational institutions and facilities

A more unexpected discovery with respect to artist networks was the prominence that universities (either cited generally or with reference to a specific institution) assumed. In open responses they were by far the most frequently cited organisations with over 200 references (Blackstone, Hage, & McWilliams, 2015a: 18-19). The importance of universities should not be that surprising, though, given that over 70% of the respondents reported having at least one university degree - a statistic that is consistent with the high level of education reported in a national survey of visual artists (Maranda, 2009). Additionally, respondents with the highest levels of networking density placed considerable importance on arts facilities in educational institutions in helping them to make connections necessary to their creative work. Although not necessarily related to a university or institutional context - or involving remuneration, over 50% of respondents reported devoting up to nine hours/week to teaching or mentoring in their creative discipline(s) - something that underscores the importance of students whether a vocational or emerging professionals in the creative

networks constructed by a majority of our artist respondents (Blackstone *et al.*, 2015: 12). In fact, greater network density correlated with a higher number of hours devoted to teaching and mentoring (figure 3). The educational orientation of artist networks was also reflected in artist responses to another question--the relative importance they ascribed to the contribution of artists in general to ten potential areas of leadership in their communities. The three most highly ranked areas involved overt roles in levels of education -- K-12 through post-secondary, the professional development of other artists, and contributing to the understanding and appreciation of the arts among the general public. Over 85% of artists and 90% of public survey respondents ranked artist contributions in these areas as important, and just over 50% of artists reported actually contributing in all three areas themselves (Blackstone, Hage, & McWilliams, 2015a: 25-26; 2015b: 9).

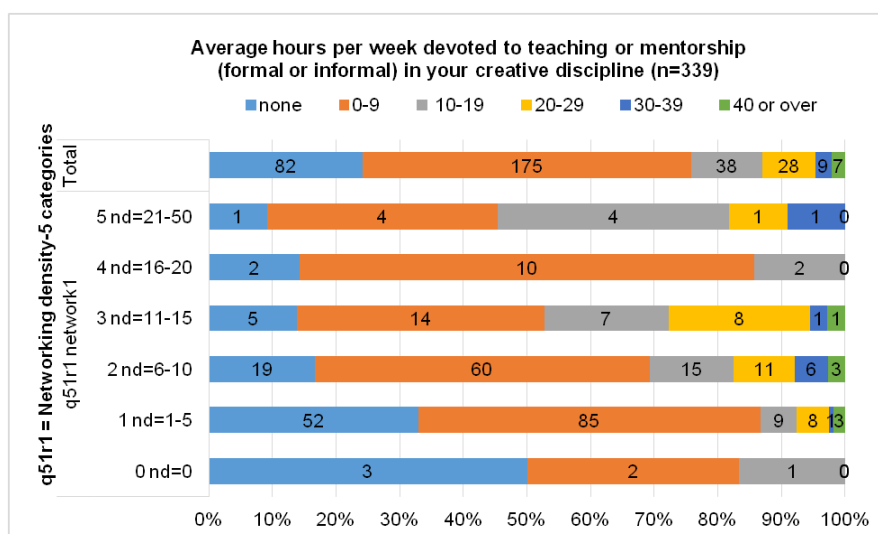


Figure 3. Greater networking density correlates with higher number of hours devoted to teaching and mentoring.

Work outside the arts and contributions to the creative economy

Yet another insight to evolve out of both artist and public surveys related to the networks artists form by working outside the arts. 38% of artist respondents devoted 20 hours or more a week to work outside their creative practice and 55% derived some kind of income from employment outside the arts and culture (Blackstone, Hage, & McWilliams, 2015a: 12,15). These facts do not come as a surprise to most people involved in the arts. However, because data derived from Statistics Canada's labour force surveys and national household survey have been the primary source for artist income and work-related data, the information provided by our artist-specific survey reveals important insights that Statistics Canada criteria and procedures have previously obscured. Statistics Canada categorizes the occupations of its household survey respondents on the basis of the work they spent the most time doing during a specified one-week period. If they spent 15 hours working as an actor, another 15 hours working as a singer and 16 hours working as a computer programmer they are classified as a computer programmer. If they were employed full-time as an IT manager during that one-week but given flexible hours and working conditions so they could also be a member of one of the most prestigious string quartets in Canada, they would still be classified exclusively as an IT manager. If they were employed full-time as a professor of music but were expected to be actively engaged as a professional musician as part of their duties, even to the extent of being a principal musician in the local symphony orchestra, they would be categorized as a teacher--not an artist.

Because our survey respondents could give details about their work outside the arts as well as the nature of their education and degrees both inside and outside the arts they were able to provide insights into the

networking that Florida takes as a given across the creative class. Artists who work outside the arts may possibly be functioning as free radicals as they move back and forth between various players within the creative class and creative clusters, and we should not assume that they are only doing this at working class or service class levels such as plumbing, waiting tables, or driving taxis. For many artists their highest level of education was not in the Fine Arts but rather in fields such as agriculture, commerce, education, humanities, journalism, law, nursing, psychology, and various sciences. Respondents reported a variety of advanced/professional degrees and certifications, the occupations they pursued outside the arts reflected this diversity in fields such as secondary and postsecondary education, research, agriculture, communications, business and consulting, administration and management.

Over 70% of artists as well as public survey respondents thought that artists make important contributions to the economy and the development of the creative and innovative capacity of businesses or other professionals (Blackstone, Hage, & McWilliams, 2015a: 25; 2015b: 9). Interestingly, just 39% of artists, thought that they personally were making an important contribution to the provincial economy and just over 30% thought they were making an important contribution to creative or innovative capacity (Blackstone, Hage, & McWilliams, 2015a: 26). These low percentages may have something to do with the low levels of income artists reported receiving from their creative work, something we will return to in the next section. However, the fixation on the low levels of creative income for artists has possibly eclipsed attention to the artist's average gross personal income. That level of income as reported by respondents to our artist survey averaged \$44,335 - a figure considerably higher than that calculated for Saskatchewan artists on the basis of Statistics Canada data and higher than either the average Canadian income in 2010 (\$40,650) or the average Saskatchewan income in the same year (\$40,798) (Blackstone, Hage, & McWilliams, 2015a: 15).

This suggests that artists are productively connected with and integrated within the wider economic fabric of the province. An important question we are asking at the qualitative stage of our research is whether this integration is by choice or necessity; whether they feel they are sacrificing creative time and energy in order to earn enough money to support their creative practice and their families. However, we cannot assume that the extension of an artist's network outside their immediate creative practice - as in the case of the professor or the IT manager already mentioned - does not provide a personal creative return in the form of social and cultural capital as well as economic capital. In open questions some artists credited work outside their creative discipline as productively contributing to their creative work in the form of enhanced expertise and extended contacts. When asked how they had come to know an artist or artists, a significant number of public survey respondents identified work-related contexts: as a work colleague, a client or customer, an employee or employer.

Other community connections and broader contributions to social and cultural capital

Beyond the realm of work, artists and public survey respondents made it clear that artist networks extend broadly and deeply into communities. Two-thirds of public survey respondents reported knowing ten or more professional artists as friends, neighbours, family members, fans, patrons, customers, community leaders or through involvement in an arts organisation, arts-related business or other volunteer activity. 85% also knew an emerging artist and over 90% knew an avocational artist (SPAR, 2015b: 19). While these figures may be influenced by our comparatively rural and small population even in our largest urban centres, it may also derive from the long established priority placed on the arts by provincial residents as well as an often celebrated, if contested, cooperative tradition stemming from pioneer era collective place-making. In small town Saskatchewan artists would find it difficult to hold themselves apart from the rest of the community, and artist and public respondents alike define creative networks broadly as intersecting and blurring with larger community agendas. Well over 75% of respondents to both surveys thought that artists and arts organisations in general make important contributions to the knowledge and understanding of human

behaviour; the formation of personal identity, values and beliefs; the exploration of social, economic and/or political issues; social cohesiveness; and a community's shared sense of place, health, well-being and sustainability (Blackstone, Hage, & McWilliams, 2015a: 25; 2015b: 9). Responses by artists regarding the importance of their personal contributions in these areas were all in or around the 40% range (Blackstone, Hage, & McWilliams, 2015a: 26).

Respondents to both surveys reported their contribution of volunteer time and charitable donations to not only the arts but also a wide range of other non-profit sectors, and although their levels of donations were lower than those of the public, artists closely paralleled their public counterparts in the areas and amount of volunteer time given thereby reinforcing their connectedness within their community (Blackstone, Hage, & McWilliams, 2015a: 24; 2015b:13-14). As will be addressed in more detail in the next section, this data also highlights the fact that many of the interests and demographics of our public survey respondents closely mirrored those of our artist respondents and were not representative of the demographics of the general public in the province. Although it is common even in targeted telephone surveys of the public for individuals actually willing to complete a survey to be more interested in the topic of study and therefore display characteristics of that subgroup rather than those necessarily representative of the general public, for the purposes of our research the public respondents to our open online survey, which was promoted heavily by the arts sector as well as public media, may give us a helpful profile of those members of the public who feel most closely associated with the arts ecology and its artist networks.

Networking mechanisms

Finally, it is important to consider the vehicles for and manner in which artists form and maintain their networks. With 75% of artists listing their place of residence as Regina or Saskatoon, a quarter of artists remained in smaller city centres as well as much more rural areas (Blackstone, Hage, & McWilliams, 2015a: 29). Although nearly all artists had access to the internet in their home (98% of n=343) and in most cases their place of work (88% of n=317). As their preferred mechanism for networking, face to face contact only slightly edged out electronic communication. Telephone contact figured as a distant third choice (SPAR 2015c: 17; SPAR Data). Interestingly, though, unlike respondents who displayed lower levels of network density, 70% of artists in each of the top two levels of networking density saw informal social gatherings (whether or not associated with the arts or other artists) as important in helping them to make connections necessary to their creative work.

6. The health and sustainability of the arts ecosystem

Rather than defining the components of the arts ecology a priori, SPAR encouraged artists and the public to provide their own experience and vision of it, arts and culture bleeding into other sectors not usually recognized as part of the arts, blurring the lines and suggesting that individuals and practice as well as organisations and agencies are collectively devising through relationships the way the arts ecology functions as an open and fluid system. These necessarily fuzzy perspectives of those actively engaged in negotiating the evolution of creative ideas and culture will be further examined through qualitative consultations not so much with the intention of developing models or boundaries for establishing a helicopter perspective on the arts ecology as attempting to derive a sense of its health, adaptive resilience and sustainability.

Fortunately, our two partner agencies, the Saskatchewan Arts Board and SaskCulture, have amassed magnificent data sets derived through annual arts and cultural organisational reporting which enumerates such things as the numbers and nature of arts and cultural offerings; numbers of professional, emerging and/or avocation artists as well as other cultural workers, community participants, audience members, patrons and volunteers involved; funding sources and amounts; financial inputs and returns; and capital expenditures and liabilities relating to infrastructure and equipment. The Saskatchewan Arts Alliance has

also recently commissioned two reports on the arts and education in the province one of which details critical statistics regarding numbers of post secondary students, programs and graduates along with resource allocation over the past 20 years (Gingrich, in-press). It will be important through our consultations to determine which criteria and related data the community sees as most useful in assessing the vitality of the arts ecology, but some potential indicators have emerged out of the analysis of the SPAR surveys themselves.

Using some of the criteria derived by Holden from the study of natural ecosystems for assessing the relative health or weakness of a cultural ecosystem, we can see that Saskatchewan's arts ecosystem displays some characteristics of strength. As we have already seen, public respondents placed high cultural, economic and social importance on the arts and displayed a strong degree of connectedness with artists. 48% had made charitable donations to the arts and culture, and 79% had spent \$500 or more annually on the arts. Participation rates were generally high with 76% of respondents having accessed live performance often in the past 5 years. Over 70% specifically accessed music or theatre during that period and this kind of participation extended to children as well. The great majority of respondents who had children 25 or younger reported that those children had also participated in the arts (Blackstone, Hage, & McWilliams, 2015b: 6).

Artists displayed a corresponding degree of connectedness within the provincial arts ecology and the wider provincial ecology as well, and the array of arts disciplines represented along with the surprisingly high degree of cross-disciplinary activity and the robustness of artist networks all suggest in their complexity and intensity that these may be important adaptive traits which artists have developed in a comparatively isolated and rural province, much as natural ecosystems have evolved similar traits to survive and thrive. As one respondent observed, "Our relative isolation as compared to larger metropolitan centres has made the Saskatchewan arts community more innovative." The high level of education reported by artists and the importance of educational institutions, their facilities, programs and students within the artist networks would also appear to be strengths as long as the educational institutions continue to maintain those critical requirements for artists and the long term future of the arts more generally. The studies recently commissioned by the Arts Alliance, however, along with open responses from some artists throw this assumption into question and highlight a potential weakness in what may also have evolved as another adaptive strategy (Gingrich, in-press). In a province with a lack of population density and less concentrated access to both arts organisations and cultural infrastructure, it makes sense that artists have gravitated towards publicly funded and adaptable spaces like those professionally equipped spaces found in post-secondary institutions and K-12 facilities dotted all over the country side. If educational institutions reconsider their commitment to training and facilities associated with the arts and/or make those less accessible, artists will either need to leave or develop alternatives.

This leads to other questions with respect to the health of the arts ecosystem that emerged from the survey data. At the top of the list is the disconnection between the importance placed on artists by the public and the remuneration they receive for their creative work. Although nearly all artist respondents reported receiving income from their art practice, over the past two years 43% received less than \$5000 from their art, and their average annual income from creative work was \$15,380. During the same period Saskatchewan wages rose nearly 5%, the highest increase in the country, but it is unclear that artists are benefitting from such a boom as the wages of provincial workers in art, culture, recreation and sport had just dropped by 2.6% when the artist survey was being released in 2014 (Statistics Canada, 2014a; 2014c) It was the only wage sector to experience a decrease.

Fundamental concerns about the survival of artists in the provincial ecosystem are further fuelled by the fact that only 57% of artists devoted 20 hours or more to their creative practice and when all their working hours from both inside and outside the arts were combined they were working an average of 49 hours a week, nearly 8 hours more than the average provincial work week. Perhaps not surprisingly, the cohort of artists

may be aging. 47% of artists were 55 and over while only 18% were in the 18-34 age range. This compares with 35% 55 and older in the general provincial population and 30% in the 18-34 range (Blackstone, Hage, & McWilliams, 2015a: 12-13).

One of Holden's proposed ecological measures of "systemic health" is "increasing complexity; a healthy ecology should be generative." Although there are signs of new art forms in the cross disciplinary mix reported by artists, one has to ask whether there is sufficient evidence of new artists. Holden suggests that "the ecology should be getting more complex not only in terms of the numbers of people involved but in the diversity of their involvement. Variety is a source of ecological strength." If respondents to our surveys are a measure of both artists and non-artists connected within the arts-ecosystem then they are not representative of the diversity of the general population. With 9% of artist respondents and 4% of public respondents reporting indigenous ancestry, this compares with 16% in the overall provincial population (Blackstone, Hage, & McWilliams, 2015a: 28; 2015b: 19). But with a very low response rate from indigenous people on reserves in both surveys, it raises questions about the extent to which individuals on those reserves are engaged in a provincial ecosystem or simply operating within isolated or disconnected cultural systems of their own. Further to the point of diversity, respondents to both surveys were disproportionately female, and newcomers to the province as well as individuals of non-European ancestry (apart from indigenous respondents) were virtually invisible in either survey. One newcomer who did respond to the survey complained that "the arts community in Saskatchewan is very much a word-of-mouth, networking community. It is very hard for newcomers to Saskatchewan to break into the arts community successfully without a strong network in place. There is no cohesive place to find opportunities and access to auditions and artist related information. It is very hard to get 'in'." We have organised focus groups to get further input from this component of the community, but the limited response from these constituencies would seem to confirm the findings of a 2014 SaskCulture report, *Engaging Saskatchewan's Emerging Demographics*, regarding the inability of the arts and cultural communities to adapt quickly enough to the changing cultural dynamics of a province that is experiencing population increases accompanied by shifts in cultural demographics.

Artist survey responses also suggest systemic weakness in limitations affecting the quality of artist networks. Only 56% of artists reported adequate access to mechanisms or opportunities for collaboration or networking with individuals, organisations or businesses in the arts and only 40% reported adequate access to the same type of mechanisms or opportunities involving individuals, organisations or businesses outside the arts (Blackstone, Hage, & McWilliams, 2015a: 20). These concerns appeared to apply to individuals regardless of the relative density of their existing networking or their location in urban or rural environments. Very limited evidence of networking, grant applications to federal agencies or foundations and other connections at that level leads to questions regarding the extent to which the ecosystem is sufficiently open to or facilitating access to much needed resources from outside provincial boundaries. Access to technology beyond basic internet service could be a factor as individuals with a high density of networking had made much greater use of video and teleconferencing to effect connections necessary to their creative work, but responses to another question which showed no significant difference in responses from individuals with high to low density networks suggests a more fundamental problem within the system. Only 60% of artist respondents reported that they or an agent, dealer, publisher, etc actively promote their creative work or skills (Blackstone, Hage, & McWilliams, 2015a: 10).

A final observation relating to the health of the ecosystem concerns one of the precipitating factors behind our study--the major disruption of the film industry and resulting exodus of film professionals which has since been documented in declining local memberships in organisations like the Directors Guild, Equity, ACTRA, IATSE and SMPA. Taken before this research program was launched, the government decision which caused the dislocation is a classic example of policy making without sufficient evidence, and it was not surprising to see that copious references to the situation appeared in responses to open survey questions.

Many of these responses confirm the findings of the SMPIA report cited earlier that irreparable damage had been done to the media sector, that networks needed to be completely rebuilt and that the individuals who remain need to adapt what they do to the new limited opportunities available to them. What is important to note is that the effects of the blow levelled at the film industry radiated out beyond individuals directly associated with that industry. As one respondent observed,

There is no film industry. This has hurt almost every sector of the arts community. Not many other art disciplines on the local level can provide a high wage like the film industry. [...] Many of these artists would take that money and invest it into other personal projects, which bring an additional unmeasured benefit to the economy and culture of Saskatchewan - sound department being musicians, art department being painters, camera operators being photographers, directors writing local stories etc.

The suggestion here is that the former film industry with its complex and broad scope occupied a position at the top of the supply chain and because of that contributed to networks and support systems as well as good paying jobs that could then feed other creative work outside of film. The conclusion of several respondents was that Saskatchewan had become “a less sustainable arts community” because of what happened to film.

Conclusion

Given that our research on the arts ecology of Saskatchewan is still in progress, neat conclusions are not possible at this point. But the benefits of such research to not only the immediate arts ecosystem but also arts administrators, policy makers, theorists and scholars further afield should be apparent. First, simply undertaking primary research that is informed by familiarity with the arts community and the particular questions that most need to be addressed in that community has revealed the serious drawbacks to relying on secondary research data often framed by unhelpful criteria that mitigate against the very knowledge and understanding that we seek. Second, consulting directly with artists and the public to get a perspective on the arts community from the two most essential components of the creative process may be challenging and messy from a statistical standpoint, but artists and members of the public have critically important insights to offer and are eager to share them. Third, using ecological approaches to examine arts and culture as ecosystems in a given place and time and, in particular, the networking that is taken as a given by scholars who talk about the creative economy as well as the creative or cultural ecology can further inform and interrogate such theories while also giving us new ways of seeing arts ecosystems, assessing their health and sustainability and developing an action plan to foster adaptive resilience that will ensure the ecosystem’s long term vitality. As we move forward to broaden this work into the entire Prairie region of Canada over the next 8 years, I invite colleagues interested in similar ecological studies to partner with us in comparing data and developing further methodology for what promises to be a productive field of research.

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To Lead and To Manage a Cultural Public-Private Network: Some Evidence from an Italian Case

Bonti, Mariacristina

Department of Economics and Management - University of Pisa

Pisa, Italy

mariacristina.bonti@unipi.it

Abstract

This paper focuses on the functioning of cultural public-private networks (PPN) and their governance. In particular, we are interested in the figure of the public actor operating in a cultural PPN, i.e. on the behaviours that he can play in order to foster the development of a cultural network and the enhancement of cultural heritage. Two are the questions at the base of this research: What roles and functions can a public actor play within a cultural PPN by acting as a broker? May just one public actor be able to manage the strategic and operational aspects of the network, in order to foster the development of positive interactions between all organizations involved in it?

The theoretical framework of this research consists of two strands of organization and management literature. The first is related to those contributions that deepen the network concept in public administration and analyse both different modes of network governance and the conditions that favor their development.

The second strand refers to those studies concerning the functioning of a network, the presence of a dual leadership and the roles and functions that two leaders can develop in a complementary way.

We choose a single case-study research strategy and adopt a qualitative approach, pursuing cognitive and explorative goals. The case-study under investigation is the “Motor Valley-Land of Motors” cultural PPN. Born as “ad-hoc” project within the event “Bologna 2000, City of Culture”, this project was then consolidated as a cross-sectoral cultural PPN, gaining regional interest and becoming a tourist product within a territorial marketing strategy.

We find that the development of a cultural PPN is related: a) to the presence of two public actors (the Emilia Romagna Region Administration and the Regional Tourism Agency), acting as orchestrators within the network itself, b) to their ability to play different roles jointly, at two different levels. At the strategic level, it is important the ability to build a network of strong relationships, aligning different interest of different and grasping the motivation for join some initiatives and activities in order to facilitate the consolidation of the cultural network. At the operational level, it is important to support the cultural network with the development of a related tourism product. The joint action of these two leadership becomes a driving force for the strengthening the network and the enhancement of cultural heritage.

Keywords: cultural public-private network – dual leadership – intermediate functions and roles

Introduction

Over the past decades, there has been a growing interest in public-private partnerships also within the cultural sector (Provan & Milward 1995; O'Toole 1997; Agranoff & McGuire 1998; Milward & Provan 2003; Kenis & Provan, 2009). Sponsorship is the most traditional form of involvement and intervention of the private actors in support of cultural heritage conservation. In more recent times, however, examples of public-private collaboration that are required and, at the same time, encouraged the undertaking of new roles and the performance of new activities by the actors involved have multiplied.

In particular, both researchers and practitioners recognized public networks as an organizational form able to

reduce fragmentation and encourage collaboration among different partners, build community capacity, enhance organizational and client-level outcomes. In other word, this model of governance alternative to traditional hierarchical is seen as a way to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of the services provided in different fields, such as health, social care, local development, education, community development, sustainable tourism, cultural heritage (Agranoff & McGuire 2001; Milward & Provan 2003).

Despite the growing number of network-focused researches and the increasing debate in the field of public administration literature, there are still many unanswered issues, while questions arise on the conditions under which networks actually work and are effective, and on challenges that networks have to face and the limits they have to overcome. On the contrary, less attention is paid on the functioning of network and its governance.

We found a gap in current literature on this topic and this research aims at contributing to this debate, by suggesting some directions for future research. In particular, we are interested in the figure of the public actor as dowel-pin of a network, in the roles and functions that he can play within it (White & Christopoulos, 2011). We wonder if, in order to create the most favorable conditions for the development of a cultural PPN, it might be desirable the presence and joint action by two public actors (a dual leaders): the first aimed to build solidarity and to maintain the integration of all the parts of the network; the second aimed to accomplish network's goals. Sharing objectives and responsibilities between the partners (mutuality) and the development of synergies between different skills and abilities, specific to each partner (identity), are two essential basic elements for the functioning of networks (Brinkerhoff & Brinkerhoff, 2014). These elements, however, needed to be built and sustained over time due to capacity, particularly of the public sector, to play certain roles and to carry out specific activities.

The limited experience of the public actor in the management of a network, combined with the complexity of such management, make necessary some skills that can hardly be found in a single public actor. We wonder about whether the efficiency and effectiveness of a public-private network may require the joint leadership of two public actors that, working on different levels, ensure the proper functioning of the network itself. We intend to test how public actors in these networks work as leaders/intermediaries and to see what roles and functions they play as *linking pins* between private and public organizations.

Public actors within a public-private network must be regarded as stewards, mediators, catalysts, but also as facilitators and connectors rather than directors. They may work at a strategic level, bearing responsibility for steering collaboration toward consensus, development of relationships and collective results, but they must work at the same time at an operational level, in order to solve problems and achieve the effective and efficient service delivery.

This paper focuses on the functioning of a cultural public-private network (PPN), its governance and leadership. In particular, we are interested in the figure of the public actor operating in a cultural PPN, i.e. on the behaviors that he can play in order to foster the creation and development of this network and the enhancement of cultural heritage.

Two are the questions at the base of this research:

RQ1: What roles and functions can a public actor play within a cultural PPN by acting as brokers?

RQ2: It might be desirable the presence and joint action by two public actors (dual leaders) in order to foster the development of positive interactions between all the organizations involved in it?

We propose some initial insights on the behaviors that the public actor can play during the development of a public-private network and on the functioning of this network as a whole. Without minimizing the importance of structural characteristics, we chosen to focus on the ability of the public actor to manage a network, modulating his behaviors from inside. In particular, we wonder how a public actor, well positioned in a network, might foster the development of the network it-self by exploring and performing some specific roles-and-functions.

In order to analyze and understand the behaviors that promote the development of suitable roles and functions by a public actor, we choose a single case-study research strategy (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). We adopt a qualitative approach and pursue cognitive and explorative goals. The case study under investigation is the *Motor Valley-Land of Motors* network. Born as *ad-hoc* project within the event *Bologna 2000, City of Culture*, the Motor Valley project was then consolidated as a cross-sectoral network and has gained regional interest, developing as a tourist product within a territorial marketing, a community relation strategy.

The paper is structured as follows. The next section defines the theoretical framework: after analyzing the governance models of public-private network, we focus on the presence of two public actors operating as leaders within a PPN as a condition that can encourage its effectiveness. Then, we frame the roles that they may take on, and the functions that can perform in order to favor the development of a network. The third paragraph, after a methodological premise, shows the case examined, while in the conclusions, some possible implications of the research are suggested, highlighting the current limitations and possible lines of development.

1. Theoretical background

The theoretical framework of this research consists of two strands of organization and management literature, focused on studies related to: a) public-private network; b) leadership roles and functions within a network brokerage roles and functions.

With reference to the first topic, we consider the contributions that deepen the network concept in public administration and analyze both different modes of network governance (Provan *et al.* 2007; Provan & Kenis 2007) and the conditions that favor the development of a network (Drazin & Van de Ven, 1985).

A network can be defined as a group of goal-oriented actors, that are interdependent, even if autonomous, and that work together in order to achieve not only their own goals but also a collective result that no one actor could produce on its own (Isett & Provan 2005; Koppenjan & Klijn 2004). In the public administration literature, the term networks are considered in three different ways (Isett *et al.* 2011): as a metaphor or an organizing concept; as the methods and the methodological paradigm that surround network; as an approach or as a tool to get something done. In particular, public network researches were framed mainly in the second perspective: they have favored structural features, such as centrality, density, frequency of contacts, types of partnership, and tie characteristics (Provan *et al.* 2013; Rethemeyer & Hatmaker 2008; Saz-Carranza & Ospina 2011). Consequently, the different organizations in the network and their relationships was the unit of analysis privileged rather than the whole network. Limited are studies and empirical evidence of functioning and effectiveness of the whole network (Provan, Fish, & Sydow 2007; Saz-Carranza & Ospina 2011). Moreover, by looking at the formal networks and their structural characteristics, these studies have left incidental the analysis of the methods of network governance.

The way in which networks are governed and managed is another important aspect that influences the effectiveness of the network. Network management refers to those mechanisms aimed at mediating and coordinating inter-organizational choices (Klijn & Koopenjan, 2000), in order to influence, persuade, guide and build commitment and a shared vision, able to accomplish the common goals established.

Provan and Kenis (2008, 2009) have studied some determinants of public network management and have introduced three basic governance forms to govern collaborative networks, each of which differs regarding their structure and some variables: trust, number of participants, goal consensus and need for network level competencies. The three types of networks are: shared governance among network members, the network governed by one lead member, and delegation of its governance to a Network Administrative Organization

(NAO).²⁵

In particular, lead organization governance is a model in which a public actor may assume the role of network leader because of its central position in the flow of information and resources. In this model, network members all share at least some common goal and they interact and work with one another. All activities and key decisions are coordinated through and by one of the member acting as a lead organization, which facilitates the activities of member organizations in their efforts to achieve network goals. Integration that better supports effectiveness is so defined by the presence of one coordinated actor and different subset that are highly cohesive and strongly linked to each other (Provan & Sebastian, 1998). The shared governance networks (or participant governed networks) consist of multiple organizations (both public and private) that work collectively as a network without any distinct governance entity; they make all of the decisions and manage network activities by themselves. While the strength of these networks lies in the involvement of all network partners and in their flexibility and responsiveness to the needs of the network participants, the weakness is a possible negative impact on network efficiency (Provan & Kenis 2008; Kenis & Provan 2009). For its characteristics, shared governance is more appropriate in small, geographically concentrated networks where full, active face-to-face interaction between network members is possible.

The three basic governance forms proposed by Provan and Kenis are, however, pure, ideal types, which are not always found in reality. Thus, for example, within a lead organization-governed public network, despite the presence of a public organization absolutely leader in the strategic management of the network, it may be possible to find another public organization which is the reference point for the operational management, i.e. for facilitating the effective service production and delivery. With regard to this area of activity, also the latter organization has a leadership within the network. In these cases, we can not automatically talk about a shared-governance, while we may think to be in the presence of a dual leadership (Ysa *et al.*, 2013). Two actors may manage a network in a collaborative way because the challenges that it faces are so complex that it is required a set of skills and competencies too broad to be possessed by a single organization (O'Toole *et al.*, 2003).

These two leaders (in our case, two public actors) may be not present at the same time, may not work together and split responsibilities (part time leadership, see Ysa *et al.*, 2013) but they can work in a concerted manner in order to achieve the aims of the network. The managerial skills and capacities required to work successfully in a network include first of all knowing how to act as mediators, in order to maintain the integration of various partners and steer the direction of the whole network. Then they include knowing how to be task-oriented, by leading collaboration toward an efficient and effective service delivery. Beyond mere organizational skills, there are important some key competence such as getting serving as a mediator between different organizations, interests and goal.

In that sense, these two public leaders behave similarly to network brokers. They lack authority over the network organizations (either private, or public) (French & Raven, 1959) and, for this reason, leadership behaviors tend to fall under the relational behavior type. They have to focus primarily on creating a common vision and shared goals (Agranoff & McGuire, 2003), on facilitating (Klijn, 2004) and synthesizing, communicating with and aligning network members, on securing resources, external legitimacy, as well as building support and commitment among network members, on attracting needed partners, without neglecting the achievement of the objectives.

To address our research questions, the taxonomies drawn up Gould and Fernandez (1989) and recently re-introduced by Kirkels and Duysters (2010) and by Burt's (2004) seems to be worthy of note.

According with Gould and Fernandez (1989), the roles played by actors within a network are closely related to their structural positions and they can be distinguished into five typologies of brokerage relations which

²⁵ The NAO is a separate entity established for the sole purpose of governing and managing the network, which implies that the network is governed externally.

can be observed either separately or jointly: coordinator, representative, gatekeeper, liaison, cosmopolitan. A leader may act as coordinator, when all actors belong to the same group, so the brokerage relation is completely internal. He can be a representative, when one or more members of a subgroup delegate him to communicate information to or negotiate exchanges with outsiders. He may behave as gatekeeper, when he selectively grants outsiders access to members of his own group or as liaison when he is an outsider with respect to both the initiator of the brokerage relation and the receiver of the relation because his role is to link distinct groups, without any prior allegiance to either. Then, he can be a cosmopolitan, when the intermediated actors belong to the same subgroup, but the intermediary belongs to a different group. According with Burt's (2004), a broker can play these roles in very different ways, carrying on different functions. We can recognize four levels of brokerage and of information arbitrage through which create value: a) to make all actors in a network aware of interests and difficulties in the other group; b) to transfer best practice and to translate practice into language digestible in the other group; c) to draw analogies between groups ostensibly irrelevant to one another; d) to make synthesis of beliefs or behaviors that combine elements from both groups. In a PPN, it may be assumed that drawing analogies and syntheses are the more challenging functions for a leader, especially if he is called upon to mediate very heterogeneous group. In fact, it can easily guess as in these cases it is more difficult to find analogies and to implement effective coordination, what makes these two functions more demanding.

2. Research methodology

The research design of the study relies on a single case-study approach, follows a qualitative approach and pursues explorative goals. The case under investigation, recognized as an outstanding case, has been selected for its significance: it shows the effectiveness of the development of a mixed public-private network in which firms, artisans, tourism organizations, sport facilities, institutions and other organization in the cultural heritage and tourism sector are tied together in such a way to reinforce the regional competitiveness. The design of the research is longitudinal, from 2000 to 2013, for it provides a lot of elements able to understand the development of the network over time. The data collection began in 2008 and ended in 2013; so the data before this period are acquired from previous studies, local databases, public/private archives, press archives of local and national newspapers. Other documents analyzed include the network's website of Motor Valley project, academic papers and press releases. We use different data and knowledgeable informants in order to limit bias (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007) and we make a triangulation of different data sources in order to obtain more robust evidence.

The investigation involves using in-depth interviews, questionnaire and document analysis. In particular, fifteen interviews have been carried out to private organizations (corporate museums and private collections) that participate to the network and two interviews to local institution (the Emilia Romagna Region Administration and the Emilia Romagna Tourism Agency), involved in the Motor Valley projects.

In the first semi-structured open-ended interviews, respondents are asked to tell the meaningful steps of the development of the network, the reasons and opportunities for the network, expected outcomes for the territory and all the stakeholders, future challenges and new steps, the key roles and key actors emerged within the network, main challenges that the public actors have managed during the network evolution, governance mechanisms and processes. The second structured interview was oriented to gather more information about the main tasks conducted by the two public actors and their capacity to influence the network, the roles and functions performed, as well about the perceived performance of these roles by each private organization that participates to the network. We have also looked at how these tasks, roles and functions can influence trust between actors, their relationship and their performance; goal consensus, the main reasons for participating in the project and the importance of achieving the goals of network; the need for network competencies, in terms of coordination needs.

The interviews, lasting from one to more than 2 hours each and completely tape-recorded, have been realized between April 2008 and December 2011. The questionnaire has been submitted on May 2012.

3. A brief description of the case

The *Motor Valley-Land of Motors* project begun as part of *Bologna 2000-European City of Culture*. Born as a cross industry project, gradually grew, gaining regional interest initially, with the involvement of many players caught up in and revolving around the *mechanics* culture, later acquiring a nationwide dimension, extending to the Regions of Tuscany, Piedmont, Lombardy and Sicily. As is widespread knowledge, one of the main vocations of the Emilia-Romagna Region lies in the automotive and motorcycle industries: the most world-famous cars and motors companies, such as motors Parilla, Ferrari, Ducati, Lamborghini, Malaguti, VM, are located in the Province of Modena. During the cultural event mentioned above, the Province of Modena and other small cities organized some international initiatives, leveraging on this *ancient* vocation and on a deep-rooted passion for cars and motors, in order to find new ways for the internalization of regional tourism.

Much more than a productive phenomenon began to grow around this theme. The awareness of the existence of this *system* is something that has matured slowly in our country, while abroad, on the contrary, this territory is commonly identified as *Motor Valley* in the foreign press. It is seen as a *quadrilateral of excellence* that brings together the largest and most prestigious car and motorcycle manufacturers in the world, all situated only 10 to 50 kilometers apart.

For a long time, this system concept was overshadowed by the punctiform vision of many companies, often in competition with each other and each pursuing their own ends. Already from the 1990s, the major automobile manufacturers and motorcycle manufacturers had started to set up Corporate Museums (CMs) and private collections, independently. Each of these CMs and private collections were connoted, albeit to varying degrees, by its own network of territorial relationships that produced economic, social or cultural value; each had its own location and visibility in the territory: each of them was at the center of important tourist flows, but under recognized for its potential. The ardent fan rather than the general sport enthusiast knew about the individual Company and the individual Museum or collection, but did not know what other opportunities the territory was capable of offering.

A little at a time, over time, Motor Valley begun to be identified no longer as just a territory, but it took shape as a network of major firms in the motor industry, artisans, tourism organizations, corporate museum, institutional museums, private collections, motor racing facilities, local public institutions willing to work together (Alberti *et al.*, 2012)

The awareness of the existence of this network and its potentials for tourism development led the Emilia Romagna Region Administration to create in 2002 the tourism product *Motor Valley*, and in 2004 the namesake brand.

The Motor Valley project was based upon some main factors: territory, history, a variety of actors and industrial sectors involved. This composite structure led to the involvement of private and public investors, who had to operate in an integrated way. The role of public institutions was significant since the very beginning. The presence of a strong public institution as the Region Emilia Romagna gave a higher meaning to the project as a whole and influenced many actors' choice to be part of the network. Reputation and local identity played a big part into cluster development and they were those factors necessary to aggregate heterogeneous actors. The potential economic value created by the association with the Motor Valley brand lured many small and medium enterprises to join the project and acted as an incentive as well for some bigger-sized local companies (Alberti *et al.*, 2012).

The role of the Emilia Romagna Region Administration was determinant for the development of the project. Loosening its leadership role, it has favored the creation of a system of governance of the network little

centralized, open to the active involvement of other public organizations. In particular, the Emilia Romagna Region Administration has mainly managed relationships with key players of Motor Valley, the most famous automobile industries of the past and present, and with their corporate museums and private collections. The Regional Tourism Agency (APT), for its part, has managed the network of local tour operators, overseeing and coordinating the touristic packages built around the brand *Motor Valley*, the needs of different types of tourists and the main regional motorsports events, so allowing the realization of the potential of the Motor Valley project.

In fact, since 2004, the Emilia Romagna Region, through its Regional Tourism Agency started to design touristic packages able to involve and leverage the potentiality of the heterogeneous resources of the network (company museums visits, guided tour to famous manufacturers, sport activities, participation to sport events and exhibitions, etc).

This territory is very rich from an historical cultural heritage point of view: looking back, you can reconstruct the century-old history of sport motor manufacturing; looking at the present, looking at the present, this is the home land of world famous sport events and of sport motor industry players very famous in the past and in the present. The cultural heritage was the core of the cluster and it provides a framework in which public and private actors can operate jointly in order to develop thematic services such as events, promotions and ad hoc package tours. Cultural heritage, industrial heritage, artistic heritage and landscape heritage walk alongside, integrating in a complementary way into a single thematic tourist product.

Some very preliminary findings and contributions

Consistent with its exploratory nature, this study proposes some reflections about roles and functions performed by public actors (specifically, the Emilia Romagna Region Administration and the Regional Tourism Agency), starting from the perception of these roles and functions by the private actors participating to the network. The development of the project appears to be related to the ability of the two public actors to behave as leader, playing different brokerage roles jointly, albeit at two different levels, thus promoting the coexistence of more orchestrators within the network itself.

As stated in the brief summary of the case, *Motor Valley* is a cross-sector network that presents a dual composition. On the one end, there are a set of organizations that are an expression of local culture, tradition and industrial heritage, with their induced of small and medium enterprises. On the other end, there are a number of organizations working in the tourism sector. The Emilia Romagna Region Administration and the Regional Tourism Agency are, respectively, the direct counterparts of these two sub-networks and their joint action made possible the envisioning and design of the network, has triggered its formation, has allowed its development.

The analysis of the characteristics of the network shows mixed results. The private members of the network highlight that communication and coordination are highly centralized in the network: the two leaders steer the network and each of them are indispensable to connect all members inside the network. In their opinion, this centralization is positive, also because the role of these leaders diverges from the one in a hierarchy. In fact, the network works in a very collaborative way: the two public actors try to connect all the members, to look for synergies, to enhance collaboration among artisans, tourism organizations, institutions and other organization in the cultural heritage and tourism sector, to help in the resolution of problems. It is possible, anyway, to find a sort of hierarchy between the two public actors: the Emilia Romagna Region has more power and legitimacy with respect to Regional Tourism Agency.

As a director of a corporate museum said "The Emilia Romagna Region is the real engine of the network, the central pivot: it has clear ideas of the way in which the network should evolve. Surely, it seeks to build consensus, but when it is necessary, it takes the final decision". And another explained: "We have very collaborative relationships, we can exchange ideas and opinions freely, without having to follow a specific

direction. When opinions diverge, the Region is very skillful at strategically managing their differences and at finding a common point toward which converge”.

Looking at the leaders' roles inside the network, we found that they are distinct, but complementary and that leaders behave similarly to network brokers. In particular, as far as the Emilia Romagna Region Administration is concerned, we have detected three of the five brokerage roles according with the typology of Gould and Fernandez (1989), gatekeeper, coordinator and liaison. We also noted that to perform these roles, the Emilia Romagna Region has carried out two main functions: a transcoding function and the drawing of analogies.

We assume that these roles provide the foundation on which to build a network of strong relationships, to align different interest, to grasp the motivation for join some initiatives and activities. Along the development of the project, the Emilia Romagna Region Administration has operated as a gatekeeper bringing the idea about the Motor Valley's network from the Province of Modena to a regional dimension first, then national. To perform this role, the Emilia Romagna Region Administration has invested quite a lot of effort and time to make all the actors in the network, rivals and competitors in the motor industry, aware of the great opportunities that would open them when they joined forces and cooperated to make the “quadrilateral of motor's excellence” touristically attractive. Secondly, it has brought the different actors of the network to make its expectations, needs and visions, in order to highlight the many similarities that exist between them, despite their rivalry. In other words, it is considered as the main connector, but at the same time it tried to give cohesion to the whole network.

In parallel, the Emilia Romagna Region Administration has played the roles of coordination and liaison. Regarding the first, it has encouraged the transfer of knowledge and experience between the company museums and private collections, promoting growth of their ability to make available its industrial heritage. The knowledge transfer function was combined with the transcoding one: the Emilia Romagna Region Administration has been constantly engaged in the recall and emphasize the benefits and opportunities resulting from the project for all members of the network.

As regard as the role of liaison, different functions performed by the Emilia Romagna Region Administration were involved in this role. The Emilia Romagna Region Administration has succeeded in creating a link between the world of industrial heritage and the world of tourism along three main directives:

- a) showing the two actors how they could benefit from a common and shared strategy;
- b) making them clear that the experience of corporate museums and private collections could be used as an opportunity for innovation in the tourism sector;
- c) combining what local tour operators knew about the market, his segments and the cultural and landscape heritage with the industrial heritage strategies used by automotive industries. The Emilia Romagna Region Administration shared these roles and functions of brokerage with the Regional Tourism Agency. In particular, the Regional Tourism Agency has acted as gatekeeper and coordinator within the subnet formed by tour operators, in order to facilitate the identification of packages and the organization of events consistent with the purposes of the Motor Valley network. It has acted as liaison to the Emilia Romagna Region and the subnetwork composed by private companies in order to promote genuine partnerships and to share tourist proposals.

A director of private collection stated “The Emilia Romagna Region is more involved in communication; it has a lot of contacts and it does the more active roles” while a director of a corporate museum has emphasized “The Region is much more hands on leading the network and on avoiding discrepancies”.

The Emilia Romagna Region Administration and the Regional Tourism Agency operate as dual leaders within the network. The case highlights a complementarity between leaders: their tasks are different and there is a sort of division of labor, as the interviews and ad hoc questionnaires have confirmed. The Emilia Romagna Region can be considered as the main connector of the network: it connects all participants, is

responsible for the external coordination, but it also oversees the project and tries to give cohesion to the whole network. Conversely, the Regional Tourism Agency is more focused on internal coordination: its role is more task-oriented.

“Their profiles are different and their contributions are different too. Even if they are different visions, they always reach a shared solution; they get on very well and, at the end, they think similarly” “At the end, to have two leaders is better than having one. You can reduce the weaknesses, have broader perspectives, see problems from two different perspectives, avoid excesses of personality”.

The level of mutual respect and trust is very high. Emilia Romagna Region Administration and the Regional Tourism agency have worked together very well, gaining mutual respect, reducing the chances of conflict, difficulties or jealousies.

In essence, the Emilia Romagna Region has played a more strategic role, but without the organizational and operational links of the Regional Tourism Agency network could hardly achieve desired results.

With this research, we have attempted to investigate how public actors well positioned in a public-private network work in order to develop the network itself. By looking at behaviours, we want to investigate how public actors act in order to understand, preserve and enhance their network and try to extract value from it.

The presence of two leaders within a network allows the development of a hybrid network in which some key and strategic decision-making activities are coordinated by a single public actor, even if all the members of the network share some common objectives. Other more administrative and operational activities are coordinated by another public actor, called to facilitate the activities of the network members in their efforts to achieve the goals.

In this shared management, the Emilia Romagna Region played the roles of coordination and liaison by combining the transcoding function with the drawing of analogies one; the Regional Tourism Agency acted as gatekeeper and coordinator in order to ensure results.

Whereas the exploratory nature of our study, the theoretical implications are not yet well defined. We note that this analysis needs further details and comparison with other networks, in order to extend the current literature on the topic, developing a major awareness about organizational roles in public-private networks and detailing the set of functions that are perceived as important to play by public actor in the formation and development of a network. The managerial implications appear no less significant, since they can help public policy maker better understand what roles and functions can foster the formation and development of these networks.

A limitation of the analysis is not testing yet how network governance affect outcomes, which, due to the early stage of the project, still cannot be assessed.

A possible trajectory of research relies on a replication of this study in other public-private networks, in order to strengthen the empirical evidences and their possible use as tools of public management.

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Local Participation for the Enhancement of Cultural Heritage: the UNESCO Candidature of the *Climats du Vignoble de Bourgogne*

Borin, Elena

University of Ferrara – Department of Economics and Management

Italy

brnline@unife.it

Abstract

This aim of this paper is to contribute to the debate on new models for multi-stakeholder involvement and community participation in the cultural sector through a case study analysis of the successful project for the candidature to the inscription in the UNESCO World Heritage list of the area of the *Climats du Vignoble de Bourgogne* in France, a region that represents a relevant example of intertwining of different aspects of culture (tangible and intangible, viticulture, monuments, cloisters, historical city center, etc.). The research analyzes the governance structures that were created to implement the project and also, by means of an empirical survey performed through semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders, the level of motivation and engagement of the different participants, including citizens and local enterprises. The results give significant insights on how culture-based cooperation projects could work as drivers for local development and on the factors that could become pivots for the successful implementation of multi-stakeholder partnership and ecosystem perspectives in the cultural sector.

Keywords: multi-stakeholder partnerships; community engagement; cultural identity; cultural stakeholders' participation

Introduction

Calls for cooperation between cultural organizations, local communities and various socio-economic stakeholders have increased in European policy documents: recent communications and reports (European Council 2011; Council of the European Union 2014; European Commission 2015) have indeed underlined the need to rethink the role of culture, cultural heritage and cultural organizations in terms of their existing and potential connections not just inside the cultural sector but also with society and citizens, with other public and private actors and with related sectors. Participatory, bottom-up approaches have also been interpreted as ways to deal with tradition and emerging challenges of the cultural sector (Bonet & Donato, 2011), as well as a move towards ecosystem perspectives where culture plays a pivotal role in the development of the territory (Borin & Donato, 2015).

This paper aims to contribute to the debate on new models for multi-stakeholder involvement and community participation in the cultural sector through a case study analysis of the successful project for the candidature to the inscription in UNESCO World Heritage list of the area of the *Climats du Vignoble de Bourgogne*, a region located in Central France. The cross-sectorial, multi-stakeholder partnership called *Mission Climats*, was designed and implemented since 2007, in the framework of the project *Climats du Vignoble de Bourgogne* and is based on a broad conception of culture. It has been chosen because it is considered a relevant example of new emerging models of local territorial development through culture pointing to a broader concept of culture as expression of the identity of the territory and of its different social and economic actors. Indeed, the region represents a relevant example of intertwining of different cultural aspects (tangible and intangible, viticulture, monuments, cloisters, historical city center, etc.) pointing

towards the emerging idea of cultural ecosystems at the local level. The association called *Mission Climats* and the other governance bodies related to the implementation and management of the project promoted a series of initiatives aiming at increasing the level of dialogue among the diverse participants and a forum for discussion directed in particular at citizens and local communities.

This work investigates not only the governance of the project, but also the level of motivation and engagement of the different participants, including citizens and local enterprises, by means of an empirical research performed through semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders. The development of this multi-stakeholder project is interpreted in terms of its capacity to create cohesion and sense of belonging among various local stakeholders and to propose a model of cultural MSP that points to cross-sectorial, eco-system frameworks.

The investigation aims at answering the following research questions:

- Are multi-stakeholder partnerships perceived as a positive model for promoting local cultural systems based on cross-sectorial cooperation among the different subjects (public, private and citizens) of the territory? What are the potential advantages for the local communities, as perceived by the different stakeholders involved?
- What are the difficulties encountered in establishing a multi-stakeholder partnership in the *Climats* region? What are the actions that the stakeholders perceive as important to overcome those difficulties and build better and more stable collaborations among the different partners?
- How can multi-stakeholder partnerships based on culture contribute not only to the general rethinking process of the cultural field but also to redefining the role of culture in local socio-economic and sustainable development?

The research was carried out in 2014 in a selected sample of the region in France. The results give significant insights on how culture-based projects could work as drivers for rediscovering the sense of belonging and identity of the local community and create platforms for discussions among the different socio-economic subjects of a territory.

The paper is divided into five sections. This first section outlines the ideological framework in which the analysis was carried out and gives an overview on the research objectives. The second section provides a theoretical analysis of the development of the idea of community and citizens involvement and on the crescent academic and professional attention to governance and management models that could ensure representativeness, engagement of and accountability to a variety of stakeholders (both public and private, for-profit and not-for-profit) of public authorities; it ends with an overview on the paradigm shift that is leading to multi-stakeholder partnership models with specific reference to the cultural sector. Section three focuses on presenting the methodology of the research, while section four presents and discuss the results of the empirical analysis. Section five provides concluding remarks and presents future research plans.

1. Theoretical background

The theme of stakeholders and community involvement is increasingly being debated in the cultural field, especially in connection with the debate going on in the public sector on the need to develop new forms of governance and management based on concepts such as co-governance (Kooiman, 2003), or co-production (Normann & Ramirez 1994; Ostrom 1996) and more generally with the paradigm of so-called New Public Governance (Osborne, 2010). These trends propose a more participatory and shared approach to the management and enhancement of public assets that involves not just public authorities but also other stakeholders. This new approach has also been supported by the development of the idea that co-production of services and strategies should consider the role of local community (Bovaird & Löffler 2012; Brandsen & Pestoff 2006), interpreted as one of the variety of subjects (both public, private and non-profit) operating in the territory. Promoting stakeholder participation and citizens engagement implies the implementation of

social reporting tools (including social accounting) and the capability to engage in the strategy development and goal setting phase the local community. In this respect, the concept of co-production of value is associated with the concept of public value created through participation (Fung, 2006), and promotes a greater emphasis on the idea of creating an authorizing environment around governance and management of public assets (Moore, 1995). Indeed, over the last years the concept of public value, as represented by Moore's strategic triangle, has been central in the framework of the re-definition of the core strategic functions of public management on the basis of a higher focus on the values for the community. Among the three specific processes that characterize Moore's theoretical framework, the process of authorization, i.e. the creation of an "authorizing environment" that is required to sustain and achieve planned outcomes, plays a substantial role in building legitimacy, and is based on the idea that public authorities are constantly accountable for their actions. That would promote a new attitude to public governance that overcomes the weaknesses of the New Public Management paradigm (Kelly *et al.* 2002; Stoker 2006) and moves towards a post-competitive approach with a dominant focus on relationships expressing collective preferences (Kelly, *et al.*, 2002). In particular, Stoker articulated a public value management model that aimed at moving beyond the competitive framework towards collaborative network forms of governance (Stoker, 2006). Le Grand (2003) advocated the need to reshape the process of creation of public value: processes such as goal-setting, strategy definition and regulations should engage the active participation of citizens and other stakeholders, shifting away from previous *producer-led models* and promoting a more active engagement of the users of public services. Public authorities should therefore interact with communities and other stakeholders (e.g. in sectors such as education, health, culture) to co-create public services. Other scholars pointed out that the definition of public value should be continuously on-going and should be redefined through the social and political interaction between politicians, public managers and local communities (O'Flynn 2007; Smith 2004). In particular, O'Flynn (2007) focused on the paradigmatic change brought about by the adoption of a public value perspectives on the conception of leadership, associated with the pursuit of multiple objectives through engagement of the public service users within the perspective of accountability towards the community. In recent years, the need for new paradigms for public value theory has been highlighted by the international changes caused by the crisis; public value is increasingly being linked to the ideas of a more cooperative environment and of co-production of value. Benington (2011) reformulates the concept of public value by linking it with the notion of public sphere, arguing that this reformulation guides the emerging paradigm of networked community governance, based on the blurring of the boundaries between different spheres, levels of government, and between producers and users of services, thus implying various forms of co-production between public authorities and *their clients*. Benington's public value stream focuses on processes and outcomes and is rooted in the concept of co-production: "public value creation can be pictured in terms of an open system in which inputs are converted, through activities and processes, into outputs and outcomes, with the active help of co-producers and partner organization" (Benington & Moore, 2011: 47).

This increasing attention on the collaboration between public cultural authorities and other stakeholders (both profit and non-profit, private and civic) has been also addressed in terms of the evolvement of models of public-private partnership into multi-stakeholder partnership (MSP), that could potentially better represent the ecosystem of actors of an area related to a specific topic or goal. The concept of multi-stakeholder partnership (MSP), related to the stakeholder theories and the idea of collaborative advantages developed in the 1980s and 1990s, indicates those types of partnerships implemented among multiple partners that could be both public/private subjects and civic, and that have been proposed as better apt to deal with particular challenges and pursue specific common goals for the development of a territory (Pishchikova, 2014). Since the 1990s, the concept has been analyzed from a variety of perspectives, from public-services delivery to decision-making, innovation and local and sustainable development: Among the most relevant studies,

Hemmati (2002), Warner and Sullivan (2004) investigated the phenomenon in the framework of specific experiences, such as those of the Agenda 21 or of the water management sector. Brinkerhoff (2002) tried to address the concept under a more theoretical perspective, identifying the main characteristics of MSP in the ideas of reciprocity and organizational culture and focusing on the process of MSP implementation and management. Eden and Huxman (2001) underlined MSPs' significant potential, based on resource and know-how sharing for common operational, financial or ideological goals and highlighted the relevance of the synergies that could be created. Skelcher and Sullivan (2008), while emphasizing the importance of citizens involvement, underlined how partnerships involving citizens constitute the highest level of participation. Other interesting approaches have investigated the role of multi-stakeholder partnerships in term of local development and sustainability as linked to concept such as territorial governance, tourism enhancement and destination governance (Pechlaner *et al.*, 2015). The concept of MSPs has also been recently used with reference to the economic and financial crisis: governance and management forms implying a higher involvement of the different stakeholders have been promoted as an effective way to deal with the challenges posed by the ongoing crisis.

The theoretical discussion going on in the public sector, significantly resonates with the debate currently going on in the cultural sector; in the framework of this debate, many models of co-creation, participation and multi-stakeholder cooperation have been outlined for rethinking the cultural sector. Over the last decade, the cultural field has been facing increasing difficulties, due not only to its traditional problems (self-referential attitude, high reliance on public funding, etc.) but also to new challenges, such as the significant decrease of public funding, the growing demand for quality cultural services and for redefining the role of culture in the broader socio-economic context due to the economic and financial crisis started in 2007-2008 (Bonet & Donato, 2011). Cooperation among many institutions at a local level, as well as participatory, bottom-up approaches have been indicated as potential tools to deal with these traditional and emerging criticalities (Bonet & Donato, 2011), as well as a step towards the creation of ecosystem perspectives where culture plays a pivotal role in creating spill-over effects on the local economy and significantly contributes to the development of the territory (Borin & Donato, 2015); interesting research has proposed to see culture is as an ecology rather than an economy (Holden, 2004).

Partnership among cultural organizations, local communities and various socio-economic stakeholders have increasingly being called for in various European documents (Council of Europe 2011; Council of the European Union 2014; European Commission 2015) underlining the necessity to rethink the role of culture, cultural heritage and cultural organizations in terms of their existing and potential cooperation not only among the cultural field but also with other public and private actors coming from related sectors and with citizens and communities.

More generally, in recent years discussions amongst academics and professionals on the current models of governance and management of the cultural sectors have increased (Jackson & Tomlinson 2009; Radbourne 2003; Turbide & Laurin, 2014), underlining on the one hand the need to critically analyze the current modes of collaborations between the different cultural field and its broader environment (Arnaud, Soldo, & Keramidas, 2012) and on the other hand, the rethinking process leading to different forms of cooperation, partnership and networking amongst cultural institutions or with related sectors in a network or cluster perspective (Lazzeretti *et al.* 2010; Borin *et al.* 2012). Governance systems as supporting structures for cross-sectorial networking, multi-stakeholder involvement, participation and bottom-up approaches as well as expressions of hybrid forms of funding and management are currently being critically discussed and studied (Amans *et al.* 2015; Donato 2013; Flew & Cunningham 2010; Lindqvist 2012; Poprawski 2015; Turbide 2012). However, the creation of governance systems should not be interpreted as a goal in itself but rather as a means at the service of artistic and cultural subjects to promote common strategies to enhance the potential of arts and artists and to promote the development of cultural organizations. Emerging

governance models in the cultural field are allowing various levels of partnerships amongst public institutions, private partners, local stakeholders, not-for-profit organizations involving different governance agreements (among which the emerging multi-stakeholder partnerships) that often aim at creating sustainable models of development through culture at a territorial level, involving civil society and communities promoting ecosystems approaches (Delfin, 2012).

Understanding these models for interaction in the cultural sector means investigating their opportunities, potential and results with reference to the different partners involved and to their impact on the cultural, social and economic environment.

2. Methodology of the research

In order to better understand the existing and emerging models of interaction in the cultural sector, an empirical research was carried out in the region of Burgundy in France, concerning a multi-stakeholder partnership project in the cultural field. This MSP project was designed to support the candidature to the UNESCO World Heritage list of the area of the *Climats* (a mosaic of small vine plots) of Burgundy; this area, covering the territory from Dijon till Côte de Nuits and Côte de Beaune, represents a relevant example of the intertwining of different aspects of culture (tangible and intangible, viticulture, monuments, cloisters, historical city center, etc.); the vineyards are still an importance resource for the local economy and local winegrowers are among the most recognized and celebrated wine producers.

The first phase of the research focused on the analysis of the governance and management of this multi-stakeholder partnership, on the role of the different stakeholders (with special focus on the citizens) and on the initiatives aiming at involving local communities and citizens.

The second phase of the research focused on an empirical investigation of the stakeholders' perception of the potential and difficulties of the partnership and on the actions to improve the collaboration in the future.

The selected method was qualitative, with the objective to shed light on how the research topics were manifested within the area of the research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2006). In line with common principles of qualitative research, variety and representativeness determined the choice when considering the research sample (Patton, 2002), resulting in a selection of three categories of interviewees: decision-makers (mainly politicians in charge of cultural policies for their local authorities), cultural managers (either from the public and the private sector), and representatives of other stakeholders (citizens, local cultural association and private enterprises) belonging to the three main cities of the *Climats* region (Dijon, Beaune and Nuits-St. Georges).

The data emerging from these interviews were processed following the three main discussion themes; the results are presented on the basis of the most relevant points that emerged during the discussions. The results outlined the various perceptions of the stakeholders, and the MSP's potential impact in the long-run on the economic and social development of the territory. The analysis highlighted the significant contribution of the citizens through bottom-up approaches to policy development and decision making.

3. Results and discussion

Based on the premises highlighted in the theoretical analysis, the empirical research aimed at understanding the development and purpose of this multi-stakeholder partnership and the perception of the different actors involved in its implementation.

A first analysis, carried out through interviews with the director of the *Mission Climats*, as well as with administrators of the main local authorities of the area, aimed at understanding in details the project and its evolution over the years.

The project for the candidature of the *Climats de Vignoble de Bourgogne* region to the UNESCO World Heritage List started with talks and meeting in 2007, as an initiative of the main municipalities of the area

(Dijon, Beaune and Nuits-St.-Georges) and culminated in 2011 in a Territorial Charter expressing a common engagement of the main subjects and actors of the territory for developing common strategies for the management, preservation and sustainable enhancement of the site of the *Climats du vignoble de Bourgogne*.

A territorial charter, was signed by 53 local policymakers April 8, 2011 and developed by the main authorities of the area who committed themselves to implement common actions and collaborate for the project of the UNESCO candidature. The charter works as a reference document for the management of the site, promoting coherent actions for the preservation of the cultural, natural and socio-economic heritage of the perimeter area. Governance was entrusted to a Territorial Conference, bringing together all the authorities managing the area. This conference has territorial bases and its actions and policies are overseen by Technical and Scientific Commissions. Overall, the Charter establishes a governance structure composed by different bodies with functions varying from simple consultation till scientific supervision and strategic decision-making. According to the description provided during these research interviews, the various governance bodies could be grouped in two main branches, the first specifically created to promote citizens involvement and to create initiatives for dialogue among the members, outreach and communication strategies as well as community engagement, the second aiming at providing scientific, strategic and technical supervision to the project.

The first branch consisted in the creation of an Association, called *Mission Climats* that could work as a permanent forum for information and mobilization of local communities in order to create a favorable environment to the project and create dialogue between the inhabitants and the local political authorities. As declared by an interviewee, “since the very beginning [the local authorities] understood the importance of creating consensus and of informing the communities that the project could bring benefits to all parties, first of all the citizens and the local enterprises, especially those of the wine sector. That was perceived as particularly important in terms of letting the citizens develop a sense of belonging and proudness of their origins and culture”. The association is governed by a President and Vice-president (currently both local wine-makers) and by a board of directors, that are belonging to public local, regional or state authorities or are representatives of the different economic activities of the area. The association is managed by a permanent staff composed by three employees: one acting as director, one in charge of the communication, PR and fundraising initiatives of the project and one employee in charge of the tourism and educational/pedagogical activities.

As for the second branch, grouping the so-called *political and technical* governance bodies of the project, is composed by a Territorial Conference and a Technical Commission. The Territorial Conference was created in 2013, following the Territorial Charter signed in 2011, with the goal to implement the management plan of the site. It is in charge of the consultation and decision-making process in collaboration with the association and is composed by public officials, representatives of the cultural and local decision makers (politicians, state officials, scientists, experts, wine professionals, trade, tourism and culture professional). Their mission is to establish and implement an action plan to preserve, develop and communicate the heritage site of the *Climats*. The Territorial Conference is co-chaired by two representatives of the main local authorities, the mayors of Dijon and Beaune, and a representative of the wine industry. This *double identity* is consistent with the reality of the site and reflect the identity of the territory, strictly linked with wine-making and wine-growing industry and with a cultural and landscape heritage based on long-standing wine traditions.

The strategies set up by the Conference are carried out through the management plan elaborated by the Technical Commission composed mainly by local authorities' officials and by representative of the wine-makers associations and industries. Moreover, four commissions were established, and each was supervised by one of the four urban agglomeration of municipalities (*intercommunalités*) located in the central area of the site. More specifically, Commission 1 was responsible for the thematic area of Architecture, Urbanisme

and Landscape (Communauté d'Agglomération Dijonnaise), Commission 2 was in charge of Environment and natural resources (Communauté de Communes de Gevrey-Chambertin), Commission 3 of Economy and Local Development (Communauté de communes du Pays de Nuits-Saint-Georges), and Commission 4 of Mediation and Tourism (Communauté d'agglomération Beaune Côte & Sud). (Source: *Management Plan for the Candidature of the site of the Climats de Vignoble de Bourgogne*). Finally, in addition to the before mentioned governance bodies, a scientific committee composed by 39 experts on culture, history, local development and on the local economic and social milieu provides scientific supervision to the project.

In terms of local participation, particular attention has been paid to the involvement of the citizens and communities with a wide range of initiatives (forums open to the citizens, conferences to promote the initiative, educational actions directed to young students and to schools), including specific actions and events to increase the knowledge of the culture and traditions of the territory and foster the sense of belonging in young generations. Moreover, a specific program was created to involve the different stakeholders in supporting the project: the community was asked to actively engage in the preservation and enhancement of the territory through the *Climats* project, either volunteering time or make a donation. Citizens were stimulated to become ambassadors of the candidature project and promote it actively participating in or supporting the different communication and outreach activities. As declared by an member of the governance committee during the interview, "Our wish is to bring the widest possible adhesion to the project by the community of the territory. Creating a common support and increasing the knowledge of the meaning and goals of the project, means actively involve its main beneficiaries: our citizens and visitors".

The analysis of the governance bodies and of the activities for citizens engagement were followed by an empirical research that was aiming at understanding what was the perception of the multi-stakeholder partnership by the different subjects involved in the project and to verify possible misalignments of perception between the different categories of participants. The semi-structured interviews were divided in three main discussion topics concerning respectively the perceived potential of the partnership, the difficulties that have been encountered during the implementation phases, and the actions that could possibly solve those criticalities and ensure a better functioning of the project. The results of the research are illustrated in the following paragraphs.

As for the first question, concerning the advantages and the potential and asking for an opinion on the results of the collaboration, the majority of the interviewees agreed that the partnership was overall successful. It increased the sense of belonging and identity in the region (89% of the interviewees) and one of its main advantages in the long term will be that there will be positive spillover effects on the economic development and the tourism potential of the area (respectively both 100%). Other potential advantages were identified in the increasing of the dialogue among the various municipalities and private companies operating in the territory and in the enhancement of the role of the citizens in the valorization of their identity and in the participation to the preservation and valorization of the territory. Notwithstanding the positive responses and the overall faith in the project, some interviewees were rather skeptical about the real aims of the initiative, arguing that for the involved political parties the main reasons were political rather than ideological, with an interviewee even saying that "this is a project that allowed politician to show off and catch more votes; it is currently bringing positive results but I doubt it will continue in the long-run". On the other hand, the most enthusiastic category of interviewees was the *other stakeholders* that expressed wholehearted engagement in the activities and hope in the impact of the initiative on the local community and on the tourism appeal of the territory.

As for the second question, the most frequently mentioned difficulty was that there could be problems related to the belonging to different political parties in the municipalities involved that could create biases in identifying common objectives and prevent effective dialogue among the policy makers; it was argued that political leaders may change other time, and as a result they might question previous policy and strategy

decision taken by their predecessors. Interestingly, this problem was mentioned by all the cultural managers interviewed, and just by one of the policy makers. Other perceived problems were related to mistrust among the partners of the projects, due to different domains (public, private, not-for-profit, etc.) or by a higher interest in promoting the municipality or specific enterprise/cultural institution instead than networking and identifying common goals with other organizations. This was said to be mirroring a general lack of habit in working together in a way that was requested by the project and in a tendency to consider the citizens as mere beneficiaries of the cultural activities but not to engage them actively and through participatory approaches. Besides, it emerged that they perceived a lack of professional profiles to manage the project as well as a general under dimension of the various institution's staff that implied that they had not enough time or energy to work on the project.

The answers to the third question provided interesting insights on what are the actions that the different partners expect for the future in order to improve the project and obtain longtime results. The majority of the research sample argued that one of the keys to ensure enduring success to the initiative was to work on the enhancement of the common cultural identity at the basis of the project and to identify common goals that could be beneficial to all the partners involved (100% of the interviewees). The need to create a coherent plan for fostering the dialogue and confrontation among the participants in order to promote mutual understanding and better relations among them was also indicated as an important action along with the necessity to involve at a greater level the citizens and the local communities. Moreover, the interviewees argued that it is essential to create governance structures and mechanisms that could ensure the participation and the protection of the various partners involved, thus preventing opportunistic behaviors and decisions that would not respect the real nature of the territory and the mission of the project.

Conclusion

This paper aimed at investigating emerging models of cooperation in the cultural sector, by means of an empirical research on a case study of a multi-stakeholder partnership in the region of Burgundy in France, a project for the candidature of the *Climats du Vignoble de Bourgogne* to the inscription in the UNESCO World Heritage Sites List.

The research started with an analysis of the theoretical framework concerning existing and emerging models of collaboration in the cultural sector, that highlighted an increasing attention towards forms of cooperation at a *meso* (territorial) level involving multiple partners belonging both to the public and the private sectors. Moreover, the literature review underlined a growing demand for participatory processes and co-production mechanisms that point towards a more active involvement of citizens and communities in order to enhance public value and reinforce the sense of belonging and identity.

In order to verify these theoretical premises, an empirical research was carried out on the *Climats du Vignoble de Bourgogne* project, that was composed by two parts: a first part analyzed the governance structure of the project and the participatory mechanisms enacted in its framework. The second was implemented through semi-structured interviews with a selected research sample of policy makers, cultural managers and other significant stakeholders in the three main municipalities participating in the project. While the first part highlighted successful results in creating governance structures that could ensure cooperation between public, private and civic partners, the interviews stressed that the process was overall successful but there are still criticalities that need to be solved to ensure enduring results.

Concluding, this analysis points to the fact that multi-stakeholder partnerships are generally perceived as a positive model for promoting the creation of local cultural ecosystems based on cross-sectorial cooperation among the different subjects (public, private and citizens), because they can generate possible positive spillover effects on the socio-economic development of a territory and increase the sense of belonging and identity in the local communities and citizens by means of participatory approaches. Nevertheless, difficulties

may arise, due to a lack of habits or resources apt to work on these type of initiatives, to mistrust among the partners, to opportunistic or individualistic behaviors (e.g. linked to different political belongings). In order to solve these problems, long-plans and constant actions are required, that should work on the identification of common goals and on the fostering of participation and sense of belonging.

The results of this research however, refer to a limited case study and therefore need to be further verified on a broader scale. Possible future development of the research could include comparison with other case studies, both at a national and international level, and a broadening of the research sample to better represent the variety of subjects and parties involved in multi-stakeholder partnership.

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Démocratisation et Démocratie Culturelles au sein d'un Circuit-Court: Une Analyse par les Temporalités

Bouder-Pailler, Danielle

Université de Nantes

Nantes, France

danielle.pailler@univ-nantes.fr

Kogan, Anne-France

Ecole des Mines de Nantes

Nantes, France

anne-france.kogan@mines-nantes.fr

Anberrée, Alice

Université de Nantes

Nantes, France

alice.anberree@univ-nantes.fr

Abstract

L'objectif de la recherche-action présentée dans cet article est de montrer en quoi la mise en œuvre d'une expérimentation artistique, culturelle et sociale - prenant la forme d'un circuit court entre artistes et citoyens - permet de réconcilier des enjeux complémentaires portés par la démocratisation et la démocratie culturelles. La mise en exergue de différentes temporalités permet d'expliquer de nouvelles formes de création, de diffusion, de médiation et d'appropriation de la culture, notamment en lien avec le rôle joué par le numérique.

Keywords: démocratisation; démocratie; innovation; temporalités; numérique

Introduction

Le secteur culturel connaît actuellement plusieurs questionnements fondamentaux: limites de la démocratisation et enjeux de démocratie (Donnat 1991; Caune 2006; Donnat 2008); impacts du numérique; participation des publics (Bando 2005, 2008; Bordeaux *et al.*, 2012); place et statut des artistes dans la société ; augmentation de leur précarité; liens entre économie et culture; légitimité et rôle de l'intervention publique (Urfalino 1997; Poirrier 2006; Urfalino 2011); brouillage des statuts et contributions des professionnels et amateurs ; nouvelles sources de créations artistiques échappant aux institutions; etc.

En réponse à ces interrogations, de nouvelles façons de créer, de diffuser les œuvres et de coopérer émergent. De nouvelles modalités de réception apparaissent également. Ces phénomènes remettent en effet en cause les mécanismes de légitimation et de prescription: le modèle traditionnel d'une élite savante prescrivant le *bon goût* au reste de la société coexiste avec des modèles alternatifs au sein desquels les prescriptions sont partagées favorisant l'émergence de nouvelles hiérarchisations des œuvres et des genres artistiques. Ces changements interrogent une notion fondamentale de la politique culturelle française: la démocratisation culturelle, dont l'objectif est de favoriser la création et la diffusion des œuvres reconnues par les professionnels du champ comme constitutives du patrimoine commun de la nation et de l'humanité. En s'inspirant des mouvements d'éducation populaire, certains acteurs lui préfèrent la notion de démocratie culturelle, qui met en avant le rôle actif de tout un chacun dans la définition, la constitution et le partage de ce patrimoine commun.

Parallèlement à ces évolutions, le déploiement d'Internet est venu renouveler les figures de la démocratie. Une diversité de pratiques politiques se développe sur le réseau des réseaux, comme celles liées au web participatif, où l'altruisme et le bénévolat occupent une place importante. Ces pratiques défient les conceptions classiques de la solidarité, en valorisant entre autre l'excitation pour le nouveau et l'exploration (Auray, 2011). Malgré leur diversité, elles incorporent un code particulier, une forme de vie démocratique qui leur est, si ce n'est propre, du moins suffisamment idiosyncrasique pour leur être associée (Cardon, 2010).

Dans les événements culturels, l'introduction du numérique est particulièrement visible lorsque l'on s'intéresse aux retransmissions vidéos ou aux communautés de spectateurs qui se forment sur les forums. Dans ces situations, l'outil numérique devient diffuseur culturel - il est le support premier de l'échange en cours -, et donc contributeur de l'événement. D'autres situations existent où, sans tenir ce rôle central, l'outil numérique n'en est pas moins essentiel, de par les possibilités de médiatisation qu'il offre et les valeurs et pratiques qu'il véhicule.

Pour mieux saisir ces changements à l'œuvre dans le secteur culturel et les modes de fonctionnement associés au numérique, nous rappellerons dans un premier temps le contexte du secteur culturel en distinguant la politique d'équipements de celle d'événements. Nous présenterons ensuite le cas particulier d'une expérimentation d'un circuit-court culturel qui semble se situer entre ces deux politiques. Enfin nous analyserons les différentes temporalités à l'œuvre dans ce projet en nous demandant dans quelle mesure et à quelles conditions sa mise en œuvre favorise la démocratisation et la démocratie culturelle.

1. Le secteur culturel en quête de démocratisation: le rôle de l'événement

Une politique d'équipements aux effets limités

Dans les années qui ont suivi la création du ministère de la Culture en 1959, André Malraux a établi les principes directeurs de l'institution. Il a mis en place une politique de démocratisation culturelle, qui est officiellement poursuivie depuis par les autorités publiques. Cette politique a deux objectifs considérés comme les deux faces d'une même médaille (Urfalino, 2011): d'une part, garantir l'accès aux œuvres à un public le plus large possible (tant géographiquement que sociologiquement (Caune, 2006)); soutenir le patrimoine culturel commun d'autre part, en assurant sa conservation et en encourageant la création contemporaine.

Cette volonté de démocratisation culturelle s'appuie sur l'idée d'une culture universelle véhiculée par des chefs-d'œuvre qui ont une valeur intrinsèque et qui donnent lieu, lors de la rencontre, à une révélation. C'est, dans l'idée de Malraux, grâce à cette universalité que la culture peut prétendre remplacer la religion pour susciter le développement individuel et la communion des hommes.

Dans sa mise en œuvre, la démocratisation culturelle se traduit par le déploiement d'un réseau d'équipements culturels sur l'ensemble du territoire français, au sein desquels des professionnels (issus majoritairement du domaine théâtral) sélectionnent des œuvres de qualité qui seront exposées aux habitants.

Dans les faits, les synergies escomptées entre les deux objectifs de la démocratisation culturelle sont remplacées par des tensions entre exigence d'une certaine qualité de la création et limites de l'élargissement des publics : si la meilleure accessibilité des équipements favorise une augmentation de leur fréquentation, c'est par une intensification des pratiques de groupes sociaux déjà actifs. Ainsi toute une partie de la population semble rester exclue des politiques mises en œuvre (Donnat, 1994), et notamment absente des équipements culturels.

L'événement culturel comme mode d'action

En 2002, Olivier Donnat, dans une description de l'évolution des pratiques culturelles des français entre 1973 et 1997, affirme : "La culture cultivée, quand elle s'est diffusée, l'a fait le plus souvent grâce à la

médiatisation de 'grands événements' ou à la starisation de quelques artistes, selon des modalités qui s'apparentent plutôt à des formes de dévotion distraites, très éloignées en tout cas des exigences du rapport cultivé à l'art qui suppose une confrontation directe, régulière et informée avec les œuvres" (Donnat, 2002: 3).

Il ajoute quelques paragraphes plus loin que ces grands événements, à l'instar de la fête de la musique, ont contribué à renouveler les formes de participation à la vie culturelle, au-delà des équipements jusque là mis en avant par les politiques publiques.

Ainsi, face aux limites des premières politiques de démocratisation, les pouvoirs publics semblent avoir opté pour la mise en avant d'une culture événementielle. En témoignent le développement de festivals dans tous les domaines et la multiplication des journées ou nuits à thème (outre la fête de la musique, pensons aux journées du patrimoine ou à la nuit des musées, qui fait des émules dans l'ensemble de l'Europe) ou encore celle des expositions temporaires dans de nombreux musées.

L'idée sous-jacente à cette expansion des événements culturels semble être que leur aspect festif et exceptionnel permet de toucher un public à la fois plus large et plus diversifié que ne le font les programmations classiques. De plus, les villes et les régions leur assignent d'autres fonctions de développement du tourisme et d'attractivité du territoire: elles n'hésitent donc pas à les encourager.

Mais comme le note Claude Vauclare dans son essai de typologie des événements culturels: "Pour autant, l'évaluation de l'effet des événements culturels en termes de démocratisation de l'accès à la culture pose les mêmes questions que pour les équipements traditionnels: la diversification des programmations, des lieux et des services offerts à laquelle les événements culturels ont apporté ces dernières années une large contribution favorise-t-elle le cumul des pratiques de la part d'un public déjà acquis ou la diversification des publics ? [...] Longtemps perçus comme vecteurs de démocratisation culturelle, les événements culturels sont aujourd'hui interrogés quant à leur effet sur les politiques culturelles de proximité" (Vauclare, 2009: 5).

D'autres questions se posent également: quels rapports à la culture les événements permettent-ils de construire? Les autorités publiques peuvent-elles se satisfaire de la fréquentation massive de ces événements ou doivent-elles tenter de faire en sorte qu'ils amènent leurs spectateurs à s'approprier d'autres formes de culture, peut-être plus quotidiennes et plus individuelles, pour construire leur parcours de spectateur en toute autonomie et jouer ce rôle de spectateur de façon plus active?

A travers ces interrogations, c'est le temps court de l'événement qui est questionné car il ne permet pas aux acteurs culturels d'accompagner dans la durée le désir de culture de leurs publics.

D'autres formes d'actions mettent en avant un temps plus long qui est celui de l'accompagnement et du développement personnel. Il permet également de développer une relation différente entre les artistes et leurs publics. Pour autant, la notion d'événement ne disparaît pas complètement, elle peut apparaître dans une forme de récurrence, où certains moments font rupture par rapport à un processus plus linéaire.

Dépasser les limites de la démocratisation: une démocratie nécessaire?

Face aux limites des politiques de démocratisation, des voix s'élèvent dès les années 1960. Elles remettent en cause la place accordée aux professionnels au détriment des acteurs locaux, - notamment associatifs - dans les équipements subventionnés par le ministère.

En effet, avec l'éviction des associations et compagnies locales des maisons de la Culture (Urfalino, 2011), le ministère marque un mouvement plus global d'éloignement de l'ensemble des pratiques artistiques en amateurs et des folklores locaux. Il s'isole également des pratiques émergentes telles que le jazz ou la bande dessinée en figeant, à travers le jugement des professionnels établis, ses catégories de hiérarchisation des œuvres.

Certains praticiens prennent parti contre ce positionnement et dénoncent, notamment à travers la déclaration de Villeurbanne du 25 mai 1968, l'accentuation d'une fracture culturelle entre les personnes qui

se retrouvent dans l'offre légitimée par le ministère et celles à qui elle ne correspond pas. Philippe Urfalino (2011: 243) résume le glissement de perception que cela induit sur la politique de démocratisation culturelle: "On en vint même éventuellement à l'estimer nocive ou condamnable. Nocive quand il fut affirmé qu'elle risquait d'accroître les inégalités qu'elle voulait dissiper; condamnable quand on devina derrière le souci égalitaire de ses militants l'imposition d'une culture particulière prétendant être universelle et la légitimation de leur propre rôle et privilège culturel".

Du côté académique, ce regard trouve échos chez les défenseurs de la démocratie culturelle qui prônent une mise en avant des pratiques amateurs, une reconnaissance de la légitimité de genres jusque là délaissés par les élites culturelles (folklores locaux, musiques actuelles, bande dessinée) et, plus largement, une révision des hiérarchies culturelles établies (Moulin, 1992).

La façon dont cette révision peut avoir lieu n'est pas détaillée. Il semble cependant que la prépondérance des choix des professionnels, érigés en *gatekeepers*, doive être relativisée au profit d'une reconnaissance des pratiques de tout un chacun dans une acception élargie des activités culturelles (Menger, 2001).

On aboutit ainsi, par une forme de désintermédiation, à l'idée d'une meilleure proximité avec les artistes grâce à laquelle les publics, légitimés dans l'expression de leurs individualités, bénéficieraient d'une plus grande autonomie de choix et d'une capacité d'action augmentée au point de légitimer eux-mêmes, sans l'intermédiaire de l'élite savante, les propositions artistiques qui leur sont faites.

La construction d'une cohésion sociale autour des activités culturelles ne découlerait plus de la communion d'une large majorité de personnes autour de chefs-d'œuvre universellement reconnus mais de la conscience et du respect, dans les décisions collectives, des aspirations de chacun.

Ces ambitions théoriques rencontrent dans la pratique des difficultés de mise en œuvre. Comment concrètement connaître et prendre en compte le point de vue de chaque individu sans paralyser le collectif par des débats et procédures interminables exigeant des océans d'informations où il est si aisé de se noyer ? Comment arbitrer dans des contextes de ressources rares et d'incompatibilités ?

Autant d'enjeux qui interrogent les limites des politiques culturelles à la fois en matière d'équipements et d'événements. De nouvelles sources de création et de diffusion artistiques s'expérimentent dans l'espoir de générer de nouvelles modalités de création et d'appropriation des œuvres. C'est l'une de ces expérimentations que nous nous proposons de présenter pour mieux cerner les mouvements à l'œuvre et l'émergence de modalités d'action culturelle alternatives, entre équipements pérennes et événements éphémères.

Si ces enjeux théoriques sont ceux que revendiquent de nombreuses initiatives de terrain, celle que nous proposons d'étudier illustre ces défis. Nous pouvons ainsi analyser les conditions de sa mise en œuvre.

2. Vers une nouvelle proximité entre artistes et citoyens : le panier culture

Origine et principes

Début 2010, dans un contexte de crise du secteur culturel, l'association Trempolino (Nantes), qui œuvre pour l'accompagnement et le développement des pratiques musicales, a engagé avec des membres de son bureau, des salariés et des usagers, une réflexion sur le soutien aux initiatives et solidarités économiques. Elle a généré plusieurs décisions, dont notamment la constitution d'un groupe de travail "artistes et entraide". Y est née la volonté de construire un circuit-court culturel permettant plus d'échanges entre les artistes et avec le public. Son objectif est de faire émerger une communauté qui participe et s'engage à soutenir une production culturelle locale et variée (théâtre, bande dessinée, musiques actuelles, arts plastiques) en désintermédiant la diffusion culturelle et en développant des relations durables entre publics et artistes.

Il est alors décidé que le support de ces échanges serait un panier culturel construit selon le modèle des AMAP (associations pour le maintien d'une agriculture paysanne). Celui-ci est en effet exemplaire de l'auto-organisation d'une consommation désintermédiée. Sont mis en avant dans l'expérimentation culturelle les

enjeux de co-cr  ation artistique, de coop  ration entre toutes les parties prenantes dans une logique horizontale, d'innovation et d'apprentissage par essai-erreur. Ces enjeux concernent moins le processus artistique - qui contient de fait cette logique mais reste majoritairement laiss      la discr  tion des artistes - que la gouvernance collective du projet. Elle est au d  part volontairement peu d  finie et tr  s ouverte, pour permettre son   volution en fonction des envies et attentes de tous les participants qui rejoignent le projet.

C'est dans cette incertitude fondatrice du mode de gouvernance que r  side tout le pari et le caract  re novateur de ce projet. Le choix a   t   fait de ne pas proposer aux contributeurs int  ress  s un produit fini qu'ils *n'auraient plus qu'   acheter*. Il leur est au contraire demand   de s'investir dans le processus d'  laboration de l'offre, non pas tant en termes artistiques qu'en termes op  rationnels et de constitution/programmation des futurs paniers. Cet investissement, qui permet    chacun de prendre position pour d  finir le projet collectif, rejoint les enjeux de d  mocratie culturelle. L'id  e   galement pr  sente est que les liens qui se construisent dans l'  change, contribuent    donner un sens au projet dans lequel chacun puisse se retrouver (en sortant du *c'est pas pour nous* associ      la culture savante) et favorise ainsi la d  mocratisation.

N  anmoins, pour communiquer autour du projet, le collectif d'artistes    l'origine du panier culture a   labor   une proposition assez pr  cise pour pouvoir   tre pr  sent  e de fa  on convaincante aux potentiels membres de l'association. Il a ainsi retenu la forme d'une distribution d'un panier par trimestre soit quatre par an. Ce rythme est devenu la p  riode contractuelle d'engagement des consommateurs, appel  s contributeurs. Le sch  ma suivant r  sume ce fonctionnement.

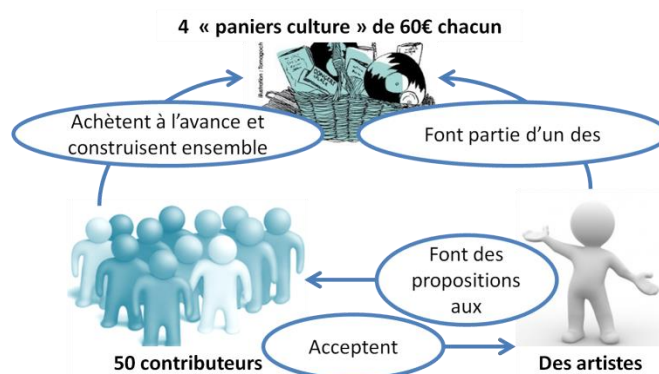


Figure 1. Le fonctionnement du Panier Culture.

Quatre propositions artistiques sont faites dans chaque panier. Elles doivent pr  senter une certaine diversit   de genre, d'esth  tique et de maturit  . Il y a donc    la fois des propositions physiques (livre, CD, photographies) et immat  rielles (spectacle de th   tre, concert, conf  rence) ainsi que des propositions achev  es, d'autres    co-construire.

Cette diversit   correspond    une volont   de d  mocratisation des cultures: chaque personne qui re  oit un panier peut y retrouver des propositions dont elle est d  j   famili  re mais   galement d'autres qui lui sont totalement   trang  res. Le panier est donc susceptible de jouer un r  le de sensibilisation    des disciplines et des styles artistiques que ses contributeurs ne fr  quenteraient pas par ailleurs.

Afin de consid  rer une *juste r  mun  ration des artistes*, il a   t   pr  vu une moyenne de   750 par proposition artistique ce qui se traduit par une valorisation de chaque panier      60 (soit   240 sur l'ann  e pour chaque contributeur) avec un objectif de mobiliser 50 contributeurs.

Méthodologie de recherche

En lien avec une fédération régionale de recherche, plusieurs chercheurs ont suivi dès le départ la constitution du projet des paniers cultures. S'agissant d'un projet innovant et singulier, qui se construit chemin faisant, les méthodes de recherche-action semblaient tout à fait convenir à son observation. En effet, le caractère novateur du projet amène deux réalités :

les méthodes ethnographiques sont celles qui s'adapte le mieux à la situation d'émergence et de redéfinition permanente qui caractérise le projet;

les questions qu'il permet d'étudier émergent au fur et à mesure de son développement, à la fois sur des enjeux théoriques et pratiques, ce qui est un des fondements de la recherche action.

C'est donc en ayant à l'esprit cette pertinence de la recherche-action que les chercheurs ont pris contact avec les acteurs du projet. Dans ce cadre, le rôle des chercheurs est l'observation participante et le partage de leurs interrogations et pistes de réponse au fur et à mesure qu'ils les élaborent et ce, pour les co-construire avec les acteurs du terrain.

Ces derniers ont très facilement accepté l'investissement des chercheurs mais il a rapidement été remarqué que pour assurer une cohérence avec le fonctionnement qui se construisait, sa logique horizontale et d'implication de chacun, les chercheurs ne devaient pas avoir un rôle différent de celui des autres membres: tous s'impliquaient dans les réflexions théoriques liées au projet, tous s'impliquaient dans sa mise en œuvre pratique. En réponse à cela, deux chercheuses sont devenues membres de l'association et y ont assumé des responsabilités: trésorière puis trésorière adjointe et membre du groupe *coordination* pour l'une, responsable du groupe communication pour l'autre. Cela leur a permis de recueillir de nombreux matériaux auxquels autrement elles n'auraient pas eu accès de la même façon: participation aux réunions générales et à celles des deux groupes coordination et communication, comptes-rendus des autres réunions, échanges d'e-mails, discussions spontanées, etc.

Mise en œuvre du projet et rôle des chercheurs

Lors de la première présentation en septembre 2011, il été annoncé un équilibre économique à 50 contributeurs et un démarrage pour janvier 2012. Dans les faits, les premiers paniers ont été distribués en avril 2012 à environ 25 personnes. Au fur et à mesure de l'année des personnes ont rejoint l'aventure pour atteindre l'objectif de 50 contributeurs lors de la distribution du dernier panier en avril 2013.

Pour mettre en œuvre ce projet, l'association ne dispose d'aucun salarié. Ce sont les membres qui doivent prendre en charge toute l'organisation et la logistique. Sur le principe d'un fonctionnement démocratique, des groupes de travail ouverts à tous les membres ont été établis, avec des missions précises : trouver des participants supplémentaires pour atteindre le seuil critique estimé à 50 personnes (groupe communication); contractualiser les engagements respectifs des artistes et des récepteurs (groupe contrats); choisir le contenu des paniers et mettre en œuvre leur distribution (groupe distribution); coordonner l'ensemble de la vie associative (groupe coordination).

Au départ chaque groupe est constitué de trois à six personnes. Cependant, ces effectifs vont se réduire au fur et à mesure de l'avancée du projet. Certains membres qui se désengagent ne seront pas ou peu remplacés par des nouveaux venus.

Dans les premiers temps du projet, l'accent a été mis sur sa mise en œuvre concrète. Ainsi les enjeux théoriques qu'il pouvait éclairer ont été placés en second plan des préoccupations des membres de l'association. La démarche de recherche-action n'a pas eu lieu en tant que telle (co-construction des problématiques et des façons d'y répondre). Cependant, après la distribution des deux premiers paniers (une fois les principales questions pratiques résolues au moins en partie), la volonté partagée par l'ensemble des membres de l'association de mener à bien une démarche réflexive a permis de construire une action

partagée entre chercheuses (avec leur identité de chercheuses et non plus seulement celle de contributrices), de recueil des retours d'expérience des artistes et des contributeurs.

Pour cela, un groupe de travail ad hoc a été constitué par les deux chercheurs et trois autres membres de l'association, sensibilisés par leurs milieux professionnels, aux méthodes de la recherche en sciences sociales. Ce groupe est allé à la rencontre des artistes et contributeurs pour recueillir leurs propos autour de trois grands thèmes: *qu'est-ce que pour vous le panier culture?*, *qu'est-ce qui vous a plu et déplu?*, *que souhaitez-vous/proposez-vous pour la suite?* Quinze rencontres ont eu lieu, complétées par plusieurs temps collectifs permettant de recueillir la parole des personnes que le groupe n'allait pas rencontrer.

En parallèle de ce travail direct avec l'association, des rencontres régulières entre les deux chercheurs impliquées et deux autres chercheurs plus *distants* ont favorisé la prise de recul et l'avancée des réflexions.

Au total, c'est donc sur un travail de deux ans de présence, de recueil de matériaux et d'analyses que se fondent nos observations pour mieux saisir de quelles façons cette expérience du panier culture est susceptible de favoriser la démocratisation et la démocratie culturelles.

3. Les différentes temporalités du panier culture

Nous avons vu en première partie que les politiques culturelles de démocratisation se sont orientées d'une part, vers la construction d'un réseau dense d'équipements puis, d'autre part, vers la mise en avant d'événements culturels festifs au caractère exceptionnel. Nous avons également vu que, malgré certains résultats incontestés, ces politiques présentent des limites qui conduisent certains acteurs à les questionner et à revendiquer d'autres modalités de démocratie culturelle. Dès lors, des formes alternatives d'action culturelle sont expérimentées, qui trouvent par ailleurs des échos dans le développement des technologies numériques.

Le panier culture est l'une de ces tentatives. Sans s'appuyer sur aucun équipement pérenne, il n'est pas pour autant éphémère : sa durée de référence - celle de l'engagement des contributeurs - est d'un an, au cours duquel chaque trimestre correspondra à la distribution du panier. Elle présente quant à elle le caractère ponctuel et éphémère de l'événement.

Mais l'événement ne possède pas seulement un aspect ponctuel. De part sa récurrence, il introduit également une rupture qui laisse des traces dans le temps long des transformations sociales. Nous proposons par conséquent d'utiliser cette grille de lecture de la temporalité pour appréhender la façon dont le panier culture contribue, à son échelle, à la démocratisation et à la démocratie culturelles.

Nous présenterons deux années (juin 2011 - juin 2013) du panier culture en distinguant les différentes temporalités à l'œuvre et en analysant le rôle joué par les outils numériques pour chacune d'entre elles. Trois temporalités apparaissent constitutives du processus à l'œuvre : la première est construite par les médias traditionnels - presse, radio, audiovisuel - qui s'emparent de cette innovation pour en faire un événement informationnel. Sa temporalité est celle de l'actualité propre à ces médias. La deuxième concerne la distribution des paniers : un événement trimestriel pour lequel tous les adhérents se réunissent afin de découvrir les biens culturels qui ont été choisis pour constituer un panier selon les critères définis par le collectif. Enfin, la troisième temporalité est celle de l'innovation sociale à l'œuvre et de ses enjeux de démocratie culturelle.

Le temps médiatique: une temporalité éphémère

"Pour qu'il y ait événement, il faut que les faits soient connus. Or cette connaissance, ce sont désormais les médias qui la garantissent. Ceux-ci sont la condition même d'existence des événements, dans le type d'"événementialité" que nous connaissons depuis un siècle" (Neveu et Quéré, 1996: 7)

Pour porter à la connaissance d'un public élargi l'initiative du panier culture, un premier groupe d'artistes, avec l'association Trempolino, fait appel à plusieurs médias pour annoncer la première réunion publique qui

a lieu en septembre 2011: réseaux sociaux, mailing listes et presses locales sont mobilisées. La logique d'audience de ces médias est sollicitée dans le but de constituer un public de personnes impliquées.

C'est à ce moment que la forme du panier culture est mobilisée car elle semble la plus évocatrice pour faire comprendre l'objectif premier : construire un circuit-court de la culture sur le modèle des AMAP. Bien que relativement concrète (des idées de prix et de type de contenu sont proposées), elle n'est pas complètement figée et l'objectif des réunions publiques est avant tout de constituer un collectif qui s'empare du projet et le re-travaille à sa façon, dans une optique plus large que celle des seuls initiateurs. La philosophie du projet est présentée et soumise à discussion. On y retrouve les grandes valeurs de la démocratie et de l'économie sociale et solidaire : soutien à la dignité des artistes, démocratisation et démocratie culturelles, information et pédagogie autour des processus créatifs et des conditions économiques, gouvernance horizontale et partagée, etc.

Trois réunions publiques sont organisées au cours du dernier trimestre 2011. Elles vont rassembler entre trente et quatre-vingt personnes. Une quinzaine de personnes s'organise pour structurer le projet en fonction de différents impératifs liés aux paniers, dont la forme ne sera donc plus discutée: constitution des paniers, réalisation des contrats, organisation interne, et information/communication pour trouver 50 contributeurs avant le lancement prévu en janvier 2012.

Les cinq membres du groupe communication vont se charger de ce dernier impératif en reprenant, entre autre, la main sur un blog ouvert par l'un des artistes (www.panierculture-nantes.fr). L'objectif est de réaliser une vitrine pour informer des réunions suivantes et des différentes rencontres à venir.

Cette vitrine est utilisée par les autres média locaux informés, qui souhaitent également couvrir l'évènement: PQR, magazines, radios et télévisions locales prennent le relais et s'informent, outre sur le blog, en demandant des interviews. Ils se font ainsi l'écho de l'annonce du projet en mettant en avant, non pas ses principes fondateurs, mais sa concrétisation sous forme de paniers, ainsi que le contenu du premier panier, déjà formé de propositions des artistes fondateurs du projet. De plus, faute de visuels artistiques, ces médias complètent leurs propos par *des portraits* où contributeurs et artistes présentent les grandes lignes du projet et les raisons personnelles de leur implication.

Cette irruption des médias dès le début du projet n'avait pas du tout été anticipée par les initiateurs. Cependant, les différentes rencontres entre contributeurs, contributeurs et artistes pour répondre aux sollicitations des médias et les portraits que ceux-ci ont diffusés, ont permis aux uns et aux autres de mieux se connaître, et surtout de connaître les raisons pour lesquelles chacun s'impliquait dans ce projet. Elles ont également favorisé la construction d'une identité de pionniers parmi les premiers contributeurs, car la dimension innovante et de rupture du projet en matière de pratiques culturelles était largement mise en avant par les médias.

L'émergence de cette identité de pionniers, d'aventuriers et la visibilité donnée au projet révèlent la nécessité de le mettre en mouvement, de passer des réflexions à l'action. Ainsi, le rythme perçu par les contributeurs s'accélère. Il semble de plus en plus important de tenir l'objectif fixé de distribuer le premier panier en janvier pour ne pas perdre en crédibilité. Les discussions sur les principes et la philosophie du projet s'estompent au profit de questions opérationnelles.

Cependant, malgré l'écho des médias sur le lancement d'un panier-culture à Nantes, les nouveaux contributeurs ne se bousculent pas et la recherche d'adhérents continue, de façon plutôt individuelle: chaque contributeur tente d'activer ses propres réseaux pour faire venir de nouvelles personnes.

Ainsi, malgré une forte mise en résonance du projet dans l'espace public, les trois mois que s'étaient accordés les initiateurs avant de distribuer le premier panier, n'ont pas suffi pour réunir 50 contributeurs. La mise en visibilité du projet par les différents médias se fait en jouant sur la logique de l'audience, de la multitude et des liens faibles pour construire l'évènement, mais ne permet pas de développer la confiance nécessaire pour s'investir et s'impliquer dans un projet où tout est encore à construire. On retrouve ici les

limites de l'internet, dues aux difficultés qui tiennent notamment "à la manière dont les collectifs se forment sur Internet. Il est difficile d'y recruter un corps de citoyens engagés, concernés et partageant préalablement des valeurs communes pour participer à un débat thématique" (Cardon, 2010: 84), et encore moins pour s'impliquer réellement dans une démarche démocratique innovante de consommation engagée dans le domaine culturel.

Nous voyons donc que la temporalité éphémère du temps médiatique a joué de deux façons sur les processus à l'œuvre pour construire un circuit-court de la culture :

Elle a permis aux premiers contributeurs d'apprendre à mieux se connaître et de construire une identité collective de pionniers tournés vers la volonté de concrétiser des valeurs partagées.

Elle a également contribué à générer un sentiment d'urgence et un enjeu de crédibilité qui ont amené un besoin d'agir plus que de discuter. Cela a participé à figer l'identité collective autour de la forme initiale du projet, les paniers culture.

Le temps de la discussion sur les grands principes du projet et sa forme a donc pris fin en partie sous l'influence de cette temporalité éphémère des médias. En effet, l'urgence qui prédomine alors ne permet plus de répondre aux exigences de démocratisation et démocratie culturelles. D'une part, l'action est menée au détriment d'une négociation des principes de gouvernance au sein du collectif. D'autre part, les premiers principes avancés par le groupe d'artistes se voient figés par l'urgence de leur mise en œuvre et rend alors difficile la mobilisation de nouveaux contributeurs.

En effet, les échanges entre les membres se font majoritairement par mails et lors de réunions de groupes ou de plénières. Seules ces dernières sont annoncées sur le blog. Une personne qui rejoint l'association n'est donc pas immédiatement en mesure de s'y impliquer puisqu'elle doit tout d'abord comprendre le fonctionnement par groupes puis repérer les personnes à qui s'adresser pour entrer dans l'un ou l'autre des groupes. Deux difficultés majeures se présentent.

Avec la réduction du temps de discussion au profit du temps de décision et d'action, les moments d'explicitation du projet s'amenuisent. Au fur et à mesure que les idées des premiers venus se mettent en place, l'effort de pédagogie auprès des *nouveaux* est délaissé. Comprendre le sens et le fonctionnement du projet, qui plus est toujours en construction, peut donc devenir particulièrement difficile pour eux.

Le fonctionnement par mail, notamment pour organiser les réunions de groupes, rend difficile l'insertion d'un nouveau venu car il n'existe pas de liste de diffusion: à chaque nouveau message, c'est l'expéditeur qui décide des destinataires. Les affinités et la visibilité de chacun au sein de l'association jouent donc un rôle important dans la visibilité et la circulation des informations. Or, les derniers arrivants sont forcément moins visibles et moins familiers que les premiers.

Nous voyons donc que le temps des médias contribue à partager mais également à figer l'identité collective de l'association et amène par là-même une forme de fermeture du projet. Les temps de distributions peuvent cependant constituer des opportunités de réouverture.

Les distributions du panier: une temporalité saisonnière

L'évènement médiatique se prolonge auprès des médias nationaux (La Croix, Télérama, France Inter, Le Mouv', TF1, etc.), mais ne permet pas, six mois après la première réunion publique, de réunir les 50 contributeurs. Face à cela, les 30 premiers contributeurs décident de distribuer malgré tout le premier panier. Pour les membres de l'association, chaque distribution correspond à la réalisation du projet collectif. La première d'entre elles permet de donner forme et consistance aux principes qui ne relevaient jusqu'alors que du discours. Les distributions réunissent la majorité des contributeurs, y compris ceux ayant renoncé à s'engager dans la gestion de l'association et la construction des paniers. Elles sont des événements festifs qui permettent de se retrouver plus nombreux que lors des réunions de préparation. Elles marquent trois découvertes qui chacune alimente des processus de démocratisation et démocratie culturelles.

Démocratisation lorsqu'elles contribuent à la diffusion et à l'appropriation des œuvres auprès de personnes qui n'y étaient pas sensibilisées. Démocratie lorsqu'elles développent l'autonomie et l'implication de ces personnes vis-à-vis de la vie culturelle collective, à l'échelle du panier et au-delà:

La découverte du contenu des paniers par les contributeurs (seuls ceux impliqués dans le groupe distribution - donc dans sa constitution - le connaissent à l'avance) a deux effets: contribuer, d'une part, à diminuer le risque perçu par les contributeurs qui achètent les paniers sans en connaître le contenu (plus celui-ci est divers, plus les risques d'être déçu par l'ensemble sont faibles); favoriser, d'autre part, la surprise et l'ouverture à de nouvelles propositions artistiques, en diminuant les probabilités que l'ensemble des paniers soit déjà connu par les contributeurs individuels;

La découverte mutuelle entre artistes et entre contributeurs, réitérée à chaque nouvelle distribution, permet des temps d'échange et de partage autour du projet et des œuvres. Il est admis aujourd'hui que la rencontre ne suffit pas à générer la révélation et l'appropriation des œuvres par leurs publics. Plusieurs éléments peuvent cependant la faciliter tels que le contexte de l'expérience ou les informations fournies sur le contexte de création et sur les courants dans lesquelles l'œuvre s'inscrit. Les échanges récurrents entre artistes et contributeurs (qui sont les mêmes d'une distribution à l'autre) permettent à ces derniers de recueillir des clés d'interprétation ou de contextualisation qui pourraient leur manquer pour s'approprier une œuvre. Elles peuvent également être fournies non pas par l'artiste directement mais par d'autres contributeurs partageant leur expérience de réception;

La découverte des lieux où sont organisées les distributions, permet une ouverture sur l'extérieur car ils diffèrent d'une fois sur l'autre. La vie associative permet alors d'activer le territoire commun, la métropole nantaise. Comme pour les œuvres, la diversité est recherchée et plusieurs types de lieux ont été sollicités: habitations privées, salles de spectacles, arrière-salles de cafés, locaux associatifs, etc. La plupart d'entre eux ont des activités et une programmation en dehors du panier. La distribution devient une occasion de les présenter aux contributeurs. Ils pourront ensuite en tenir compte dans leurs activités personnelles. Le panier contribue ainsi à ouvrir le *paysage mental* de ses membres à de nouvelles possibilités d'activités et de sorties culturelles. Cela accroît leur autonomie de spectateurs, et contribue ainsi à alimenter la démocratie culturelle.

Ainsi le panier culture, à travers les événements trimestriels que sont les distributions et grâce à leur récurrence, est un vecteur de découverte et d'appropriation des œuvres: il contribue en ce sens à la démocratisation culturelle. Il participe également à la démocratie culturelle en favorisant l'autonomie et l'implication de ses membres vis-à-vis de la vie culturelle, à la fois au sein du panier et éventuellement en dehors.

Nous avons vu que la temporalité des médias et l'usage des e-mails ont contribué à retenir le projet autour de ses premiers membres, au détriment des nouveaux venus. Les distributions permettent de corriger en partie cet effet. De plus, leur succès auprès des contributeurs et de leurs invités ponctuels a permis de convaincre plus de nouveaux venus que ne l'avaient fait les médias. C'est le bouche à oreille qui agit, à moyen, voire long terme, dans une temporalité qui correspond à celle de l'innovation sociale.

La pratique démocratique : la temporalité lente des transformations sociales

La revendication d'un fonctionnement démocratique est depuis son origine au cœur du projet "panier culture". Elle se traduit notamment par l'idée que quiconque veut s'impliquer dans les différentes facettes de la dynamique collective doit pouvoir le faire. Pour cela, la transparence des informations est nécessaire, ainsi que la mise en discussion des principales décisions et orientations. De plus, favoriser l'implication de chacun peut permettre à l'association de rester vigilante quant à la répartition des tâches entre ses membres pour éviter, d'une part, de surcharger les plus impliqués, et, d'autre part, de rendre le collectif dépendant des quelques individus les plus actifs.

Cette importance de l'ambition démocratique est au cœur de la construction du collectif associatif et constitue, avec la forme donnée à la diffusion des œuvres, une innovation fondamentale du projet.

Pour autant, mettre en œuvre les conditions d'une pratique démocratique effective n'est pas immédiat. Or, nous avons vu que les modalités de gouvernance horizontale et partagée n'ont pas fait l'objet d'une construction explicite. Les modes d'information, d'échange, de débat et de décision se sont mis en place au fil de l'avancée du projet, selon les pratiques individuelles des membres.

Une des difficultés rencontrée dans le fonctionnement du collectif est en partie due au nombre croissant de canaux de communication. L'usage des différents téléphones, des messageries vocales et des sms, de l'e-mail et du blog complexifie les interactions sociales. En effet, "pour saisir les nouveaux comportements de communication qui émergent dans la société, il faut bien comprendre que les transformations ne sont pas le fait d'un seul canal mais plutôt de la palette des canaux écrits et oraux que les gens utilisent quotidiennement" (Broadbent, 2011: 50).

Cette complexité des interactions sociales est liée aux subtilités sociales de la disponibilité que l'usage d'un nouveau canal reconfigure à chaque fois. "La question de la disponibilité est d'autant plus complexe qu'elle contient deux composantes: l'une qui gère sa disponibilité propre et l'autre qui gère l'intrusion dans les sphères attentionnelles des autres. Chaque fois qu'un nouveau canal est apparu, que ce soit le téléphone mobile, l'e-mail ou les blogs, à part quelques technophiles enthousiastes, la plupart des néophytes ont retardé, pour une période plus ou moins longue, l'adoption du nouveau canal, et ce parce qu'ils ne se sentaient pas capables de gérer leur disponibilité" (Broadbent, 2011: 60). Ainsi, parmi les contributeurs actifs au sein du panier, plusieurs pratiques d'interactions sociales médiatisées cohabitent, selon leur expérience, leur disponibilité et leur manière de se positionner vis à vis de la disponibilité des autres. Ainsi, un des membres du groupe "constitution du panier" sollicite et répond très facilement par e-mail, en revanche il est peu présent aux réunions. Alors que d'autres, sont très présents aux réunions, mais n'ont pas toujours suivi les échanges par e-mail et y participent peu. Plusieurs flux communicationnels cohabitent au sein d'un même groupe, ce qui n'est pas toujours simple pour agir collectivement. De plus, la "crainte concernant la disponibilité est fortement ancrée aussi bien chez les individus qu'au sein des institutions, qui doivent passer par un processus d'apprentissage pour développer un ensemble de pratiques socialement acceptables concernant la gestion de la disponibilité et de la demande d'attention" (Broadbent, 2011: 61). L'arrivée de nouveaux canaux de communication fait donc co-exister plusieurs flux d'échanges et de discussions. Mais les usages diffèrent d'un individu à un autre, et tout le monde n'accorde pas son attention aux mêmes flux aux mêmes moments. Ces divergences sont source de tensions et, pour les dépasser, exigent un apprentissage social. Autrement dit, internet renouvelle les pratiques démocratiques, mais son usage ne peut faire fi d'un apprentissage des pratiques communicationnelles les mieux adaptées au sein d'un collectif. Le temps nécessaire à cet apprentissage est d'autant plus important que le collectif lui-même est en construction et que de nouveaux outils aux usages mal connus continuent de se diffuser.

Outre ce nécessaire apprentissage, le mouvement d'ouverture démocratique que nous évoquons peut rencontrer une deuxième difficulté, celle du désengagement. En effet, avec la multiplication des participants à une même action ou décision, il se crée une "absence d'obligation [qui] vient de la nature semi-publique de la communication. Dès que le nombre d'amis ou de récepteurs de la communication est réduit, le sens de l'obligation s'accroît à nouveau [...]" (Broadbent, 2011: 64). Dans cette configuration où une "masse silencieuse" compte sur une minorité active pour animer les échanges, les décisions finales et leur mise en œuvre finissent par être prises en charge par un groupe restreint qui entre dans la même dynamique que celle suscitée par la temporalité des média et se referme sur lui-même pour pouvoir agir plus vite.

Ainsi, un cycle d'alternances semble se mettre en place entre temps d'ouverture correspondant à l'idéal démocratique du projet et temps de fermeture correspondant à l'accélération de sa mise en œuvre. Espérer une convergence de ces deux phases dès les premiers temps de l'aventure du panier culture pourrait

s'avérer trop ambitieux car seul le temps long de l'expérimentation sociale du processus démocratique semble permettre de mettre en œuvre une articulation pertinente entre les temps de fermeture nécessaire à l'action collective, et les temps d'ouverture qui favorisent le renouvellement des membres.

Tableau 1. Vision synoptique des résultats de la recherche-action.

3 temporalités	Objectifs	Effets sur la démocratisation	Effets sur la démocratie	Rôle du numérique
L'évènement informationnel au rythme rapide	Faire connaître le projet, valoriser le concept de l'innovation sociale, son originalité, en lien avec les valeurs issues de la solidarité numérique	(-) Intérêt des medias pour la réalisation du projet et non pour ses fondements éthiques: faible contribution à la "démocratisation extérieure" du panier culture	(-) Les interventions des medias contribuent à figer le processus de construction collective (+) Les interviews des pionniers permettent un meilleur partage des motivations, qui peut constituer un socle fédérant au projet	(-) Enjeux communicationnels: les outils numériques (notamment le mail) ne permettent pas de créer les liens forts indispensables à l'implication dans le projet des contributeurs potentiels
L'évènement culturel et festif récurrent au rythme répétitif	Réaliser concrètement le panier culture	(+) Découvertes de genres et esthétiques différents, de lieux culturels, du processus créatif. (+) Contexte favorable de l'expérience collective de distribution (échanges directs avec les artistes et les autres contributeurs), convivialité.	(+) Favorise l'autonomie et l'implication dans la vie culturelle	(+) Enjeux communicationnels : les outils numériques favorisent l'organisation et le "faire savoir" autour de l'évènement
Le processus de la transformation sociale au rythme lent	Faire vivre la démocratie culturelle	(+) : La récurrence des effets ci-dessus contribue à lier démocratisation et démocratie culturelles		
			(-) Implication des seuls contributeurs initiaux (+) : nécessité de l'alternance de phases de fermeture pour la consolidation de l'action collective et d'ouverture à de nouveaux contributeurs.	Enjeux organisationnels : (-) Présence de différents flux communicationnels : nécessité d'apprentissage collectif des pratiques communicationnelles .

Conclusion

Le panier culture en tant qu'innovation sociale tente de répondre à certains des défis actuels des politiques culturelles en matière de démocratisation et d'enjeux de démocratie. L'approche par la notion d'évènement nous a amené à analyser cette expérimentation et ses effets selon trois temporalités qui la traversent. La première temporalité, éphémère, externe au panier culture, est celle des medias: leur intérêt pour toute innovation fait qu'il y a création d'un *évènement informationnel*. Celui-ci, dont le numérique a contribué à amplifier la mise en écho médiatique, n'a pas contribué à la démocratisation car l'aspect expérimental du

projet ne favorise pas l'engagement de personnes éloignées des innovateurs. Il n'a pas, non plus, contribué aux enjeux de démocratie qui furent écartés au profit de l'urgence à construire ce projet tant annoncé médiatiquement.

La seconde temporalité, celle des distributions de panier, existe par la création d'événements culturels et festifs récurrents, qui par les découvertes qu'elle offre (contenus diversifiés, partages avec les artistes et les autres contributeurs, lieux culturels du territoire) semble plus contribuer aux enjeux de démocratisation et de démocratie : le lieu favorise à la fois les échanges entre contributeurs déjà bien impliqués et la possibilité de faire découvrir cette expérimentation à d'autres personnes.

Enfin, la troisième temporalité du panier culture, celle *des transformations sociales* s'inscrit dans le processus lent de l'apprentissage des pratiques démocratiques. Cependant, si les outils numériques, en permettant des échanges à plusieurs qui s'affranchissent du temps et de l'espace sont souvent annoncés et perçus comme facilitateur de nouvelles modalités de démocratie participative, n'ont pas permis ici d'accélérer et/ou de faciliter ce processus. Au contraire, ils l'auraient complexifié en intégrant une dimension supplémentaire à cet apprentissage social de la démocratie: celui de la gestion des disponibilités quand de nouveaux canaux de communication sont mis à disposition.

Les limites de cette recherche sont liées à son caractère exploratoire inhérent à l'expérimentation en cours, qui croise différents types d'acteurs aux temporalités divergentes (les artistes en situation d'urgence économique, les chercheurs ayant besoin de temps pour un travail réflexif, les contributeurs en tant que citoyens liés à une forme d'efficacité temporelle dans la gestion de leur temps quotidien).

Cependant, l'état actuel de développement du projet conduit à formuler des défis pour en assurer la pérennité. Ils sont autant de questions de recherche: comment ré-introduire du sens et des valeurs pour dépasser les dissonances en présence (enfermement *versus* ouverture; adaptation *versus* dogme; valeurs élitistes *versus* diversité culturelle)? Comment ré-ouvrir le processus collectif pour sortir de l'entre soi sans entrer dans une massification anonyme? Comment par ailleurs rendre explicite les attentes des acteurs parties prenantes (des contributeurs qui deviennent artistes)? Quels moyens mettre en œuvre pour se connaître et repérer les compétences en présence? Comment capitaliser sur la pensée et les actions pour une efficacité dans le temps? Comment finalement faire que le panier culture soit un réel vecteur contribuant dans le champ culturel à la démocratisation et la démocratie culturelle? Comment faire pour que les outils numériques aient une contribution positive à ces enjeux?

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Digital Heritage Management: Some Good Italian Practices

Campra, Maura

Piedmont Eastern University
Novara, Italy
maura.campra@eco.unipmn.it

Esposito, Paolo

Piedmont Eastern University
Novara, Italy
paolo.esposito@eco.unipmn.it

Abstract

In the last twenty years, scholars and professionals focused their attention on management practices, tools and models referring to arts and cultural organizations (Peacock 1982; Christiansen & Skaerbaeck 1997; Zan 2002; Donato 2004; Donato & Badia 2008; Esposito 2014), as well as on the development of new and different organizational forms under pressure from the New Public Management (Zan *et al.* 2000; Pollitt 2001; Lapsley 2008, Lindqvist 2012).

These studies aimed at analyzing, developing and proposing different conceptual and management frameworks within a context characterized by increasing scarcity of financial resources in addition to regulatory complexity. The work aims to achieve the research objectives through an inductive/deductive research method (Yin, 1995). The purpose of this paper is to provide an analysis of the growing phenomenon represented by the *Digital Heritage Management* of archaeological sites in Italy, focusing on some good Italian practices, to encourage the development of virtual museums and virtual museum exhibits, supporting users and different generations of users *accessibility* to services and cultural products.

Keywords: digital; arts management; cultural heritage management; cultural policy

Introduction

Since the last decade of 20th century, the digital heritage management as “virtual” economy has been widely accepted as a new technology which influences the production of goods and services and the distribution of the same providing a global platform over which people and organisations devise strategies, interact, communicate, collaborate, co-operate and search for information, creating new public value (Esposito & Ricci, 2014, 2015). Virtual economy is of growing interest to the economic activities carried out by companies in the digital economy, changing competition and market rules from competition to co-opetition (Esposito & Ricci, 2015). The enhancement of artistic and cultural heritage has been a recurrent theme within the scientific and cultural debate (Donato 2004; Donato & Badia 2008; Esposito 2014) by scholars from different disciplines and in the political agenda of most countries over the last decades (Zan *et al.* 2000; Meneguzzo & Grossi, 2002).

The introduction of different forms of public-private partnership (Campra *et al.*, 2013, 2015) in support of museum system management and supervision has facilitated the development of strong and innovative forces and processes in this field (Zan *et al.*, 2000). However, significant losses in the museum system management and “archaic pre-modern” management systems (Zan, 2002: 111,113), and accountability (Zan 2002: 124,132; Lapsley 2008), together with managerial rhetoric and the drastic cuts in government transfers (Hood, 1995) have encouraged the development of virtual museums and virtual museum exhibits, supporting users and different generations of users *accessibility* to services and cultural products.

1. Research objectives

Amongst three thousand museum sites operating in the Museum Virtual Library, only twenty-two are Italian museum sites (Esposito, 2013). This circumstance emphasizes the long delay of our country in adapting museum exhibits to technology. This clear diagnosis highlights the vital need for a cure. What is the reason that should encourage the use of new technologies in this field? It's preferable to recreate *digital originals*, *cloning* the originals of our museums and our libraries in order to protect them, to allow a visit or a consultation to them with non-destructive effects (for example, a Roman tomb or a knowledgeable manuscript)? Would it be appropriate to recreate the *double* of the original that is preserved in churches, galleries, palaces in order to stimulate curiosity, favouring the promotion of tourism? Or, again, might it be intended to offer digital hidden details (the inverse of the square, the women's galleries of churches, inaccessible areas of castles and historic buildings)? What should be the target audience of a virtual museum? The issue is whether the *virtual museum* is to reproduce, as closely as possible, the real one, or if on the contrary must create an entirely new dimension. In recent years there has been an explosion of interest for digital libraries, on the side of virtual museums. This interest on the one hand has stimulated the development of research and studies, on the other hand it has contributed to numerous experimentations (Esposito & Ricci, 2015).

2. Methodology

The research uses a case study method, which can help to understand the complexities of digital heritage management, also characterized by different forms of heritage management rationing that affect both current and future communities. In general, the case study method (Yin, 1995) has the dual aim of detailing the main characteristics of a phenomena and understanding the dynamics of a given process. From a methodological point of view, the development of a case study represents a "strategy of research that is concentrated on the comprehension of the dynamics that characterizes specific contexts" (Eisenhardt, 1989: 532). Qualitative approaches and forms of research in action (Fayolle 2004; Esposito & Ricci 2014) allow the researcher to describe, explain and understand situations in context. The case study method is a valuable tool to 'capture' different dimensions of digital heritage management, and to suggest criteria for further action (Craig, 2003).

3. Digital heritage management: theoretical context

During the early 1990, researchers focused their attention on management practices, tools and models referring to arts and cultural organizations (Peacock 1982; Christianse & Skaerbaeck 1997; Zan 2002), as well as on the development of new and different organizational forms under pressure from the New Public Management (Pollitt 2001; Zan 2002; Lapsley 2008; Lindqvist 2012). These studies aimed at developing, analyzing and proposing different conceptual and management frameworks within a context characterized by increasing scarcity of financial resources and regulatory complexity. The purpose of this paper is to provide an analysis of the growing phenomenon represented by the *Digital Heritage Management* of archaeological sites in Italy, focusing on some good Italian cases. The result will be a form of virtual accountability supporting on the one hand, the improvement in accessibility to museum services and particularly to the Museum System of the Municipality of Rome and on the other hand, facing the scarcity of resources and the inadequacy of organizational structures and skills for the protection and preservation of archaeological heritage of humanity (Zan *et al.* 2000; Zan 2002). The second part of the contribution, shows light and shade of the virtual process referring to a museum in the South of Italy, the Virtual Museum of Medical School of Salerno, it is increasingly characterized by *virtual* state funds for virtual museums, recording media furthermore the financial sustainability (Campra, 1995, 2000) of the same through a process of international awareness as well as the use of European Structural Funds substituting ordinary state finance (Turrini, 2007). The work aims to achieve the research objectives through an inductive/deductive search method (Yin,

1995).

The virtual museum is a model of cultural communication based on the connectivity and contextualization of information and on the perceptual, conceptual and emotional involvement of users. In brief, objects, exhibits or data in a virtual museum are not single entities, but they become an integral part of a system of connections, where users can freely take their choice becoming themselves, through their own actions and choices, players, creators and receivers at the same time, that is to say meaning, content and motivation. Visitor involvement takes place through multiple levels producing an impact of rational, logical, symbolic type that is made possible by contents; it is an experiential, emotional impact encouraged by insight suggestions. The virtual museum can be therefore regarded as an ideal museum model, which is appropriate not only for electronic museums just existing in the digital cyberspace, but also, even though with much effort, in relation to real museums, whose attention and resources are often focused almost exclusively on the museological aspects, related to the conservation of works of art, to the detriment of the communicative and narrative characteristics.

Digital heritage management is related to many factors embracing: the proliferation of social needs, the rising competition coming from the private sector (and higher opportunity for collaboration with it), market globalization and a rising number of players, the impact of advanced technologies, the short time-frame over which decisions are made, the higher intensiveness of unpredictability and strategic changes, and the scarcity of strategic resources. Other economic-financial factors were a serious stagflation, welfare state crisis and growing government loans, in addition to a negative perception of bureaucracy.

These phenomena have been giving rise to the obsolescence of traditional management control systems in the public sector. The measurement of financial performance simply by using the aggregated method is no longer adequate. Accountability and prompt decision-making require proper tools allowing managers and decision-makers to understand how the aggregate financial performance can affect measures (Esposito, 2013). This is also connected to a non-financial perspective, and particularly to the consideration of delays that are linked to the accumulation and depletion processes of strategic resources affecting performance drivers.

The most important changes were achieved within the New Public Management paradigm (hereafter NPM) by Italian local governments which were required to implement management concepts and tools in order to improve their own performance. NPM would refer to the development of innovative practiced routines being intended to improve performance and to reinforce programs beyond the traditional conservatory government system (Borgonovi, 2000). Within this context the NPM would be better than public governance (Kickert 1993; Borgonovi 2000; Meneguzzo 2000) to achieve the two increasing inter-institutional relationships (Mussari 1994; Borgonovi 2000). This way, public service planning, management and supply will become something to be negotiated between a number of players, including government, the voluntary and community sector and the private sector (Rhodes, 1996). In this innovative model the problem is how to manage these composite networks (Kickert *et al.*, 1997). Consequently Italian local governments have chosen to adopt a new institutional arrangement in order to become more accountable and responsible toward stakeholders and to improve citizen participation (Hood, 1995) avoiding asymmetry of information between citizens and politicians.

In the public sector, political accountability is a natural implication that is linked to the management of public resources coming from taxpayers and citizens. Accountability might be defined as a *chameleon-like term* to be used in reference to definite requirements arising from a relationship of responsibility, where one person or entity is responsible toward others for the performance of specific services (Mulgan, 2000) allowing stakeholders to assess their stewardship and empowering their decisions (Ricci, 2010).

The introduction of different forms of public-private partnership in support of museum system management and supervision has facilitated the development of strong and innovative forces and processes in this field

(Zan *et al.*, 2000). However, significant losses in the museum system management and “archaic pre-modern” management systems (Zan, 2002: 111,113), and accountability (Zan 2002: 124,132; Lapsley 2008), together with managerial rhetoric and the drastic cuts in government transfers (Hood, 1995) have encouraged the development of virtual museums and virtual museum exhibits, supporting users and different generations of users *accessibility* to services and cultural products.

4. Digital heritage management: an international comparison

Referring to the sites of some great international museums, the Louvre museum in Paris is probably the most important art museum in the world. It was the first great museum to appear on the Internet and now it has one of the best web services on the network. The development of this site was probably accelerated by the success reported by the Virtual Louvre a few years ago, a site spreading the images of some museum masterpieces. In this case, effective communication was established resulting from the Internet, (it was one of the first quarrel concerning the right to broadcast images across the network) and new technology was used, taking care to put electronic use of copyrighted images. The Louvre virtual museum is divided into several sections of which it is impossible to provide an exhaustive description. 'Collections' and 'Visits virtuelle' are sections of particular interest. The first one gives visitors access to the pages describing the various collections that consist of the museum priceless heritage. Each of them contains a list of the works with information about their age and nation, in addition to the detailed files on major works, along with images of good quality. The site prepared by the George Pompidou Centre is divided into several sub-sites, according to the many activities taking place in the famous Parisian steel-glass building. It should be also noted the section that is devoted to the Musée national d'art moderne, placed in the centre of the site. Based on a graphic and technically advanced elaboration, it offers a significant amount of information and iconography materials on many museum collections, and a series of news on their constitution. The Prado in Madrid is another great museum whose website is one of the best in our review for the quantity and quality of services being offered. In fact, in addition to copious historical information and logistics, the site allows visitors to search a database of its collections, providing key- information as the artist name, the title of the work or themes, the style and artistic movements. Additionally, a detailed analysis of the masterpieces that are preserved in this great museum is offered on a monthly basis, completed by images and details and combined with descriptions and iconographies, thus carrying out an important educational function. The site of the Tate Gallery is even richer and its most important component is undoubtedly the British art museum in London. The site, through simple but sophisticated graphics, provides users with information on the various museums pertaining to the foundation, and a unified catalogue contains cards for authors of more than 8000 works accompanied by full-size images and extended slogan. There is also a section of the site devoted to the on-line purchasing. The highest concentration of online virtual museums can be found in the North American region. Among these virtual museums there are the sites of the United States great museums. The Metropolitan Museum in New York has an excellent site with sections that are dedicated to teaching, they provide information on how to design thematic visits according to different training needs, as well as a series of news and information dissemination. Less comprehensive section on collections, based on a clickable map of the various floors of the building in New York, but accompanied by a few boards dedicated to the works preserved in the museum. The site of the Museum of Modern Art, or the MOMA in New York is remarkable. In the context of a beautiful graphic design there are numerous sections dedicated to a number of activities taking place in the museum, various temporary exhibitions and various collections of paintings, sculptures, movies, prints, photographs and architectural documentation. For each of them you can see the cards of some works supplemented by text comments and sound. But undoubtedly the most impressive museum site area of the U.S. is the site of the Guggenheim Foundation. Based on an animated interface (flash technology) it allows the access to the sections devoted to all the museums that are headed by the

foundation (among which the famous Solomon Guggenheim Museum in New York, the Vatican Museums, the Peggy Guggenheim Collection in Venice and the new beautiful Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao). Each section is divided into several pages of information about the different museums and exhibitions. Some of them are real experimental web art works, combining referential information on the works displayed and sophisticated interactive interfaces (among the most interesting sections there are the pages dedicated to the exhibition known under the title 'Abstraction in the Twentieth Century' held at the Guggenheim in New York in 1996).

5. The virtual museum of archaeology in Baghdad

The looting of the Iraq Museum (Baghdad) is the most severe single blow to cultural heritage in modern history, comparable to the sack of Constantinople, the burning of the library at Alexandria, the Vandal and Mogul invasions, and the ravages of the conquistadors. It contains precious relics from the Mesopotamian civilization.

From April 10 to 12, 2003, after the *sack of Baghdad*, during the mayhem that followed the collapse of Saddam Hussein's regime, looters entered the Iraq National Museum in Baghdad. They stole and destroyed artifacts and caused damage to the museum. But as the confusion also enveloped the museum, no one outside Iraq knew exactly what was taken or the identity of the thieves. Seizing upon tiny bits of available information, Western archaeologists created their own narrative of events and aggressively promoted it through the world media.

Though in the months preceding the 2003 Iraq war, starting in December and January, various antiquities experts, including representatives from the American Council for Cultural Policy asked the Pentagon and the UK government to ensure the museum's safety from both combat and looting; although promises were not made, U.S. forces did avoid bombing the site. The U.S. government was criticised for doing nothing to protect the museum after occupying Baghdad (Deutsche Well, 2003).

The University of California at Berkeley began raising money for a virtual museum of the Iraq Museum collection; the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago created an on-line inventory of the museum; and a non-profit organization called the Baghdad Museum Project came into existence (New York Times, 2003). This last organization is a collaboration between Iraqi and Western academics and businessmen and now appears directed toward marketing the idea of *culture and reconstruction* in Iraq. Large quantities of equipment and funds were also channeled to Iraqi archaeologists, and the National Endowment for the Humanities and the U.S. Agency for International Development are funding training programs (New York Times, 2003). Also, in 2003, the Baghdad Museum Project was formed in the United States with a proposal to assure the National Museum of Iraq every possibility of the eventual safe return of its collection, even if that is to take hundreds of years. Rather than focus only on law enforcement and the current antiquities market, the group set its mission as being to establish a comprehensive online catalog of all cultural artifacts in the museum's collection, create a virtual Baghdad Museum that is accessible to the general public over the Internet, build a 3D collaborative workspace within the virtual Baghdad Museum for design and fundraising purposes, and establish a resource center within the virtual Baghdad Museum for community cultural development (Bogdanos 2005; Poole 2008; Cambanis & Sennott 2003). Various ancient items believed looted from the museum have surfaced in Jordan, Lebanon, the United States, Switzerland, and Japan, and on eBay. Only in 2009, the treasures of the National Museum went online for the first time as Italy inaugurated the Virtual Museum of Iraq; while Google announced that it would create a virtual copy of the museum's collections at its own expense, and make images of four millennia of archaeological treasures available online, free (2011), protecting ancient history in Iraq; monitoring the illegal trade in Mesopotamian antiquities; improving and exploring a case of *imported identity*, modernizing secular ruling elites of Iraq.

5. Digital heritage management: coping *archeo-mafia*

In Italy, virtual museum exhibits have developed mainly in the South of the country, chiefly the MAV in Herculaneum and Pompeii. These processes resulted in more than an increase in visitors and a better use and accessibility to cultural products and services, supporting a more attentive care and protection of goods as well as of archaeological and cultural treasures, which are the focus of the policies aiming at the removal of organized crime, that is especially Known as "archeo-Mafia" in the southern regions of Italy (Esposito & Ricci, 2015).

The expense theft of cultural and archaeological treasures, uncovered by police: 1,112 in 2011, an increase of 13.1%, compared to previous year, continues to grow in our country. Significant repressive activities led to the arrest of 53 people in addition to 1,302 people questioned. Shady dealings connected to this criminal segment continue to grow, it was more than € 316 million in 2011, almost a million a day, exactly 100 more than in 2010. The highest number of thefts continues to be registered within the territory of Campania region, and corresponds to 169, that is 15.2% of national total, knocking off the top ranking of the most affected areas in the Lazio region, that in the second place documenting 150 thefts; Lombardy is in the third place (143), Tuscany in the fourth place (95), and Sicily in the fifth (83). (Legambiente 2012; Esposito & Ricci 2015).

In 2011, thefts were mostly concentrated in churches, museums and public libraries and consisted of value (dis-value) related to public art heritage (objects and works of art) and archival-library (archeo-mafia).

Archival holdings and libraries mostly suffered from the massive attack consisting of 9,886 items stolen in a single year, public goods of importance were removed from the community. The theft of books, old documents and archival heritage of historical-cultural significance, perpetrated to the detriment of institutions, agencies and public and private libraries, has become a plague (Legambiente 2012; Esposito & Ricci 2015). In most cases, shortfalls are ignored by institutions due to partial and incomplete cataloging of the texts, the extreme ease of transportation, concealment and fragmentation of stolen assets, as well as the difficulty of finding the same entities.

These data become even more alarming with reference to present and future society, in view of the rising level of the crisis and the shortage of financial resources causing additional effects on the taxation of individuals and businesses resulting in financial, social and existential inequity and inequality.

6. Some good Italian Practices: the Virtual Museum of Archaeology in Pompeii and Herculaneum

The Virtual Museum of Archaeology (MAV) in Herculaneum is an institution of international importance. It is owned by the Foundation Cives, with the participation of other local and regional authorities such as the Province of Naples and Campania Region. Its constitution dates from 2008. The cost for the implementation of the MAV was €5 million in order to adapt the former school Iattarino to a multifunctional centre of culture. It consists of spaces for temporary exhibitions, an auditorium, a large multimedia archaeological museum, large-scale scientific and educational designs especially for schools. More than 70 multimedia installations, three-dimensional reconstructions, holograms, laser, touch screen, environmental effects, multisensory, tables and virtual books, fog screen, playing immersive exhibits and games, multi-synchronized and interactive interfaces, tracking the visitor. In December 2010, the reconstruction of the Schola Armaturarum - which collapsed just a month before - was completed, (a common restoration in reinforced material built in the 90s of the twentieth century. Spread over a total area of 5000 square metres, built on 3 levels, it was opened in 2008 after three years of planning involving the City of Herculaneum and the Province of Naples (which formed the foundation for the management of CIVES Mav) and Campania Region since 2009. The magnificence of the ancient baths, the majesty of the city theatre, the chance to walk inside the grotto of Baia, to wander among the brothels of Pompeii. The big attraction is finally the 3D eruption of Vesuvius. The

museum is located in an area of 5 thousand square metres and is articulated on three levels, including a 300 seat auditorium, with over seventy multimedia installations. All these efforts have produced positive effects in terms of attendance and business, thanks to a deep process of web accountability. In fact, the trend has been growing since the Museum was radically renewed and the 3D projection of the film on Vesuvius. In the first quarter of this year, there has been an increase of 15% attendance in the context of a general crisis of cultural consumption and in the presence of a drop of at least 20% attendance in the tourism industry. In April there was a real boom doubling the number of visitors, both during the week and on weekends. Mav 2.0 means that: a museum adapts itself to the evolution of technology, realizing emission of science and a strong focus on new generations of digital natives. The complex management of a virtual museum as the Mav in Pompeii and Herculaneum, is characterized by a particular flexibility. The human resources who are devoted to the virtual museum display, are represented by ten units of work, including eight employees with part-time contracts (50% of full time), with an average age of 27 years. Six people on the whole, receive approximately 70,000 guests every year, and hundreds of cultural events, website, communication, promotion, planning and programming.

In the first two years of life, the MAV earned about 7,000 euro per day, but these amounts were barely sufficient to cover its start-up costs alone. The third year cash flow registered a surplus of management, allowing the museum to survive and pay the costs of operation and maintenance. The ordinary state funding supporting and ensuring the Mav financial sustainability, is still virtual. This circumstance gives explanation of why museum-virtual and virtual museums on the network which are similar to the Mav in Herculaneum and Pompeii, recognize the process of reporting on their activities as the strength of the principle of public companies' social responsibility in which accountability can become a significant part in terms of the value of qualitative information, in addition to the economic-financial component.

7. Medical School of Salerno – Virtual Museum

The Salerno Medical School Foundation has constructed two historical art itineraries centred around the Salerno Medical School, the first and most important medical institute of Medieval Europe and considered the forerunner of the modern university. Salerno's Scuola Medica Salernitana was the most important medical school in Europe between the 10th and 13th centuries. Following the rise of university medical schools, it briefly merged with the University of Naples, which moved to Salerno from 1253 to 1258 before returning to Naples and establishing its own medical school there. The Virtual Museum of the Medical School of Salerno is a remarkable achievement for the Salerno municipality, and to help spreading the knowledge of Medieval history and Medicine. The realization of the museum of the Medical School of Salerno comes from in-depth studies and bibliographical and iconographical researches that brought back to Salerno images and documents found in libraries and archives all over the world.

Conclusion

Recent trends, not only in public company as the Virtual Medical School of Salerno and MAV in Italy, to seek greater levels of accountability and transparency in decisions and actions can be linked to several factors (Ricci, 2010):

Recent accountability different meanings, no longer based on the compliance to rules and regulations, but meant to be a guideline to facilitate the participation of citizens and the administrative action as a tool to inform citizens about the level of achievement of objectives and to highlight areas of responsibility (politicians and managers) in the measurement of results;

A clearer definition of the models of performance, measurement and determination of the level of autonomy in order to achieve genuine separation of areas of activity between different levels of government (governance and internal accountability);

The construction of models of representation and accountability for citizens to increase the level of knowledge of administrative activities and sharing of the results (external governance accountability);
Improving the quality of public services through the definition of standard and quantitative targets for an easy and immediate assessment of the levels of citizen satisfaction (customer satisfaction);
The improvement of internal and external control to promote autonomy in the evaluation of both the results and the performance that have been achieved.

Seven key variables are helpful to identify a proper system of accountability (Ricci, 2010):

- an articulated and clear planning process;
- a clear definition of inside and outside responsibilities;
- an adequate system of accounting and non-accounting;
- an effective internal monitoring and evaluation program;
- periodic disclosure of information;
- significant benchmarking activity;
- a valuable use of technology in communication.

These factors should reflect the best processes of assessment and accountability.

In line with the corporate culture of virtual museums like Virtual Medical School of Salerno, Museum System of Municipality of Rome or the Mav in Herculaneum and Pompeii, it is therefore necessary to emphasize the autonomy the organization has gained (programming, management and control activities), the corresponding responsibilities and especially the ability to explain what has been achieved (accountability), to measure the public value outcomes and to prevent distortions in an adequate system of public governance.

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More is Better! Crucial Issues and Challenges for Museum Audience Development in a Multicultural Society. A Literature Review

Cerquetti, Mara

University of Macerata, Department of Education, Cultural Heritage and Tourism

Macerata, Italy

mara.cerquetti@unimc.it

Abstract

The purpose of this conceptual paper is to investigate how research on museum management has approached audience development and community engagement in a multicultural society, where cross-cultural understanding and respect for human diversity are a shared commitment. The exploratory research opted for a literature review aiming to grasp both the state of the art on museum visitor studies and the most relevant issues concerning the scientific debate on this topic. After analysing the main features emerging in the last twenty years, the research considers some pilot projects involving immigrant communities, suggesting practice recommendations and guidelines for further research. The expected results concern gaps in research methods and aims, and hypothesis for future field research. The paper fulfils an identified need to promote the development of visitor surveys, in order to support museums in achieving their mission and maximizing value creation, also foreseeing implications for the innovation of cultural policies.

Keywords: audience development; cultural heritage; museum studies; multicultural society; value creation

To find, though, that paintings could be decoded, that they were intellectual as well as aesthetic experiences, was something of a relief because it straight away put them in a familiar and much more English context if only because a lot of iconography, saying who's who and what's what in a painting, could be taken as a higher form of that very English preoccupation, gossip. [...]

The truth is people come in for all sorts of reasons, some of them just to take the weight off their feet or to get out of the rain, to look at the pictures perhaps, or to look at other people looking at the pictures. And the hope is, the faith is, that the paintings will somehow get to them and that they'll take away something they weren't expecting and couldn't predict.

(Alan Bennett, *Going to the Pictures*)

Introduction

The *Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society*, signed in Faro ten years ago (27 October 2005), definitively shared “the need to involve everyone in society in the ongoing process of defining and managing cultural heritage” (Preamble). Even though the Faro Convention – as a “framework convention” – does not create specific obligations, allowing each State Party to “decide on the most convenient means to implement the convention according to its legal or institutional frameworks, practices and specific experience” (Council of Europe, 2014: 3), it invites the State Parties to develop

cooperation networks for the exchange of experience and launching of future initiatives. Among its priorities there is not only the management of the cultural diversity for cohesive societies and the improvement of the living environment and quality of life, but also the development of the democratic participation, through the implementation of a “shared responsibility” (art. 8) involving citizens and civil society and the commitment from all social stakeholders. Finally, according to the Faro Convention everyone “has the right to benefit from the cultural heritage and to contribute towards its enrichment” (art. 4).

Some recent European documents have confirmed and strengthened these objectives, including them in the EU agenda.²⁶ Sharing a dynamic and proactive notion of cultural heritage and with due regard to the principle of subsidiarity, the *Conclusions on cultural heritage as a strategic resource for a sustainable Europe* called Member States to “continue to promote education on cultural heritage, raise public awareness on the potential of cultural heritage for sustainable development and to encourage public participation, especially of children and young people, in cooperation with civil society” (Council of the EU, 2014: 3). Two months later, in order to enhance Europe's position in the field of cultural heritage valorisation, the Communication from the European Commission, *Towards an integrated approach to cultural heritage for Europe*, stated the need to “encourage the modernisation of the heritage sector, raising awareness and engaging new audiences” (European Commission, 2014b: 6). In line with the objectives of the EU 2020 strategy, the Creative Europe and Horizon 2020 programmes too are contributing to realize these shared objectives and generate social innovation for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth.

As already stated by John Holden almost ten years ago, cultural policy could not remain a closed conversation among experts: the challenge is “to create a different alignment between culture, politics and the public” (Holden, 2006: 11). If the best answer to the question “why fund culture?” is “because the public wants it”, politicians should understand what the public values about culture and cultural professionals should create and articulate that demand; therefore, the cultural system can work better to generate value for the public (Holden, 2006: 14). In order to face this challenge, more and better research is needed to help cultural organizations to know and satisfy public needs, attracting more funding from politicians and policy-makers and then improving the quality of cultural services (Figure 1).

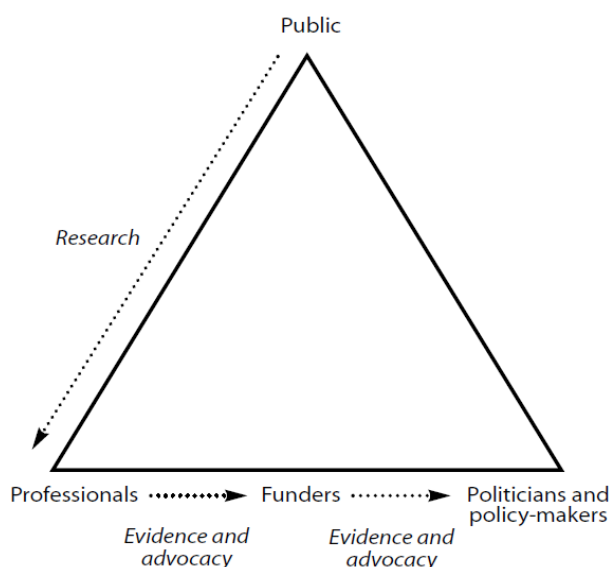


Figure 1. Information flow (Source: Holden, 2006: 48).

²⁶ See also the *Treaty on the European Union* stating that “the Union shall respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity, and shall ensure that Europe's cultural heritage is safeguarded and enhanced” (art. 3).

According to accountability and evidence-based policy, information is required from strategic analysis on the actual and potential audiences, their characteristics, preferences and expectations (Reussner, 2003). These crucial issues will become more important in the near future, due to the growing international migration and population change in Europe²⁷ (European Commission, 2014a). In this context cultural heritage plays an important role contributing in the promotion of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue. More important is the role of museums as institutions that provide a cultural service for the public benefit. Sharing these assumptions the following research investigates how museum studies have approached audience development and community engagement in the last twenty years, highlighting research achievements and advances both in visitor surveys and communication strategies. After showing the role of museums in our multicultural society, a literature review is conducted, in order to grasp both the state of the art and the emerging issues concerning the scientific debate on this topic. In the selection of books, conference papers and journal articles, two electronic databases (Elsevier's SCOPUS and Thomson Reuters Web of Science) too were searched using keywords based on the inclusion criteria. The two databases cover some of the most significant journals within the museum and cultural heritage context: *Museum Management and Curatorship*, *The International Journal of the Inclusive Museum*, *Visitor Studies*, *International Journal of Arts Management*, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, *Journal of Cultural Heritage*. In total (in both databases), more than 1,000 records resulted from the search terms in keywords, title and abstract for the period 1995-2015, with several duplications in the two databases, different disciplinary points of view (e.g. education, anthropology, marketing, etc.) and papers analysing policies and case studies from Europe, USA and Asia. This first exploratory analysis focused on the European context – even though including some non-European studies with an international relevance –, selecting and retrieving papers moved by a managerial approach or a marketing perspective. In addition, some recent European pilot projects involving immigrant communities are considered, trying to provide practice recommendations and guidelines. Finally, gaps in research methods and aims, and hypothesis for future field research are discussed.

2. Changing museums in a changing world?

The social role of museums in our society was definitively stated by the International Council of Museums (ICOM) in the 22nd General Assembly held in Vienna in 2007. According to the ICOM's definition a museum is an “institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment”. If museums operate “in the service of society and its development”, they achieve their mission continually and holistically serving their audiences and communities, creating long-term value both for their stakeholders and future generations. According to a sustainable approach, equity in the treatment of different generations over time (inter-generational equity or inter-temporal distributive justice) is a key issue (Throsby, 2002: 107). In this context the challenge for museums is two-fold: on the one hand, they must reach a wider and more diversified audience, reflecting the complex demographic composition of contemporary society; on the other hand, they must ensure that the

²⁷ At the beginning of 2013, the EU population was 503 million, of which 20.4 million were third-country nationals, corresponding to 4% of the total population. In 2012, 2.1 million first residence permits were issued to third-country nationals. Of these, 32% were given for family reasons, 23% for remunerated activities, 22% for study and 23% for other reasons (including international protection). The countries whose nationals were given the highest number of first permits are: United States of America with 200,000 third-country nationals representing 9.5% from the EU total followed by Ukraine (163,000), China (161,000) and India (157,000) with around 7.5% from EU total. Significant number of permits (between 5% and 2.5% from EU total) were issued to nationals from Morocco (102,000), Russia (66,000), Philippines (62,000), Turkey (59,000) and Brasil (51,000). The total number of asylum applications in 2013 amounted to 434,160, which represents a strong increase of around 100,000 applicants compared to the previous year. The largest group of applicants came from Syria (50,470 i.e. 12% of all applicants), with other significant countries being Russia, Afghanistan, Serbia Pakistan and Kosovo (European Commission, 2014a, from Eurostat data for 2012).

value of cultural heritage is understood and cultural capital increase.

Particular attention should be addressed to social changes that are occurring not only in Europe, which also create challenges and opportunities for cultural heritage management (Black 2005; American Association of Museums 2010; European Foresight Platform 2012). Hence, international migration and an aging population play an important role in European population change. These changes set new goals for museums: international migration increases the cultural diversity of population and, as a consequence, creates a greater diversity of culture providers and consumers to satisfy, whereas an aging population implies more spare time for an increasing number of people, hence a wider potential audience for museums. Furthermore, the increasing familiarity of young generations with ICT, e.g. Prensky's digital natives reshapes the way that museums provide services, improving users' involvement and participation.

In this context, museums are required to become agents of social cohesion. The volume *Looking Reality in the Eye. Museums and Social Responsibility* (Janes & Conaty, 2005) provides a wide set of case studies, focusing on social responsibility and museum accountability towards communities through deep relationships with all stakeholders. For example, Sutter and Worts consider museums as agents and active facilitators of social change because of their contribution to history and cultural diversity being understood. Finally,

just as today's societies are incredibly diverse and complex, museums are no longer the monolithic institutions of the past. Instead, many are focusing their efforts more narrowly, telling particular stories with larger meanings. Often, these stories reflect issues and people that have been marginalized by mainstream society – First Nations, immigrants, and chronic illness. This approach can also lead to an activism that embraces community issues and inspirations, in an effort to provide value and meaning (Janes & Conaty, 2005: 3).

Sharing this approach, the European Commission too recognizes that:

museums are increasingly community-oriented, led by people and stories, for instance proposing heritage-based narratives that weave the personal stories of community members into the interpretation of larger historical events. They place audiences on a par with collections, at the heart of their activities, do not shy away from exploring sensitive and difficult issues, and address contemporary topics that speak to more diverse audiences (European Commission, 2014b: 5-6).

In this context value-creation becomes a democratic mandate and the measurement, communication and evaluation of the value that museums create become a crucial issue (Koster 2006; Weil 2006; Koster & Falk 2007; Scott 2013). Scott (2008) identifies a use value, which is direct consumption, an institutional value, when well managed institutions generate trust in the public realm and add value to government, and an instrumental value, describing governments' expected return on public investments related to evidence of the achievement of social and economic policy objectives: "the recipients are (a) the economy – through civic branding, tourism, employment and the multiplier effect on local economies; (b) communities – through increased social capital, social cohesion, tolerance for cultural diversity, urban regeneration and civic participation; and (c) individuals – through benefits such as learning, personal well-being and health" (Scott, 2008: 34-35).

In summary, activating a virtuous cycle, the museum that succeeds in creating cultural value for its users creates economic value for itself, attracting more resources to guarantee the long-term conservation of its tangible and intangible cultural heritage – directly, through revenue from tickets, and indirectly, through public and private funding. Consequently, continuously improving its performance, the museum could innovate its offer, satisfying new audiences that increase in number and creating benefits for the local

context, e.g. development of economic and professional opportunities and higher quality of life (Montella 2009; Cerquetti 2014).

Shifting from theory to practice, despite a shared and increasing interest in value-creation in museum studies, data on museum attendance reveals several gaps to fulfil. A survey on the participation of Europeans in cultural activities conducted by European Commission in 2013²⁸ registered that under half of respondents had undertaken a range of cultural activities once or more in the last years: among them, only 37% visited a museum or gallery (-4%, if compared to 2007) while 62% did not visit a museum or gallery in the last 12 years (Figure 2).

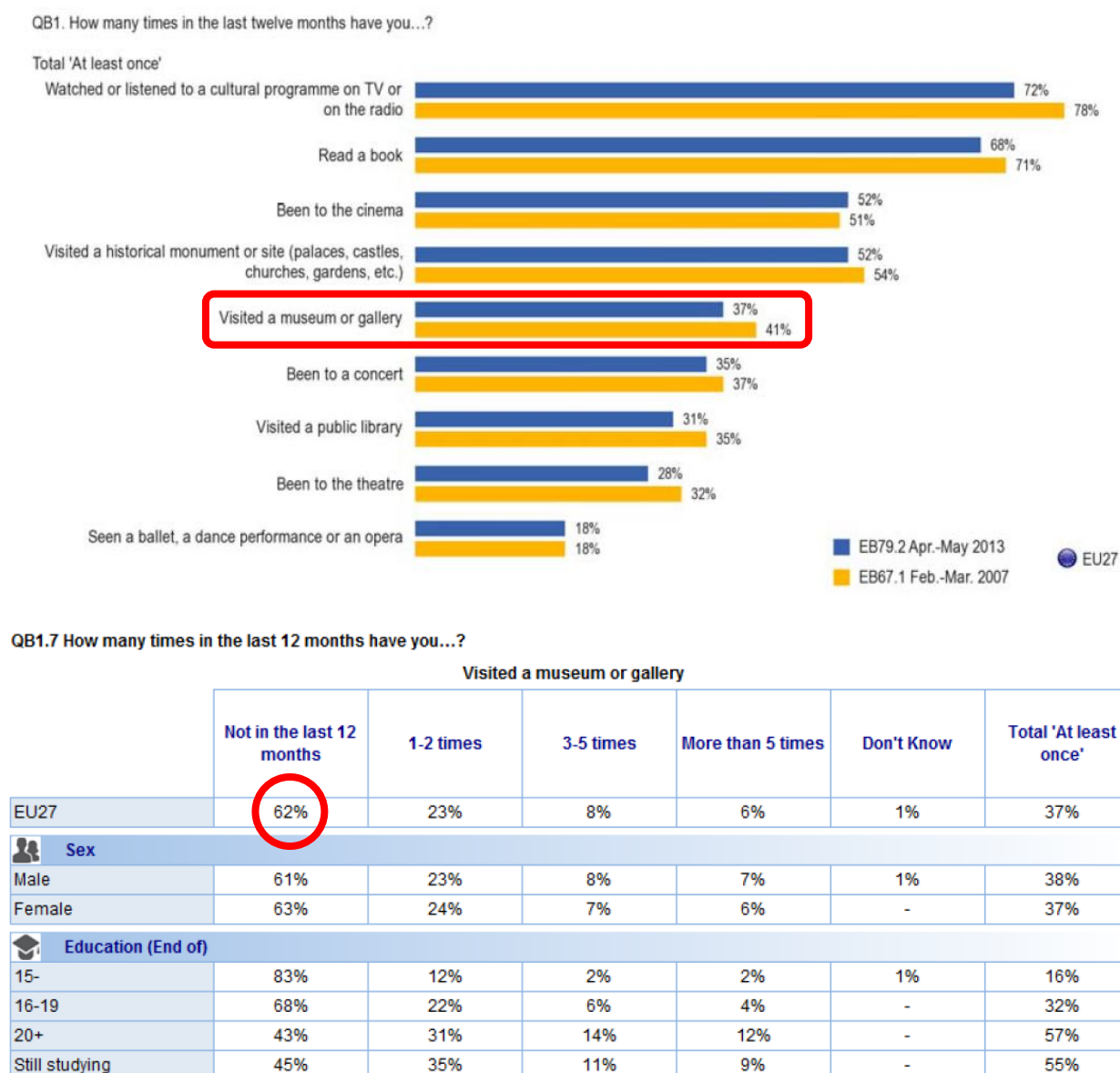


Figure 2. Museum attendance (Source: European Commission, 2013: 9, 19).

²⁸ The survey was carried out by TNS Opinion & Social network in the 27 Member States of the European Union (2013) and in Croatia between 26 April and 14 May 2013. Some 26,563 respondents from different social and demographic groups were interviewed face-to-face at home in their mother tongue.

Beside lack of time, lack of interest (the first answer given in 21 Member States) is the main barrier to visiting museums and galleries more often.²⁹ The analysis of the results by socio-demographic categories reveals other interesting patterns by education and occupation, that appear to be important factors: among the most frequent reasons given for not visiting a museum or gallery in the last year, only 21% of managers gave lack of interest as a reason, “compared to 42% of the unemployed or 39% of manual workers. Similarly 48% of the respondents who left school before the age of 16 mention lack of interest as a reason, whereas this figure falls to 23% for those leaving education after the age of 19” (European Commission, 2013: 37).

Even though changes having happened in society since the beginning of the 21st century, it seems that museum visitors are still upper education, upper occupation and upper income groups (Hood 1993; Coffee 2007). What about unemployed or manual workers, immigrants or less-educated audiences? The lack of visitors belonging to these categories confirm a need of innovation that could no more be ignored.

This picture looks even more complex if we consider an interim finding from a study-in-progress aiming to examine long-term changes in cultural attendance in the UK (Voase, 2013). The researcher expected the growth of knowledge economy and the expansion of the middle class in the 2000³⁰ to generate an expansion in levels of cultural attendance: “however, the picture is one of unchanging levels of attendance at cultural events and facilities. These two facts could be reconciled by theorising that an expanded middle class somehow loses its specificity: that its middle-class behaviours become diluted and as it expands. Thus, its propensity for cultural attendance lessens” (Voase, 2013: 171).

In summary, considering public funding being made available to cultural organisations, if museums are supported by public expenditure, they should create value for a higher percentage of people, attracting and satisfying new audiences and measuring how valuable are their visits through a strategic marketing approach (Arts Council of England, 2011). Sharing this need, the following literature review tries to highlight the contribution that museum studies have provided on this topic during the last twenty years.

3. Towards an audience-centred approach: main topics and crucial issues

In 1933, when studying museum fatigue, Edward S. Robinson, the first scholar to carry out extensive and systematic museum audience research, wrote that if visitors could not discern the museum's philosophy, the philosophy must be changed and the outlook of the curators must change (quoted in Hood, 1993: 18). At the end of the 1990 this need for change in museum management definitively arrived at a turning point, supported by the wide sharing of a new notion of museums and their role in society (Adams 1999; Briggs 2000; Hooper-Greenhill 2000): from places of exclusion to places of inclusion (Coffee, 2008), from places of education to places of learning, or rather “free-choice, or informal, learning environments”, mediators of “information and knowledge for a range of users to access on their own terms, through their own choice, and within their own place and time” (Kelly, 2004: 47). Moreover, in 1999 Weil argued that museums need to change their vision from being *about something* to being *for somebody*, strengthening the role of museum responsiveness (Lang, Reeve, & Woollard 2006; Ocello, 2011). Therefore, the challenges museums face (e.g. the increased competition and the proliferation of leisure choices) have resulted in a conceptual shift “from being primarily curator-driven to becoming market-responsive, focusing on the needs of audiences and their learning” (Kelly, 2004: 48-49).

²⁹ Respondents are least interested in visiting museums and galleries in Cyprus, where 61% said this was the main barrier; this is also the main obstacle for more than half of respondents in Malta (52%) and Portugal (51%). Lack of time is mentioned as the main barrier in the UK (41%), Latvia, Luxembourg (both 39%), Sweden (35%), Estonia (34%) and Romania (32%). The cost of museums or galleries is generally a secondary issue, but was mentioned by 18% of respondents in Hungary, 15% in Italy and 14% in Portugal. The quality and choice of museums and galleries was mentioned by 26% of respondents in Romania and by 17% in Greece, Estonia and Sweden (Eurobarometer, 2013: 28).

³⁰ The middle class of the 2000 is much greater than that of the early 1990: “the number of middle-class, ABC1 households increased from some 19 million to 27 million. The number of C2DE households declined from 26 million to something over 21 million” (Voase, 2013: 172).

Today, an audience-centric approach is considered a vehicle to achieve museum sustainability (Villeneuve 2013; Di Pietro *et al.* 2014) and audience development is a relevant democratic mandate for museums in contemporary society. For this reason, since the beginning of the 21st century handbooks, toolkits and guidelines have been provided all over the world to support cultural institutions in this process and many museums have already adopted an audience development strategy or plan. Audience development is an interdisciplinary domain, including museology and education, sociology and psychology, leisure and information science, consumer behaviour and marketing: indeed, all these disciplines are involved in “reaching and engaging people in local communities by increasing the number or types of people who participate in arts activities, or deepening an existing audience’s level of participation. It includes serving both new audiences and the present audience more deeply” (Connolly & Hinand Cady, 2001: 7).

When analysing publications on museum audiences of the last twenty years, two different, but tightly linked, research paths emerge: on the one hand, audience research, including both visitors and non-visitors, theory and practice, methods and objectives; on the other hand, strategies for visitor involvement.

As far as the audience research is concerned, even though the first visitor studies have been conducted in the USA since the beginning of the 20th century, only during the 1990 the proliferation of empirical studies has been accompanied worldwide by a new theoretical approach to audience research, shifting the focus from museum collections to museum services. At the beginning of the 1990 Marilyn G. Hood pointed out that “most of the things people object to in museums are related to amenities and services, or lack of them, rather than to the collections, exhibits, or programmes” (Hood, 1993: 24). As institutions supposed to function for the public benefit, museums have been required to ensure the critical understanding of the value of their collections. This kind of innovation has been developed above all in science museums, more aware than other institutions that “effective communication takes account of and involves museum audiences in shaping a museum’s messages” (Fitzgerald & Webb, 1994: 278).

According to a visitor-oriented approach, the need to identify, understand and respond to different interests and perspectives has been highlighted, considering demographic data as useful tools for museums to compare the profile of their audiences to that of their communities, “identify fast-growing populations they might want to target, check assumptions, and reexamine standard operating procedures, as the world changes around them” (Mintz, 1998: 67). Since the 1990 at least, in order to explain cultural consumptions, the analysis of social structure has been integrated by arguments relating to individual or culturalistic characteristics (i.e. lifestyle or milieu-based or dynamic-temporary states) (Kirchberg & Kuchar, 2014: 175). Above all, the concept of audience identity has progressively broken down in favour of audience diversity, shifting from audience to audiences (Werner, Hayward, & Larouche, 2014).

Finally, at the beginning of the 21st century, a research culture arose, moving from *practice* to *theory of practice*. This approach is supported by different methods and focuses on “visitor experiences and learning that, in turn, contributes to organisational learning and change” (Kelly, 2004: 62): “audience research in museums is uniquely placed to add value to organisations, not only through attending to the interests, learning needs and understandings of those who use their services, but to provide a meaningful and strategic role in the learning that takes place within the organisation” (Kelly, 2004: 67). Moving from these assumptions, a new paradigm has been adopted based on a transaction approach. In this model audience research is the intermediary between mission and market approaches to museum programme development (Figure 3).

When closely scrutinising research methods and objectives, during the last fifteen years studies have demonstrated an increasing attention to qualitative research replacing traditional quantitative approaches, adopting unobtrusive audio or video-recording of visitors’ behaviours and conversations and narrative methodologies to investigate museum experience (Everett & Barrett, 2009).

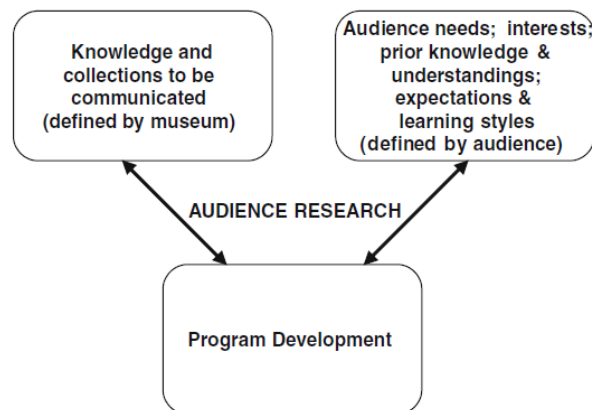


Figure 3. A transaction approach to museum programme development (Source: Kelly, 2004: 50).

Considering the effects of demographic changes on cultural attendance, the impact of ageing population has also been debated, analysing challenges and opportunities that museums will have to face in the near future (Benitez, 2013). Moreover, the importance to understand the reasons of non-attendance has been debated, focusing on young people. As argued by Mason and McCarthy the younger age groups – teenagers and young adults – are the groups that “museums continually fail to cater to, despite their efforts to broaden and diversify their audiences” (Mason & McCarthy, 2006: 22). In particular, so few young people go to art galleries because they are excluded by a kind of psychological barrier (“threshold fear”): they feel museums are not for them and do not feel as if they are part of museums. New citizens too have been put on the agenda. As suggested by Kirchberg and Kuchar:

The question then arises, for example, as to whether increased efforts to integrate immigrants into German society will decrease their exclusion from high culture events or whether continuing high culture exclusion will reveal that long-term cultural integration is unsuccessful. Non-attendance could, then, reflect either society’s lack of integration (obstacle) or the conscious and understandable refusal of these groups to assimilate to high culture (Kirchberg & Kuchar, 2014: 176).

As some recent projects confirm (Jochems 2008; Bodo, Gibbs, & Sani 2009; Innocenti 2014, 2015; Filippopoliti & Sylaiou 2015):

With their ability to provide possibilities for people to associate, interact and find common ground regardless of ethnic background, museums can play an integral part in helping immigrants to connect to their new home country and society. The full potential of this has not yet been harnessed. In order to make better use of their capacity, museums need to be more active and versatile in their outreach programmes, engage more deeply in work with multiple audiences, and encourage participation (Hautio, 2011: 61).

Analysing strategies for visitor involvement, participation should not only be connected to the notion of museum as a social practice, involving social interaction with other visitors and dialogue with exhibitions (Coffee, 2007), but also be considered a dimension of accessibility, firmly linked to the use of the museum as a public space (Hautio, 2011). For museums, engagement means innovative presentation and interpretation techniques: determinants of engagement that play an important role are interactive panels, guided tours, videos and audios, themed interactive exhibitions (Taheri, Jafari, & O’gorman, 2014). As a consequence, the approach based on one-way mass communication is considered out-of-date and even the concept of

different clusters of users based on socio-demographic categories is facing a crisis in favor of a new paradigm based on the concept of “identity formation in everyday life”, where visitors are simultaneously “members of an audience (*cultural consumers*) and performers (*cultural producers*)” (Stylianou-Lambert, 2010: 135). Moving from this new approach, visitor studies have emphasized the need to encourage the participation of museum users in different forms (Simon, 2010), even through co-production (Davies, 2010). According to a constructivist approach, museum exhibitions have to be designed and set up as an open work, providing different perspectives and viewpoints, to facilitate open-ended learning outcomes (Sandell, 2007: 78).

In particular the role of new technologies and the digital empowerment of museums have been considered crucial issues to attract young generations and achieve new audiences (Parry 2007; Marty & Burton Jones 2008; Tallo & Walker 2008; Carrozzino & Bergamasco 2010; Bakhshi & Throsby 2012; Jarrier & Bourgeon-Renault 2012; Alexandri *et al.* 2014; Rubino *et al.* 2015), both by academics and practitioners: thanks to edutainment, interactivity and immersive experiences (Mencarelli, Marteaux, & Puhl 2010; Brady 2011; Ntalla, 2013-2014), ICTs could stimulate people’s commitment, understanding and creative engagement (Dindler, 2014), also becoming an activating factor in lack of motivation and context (Baradaran Rahimi, 2014). Even though the possible risk of dramatization, trivialization and disneyfication resulting from technologies (Balloffet, Courvoisier, & Lagier, 2014), ICTs could create effective narrative environments (MacLeod, Hanks, & Hale, 2012), facilitating the communication of the historical value of the exhibits through storytelling, thematization, spatialization and scenarization (Mencarelli & Puhl, 2012).

4. Museum studies for audience development: research gaps and future challenges

Since the end of the 20th century important innovations have affected museums studies. In order to face social changes (ageing population, international migration, etc.) and attract and satisfy new audiences (e.g. digital natives and new immigrant communities), a new notion of museum has been debated and finally shared, encouraging museums to become more relevant and responsive: places of learning rather than of education, for somebody rather than about something, inclusive rather than exclusive. Aiming to achieve museum mission, audience research too has progressively developed its theoretical approach, addressing non-audiences and implementing innovative methods and techniques (i.e. qualitative research). As a consequence, visitor involvement has gained a central role: audience participation and engagement have been implemented through ICTs, promoting edutainment, interactivity, immersive experiences and narrative environments (Figure 4).

Moving from these advances and achievements in museum studies, some possible further developments are here listed:

- much more attention and consideration should be addressed to the multicultural composition of our society. Some studies confirm that many programmes have been developed in anthropological or historical museums like immigrant museums (Horn 2006; Hautio 2011; Dixon 2012; Jöhler 2015; Schorch 2015), rather than in art museums (Ang, 2005), that are also required to innovate their approach to new audiences;
- museum audience research needs to become a museum learning “community of practice” (Kelly, 2004), sharing expertise, methods and objectives. This approach could allow the comparability of the studies and their results in an international framework to identify best practice examples for high-quality analyses (Kirchberg & Kuchar, 2014) and promote the innovation of research: more theoretically based, collaborative, interdisciplinary and longitudinal (Patriarche *et al.*, 2014);
- audience research should develop the theoretical explanations for non-attendance, deepening the investigation of diverse audiences’ needs (e.g. young people, new citizens, etc.) and levels of understanding also through qualitative studies (Kirchberg & Kuchar, 2014);

- new strategies to involve people should not neglect the innovation of communication contents. To become relevant organisations, it is essential that museums form new contents to match different levels of understanding (Montella 2009; Cerquetti 2014).

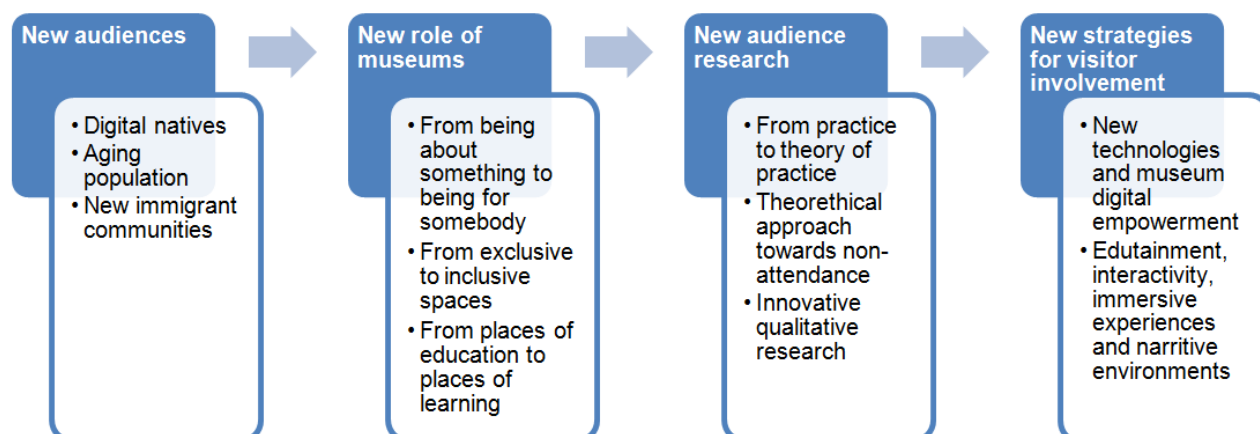


Figure 4. Museums and audience research in a changing world (Source: own elaboration).

Conclusion

This study investigates the increasing attention to audience development in the museum sector through a literature review: scrutinizing two international databases, it discusses the achievements and advances in museum studies, also highlighting emerging issues and future challenges for museum management. The analysis of papers on museum audience confirms the central role of ICT for museum innovation, both for the improvement of service quality and the attraction of new audiences. As far as visitor studies are concerned, a deepened attention to different clusters of visitors is registered, beyond traditional socio-demographic categories. However, the attention to new citizens is still low in museum studies, except some projects in education. Finally, this conceptual paper tries to fulfil an identified need to promote the development of visitor studies, in order to support museums in achieving their mission and maximizing value creation, with implications for the innovation of cultural policies.

The research shows some limitations, which will require further studies in order to suggest future research paths. First of all, a systemic organization of data could be provided. Secondly, it could be useful to refine the research, also analysing papers that are not included in the selected databases. Despite these gaps, the conclusions provide suggestions for future case studies.

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Organizational Identity and Organizational Forms: Evidence from the *Estate Fiesolana Festival*

Cori, Enrico

Università Politecnica delle Marche
Ancona, Italy
e.corì@univpm.it

Abstract

This research, qualitative in nature, pursues cognitive and explorative goals. It focuses on the experience of the *Estate Fiesolana Festival*, one of the most famous and long lasting Italian performing arts festivals. The research is framed in the literature on organizational identity, especially focusing on the concept of multiple identities. The relationships between the traits of organizational identity and the upcoming changes in the governance and organization structure are investigated. We wonder how and to what extent choices concerning the governance structure and the network configuration are affected by a situation in which the identity traits are ambiguous or uncertain. On the theoretical level, the study contributes to extending the debate on organizational identity within the performing arts organizations in two ways: a) suggesting that that identity can concurrently have holographic and ideographic traits; b) shifting the debate to the network level.

Keywords: Organizational identity, Organizational choices, Performing arts festivals

1. Research purpose

Organizational context - The popularity of the festival format in the field of the performing arts is witnessed, in Italy as in Europe, by the proliferation of initiatives and the institutionalization of these over time, as well as by the growing interest among management and organization scholars. The field of festival has been characterized, in the last decades, by the emergence of a variety of organizational forms. Some of them seem still adequate, while others are increasingly show some limitations, so many festival are currently involved in reshaping their governance and/or organizational structure.

Field of inquiry - This research, qualitative in nature, pursues cognitive and explorative goals. It focuses on the experience of the *Estate Fiesolana Festival*, one of the most famous and long lasting Italian performing arts festivals, which is currently involved in a period of transition that will probably result in a different configuration of the network that makes the festival possible. In the case under investigation the central issues concerns the traits of the organizational identity and the emergence of an uncertain or ambiguous identity. These issues are growing in relevance, due to the upcoming shift in terms of governance and organizational structure.

Research question - We wonder how and to what extent choices concerning the governance structure and the network configuration are affected by uncertainty and/or ambiguity relevant to the organizational identity. Specifically, we investigate the possible correspondences between different *souls* of the organizational identity (e.g.: identity of the product vs. identity of the place) and transformations in the organizational form.

Structure of the paper - The paper is structured as follows: in §2 the theoretical background is illustrated; in §3 we explain the research method; in §4 the main features and the evolutionary steps of the Estate Fiesolana Festival are illustrated; in §5 the findings are outlined and some reflections are made about the issues that have been investigated; lastly, in §6 some theoretical and managerial implications are stated; the current limits of the research are also outlined.

2. Theoretical background

It is possible to identify two strands of literature directly linked to this research: the one dealing with management and organization of performing arts festivals, the other concerning the multi-faced issue of organizational identity.

Festival economics and management

The studies on the performing arts festivals arise in the field of economic theory, although in recent years the contributions by management and organization scholars are increasing. Originating with the research done by Vaughan (1980) on the Edinburgh Festival, these studies began in the late 1980 and have continued up to the present without interruption. Among the several studies that have been carried out over the aforesaid period those of Frey (1986, 1994, 2000) on the Salzburg Festival stand out, due to the extended observation periods and the relevance of the object of inquiry.

The research studies done on the performing arts festival were soon distinguished by a strong attention to their impact on the territory in economic, social, cultural, and environmental terms. Among the so-called “positive externalities” the increase in levels of income, the improvement of economic and employment indicators, the strengthening of the infrastructures, the renewal and restoring of the urban context, the increase in the touristic attraction of the area are mentioned.

The impact on the touristic flows is especially observed in the studies that rank temporally straddling the late 90s and the past decade (Danson & Senior 1998; Dwyer *et al.* 2000; Jones 2001). Within the managerial perspective the prevailing studies consider the festival as a carrier of a territorial marketing policy (Carlsen *et al.*, 2007).

The opportunities offered by the festival to trigger tourist flows are explicitly outlined in a study by Felsenstein and Fleischer (2003) and, more recently, by Oh and Lee (2012). The first two authors point out how the events with which a city is likely to identify itself represent a sort of “gateway” for the fruition of historical sites. For their part Oh and Lee argue that the role of the festival is not only that of supporting some particular destinations, but that of being a real *catalyst* of tourist flows.

As the idea of the festival as an event that can enhance the tourist appeal of the area emerges, there is a growing awareness of the importance of adequate organizational solutions, as argued by Garcia (2004). This author points out the need for concerted and coordinated action between the organizers of the festival, art institutions, the organizations charged with the promotion and development of tourism, the local administrators.

Organizational identity

Early research on the identity of a significant construct in the field of organizational behaviour dates back to the early '80s, with the study by Albert and Whetten (1985) who define organizational identity as the “central, distinctive and enduring characteristic of an organization”. Organizations in search of their own identity need to find an exhaustive answer to the question “Who are we, as an organization?”.

The idea that the identity of an organization can have elements of variety and variability is present from the earliest studies on the subject. The same Albert and Whetten seem to be fully aware of the fact that identity is a multifaceted phenomenon, when talking about “hybrid identity”, to indicate those situations in which “identity is composed of two or more types that would not normally be expected to go together” (Albert & Whetten, 1985: 270). If the existence of multiple identities in a number of organizations is almost generally acknowledged in the studies of organizational behaviour, we cannot affirm the same as regards the meaning of “multiple” identity, as pointed out by Foreman and Whetten (2002). In fact, the organizational identity can be multiple as the sum of complementary or competing identities. In the first case we speak of “holographic identity”, in the second of “ideographic identity”.

Other issues of particular meaning concerning multiple identities regards their awareness by the management and their ambiguous link with the organizational performance.

The literature on organizational identity offers evidences that support both the idea that multiplicity can enhance organizational performance/success, the idea that the multiplicity can give origin to substantial problems for the organization. In this respect, Pratt and Foreman (2000: 22) stress the importance of managing multiple identities “so that the benefits [...] can be realized and their costs minimized”. With reference to the costs of the multiplicity they evoke (2000: 23) the possibility that “multiple identities can cause ambivalence having significant effect on the strategic management”. On their part, Voss *et al.* (2006: 750) suggest that “firms have lower organization performance when leaders disagree about organizational identity”, although some previous findings suggest that minor identity misalignment may not hinder organizational success.

Cultural organizations are generally seen as having an ideographic identity, due to the co-existence of contradictory elements (normative vs. utilitarian). Two studies in that field seem particularly meaningful. Glynn (2000) argues that the existence of conflicting identities in a symphonic music organization can affect the decisions concerning resource allocation and the construction of core capabilities. In the aforementioned contribution Voss *et al.* (2006) try to figure out if the disagreement about organizational identity between different managerial roles in the American professional theatres is likely to have positive or negative effects on the performance of these organizations.

These contributions provide useful insight for a better understanding of the complex running of the artistic and cultural organizations. Yet they consider conflicts about organizational identity only between groups or roles within the same organization, and seem to hold a static view of identities of the organization in competition with one another.

The idea that organizational identity can be seen as something stable is questioned from a number of scholars. Gioia *et al.* (2000: 63) argue that “organizational identity [...] is actually relatively dynamic and that the apparent durability of identity is somewhat illusory”. For these researchers, the seeming durability of identity would concern only its labels and not its meaning. They also suggest how the instability of the identity can facilitate organizational change in response to environmental threats. Following this approach, the key-questions about organizational identity become: *What do we think we are?* and *What do we think we should be?*

Two more recent studies (Schultz & Maguire 2013; Schultz & Hernes 2013) suggest considering the question of organizational identity from a process-based view. According to these authors identity is “a contingent, evolving set of characteristics, continuously being reconstructed” and emerges “from ongoing dialogues with other organizations”; within this perspective, the role of management primarily becomes that of “facilitating continuous identity dialogue with key internal and external stakeholders” (Schultz & Maguire, 2013: 9). According to this perspective, the key issue that organizations ask themselves about their identity is *What and how are we becoming?* instead of *Who are we?*

We believe that our research, while remaining in the groove of the seminal studies on organizational identity, can benefit from the different perspectives that the aforementioned studies offer. In particular, the process-based view can be considered particularly useful when one carries out a longitudinal analysis as this (Langley *et al.*, 2013).

3. Research method

This research pursues cognitive and explorative goals concerning a single case-study. It follows a qualitative approach. The analysis was conducted at the network level, by involving the top management roles of all organizations involved in the Estate Fiesolana Festiva. This event, in fact, is made possible thanks to the collaboration between the Municipality of Fiesole, the School of Music of the same town, and some cultural

associations. Together, these entities create a mixed network in which the Municipality acts as a focal actor. The event under investigation has been selected for its fame among the Italian performing arts festivals, for the meaningful role played in generating a local cultural network, as well as for the significance of the ongoing transition.

Before the inquiry a meeting with the managing director of the Estate Fiesolana allowed to focus on the main critical issues affecting the festival. Among these, the *problem* of organizational identity emerged as a key-issue, in the perspective of re-shaping the governance and organization structure. During this meeting, both the specific topic to investigate, and the definition of the research path (type of actors to involve, mode of interaction) have been jointly defined between the researcher and the person responsible for organizing the event.

For this reason this case-study tends to take on the characteristics of the action-research approach, since it is oriented to reflect on and propose courses of action in relation to a problem perceived as particularly important by the key-players involved in the network (Grandori, 1996).

Both primary and secondary data have been used in order to carry out the case study. Primary data was collected through semi-structured, face-to-face interviews, realized with five key-informants: the Mayor of Fiesole, the Managing Director of the festival, the Superintendent of the Fiesole School of Music, and the managing directors of the two cultural associations involved in the organization: Nuovi Eventi Musicali and Music Pool.

The interviews were carried out, recorded and transcribed in the period between December 2013 and April 2014. All the transcripts have been submitted for check to the interviewees, so as to avoid any form of bias and to validate the information.

All the interviewees were asked to say what constitutes, in their opinion, the distinctive feature of the festival, if they believe that the identity traits that emerged in the past are still valid, and what they think the festival should be in the future. Secondary data was collected from the company's website, brochures, and a book that traces the history of the festival. A previous study by the author of this paper about the Italian music festivals as drivers of local cultural networks provided the data on the main features concerning the organization and management of the Estate Fiesolana Festival.

4. Case history

The Estate Fiesolana is the oldest open air festival in Italy. Its origins date back to 1911, the year in which the first performance took place at the Roman Theatre of Fiesole, a small town of Etruscan origin, located near Florence. After 1911, performances were held in a disconnected way until 1947 when the Estate Fiesolana festival was officially born.

Performances were organized by the Municipality of Fiesole until 1976, when the Roman Theatre Organization (RTO) was established specifically in order to manage the Festival. From the beginning RTO worked closely with the Fiesole School of Music, that was created in 1974 and quickly became a center of reference for the training of young musicians. In 1981 RTO founded the International Centre for Drama and established a workshop that produced scenery and costumes and provided training for theatre personnel. The cinema also played an important role with a summer program dedicated to the works of the world's great directors and the birth of the prestigious *Fiesole Award for the Masters of Cinema*.

In 1993 RTO was closed and the management of Estate Fiesolana was taken over by the Toscana Spettacolo Foundation for five years. Then, from 1998 until 2003 it was managed by a private agency. Finally, in 2004 management of the festival was taken over again by the Municipality of Fiesole, which acts as the key-actor in organizing the event.

Currently the Estate Fiesolana is a multidisciplinary festival (classical and jazz music, dance, theatre, and cinema) with performances held in the historical places of Fiesole (Roman Amphitheatre, churches, other

open-air places) during the months of July and August.

Unlike to the majority of music festivals, in which planning and management activities are overseen by the same organization, the Estate Fiesolana sees the involvement of different organizations in the programming tasks (Fiesole School of Music, Music Pool, Nuovi Eventi Musicali), while the Municipality is responsible both for defining the cultural policy guidelines and for managing the event.

The resulting organizational form is a public-private network with a high degree of centralization, since the Municipality of Fiesole on the one hand plays a coordinating role, and on the other hand sets up and runs dyadic relations with each of the cultural associations involved in the organization of the festival. These provide a variety of artistic competences, ranging from classical to jazz music, from theatre to cinema, while the Department of Culture has developed technical and managerial skills over time.

As observed in a previous study (Cori, 2012), the most significant share of the audience comes from the province of Florence, whilst there is but a meagre share of the public coming from abroad, notwithstanding the reputation of the place, the long tradition of the festival, and the attempt to offer a wide range of cultural attractions during the festival.

The identity dilemma

The use of the archaeological site of Fiesole as the venue for the performances was considered an original trait that made it a unique event in Italy at that time. Besides the place-performance link, from the beginning a distinctive feature of the festival has been its multi-disciplinary character.

In the early period the festival mainly hosted performances produced elsewhere. Then, in the years that followed the need to develop a product identity began to be clearly perceived. The establishment of the School of Music, in 1974, and especially the idea of a festival in which young musicians and singers would perform the opera for a prevailing young audience (Merlini, 2008: 18) represented the first responses to that need. That seemed to imply a reshaping of the organizational identity of the festival; nevertheless the multi-disciplinary character of the festival remained constant, even though in those years it seemed somewhat weakened.

Along the lines of the experiences of the School of Music, some wished that the Estate Fiesolana could become a network of *ArtLabs*, able to realize high quality artistic projects in each field of the performing arts. A further step in this direction was made by the setting up of the International Centre for Drama, in 1981. This way the two *main souls* of the festival (music and theatre) were able to propose their own productions.

In the last two decades the ambitious perspective of becoming a festival that produces all events performed clashed with the progressive shrinkage of the government funds allocated to the cultural institutions and with the unsatisfactory contribution of private funding.

In sum, it seems possible to say that the Estate Fiesolana Festival's organizational identity is characterized both by its multi-faceted character (the heterogeneity of beliefs among the actors involved) and a marked dynamism over time (also due to the appearance and the growth of new players).

The challenge ahead

The Municipality of Fiesole is considering again the idea of delegating the managerial responsibility of the festival to an external actor, while maintaining its role in the guidance and supervisory activity (this solution had already been pursued at the time of the setting up of RTO, but unsuccessfully). At this moment, however, no formal resolution on the subject was taken.

The proponents argue that this change should be able to give new impetus to the festival and to improve its image and reputation. One possible outcome could be just the increase the attractiveness of national and international audience.

In terms of organizational form, the desired organizational change would result in the distinction between the roles and tasks related to strategic planning and the roles and tasks involved in the operating activities (Figure 1). The network would become less centralized, due to the split between the institutional and the managerial decision-making levels; moreover, the network density could increase, by leveraging on the affinity degree of the actors involved.

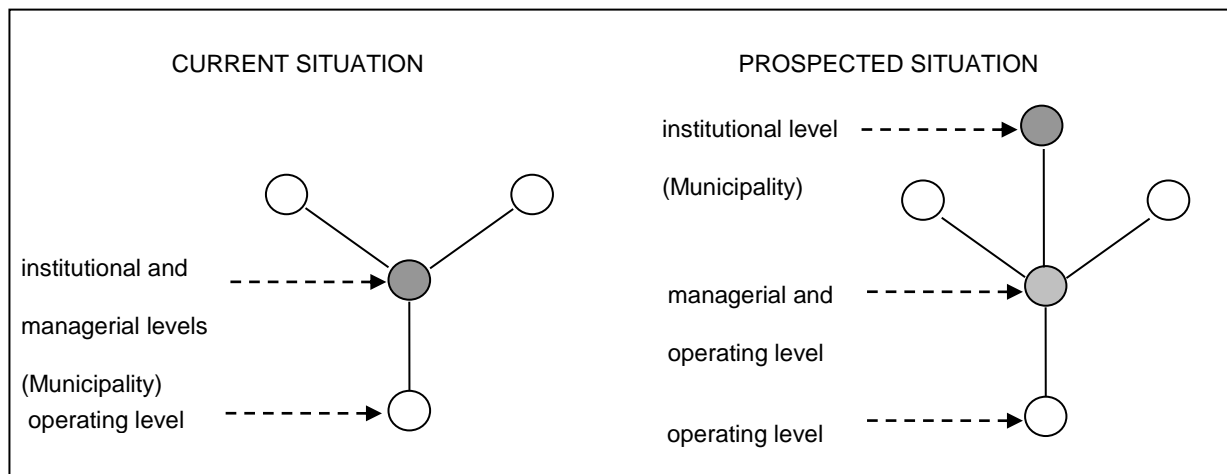


Figure 1: Current and prospected network structure

We believe that such a passage must necessarily involve a reflection on the Estate Fiesolana Festival's identity. We try to understand the possible correspondences between different *souls* of the organizational identity and the hypothesized transformations in the organizational form.

5. Findings

Three main questions were addressed to the key-informants, in order to assess their perception about the organizational identity of the festival. In doing this we referred to the approach by Gioia and his colleagues (2000), who argues that organizational identity is something dynamic and instable along the time; as well as to the approach by Schultz and Maguire (2013), who focus on the contingent and evolving features of organizational identity. Consequently, we asked to our informants:

What currently constitutes, in their opinion, the distinctive feature of the festival? (*What do we think we are?*)

Are the identity traits that emerged in the past still valid?

What they think the festival should be in the future? (*What do we think we should be?*)

Answers to the first and the second questions revealed that the dominant idea is still that the identity of the festival is strongly linked to its multi-disciplinary character.

It's always been a festival that has made the effort to be multi-disciplinary and produce [...] these are the elements that the festival, with different nuances over time, has always tried to have [...] (Silvia Borsotti, managing director of the Estate Fiesolana Festival, interview).

I can think of no festival still set in that way (multi-disciplinary); in my opinion this is still an added value (Mario Setti, managing director Nuovi Eventi Musicali, interview).

However there is no unanimity about the role of multi-disciplinarity, as evidenced from the following excerpt:

(the multi-disciplinary nature) was good when there was plenty of resources; (today it would be better) to focus on one thing very clear, maybe watching the

vocation of the territory (Lorenzo Cinatti, superintendent, Fiesole School of Music, interview).

There is no agreement at all about the idea that the association between artistic performances and historical places can be still considered a trait of the festival's identity.

Generally speaking, identity traits emerged in the past, since the establishment of the festival, maintain their importance. Yet this is true especially as regards multi-disciplinarity, while some doubts arise about the association between artistic performances and historical places: this is a character that many summer festivals or reviews are currently exploiting, thanks to the diffuse artistic and historical heritage in Italy. As regards the internal production of events performed, the idea that this feature can still represents a trait of the festival's identity is poorly legitimated, due to the fact that this situation is regarded as hardly or at all sustainable from the financial point of view.

This is difficult to sustain today. In fact, production is focused on certain areas of the festival (jazz and classical above all); therefore (currently the festival can be said) interdisciplinary in the whole, but it produces only a part of the events performed (Silvia Borsotti, managing director of the Estate Fiesolana Festival, interview).

Answers to the question concerning the possible re-shaping of the organizational identity of the festival in the years to come, show a wide range of perspectives. Someone foreshadows a festival that focuses on innovation; in this view, the proposal of innovative artistic projects in one or more performing arts should become the core activity of the Estate Fiesolana.

Fiesole provides the School of Music, which has a own personality, because it works on innovation, on young people; so it goes to cover a field that Florence (The "Maggio Fiorentino Lyric Foundation") does not cover [...] (Gianni Pini, managing director Music Pool, interview).

Someone else prefigures a festival in which events are performed by musicians in training, with an international perspective, that is Estate Fiesolana should become a *launching pad* for young musicians coming from major European schools of music. This view could also be consistent with the idea of a *multi-level* festival, in which a short period (e.g. 1-2 weeks) should be dedicated to the core activity, while a longer season could be available for other performing arts.

Fiesole could become the point where there are productions made by musicians in training, rather than by the opera houses [...] this would give a strong characterization to a part of the program, would attract international partners and (could have relapses) in terms of tourist flows [...] the true concept of the festival is not that lasts one or two months, you can give a strong characterization for a shorter period [...] then nothing prohibits that there are other events (Lorenzo Cinatti, Superintendent, Fiesole School of Music, interview).

Both of these paths imply a re-definition of the festival's identity. However, if the first one represents an incremental change, since innovation was not extraneous to the idea of *ArtLabs* that had emerged in the 80s, the second path would mark a clear discontinuity from the past, moving towards the idea of a festival in which classical music is regarded as the core activity, while other performing arts should become a contour. At the same time the two paths that have been evoked should be able to increase the attractiveness of national and international audience, so as to overcome one of the main weak points of the festival.

Finally, more than one person among those interviewed believes that a revival of the Estate Fiesolana necessarily needs to pass through a strengthening of relations with the territory. Yet in our opinion it does not

represent a real change in the organizational identity, unless this implies the idea of a festival of the Florentine area rather than a festival of Fiesole.

The statements by the managers and administrators who were interviewed lead us to hypothesize different scenarios as regards the Estate Fiesolana Festival's organizational identity:

- a first scenario considers the multidisciplinary nature of the festival as the distinctive item of its organizational identity; however, it is believed that this characterization should abandon the idea of realizing the majority of the festival's productions, due to the shrinkage of resources;
- a second perspective stresses the association between artistic performances and historical places in which they are represented (*place* or *territorial* identity), extended in such a way as to promote the overall exploitation of the historical and artistic heritage of the area;
- a third perspective sees the organizational identity built around a single performing art (mono-disciplinary or *product* identity), thereby overcoming the idea of a multi-disciplinary festival.

The first and the second perspectives are rooted in the history of the festival, while the third one had seemed to emerge for a short period, when the founding of the School of Music looked like it would reshape the nature of the festival, but has never been able to truly shape a new identity.

Both managers and politicians seem reluctant to identify themselves fully and solely in one of the aforementioned perspectives: it is not clear at the moment if their *non-choice* is to be interpreted as a desire to meet the potentially divergent expectations of current partners and a wider range of stakeholder demands (Pratt & Foreman 2000; Voss *et al.*, 2006) or simply as a poor awareness of multiple identities (Pratt, Foreman, 2000).

In line with these findings, we argue that the outcomes of the upcoming change at the Estate Fiesolana Festival could be compromised if an ambiguous situation about identity persists. For this is to be hoped that the current uncertainty regarding the future identity of the festival, which emerges from the interviews, is overcome before that a definitive choice about the strategic path and the organization model is made.

Our intention is to provide some suggestion to the institutional and managerial roles that are involved in the management of the Estate Fiesolana. Indeed, the actual implementation of the aforementioned perspectives seems to require different governance models and organizational structures. In particular, we believe that management responsibility should be assigned to different types of actors / organizations, depending on the configuration organizational identity (shared identity, multiple/holographic identity, and multiple/ideographic identity).

If the multi-disciplinary perspective or the perspective of territorial identity prevail, the choice of a generalist organization (cultural foundations, or organizations of event management, or similar) as the focal organization which is entrusted with the management of the festival seems to be suitable. This should engage primarily in aggregating and coordinating expertises and resources from a number of cultural and artistic domains.

On the contrary, if the perspective of *product* identity prevails, it seems to be suitable to appoint a specialist organization, whose skills are centered on the type of product on which it was decided to focus, as the network focal actor. Moreover, this situation is the more appropriate in order to strengthen density in the network and reduce centralization, through an increase of the proximity between nodes.

The above-mentioned situations configure the emergence of a share identity. For this reason it is not difficult to indicate what kind of managing organization is required in order to facilitate the achievement of a good performance by the cultural network. More challenging situations arise when none of the afore-mentioned perspective emerges as the dominant one. Combinations or more than one perspective originate in their turn different degree of complexity, depending on the complementary or competing feature of identities.

According to Foreman and Whetten (2002), the coexistence of multidisciplinary and *territorial* identities seem to configure a situation of *holographic identity*, as well as the contextual emergence of the *territorial* and the

product identities. In both cases, the prospect of a distinction between the two roles of coordination (one at the political level, the other at the level of management) does not seem to find particular obstacles. Yet, while in the first case both multi-disciplinary and the territorial characters suggest to choose a generalist organization as the manager of the network, in the second case the choice of a specialist organization (covering the product domain) should be the most appropriate solution, for the possibility of having *strong* skills relating to the product on which the festival is pivoted.

On the contrary, the combination of multidisciplinary and *product* identities seem to configure a situation of *ideographic identity*, where identities are in competition each other. At first glance, the only effective way of managing this situation seems to be the substitution of one or some actors that participate in the network, so as to reduce conflict between different identities. However, such a situation suggests maintaining a high degree of centralization of the network, due to the wide range of the perspectives on identity. Consequently, the transition towards a network with two distinct focal organizations (the municipality that would maintain the role of cultural policy definition and overall supervision, and another actor who should manage the festival) seems difficult to succeed.

Conclusion

This paper outlined the results of a study oriented at investigating the possible relationship between the process of identity building/re-shaping and the upcoming choices about governance and organization in the oldest open air festival in Italy, the Estate Fiesolana Festival. The research idea was stimulated by the managing director of the festival, while experiencing the initial step of a transition concerning the governance and the organization structure of the network producing the festival itself.

The inquiry suggested the existence of a meaningful relation between the perceptions about organizational identity by the key-actors involved in the organization of the festival, and the possible configurations hypothesized as the result of the process of organizational change.

As for the theoretical implications, the study contributes to extending the debate on organizational identity within the performing arts organizations. First of all, the research studies that have been carried out to date in this field (focused on opera houses and orchestras) highlight the existence of competing (ideographic) multiple identities that often reflects the differences between artistic and administrative group/roles; while in the festivals' perspective the heterogeneity and variability over time of actors involved, due to the temporary nature of the event, as well as the possible merge with the socio-cultural identity of the place, suggest taking into consideration the fact that identity has both holographic and ideographic traits. Second, our study shifts the debate on multiple identities from the organizational-level to the network-level of analysis.

As regards managerial implications, these follow from our thinking about whether to reduce ambiguity and uncertainty through the questions *What are we?* and *What do we want to be in the future?* Indeed we believe that making the outlines of the festival's identity clearer represents a precondition to more precisely defining the development strategy and to re-design the network structure.

A methodological limitation of this paper concerns the lack of balance between tools of inquiry; in fact, semi-structured interviews are integrated by a very limited amount of documents concerning the case under investigation. A further element of weakness regards the unavailability of an official document in which the guidelines of the organizational change are exhaustively illustrated and motivated. Moreover, in the organization of the last edition of the festival one of the organization involved in the inquiry has been replaced with another one; we had no time to meet and interview its responsible manager.

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Unresolved Issues: Students' Expectations of Internships in Arts & Cultural Management

Cuyler, Antonio

Florida State University
Tallahassee, USA
acuyler@fsu.edu

Hodges, Anne

Florida State University
Tallahassee, USA
ahodges@mailers.fsu.edu

Abstract

Based on 76 open-ended comments from arts & cultural management students, this study used content analysis to identify and describe unresolved issues with internships. The data supports five unresolved issues of concern including cultural organizations' commitment, compensation, satisfaction, resentment of paying tuition for academic credit, and distinguishing between graduate and undergraduate students' expectations. Identifying these unresolved issues alert the field to areas of concern that, if improved, may lead to enhanced internship satisfaction and professional development for arts & cultural management students.

Keywords: arts management; content analysis; cultural management, and internships

Introduction

As part of an ongoing study to better understand students' expectations of internships in arts and cultural management, the authors distributed a cross-sectional descriptive research survey to currently enrolled students in graduate and undergraduate programs from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Singapore, the U. K., and the U. S. (Cuyler & Hodges, 2015). Although we invited students from 131 programs to participate in the study, only students from 35 programs participated for a program response rate of 27%. Not all programs require students to complete an internship as a graduation requirement. The survey included an open-ended comment box that prompted students to "provide any additional comments you would like to share about your expectations of internships in Arts and Cultural Management." While 206 students participated in the survey, only 59 chose to comment further. Because students' comments provided rich qualitative data in response to this prompt, we believe this data warranted further examination in a follow-up study. Therefore, the overarching research question that guided this study is what issues about arts and cultural management internships might open-ended student comments reveal?

This study has practical significance because of its implications for arts and cultural management educators and cultural organizations. All of the unresolved issues presented provide opportunities for educators and cultural organizations to enhance the internship experience in ways that may lead to increased student learning and satisfaction. In addition, this study invited the perspectives of students, which previous scholarship on internships in arts and cultural management (Cuyler & Hodges 2015; Cuyler 2015; Cuyler *et al* 2013; Kuo 2011; Brindle 2011; Channell & Anderson 2010; Christensen & Barton 2008; Stein & Bathurst 2008; Holmes 2006; Rolston & Herrera 2000; Murphy 1977) has not included in this way.

1. Methodology

We used the methodological framework followed by Rothman (2007) which asked interns to provide specific suggestions for how employers could improve the experience for future interns enrolled in a for-credit business school internship. The frequency of specific comments made by students illuminated patterns and themes that Rothman (2007) found useful in deciphering areas of concern. These eight key areas of concern included: clarity of tasks, communication, completing challenging tasks in a reasonable time frame, on-going feedback, mentoring, exposure to other parts of the business, and respectful treatment. Employers' attention to these issues could improve the effectiveness of internships in business. Given that, this framework yielded insightful findings for Rothman (2007), it, along with content analysis, proved ideal for use in this study.

According to Frankel *et al.* (2012), content analysis is a technique that enables researchers to study human behavior in an indirect way by analyzing communications. Researchers use content analysis to obtain descriptive information, to analyze interview and observational data, to test hypotheses, to check research findings, and/or to obtain information useful in dealing with problems. The latter supports our rationale for using content analysis as the methodology in this study. We used open-ended comments from arts and cultural management students to identify unresolved issues with the internship experience.

We received approximately 59 individual comments. Four students commented, "None/nil," and one student commented on aspects of the survey itself, resulting in 54 analyzable comments. Approximately 68% of the original sample population studied in the U. S., and 85% identified as female. This explains the higher levels of commenters based on country of origin and gender illustrated in Tables 1 & 2. Undergraduate students made up a little more than 50% of the sample population. However, graduate students commented more as shown in Table 3.

Table 1.

Country	# of Comments
USA	36
Singapore	6
Australia	5
UK	4
Canada	2
New Zealand	1

Table 2.

Gender	# of Comments
Female	45
Male	9

Table 3.

Enrollment Status	# of Comments
Graduate	35
Undergraduate	19

Several comments were complex enough to reveal multiple themes. We counted approximately 22 such comments. An example of these types of comments is below:

If a graduate student is completing an internship, I believe it would be respectful to the student that they are compensated. If they already have a degree and have obtained that internship, they are mostly likely qualified to work there and should be compensated since they are most likely spending time that they could be earning money, at a meaningful internship.

This comment represents two of our themes, compensation, and the need to distinguish between graduate and undergraduate students. These types of multi-layered comments took our final total of analyzable comments from 54 to 76. To ensure the trustworthiness of the findings, we conducted content analyses individually. We then conducted content analyses jointly to agree upon themes and the frequency of themes to reach a consensus.

As academic supervisors of graduate internships and the primary instruments of this qualitative study, we acknowledge the potentiality of bias to influence our analysis. To control for our biases, we adhered to two of Tracy's (2010) criteria, rich rigor, & credibility, for conducting excellent qualitative research. In terms of rich rigor, this study used appropriate and sufficient data, sample, and context. Regarding credibility, thick description that shows rather than tells with key illuminating data marks this study. Students' expressions of concerns varied, but provided enough similar content to reveal five different, but related themes. In the subsequent section, we present the five critical issues based on the frequency of themes with textual data as support. Table four, in the findings section, summarizes the issues, thematic frequency, and percentages.

2. Findings

Are we ready for a committed relationship?

The most frequently expressed issue among student comments is that cultural organizations lack a commitment to the enterprise of internships. While students do perceive a considerable academic investment (course credit, syllabi, assignments, and faculty supervision), they do not perceive an equal commitment on the part of the cultural organizations where they have interned; and they carry this perception forward where they may have a pending opportunity. Several points made by students in comments below express this concern:

An intern is someone who enters an organization with the explicit motivation to gain more practical real-world experience in the career field they wish to enter and grown in. This means opportunities to assist on multiple projects, and come into contact with multiple people. Having an intern means an organization should commit the time and energy to outline the intern's responsibilities and learning.

An internship should be about getting the experience we need for our future work. I think that there should be people monitoring what is happening in the company, because there are some companies that just make use of interns as coffee persons.

Companies seeking to hire interns from a college should have to speak with a representative (preferably a career counselor) from the school prior to hiring a student for an internship to ensure that the student is right for the position and the employer is right for the student.

The more internships I completed, the more I realized that there are some organizations that do it really well, and some who don't.

You get what you pay for!

As expected, students have varied and passionate concerns about compensation. They seem to agree on an expectation of financial sustainability as a minimum level of compensation: they want and expect to

receive enough financial resources to keep them afloat for the duration of their internship. They also want to know they can prevent incurring debt before accepting the internship.

Students suggested that regular or hourly pay, scholarship stipend, travel, transportation, and/or parking reimbursement, housing, and food allowance would help when organizations consider compensation for interns. There are some distinctions between graduate and undergraduate student expectations of compensation. In the comments below, for example, one graduate student strongly desired compensation, while an undergraduate expressed the negative experience of going into debt.

Really, arts organizations have devised a smart system where they can get skilled workers and pay them nothing. I feel disheartened, and think that all my work hours may not land me a job at the organization I am interning in.

I would not necessarily need a salary in order to complete an internship. However, I have done an unpaid internship in which I paid for my own travel and parking expenses. This resulted in me essentially losing money to do the internship.

I can't get no, satisfaction

Some students commented that they were, indeed, satisfied with their internships. These comments focused on gaining valuable experience and making good professional connections in exchange for academic credit.

Typical among these types of comment are the two below:

I recently completed a 10-week part-time internship with the Museum of Fine Arts in Houston and had a meaningful experience because: it enhanced my networking opportunities, I got an insider's view of the Education and Marketing departments, I worked on two meaningful projects, my hours were flexible, and I had an opportunity to learn new skills.

Internships are obscenely helpful; they were one of the most useful pieces of my college education. I am all for a program adding more internship aspects to their programs.

A few students, however, suggested that their satisfaction with internships would improve with attention to specific challenges as expressed in the comment below:

I think an intense full-time internship is more beneficial than a staggered part-time internship over an extended period. This is particularly the case with regard to working on a specific project. Obviously paid internships would be nice, though that is not possible when interning with a small or private organization.

I resent having to pay for this!

More than a few comments expressed resentment for academic institutions requiring students to pay tuition when there is little or nothing provided in compensation to offset this cost. Students perceive little to no value provided by their college or university, such as expressed below:

It is so NOT FAIR when I work for someone for free, AND pay 3 credits for my school who neither set up the internship program nor helped me find my internship. I'm willing to work for free for the experience, and I also value the real world experience very much. However, paying tuition when I'm a free labor is RIDICULOUS!

Who's, who? Graduate interns vs undergraduate interns

Lastly, a few student comments indicate how little distinction exists between graduate and undergraduate-level internship criteria. One graduate student commented:

After 4 years of professional arts marketing experience, to complete my master's I am required to fulfill the same internship responsibilities as a student with no professional work experience. There is no flexibility within the program. That is an unfortunate waste of time and resources.

Table 4.

Unresolved Issue	Thematic Frequency	Percentages
Cultural organizations' commitment	23/76	30%
Compensation	22/76	29%
Satisfaction	18/76	24%
Resentment of paying tuition for academic credit	7/76	9%
Distinguishing between graduate & undergraduate students	6/76	8%

3. Discussion

As shown in Table 4, 30% of students' comments related to cultural organizations' commitment, 29% focused on compensation, 24% voiced concerns over satisfaction, 9% expressed resentment of paying tuition for academic credit, and lastly 8% conveyed a need to distinguish between graduate and undergraduate student internships. This study found cultural organizations' commitment to internships the most frequent unresolved issue for interning arts and cultural management students. Evidence of such organizational commitment might include a publicly stated emphasis on nurturing the next generation of arts leaders; a published internship job description; periodic review of goals and objectives; a letter of agreement; time devoted to assessment at midpoint and conclusion of the internship; and a designated, on-site staff mentor to introduce interns to the organization's operations.

Although a medium sized cultural organization, the Wolf Trap Foundation for the Performing Arts, regularly exhibits this kind of commitment. The marketing materials for Wolf Trap's internship program make very clear their commitment to preparing the next generation of arts and cultural managers. Because of this commitment and effective practices, the Princeton Review and Bloomberg Businessweek have ranked Wolf Trap favorably among many types of internships, but specifically those in cultural organizations (Wolf Trap Foundation for the Performing Arts, 2014). Cultural organizations of all sizes must make an effort to show that they are committed to their interns.

Compensation emerged as the second most commented on unresolved issue for interning students. Too many cultural organizations do not compensate interns leaving them feeling undervalued by the field. How students view if the cultural sector appreciates and values them is a key component of their socialization and pending entry into the field (Dailey, 2014). In addition, research has shown that unpaid internships in fields such as Accounting, Business Administration, Communications, Engineering, English, Political Science, and Psychology do not increase students' employability and salaries beyond graduation (National Association of Colleges and Employers, 2013). Because of this, academic supervisors and practitioners should develop creative solutions to the issue of intern compensation, particularly because many cultural organizations cannot afford to compensate interns. Academic supervisors should consider collaborating with their development offices to raise funds for internship scholarships. Internship scholarships would hold tremendous value for students of low socio-economic status who cannot afford to complete an unpaid internship. Cultural organizations should pursue funding through their fundraising & development strategies to regularly provide compensation for interns. The DeVos Institute of Arts Management, formerly of the John

F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, is a great example of successfully engaging donors and foundations in providing funding for fellowships and internships (John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, 2014).

In our observations, negative experiences typically motivate comments at the end of a survey; we were surprised that some comments reflected positive experiences. The total rate of internship satisfaction may exceed expectations. Nevertheless, clearly the student who interned with the Museum of Fine Arts in Houston had a satisfactory experience because the internship enhanced networking opportunities, gave an insider's view of the Education and Marketing departments, provided two meaningful projects, permitted flexible work hours, and afforded opportunities to learn new skills.

Requiring students to pay tuition to their academic institutions in order to work for a cultural organization, mostly likely for little or no pay, has created considerable resentment among students. Lack of compensation for required internships seems to exacerbate resentment for having to pay tuition. This begs to question, should students only receive academic credit for paid internships in arts and cultural management. Nevertheless, Program Directors and/or Internship Coordinators need to improve communication with students about the college or university's infrastructure and the advantages for enrolled students.

Academic supervisors should stress that cultural organizations seek students enrolled in academic institutions specifically due to the financial consequences of engaging interns from the general population. Cultural organizations depend on competency from interns who have acquired academic knowledge about arts and cultural management. In addition, once academic advisors and particular organizations develop relationships, the process of engaging interns becomes smoother for both parties.

Students need to also understand the benefits they receive from their academic institutions before, during, and after their internship. They should know that tuition ensures they will have an academic supervisor who will provide feedback, guidance, and support during the internship. The feedback can become a part of their academic file, thus lending credibility to his/her resume; and the supervisor can allude to this experience in conversations with potential employers. Students' tuition also allows academic institutions to insure them in advance of problems that may arise.

Finally, students voiced concerns about academic institutions and cultural organizations needing to distinguish between graduate and undergraduate students. Do cultural organizations distinguish between graduate and undergraduate internships? Should a graduate or undergraduate student who works full-time at a cultural organization have to complete an internship? We advise academic supervisors to consider alternatives to the internship, such as service learning, for a student who works full-time in a cultural organization while completing his/her degree. Cultural organizations would also do well to acknowledge the potential variance of skill level between graduate and undergraduate students. A graduate student may not require the same amount of supervision as an undergraduate student. Everyone might benefit from coming together to design individual internships to more effectively increase student skills, while benefitting the organization, which relates to designing more clearly defined tasks and learning objectives.

Conclusion

This qualitative study answered the research question, what issues about arts and cultural management internships might open-ended student comments reveal. Using content analysis, we analyzed 76 open-ended comments from arts and cultural management students about their expectations of internships. Five unresolved issues related to arts and cultural management internships emerged from the data. They include cultural organizations' commitment, compensation, satisfaction, resentment of paying tuition for academic credit, and a need to distinguish between graduate and undergraduate students' expectations.

Future studies on internships in arts and cultural management should investigate the correlation between paid or unpaid internships on job placement and salary. We also encourage further investigation of the

contextual factors, job characteristics, and work environment characteristics that lead to internship satisfaction (D'Abate, Youndt, & Wenzel, 2009) in arts and cultural management.

As educators, we value internships as an important aspect of the curriculum in arts and cultural management. Internships can have tremendous effects on students' career goals, professional development, and their lives. We have witnessed the professional confidence and maturity students gain through their internships. With sincere attention to the five unresolved issues found in this study, arts and cultural management can significantly enhance the internship so that it truly becomes a mechanism of anticipatory socialization that prepares aspiring managers for full-time employment in cultural organizations (Dailey, 2014). In the same way that actors, dancers, and musicians rehearse in preparation for performances, internships will allow students to rehearse their future roles in the complex settings of cultural organizations.

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Community Foundations: the Philanthropy for Development of Communities*

Esposito, Annamaria

University IULM

Milan (Italy)

annamaria.esposito@iulm.it

Besana, Angela

University IULM

Milan (Italy)

angela.besana@iulm.it

Abstract

Community foundations are non-profit entities whose aim is to develop communities and improve their quality of life. They are aimed at promoting philanthropic activity, stimulating donations and contributions for useful projects, and removing cultural, fiscal, legal and administrative barriers normally preventing the members of a community to contribute at the development of the common good. Community foundations supply resources, but the most important thing is to support the creation of networks that put donors, investors, institutions in touch with non-for-profit organizations in a specific territory.

The aim of this paper is to highlight the role of community foundations in supporting a process of economic, but more often, cultural, social or environmental territorial development. Then, thanks to the analysis of reports and mission statements, and a cluster analysis of meaningful 2013's data, separating features, the paper will highlight, for Italian community foundations, who are grant-making, pooling resources, networking and leading.

Keywords: community foundations; territorial development; marketing; Italian features

Introduction

Community foundations are non-profit entities whose aim is to develop communities and improve their quality of life. They are aimed at promoting philanthropic activity, stimulating donations and contributions for useful projects, and removing cultural, fiscal, legal and administrative barriers normally preventing the members of a community to contribute at the development of the common good. The theoretical background of this role is related to the subsidiary importance of private grant-makers and supporters of communities, when Public Welfare States are burdened by sovereign debts crisis.

In Italy, Community Foundations are an emerging phenomenon that in recent years has grown rapidly. In fact, from the beginning, in 1997, until today, there are active, in Italy, 35 Community Foundations. After studying the positive experiences of the Foundations of American communities, Fondazione Cariplo, one of the world's main philanthropic organizations established from Cassa di Risparmio delle Provincie Lombarde, has helped to start Community Foundations in Italy. This is why Community Foundations are located mainly in northern Italy, even if over recent years some of important organizations have been founded in southern Italy.

The mission of Community Foundations is to be closer to the community in a specific area, engaging people,

* This paper is the outcome of joint efforts. However, section 1 and 2 can be attribute to A. Esposito, 3 and 4 to A. Besana. Introduction and Conclusions are shared.

who have awareness of the community needs, and wish to be involved in the solution of problems. Economics, welfare, history, and culture, material and immaterial heritage, are elements that have the opportunity to be preserved and promoted thanks to Community Foundations, which firstly care the place in which it operate.

Community foundations supply resources, but the most important thing is to support the creation of networks that put donors, investors, institutions in touch with non-for-profit organizations in a specific territory. In this field, a network is able to involve both public and private actors in creating works and, above all, engaging citizens. For increasing amounts of grants, increasing number of relations and changing roles (from grant-maker to project-leader), they are playing a role that is 'more than subsidiary' because of collapsing resources of central and local administrations.

Community foundations cover a number of areas of general interest, valuing a new relationship between citizens and their community, developing citizen participation as central part of the life and vitality of the territory, making communities aware of its values, improving welfare and cultural sector, emphasizing the importance of the relationship with stakeholders, and the concept of ethical and social responsibility.

Community foundations are a unique type of organization, as they differ from nonprofits in their operation as grant-making organizations, but still rely on public donations from the community. Moreover community foundations differ from private philanthropic foundations in a few key ways. First, community foundations must focus mainly on a specific geographic area (often a city or region) and must make a certain percentage of grants to organizations in that area. Additionally, members of that geographic area help to govern community foundations as members of their board. Finally, according to Conn (2013), community foundations seek donations and partnerships from public donors, as opposed to being fully funded by a corporation or the estate of a single person. These elements of community foundations help them to be independent, and transparent organizations, and, furthermore, to have a strong communications impact in order to gain public and private trust, and support, especially through social media communication (Conn, 2013). Unlikely Italian community foundations do not fully exploit the opportunities to communicate.

Most of literature tends to have an Anglo-American bias, main because Community Foundations were first established in the United States and then, since the mid-1990s, spread to Canada, and Europe especially to the United Kingdom (Hodgson, 2012), Germany, France, and Italy.

There is little literature available on the subject, and only few Italian scholars and professionals have started to study Community Foundations³¹ (Bandera 2013; Violini & Vittadini 2012; Franzon & Pezzi 2010; Ferrucci 2010).

The aim of the paper is to highlight the role of community foundations in supporting a process of economic, but more often, cultural, social or environmental territorial development, and to support the idea of marketing and communications strategies as Community Foundations lever to enhance philanthropic culture, increase the attractiveness of *places*, enhance the excellence of territories, and stimulate networking.

Then, thanks to the analysis of reports and mission statements of USA 100 biggest Community Foundations with emphasis on their performances in the first year of recovery, for USA, from the latest recession (2010), and to parallel clustering of Financial assets/Total assets, Net assets/Total assets, Financial Revenues/Total Revenues, Net Gain or Loss/Total Revenues and Grants/Total Revenues for 2013's data of an Italian sample, the paper highlights separating features for Italian community foundations.

1. Community Foundations as flywheel effect for development of communities

Community Foundations promote new ways of thinking, and cooperation between territorial stakeholders interested in the strategic development of territories. The activity of Community Foundations helps residents

³¹ Differently from Banking Foundations.

to rediscover the identity and the potentialities of a place, and empowers people and organizations to share the essence of belonging to the same area. Furthermore it encourages public and private sectors, and citizens, to converge, support, and implement cultural and social projects, creating community value in term of skills, knowledge, and savoir-faire (Esposito, 2007). These considerations stem from the ends of mission statements of community Foundations. Generally, indeed, the mission statements of Community Foundations contain purposes of helping an area to build philanthropic resources, to sustain healthy and vital communities in which philanthropists have the knowledge, skills, and means to make the most of their charitable giving. Community Foundations manage endowment funds to support local projects through charitable activities of not-for-profit-organizations in the area of social assistance and social services, health care, promotion of culture and art, education and training, amateur sports, social entrepreneurship, protection and enhancement of artistic and historical heritage, environment and landscape.

On one hand, Community Foundations manage charitable capital in an effective, socially, and economically responsible way, for the good of the community. On the other, they stimulate both community engagement on important issues, and organizations and communities to work together towards shared goals, while Community Foundations supply resources and knowledge to perform their work with excellence, and promoting identity-based communities, and sustainability. Furthermore, Community Foundations have critical role in responding to crises, promoting philanthropy, allowing the donors to experience their own humanity, and contributing to build a generous society (Vello & Reolon, 2014).

Community Foundations final goal is creation of value, as explained above, and spread of values, on a territorial basis, for a community. Values are the result of Community Foundations activity aimed to connecting community members to each other, helping to develop an identity and a clear vision of what the community should and would to be, and strengthen civic engagement. Other important effects are that community members have the skills and knowledge necessary to achieve personal growth and contribute to the community, and that they come together to discuss and solve problems. Doing so, Community Foundations create a complex network of relationships between different actors operating in the area, strengthening the sense of belonging to the local community and its value system becoming a sort of development agency. Community Foundations could be considered drivers of social innovation, and promoter of a process of social innovation, directing initiatives that citizens are able to develop and manage, contributing, and shaping new ideas and solutions.

Community Foundations have the featured to play a community leadership role in running territorial strategic plans, as they make grants, but also collect donations from territories. This is why the presence of Community Foundations in an area has to be considered, by policy makers, a strength point for territorial marketing strategies and sustainable development. In fact, the success of territorial marketing in the economic development of an area, depends on the quality of the governance system, which regulates the actions (Caroli, 2006). To succeed, communities and their territories need tangible and intangible resources like those Community Foundations are aimed to build, such as networking attitude, knowledge, and intelligence. These resources allow the territorial actors to understand and grasp the opportunities on which the area may base its sustainable development, also thanks to collaboration between public and private sector.

Community Foundations participate to empowerment of the community in a given area, and could really have a flywheel effect in the territorial development. Then, they should consider the opportunity to assume the role of *animating territorial development*, thanks to the ability to dialogue with influential actors of the territorial system. Anyway, to play a philanthropic role, and increase the culture of philanthropy, as well as to expand the role as community leader, stimulating community dialogue and supporting informed decision-making, Community Foundations should have robust financial position, and build solid reputation, and strong public awareness. This may be possible, by planning broad-based communications strategy, consistent with

the strategic goals. The plan has to define the strategic communication priorities, identified by the board and staff as being crucial to the realization of the Community Foundation's vision and mission. Some key points are, without doubts, increasing the knowledge of the Community Foundation among key stakeholders, promoting the Community Foundation story, and provide unbiased information on philanthropic issues stimulating community dialogue.

2. Community Foundations: communication for philanthropy

Establishing a Community Foundation that is involved in development of the local area, and can play an intermediary role of philanthropy and promote the culture of giving, it is important to plan a coherent marketing & communication strategy.

Marketing, and especially Relationship Marketing (Berry 1983; Grönroos 1994, 2004; Gumesson 2004) helps to cultivate individual donors, and identify prospects, as well as start and reinforce relationships with loyal donors.

There are different issues related to marketing & communication for Community Foundations. First of all Community Foundations are multiple stakeholders organizations, because they deal with different audiences, such as donors, prospect, communities, territorial actors, etc. Then, community, prospect, and organizations, might not know exactly the opportunities available in their community, and they are not able to properly evaluate, which organizations is worthy of donations. Often they are not aware of the fact that, even limited resources, if properly combined, can achieve significant results. Finally, individual donors are not always able to see how their contributions are spent, because the recipient institutions do not always remember to express their gratitude and illustrate with the necessary accuracy and speed how they have been actually used the money collected.

Marketing & Communication help Community Foundations understanding its target audiences and, in turn, helping those audiences understand community foundations. Relationship Marketing (Berry 1983; Grönroos 1994, 2004; Gumesson 2004) helps to cultivate individual donors, and identify prospects, as well as start, and reinforce relationships with loyal donors.

The goal of marketing & communication strategies of Community Foundations is not fundraising, but promoting the gift. The message should be related not to solve problems, but to enhance resources. Finally community foundations do not have to point the way, but facilitating relationships and networking.

In fact, according to ASSIFERO,³² the communication strategies have to be radically different from the communication for fundraising. For example, the mailing campaigns are like to be totally ineffective if promoted by community foundations, because their purpose is very complex and not easy to understand. Furthermore, many times, giving is a rational and weighted decision, even if sometimes it may be an emotional choice donors make based on a connection to a story, or to an issue they have experienced first hand.

Ultimately, unlike advertising, communication of Community Foundations has as its objective, not only the contact, but, first of all, donors' involvement. The goal is not to raise money, but to build strong relationships, which generate donations (Mazany & Perry, 2014). In a nutshell, communication is focused to engage stakeholder around the goal of inspiring them to invest in community.

Communication should allow donors, and generally all stakeholders, to better understand how Community Foundations are impacting on communities and territories. In philanthropy, people can give to feel good, and give based on good information.

According to the James Irvine Foundation report (2011), also accepted by ASSIFERO, the most important communication activities to promote community foundations are widening personal contacts making use of

³² Associazione Italiana Fondazioni ed Enti di Erogazione (Italian Foundations and Grantmakers Association).

already existing networks to gain new relationships; involving professional advisors to connect to new donors through the people already engaged in planned giving; building partnerships to access target audiences gaining public awareness and recognition of the identity and impact of community foundations.

Essential components for the development of marketing & communications strategies are budget, although limited; relational database for relationship marketing management; website to allow Community Foundations to engage stakeholders especially donors and prospect, social media, such as Facebook, LinkedIn, YouTube, Flickr, Twitter, and to stay in touch with community members. The growth of social media, and an increased emphasis on engagement have changed the nonprofit panorama, and Community Foundations have to manage stakeholders' perceptions that are triggered by brand identity (Sargeant, 2006), that is attributes, beliefs and values³³ (Urde, 2003), informed by messaging, that is the promise of a positive experience to community, and ultimately shaped by performance. According to Laidler-Kylander, Shepard Stenzel (2014), three key points differentiate corporate brand identity for not-for-profit organizations from for-profit companies. First the focus is on the mission and values of the organization, not on customers as happen in for profit companies, and brand identity convey the essence of what the organization is. Second, positioning of the brand is designed to support collaboration to achieve shared goals, rather than competitive advantage. Third, instead of tight policing of the brand, argue for much greater participation and engagement in defining, and communicating the brand, relevant because it reflects the importance of partnerships with community, donors, nonprofits, and beneficiaries, and aligns with the organization's mission.

According to Carnelli and Vittori (2015), Italian Community Foundations are becoming aware that social reporting is not a powerful tool to engage audience and to get in touch with the real world, and they are moving toward web- and social-communication. In this field, the Italian scenery is varied: some Community Foundation still focus maximum attention only on traditional institutional communication with traditional media, others prefer to convey both corporate communication, and product through website and social system. The mix of website and social media is variable. Best practice would suggest to convey corporate and product communications through the website, broadening the interactions with audiences through the Facebook page, that allows the Community Foundations to promote their projects, and to dedicate some posts on topics related to relevant philanthropic themes and news.

3. Economics of Community Foundations: the latest performances of the USA benchmark after the recession

Today Italian Community Foundations represent a very small universe if compared with the worldwide not-for-profit economy (Kilmurray 2014; Knight 2013; Barbetta, Colombo, & Turati 2012). In order to have significant evidence of what results community foundations can perform at local and more than at local level, the empirical analysis will firstly refer to a sample of USA Community Foundations, which are benchmarks for the Italian ones (Bandera 2013; Barbetta 2013). After having clustered a sample of USA Community Foundations according to their main and average performances, a comparative approach will be developed for Italian ones whose reports are available online, in order to focus on significant ratios and main patterns.

Community foundations are one example of the USA philanthropic universe and they are born in 1914. At the end of 2008 there were 709 community foundations in USA. At the end of 2011 they were 750.

The Welfare role of these foundations is related to local and regional priorities from social assistance to arts and humanities for the comprehensive development of small and great communities. Community foundations are able to enhance the capacity of local communities to solve the complex and challenging problems they face every day and especially at hard times with the global financial crisis. They are focused on the local and

³³ In not-for profit organizations brand identity has also to express the needs and aspirations of the audience who support the organizations.

regional level and they can play a pivotal role for the so-called welfare next to the traditional Public Welfare State (Barbetta, Colombo, & Turati 2012; Gough 2009; Klein 2003; Hacker 2002; Leibfried 2001).

USA Community foundations include some very large institutions such as the Tulsa Community Foundation (the largest one, with more than \$4 billion in assets), the Silicon Valley Community Foundation, the New York Community Trust and the Chicago Community Trust, all of them with assets more than \$49.5 billion and paid grants exceeding \$4 billion in 2010 (Foundation Center, 2013).

Where do community foundations find their resources? Financing of USA community foundations results not from the donations of a single individual, who give birth to the so called independent foundations or from the spin-off of corporations, who give birth to corporate foundations, but rather from wide groups of donors, both individual and institutional ones, above all, living in the same area and belonging to the same community. Contributions and gifts are prevailing. Next to them, assets are invested in financial markets and interests, so that dividends, incomes and other financial revenues can be added to contributions in order to ensure their *fundraising and philanthropic potentials*.

Grants are particularly targeted to a community but community boundaries can be vanishing. They sometimes give grants to towns; they sometimes network with other foundations, institutions and public administrations in order to support a region, a county, a state, the so called *greater* community (Greater Atlanta, Greater Memphis, Greater Kansas, Greater Houston).

Their life cycle is continually evolving from a pure grant-maker profile to a mature networking and fundraising for regional issues. In fact, they firstly focus on building relations with donors and when they have enough resources, they change their role from a pure grant-maker toward a community leader. At the same time, as the organization ages, it develops stronger ties to *greater* economies, and its focus shifts away from primarily community needs to a combined planning and achievement of regional goals, which have been previously discussed and agreed between community foundations, donors, recipients and main stakeholders of *greater* areas. According to their philanthropic potential - what they grant now and how much they can grant in the future – mature and bigger community foundations will focus on community leadership, while younger and smaller ones will choose a grant-making focus.

Once analyzed community problems and priorities, USA community foundations strategically create a plan to respond in a comprehensive way, they engage community actors and develop a structure for implementing and monitoring the plan. They operate according to community- and capacity-building principles, so that they place priority on community engagement and allocations of roles. Communities must be involved in order not only to screen priorities, but also to focus on strategic benchmarks, in order to cope with tomorrow's needs and visions. These foundations' commitment is particularly mature: apart of providing fresh resources, they try to keep their giving levels stable or, at least, minimizing cuts to their programs, even when foreseeing considerable drops in the value of their assets. In order to maximize their efforts, it is not excluded that these foundations match their resources with public programs, sponsors, associations, etc, so that local (or greater areas) needs are satisfied with specific programs without any kind of waste of resources.

Networking with other stakeholders has been increasing at a regional level. They sometimes lead initiatives; they sometimes pool resources for programs that are launched by authorities that are clustering with associations, other foundations, corporations and any other regional leader. Foundations also invest in initiatives through the vehicles of intermediaries and anchor institutions such as universities and hospitals they target copious grants to. Commitments are never ancillary as they have no intention to leave the community. On the contrary, they are among the most innovative grant-maker for USA communities as they can develop new solutions together with other stakeholders, they innovate program models, they create ad hoc organizations in order to cope with urgent priorities (for climatic disasters too), they advocate for changes in public policies, norms and philanthropic best practices.

They optimize their efforts and resources over time as they can contribute at key moments to overcome obstacles, compensate for weak or missing links, or leverage others as circumstances evolve. This is not a stressing or pressing role but a cautious monitoring. Their philanthropic intervention is motivated to catalyze public- and private-sector investment. Their role can be pure grant-making but also networking, pooling, leading. To sum up, a hybrid role that is subsidiary of decreasing efforts and resources of traditional administrations and Public Welfare States.

As previously mentioned, their impact beyond community boundaries refer to greater regions like Greater Milwaukee, Greater Memphis or Areas that include many counties. For example, the Greater Milwaukee Foundation serves donors and non-profit organizations in the four-county metropolitan area of Milwaukee, Waukesha, Washington and Ozaukee. Permanent charitable funds and partner foundations are helpful intermediaries, in order to help donors to maximize their charitable giving and support the work of dozens of local organizations. Partner foundations have a volunteer advisory board comprising local leaders who know the needs and strengths of their individual communities. Through their association with the Greater Foundation, partner foundations are able to focus their efforts on local grant-making, while the Foundation provides administrative support and investment expertise.

All USA community foundations have today a mission that relates directly to improving the common good of the larger community, as opposed to promoting a narrow set of interests or a specific constituency. The community foundation has important knowledge of local economies, including knowledge of critical problems facing the community (both surface-level and more deep-rooted), the various organizations that are in a position to address those problems, and the underlying political and inter-organizational dynamics that will either inhibit or facilitate efforts to improve the community. The community foundation generally has widespread credibility among donors (often the wealthier residents of the community), not-for-profit organizations, businesses, public officials, and even neighborhood. These factors enable them to *enlarge* their mission, visions and philanthropic potential.

The here investigated sample includes 100 community foundations that are classified by the Guidestar database as the USA Community Foundations with the highest 2010 Total Revenues, www.guidestar.org as for available 990 Forms. Guidestar collects IRS (Internal Revenue Service) 990 Forms of the USA not-for-profit economy. The 990 Form includes the Statement of Revenues and Expenses and the Financial Statement. Accounting data are recorded according to IRS standards. Total Revenues are the Income: money that the organization has received from contributions, grants, the performance of services, etc. Guidestar takes this figure from line 12 (Total revenue) of IRS Form 990.

990 Forms of this sample are investigated for the following accounting lines of fiscal year 2010, a central year for *USA-exit* and first recovery out of the latest financial crisis: Contributions and Grants received, for a total amount of \$3,573.58 million for the whole investigated sample; Program Service Revenues \$151.72 million; Investment Income \$739.92 million; Other Revenues \$111.47 million; Total Revenues \$4,576.69 million; Contributions, gifts and grants paid \$3,053.28 million; Salaries 376.245 million; Other Expenses 516.795 million; Total Expenses \$3,946.32 million; Net Gain \$630.37 million; Total Assets \$30,521.42 million; Net Assets \$27,691.34 million; Investments \$26,115.25 million; Savings and temporary cash investments \$1,731.86 million.

Though the sample is one seventh of the universe of USA community foundations in absolute number, it includes 61.65% of total assets and 74.46% of grants paid of the whole universe.

Investments are the main asset of this sample, more than 85.56% of Total Assets and they include US and state government obligations, corporate stocks and bonds, mortgage loans and other investments like interests receivable or accrued investment incomes.

Otherwise, investments are not the main source of money for paid grants. Resources of these foundations derive of contributions and grants they receive. With all connections within communities, cities and regions,

received contributions can top 85% of their revenues. The Investment Income can top 34% of their revenues, instead.

For the here investigated sample, the solvency ratio is very high, 90.72% and the net gain is 2.06% on total assets (Net Gain or Loss/Total Assets) and 13.77% on total revenues. The contribution ratio (for paid grants) of the sample is 77.37% of expenses (Contributions, gifts and grants/Total Expenses) and 66.71% of revenues (Contributions, gifts and grants/Total Revenues). For the whole sample, the solvency ratio is evidence of trends of sound performances, which allow a constant philanthropy, resulting of a contribution ratio that is always more than three quarters of expenses. Expenses like Salaries (9.53% of Total Expenses) and Other Expenses (13.09) of these foundations are, as a matter of fact, relegated to modest percentages, so that they target most of their resources to *merit causes*.

For each USA community foundation of the sample following ratios are firstly calculated: Grants/Total Expenses, Contributions/Total Revenues, Gain or Loss/Total Revenues, Investments/Total Assets, Investment Income/Total Revenues and Net Assets/Total Assets.

Grants/Total Expenses weights the philanthropic role and potential: what and how much the community foundation can support now and in the very next future. Contributions/Total Revenues is an estimate of their ability to raise funds. Gain or Loss/Total Revenues is a signal of their efficiency or inefficiency. Investments/Total Assets and Investment Income/Total Revenues are a test of the involvement in financial markets and the performance of their most important revenue source after Contributions. Net Assets/Total Assets gives evidence of financial soundness and solvency.

Secondly, k-means clustering of these ratios allows to separate, and classify four main groups, whose composition can be appreciated in the Appendix.

Clustering before-mentioned ratios of these USA community foundations with *SPSS Statistical Software*, four main groups were obtained though one cluster contains 52% of the sample (cluster 3). Average performances can be read in the Table 1 of Final Cluster Centres. The composition of clusters can be appreciated in the Appendix.

Table 1. Final Cluster Centers. 2010's Average Performances and of four clusters.

	Cluster			
	1, The Investor, 14 items	2, 6 items	3, the Grant- maker & Net gainer, 52 items	4, the most committed Grant- maker, 28 items
Grants /Total Expenses	.778033595087	.323436492437	.807775770099	.862605486076
Contributions/Total Revenues	.611422105677	.561523481834	.770052379669	.929613587091
Net Gain or Loss/Total Revenues	-.277644306767	.240001565906	.403443986351	-.021632560301
Net Assets/Total Assets	.922607079401	.794824271348	.903206145178	.888547729624
Investments/Total Assets	.870533143103	.425049703507	.879258152452	.787291596614
Investment Income/Total Revenues	.347667648090	.106612324253	.197398281910	.045175082435

Table 2. ANOVA- Analysis of Variance. Source: own elaboration with SPSS Software

	Cluster		Error		F	Sig.
	Square Mean	Degree of freedom	Square Mean	Degree of Freedom		
Grants /Total Expenses	.491	3	.011	96	43.185	.000
Contributions/Total Revenues	.439	3	.029	96	14.980	.000
Net Gain or Loss/Total Revenues	2.229	3	.044	96	50.247	.000
Net Assets/Total Assets	.025	3	.015	96	1.670	.179
Investments/Total Assets	.394	3	.015	96	26.059	.000
Investment Income/Total Revenues	.314	3	.024	96	12.858	.000

All ratios are significant apart of Net Assets/Total Assets (Table 2).

The cluster 3 is the most crowded with 52 community foundations. These community foundations invest most of their assets in long-term financial tools for the highest percentage of the sample, 87.92, though the Investment Income is not more than 19.73% of their revenues. This financial strategy can be found in the cluster 1, too. The cluster 1 has better performances than the cluster 3, as the Investment Income is 34.76% of total revenues.

Above all, the Net Gain ratio of cluster 3 is the highest one of the sample and both their contribution ratio and their grant one, they are second only to performance of cluster 4. Thanks to the analysis of their statements, reports and mission statements at web-domains, we can conclude that they are the *Grant-maker and Net Gainer*. Thanks to the highest net gain, they can target their resources to several projects (Grants/Total Expenses 80.77%) with regional boundaries than community foundations in other clusters. They sometimes give grants to communities. They mostly network with other foundations, institutions and public administrations in order to support a region, a county, the so-called *greater* community: Batoun Rouge Area, Greater Horizons, Greater Houston, Greater Milwaukee, Greater Atlanta, Greater Greensboro, Greater Lake, Sacramento Region, Greater New Orleans, etc. These ones are mutually supportive, geographically specific, socially linked areas where people identify themselves as community members and where there is usually some form of communal decision-making. Networking of these community foundations with the USA social economy is consistent with the hypothesis that they connect with wide communities and 'enlargement' of these communities, for projects that can have a unique goal. In the education sector, vouchers in order to increase students from primary schools to universities, charter schools against poverty and for the regeneration of suburban areas, etc.

The most committed *Grant-maker* profile is the cluster 4, with 28 community foundations. It is the second most crowded of the sample and this cluster shows the highest contribution ratio, 92.96% and the highest grant ratio, 86.26%. With the most modest Investment Income, this cluster is affected by a modest Loss that is 2.16% of Total Revenues, but the solvency is still very important. These grant-makers can support several and diversified projects thanks to the best fundraising performance. Micro and macro projects are referring to different good causes and the USA education system is a prevailing focus. Especially, their grant-making can be related to community colleges in order to mitigate the increasingly high costs of experimenting with college for both those who enter the community college directly and those who start but do not complete a degree at a four-year college. Their grant-making means big and small donations, permanent and spot collaborations in order to satisfy an increasing number of organizations. The 'greater' area can be a target but it is not as important as in cluster 3. Religious motivations are a very important in this cluster, too. For

example, the Jewish communities are here included.

The *Investor* profile is the cluster 1, with 14 community foundations. Though affected by the highest loss of the sample, 27.76% of Total Revenues, these foundations show the highest performances as regards Investment Income and Net Assets. They focus on projects where they can lead, diversify and pool different resources and goals with a long-term commitment. For example, Education can be supported if it is related to skills and jobs local communities need. With this goal, they constantly try to understand the underlying causes of the problems of the job market and the evolution of job opportunities. They have a long-term strategy, hoping to find deep solutions to big problems and they tend to support local economies with a deep engagement in projects they are co-funding or funding exclusively.

The small cluster 2, with 6 foundations, shows less effectiveness as concerns grant-making and fundraising than the rest of the sample, but these foundations profit by the second highest Net Gain ratio.

In the end, despite of losses, especially for the cluster 1, the commitment of this sample is sound and connected to several stakeholders both on the fundraising side and on the grant-making side.

4. Economics of Community Foundations: average performances of an Italian sample in 2013

Italian Community Foundations are a very small universe in comparison with the USA one: 35 (Bandera, 2012) vs. 750. Apart of absolute numbers, their assets and grants are comparatively fewer and the grant-making has not been so mature like the USA for 18 years of life. Nevertheless, this small universe looks at the USA benchmark and some similarities can be found.

Small and greater targets are a key-focus of the Italian Community Foundations, too. Greater communities are target of Italian foundations, and networking is essential in order to enable *greater projects*. They do not simply make grants, but they also collect donations from territories, pool resources within territories and network within local and regional territories. Being sometimes considered as the main player of fund-raising and fund-giving, they lead projects, too.

Like USA community foundations, once analyzed community problems and priorities, Italian foundations strategically budget for a plan to respond in a comprehensive way, they engage community actors, and develop a governance for implementing and monitoring the plan. They operate according to community- and capacity-building principles, so that they place priority on community engagement and allocations of roles. Their commitment is rather young but also evolving on a solid path: apart of providing fresh resources, they try to keep their giving levels stable. In order to maximize their efforts, it is not excluded that these foundations match their goals with public administrations, corporations who are leaders of the local economy, other big and small not-for-profits, so that local (or greater areas) needs are satisfied thanks to forward-looking plans and long-sighted visions.

Frequently, the result is an extended initiative in which community foundations take a lead or supportive role both for the donor and for the community, the area or the region. Within communities, areas, counties or regions, projects try to fundamentally change the direction of target-territories, resources (donations) and audiences, especially when they make grants from funds established by individuals, families, businesses or other entities who were able to pool for charitable causes. They distribute millions of euro for scholarships and grants to educate youth, restore heritages, promote cultural and creative local industries, preserve the environment, protect landscapes and natural resources, fund research and, above all, provide services that enhance the quality of life for people living in and around communities. They both provide resources and they teach other nonprofits to develop ethical, skilled and sustainable organizations.

For example, Fondazione Cariplo, which is the biggest grant-making foundation in Italy, gave birth to 15 community foundations with a start-up asset in the region Lombardy in the North of Italy. For 2013's available data, these foundations have assets for 240 millions euro, deliver 2,500 grants for more than 20

millions euro and they match their grants for the common goals of local communities who are next to each other and walk on the same growth-path.

The giving circle is not simply built on a unique governance. Like the USA benchmark, they give birth to not-for-profits who are entitled of some special purpose. They deliver grants, they network and they also lead not-for-profit start-ups for the coordination and fulfillment of 'small and greater goals'. These goals refer to social assistance and social priorities. Culture and creative industries are the second target for delivered amounts.

As for the available data, some considerations of 2013' performances can be developed as regards solvency as well as grant-making. Some comparisons with main USA clusters of previous analysis can also be done, though for USA foundations the comprehensive data were collectable only for 2010's fiscal year according to available data for similar accounting standards.

Assets of Italian foundations are mainly of a financial nature: investments and financial assets that are not investments. Financial assets can rarely generate revenues and incomes for 50 percent of total revenues. Fundraising can be so efficient and incisive, that Italian foundations raise donations for greater amounts than financial revenues (Fondazione della Provincia di Lecco, Fondazione comunitaria del Varesotto, Fondazione della comunità bresciana, Fondazione comunitaria della provinciale di Pavia, Fondazione di comunità del centro storico di Napoli, Fondazione della comunità della Valle d'Aosta, Fondazione Nord Milano, etc). Most of revenues get into grants and, though most of these foundations suffer of small losses and mostly zero gains and losses, they courageously deliver grants that can be more than 50 percent of their revenues. Though the latest global crisis (still ongoing in Italy) is negatively affecting gains, net assets are always prevailing as debts are not more than 25 percent of total assets.

Cluster analysis of the sample of Italian foundations refers to four ratios: Financial assets/Total assets in order to explore the composition of assets, Net assets/Total assets in order to test for solvency, Net Gain or Loss/Total Revenues in order to verify for profitability, Financial Revenues/Total Revenues in order to compare the weight of these revenues with donations these foundations usually collect. If revenues of these foundations include financial revenues, donations, revoked grants and extra-ordinary revenues, revenues usually equal expenses. The last ratio Grants/Total revenues is, as a consequence, a significant performance for grant-making.

Thanks to cluster analysis of these ratios, two groups emerge.

Graph 1. Dendrogram of Italian Community Foundations according to average performances.



(Source: own elaboration with Jumps Statistics Software)

Cluster ■ includes 16 foundations of greater region of Lombardy and Piedmont and cluster + only includes 4. For Cluster ■ financial assets (Investments in the USA sample) are prevailing and they count for 71.75 percent of total assets. With fragile and unstable financial markets, financial revenues (Investment income in the USA sample) are not so performing as donations and financial revenues count only for 33.35 percent of total revenues. If it is considered that revoked grants and extraordinary revenues are only 10 percent of total revenues, donations are more than 55 percent of total revenues. Solvency is 80.83 percent. With such a sound solvency and though these foundations are affected by a very modest loss of -0.14 of total revenues, they deliver grants for 68.83 percent of their total revenues.

For Cluster +, 59 percent of total assets are financial ones. As financial revenues are only 8.25 percent of total revenues, these foundations profit of donations for more than 80 percent of their total revenues. If their solvency approximates 59 percent, this cluster have profits for 2.42 percent of total revenues. Their grant-making is 52.25 percent of total revenues.

If compared with USA Clusters (Table 1) Italian Foundations are not *Investors*, though financial revenues of Cluster ■ approximates the highest investment income of Cluster 1 in Table 1. Italian Foundations mostly rely on the community and local philanthropy. They are *committed Grant-makers*, especially those in Cluster ■, whose fundraising ensures for more than 50% of their revenues so that grant-making approximates performances in the first row of Table 1. They are not so committed as Clusters 3 and 4 in Table 1 but they are younger than the USA sample (for more than 80 years). Above all, Cluster ■ is granting more many amounts than Cluster +. Nevertheless, Cluster + is a micro-cluster.

Compared with the USA sample, the small Italian universe is not so mature as regards strategies and performances but this analysis confirms the asset structure, fundraising and fund-giving according to the same pattern.

For both USA and Italian poles, the Community Foundation is born in the community. The Community Foundation collects, pools and leads most resources within the community. With a solid solvency and modestly affected by losses, the Community Foundation is committed to local and community needs for grants, which are always more than 50 of resources. The USA sample can top 86 percent for grant-making. Young Italian Foundations are budgeting more 50 percent ... after only two decades of life. It is only a matter of age.

Conclusion

Community Foundations are a recent phenomenon in Italy. They play a key role in addressing community needs, and build endowments to ensure that grants are available to support the community. Furthermore they are involved in the strategic development of territories.

From a marketing & communication point of view, they are not very active, despite they, whether they realize it or not, market themselves every day. In fact, they constantly communicate with their donors, potential donors, businesses, the community, community advocates, nonprofit organizations, and media representatives, which are different audiences. Even if budget is limited, technology offers inexpensive way to communicate to stakeholders, as websites and social media, that, like traditional, are, nowadays, fundamentally tools for communication. Social media allow Community Foundations to build online communities, to promote initiatives, and sharing of information. At the best social media marketing & communication may generate benefits for both the Foundations, and their stakeholders. Despite these considerations, there are many reasons why community foundations have a scarce attitude to communicate through social media. Firstly, the importance they give to institutional communication as means to build strong reputation; secondly, perceived risks of distorting effect from extensive use of marketing communications strategies on the corporate reputation; finally, the monitoring needed in managing social networks, which requests dedicated personnel. Not grasping the opportunities offered by social media make

Community Foundations lose the opportunity to *stay constantly tuned* with their audiences, and the benefit to engage with the public in the community, that they serve.

In any case comparing Italian and US Community Foundations from a marketing & communication perspective, it appears that strategies of American foundations are more explicit, detailed and mature than those adopted by the Italians, and this is also confirmed surfing Community Foundations' websites. Considering social media strategies, websites and Facebook are popular media for both Italians, and US Community Foundations. Facebook pages of US, and Italian Community Foundations, they are proportionally alike crowded of *friends, and likes*. Also in this field, US Community Foundations use many social media, like YouTube, Vimeo, and Twitter, as part of their social media marketing & communication strategies.

As regard corporate branding, it seems that Italian Community Foundations' boards do not consider corporate branding fully compatible with philanthropic organizations and stakeholders' sensitivity. Nevertheless, from a managerial point of view, Italian Community Foundations' boards should consider the opportunity to face corporate branding challenges and corporate branding communication.

In this field, storytelling would deserve a special mention, because it is probably the meaningful way through which Community Foundations may explicit their essence. Storytelling takes into account the values, identity and mission of Community Foundations, and interprets the vision and the culture, and share donor stories with local community.

Then, the paper has also analyzed economics and performance of US, and Italian Community Foundations. As confirmed by the previous theoretical and empirical analysis, Community Foundations play a pivotal role for the civil society, this including networks and networking of foundations, administrations, communities and the comprehensive range of stakeholders who are participating the *social capital*. Both on the fundraising side and on the fund-giving side, these Foundations are a *fundamental node and link of the hierarchy* (public administrations, from the State to local councils) and *poli-archy* (stakeholders with the same managing role and market power) of *contemporary communities*.

Taking into consideration the importance of engagement, promotion of gifts, managerial and social innovation, their project management is now evolving to a mature planned giving whose main steps are: a. selection of merit-causes with the engagement of local communities at a very start-up phase with crowd-funding, venture capital, referendum and any empowerment strategy in order to activate participation and matching grants; b. monitoring of intermediate results, also thanks to story-telling of social media, and editing of intermediate reports, whose performances are communicated not only for their economic impact but also for their impact on the *social capital*; c. post-selection, with focus on excellent projects, whose frameworks and results should be considered as a benchmark for the future fundraising and fund-giving.

If heritage, culture and creativity, they are a main target of Italian Community Foundations, the role of this Private Welfare State can only be further supported, while public resources have been continually collapsing, -1% per year, since 2009. With focus on support of Italian Community Foundations, some implications for their management and for policies should be considered.

First of all, it is a must to take a long term view of their goals and what they are trying to achieve. Scarcity of visions and long-term commitments should be avoided. At the same time, dual interests and dual governances should be avoided, for lean and flexible management of multi-year projects and objectives. The fundraising arena is turbulent and unstable and it is of no help a very competitive funding climate that is at the mercy of donors who are motivated almost exclusively by good will, corporate social responsibilities and they are requested for multiple and several good-causes. Considering the funding climate, a lack of credible accountabilities that makes it difficult for donors to assess performance and need in field and social areas, let alone make choices about direct service versus advocacy, policy support and stable commitment, without incentives for capacity building through their grant-making. Long-term sustainability implies planning,

project management, economic and social accountability according to common managerial standards. As for policies and exogenous circumstances, incubators can grow if laws and competition change.

As a matter of fact, a limited regulatory framework, fiscal incentives, a robust charitable registration process, they can stimulate giving according to severe screening standards and they can provide reliable *charities rankings*.

Next to rankings, industry analysis in order to evaluate competition, microeconomic and macroeconomic trends of rapidly changing economies and in order to assess how to impact social issues, they should be further implemented in order to avoid *free-riding* on both the fundraising and the fund giving sides and to give evidence and reward the Best Private Welfare State.

At the different latitude of USA, the ongoing debate refers to similar issues with emphasis on the priority of rankings of the fundraiser and fund-given (for example, at www.foundationcenter.org). Diversity of two universes can be further stressed. Nevertheless, the parallel and comparative research should be further implemented in order to focus on separating implications for managerial trends and policies.

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Appendix - Composition of clusters of USA Community Foundations

USA Community Foundations	Cluster
COMM FOUND FOR MONTEREY COUNTY-MONTEREY	1
COMM FOUND FOR SOUTHEAST MICHIGAN-DETROIT	1
DELAWARE COMM FOUND-WILMINGTON	1
ELKS NATIONAL FOUND-CHICAGO	1
HARTFORD FOUND FOR PUBLIC GIVING-HARTFORD	1
MIAMI FOUNDATION-MIAMI	1
SAINT LOUIS COMM FOUND-SAINT LOUIS	1
THE CHICAGO COMMUNITY TRUST-CHICAGO	1
THE CLEVELAND FOUND-CLEVELAND	1
THE COMM FOUND FOR GREATER NEW HAVEN-NEW HAVEN	1
THE FAIRFIELD COUNTY COMM FOUND-NORWALK	1
THE MINNEAPOLIS FOUNDATION-MINNEAPOLIS	1
THE NEW YORK COMMUNITY TRUST-NY	1
THE VERMONT COMM FOUND-MIDDLEBURY	1
CHATOLIC CHARITIES OF BUFFALO NY-BUFFALO	2
COMM FOUNDATION OF SOUTHERN ARIZONA-TUCSON	2
MANN COMM FOUND-NOVATO	2
QUEEN EMMA LAND COMPANY-HONOLULU	2
SOUTHCENTRAL FOUNDATION-ANCHORAGE	2
UNITED JEWISH WELFARE FUND OF TORONTO-TORONTO	2
BATON ROUGE AREA FOUNDATION-BATON ROUGE	3
CALIFORNIA COMM FOUNDATION-LOS ANGELES	3
CATHOLIC COMM FOUND IN THE ARCHDIOCESE OF ST.PAUL AND MINNEAPOLIS-ST-	3
CHARLOTTESVILLE AREA COMM FOUND-CHARLOTTESVILLE	3
COMM FOUND FOR GREATER ATLANTA INC-ATLANTA	3
COMM FOUND OF BROWARD-FORT LAUDERDALE	3
COMM FOUND OF GREATER GREENSBORO-GREENSBORO	3
COMM FOUND OF GREATER LAKE-LAKELAND	3
COMM FOUND OF NEW JERSEY-MORRISTOWN	3
COMM FOUND OF THE CHATTAHOOCHEE VALLEY-COLUMBUS	3
COMMUNITIES FOUND OF OKLAHOMA-OKLAHOMA CITY	3
COMMUNITY FOUND FOR THE FOX VALLEY REGION INC-APPLETON	3
COMMUNITY FOUND OF TAMPA BAY,INC-TAMPA	3
CREATE FOUND-TUPELO	3
EAST BAY COMM FOUND-OAKLAND	3
EAST TENNESSEE FOUND-KNOXVILLE	3
ERIE COMMUNITY FOUNDATION-ERIE	3
FOUNDATION FOR THE CAROLINAS-CHARLOTTE	3
GREATER HORIZONS-KANSAS CITY	3
GREATER HOUSTON COMM FOUND-HOUSTON	3
GREATER MILWAUKEE FOUNDATION-MILWAUKEE	3
HARRISON COUNTY COMM FOUND SUPPORTING ORG INC-CORYDON	3
HAWAII COMM FOUND-HONOLULU	3
MAINE COMM FOUND-ELLSWORTH	3
NEW HAMPSHIRE CHARIT FOUND-CONCORD	3
NORTH CAROLINA COMMUNITY FOUNDATION-RALEIGH	3
OKLAHOMA CITY COMM FOUND-OKLAHOMA CITY	3
PERMIAN BASIN AREA FOUND-MIDLAND	3
PINELLAS COMM FOUNDATION-CLEARWATER	3
PRINCETON AREA COMMUNITY FOUND-LAWRENCEVILLE	3
SACRAMENTO REGION COMMUNITY FOUNDATION-SACRAMENTO	3
SAN ANGELO AREA FOUNDATION-SAN ANGELO	3
SAN ANTONIO AREA FOUND-SAN ANTONIO	3
SAN DIEGO FOUND-SAN DIEGO	3
SIOUX FALLS AREA COMM FOUND-SIOUX FALLS	3

THE COLUMBUS FOUND-COLUMBUS	3
THE COMM FOUND FOR THE NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION-WASHINGTON	3
THE COMM FOUND OF LOUISVILLE-LOUISVILLE	3
THE COMM FOUND OF MIDDLE TENNESSEE INC-NASHVILLE	3
THE COMM FOUND OF SARASOTA-SARASOTA	3
THE COMM FOUND SERVING RICHMOND & CENTRAL VA	3
THE COMMUNITY FOUNDATION OF LOUISVILLE-LOUISVILLE	3
THE DAYTON FOUNDATION-DAYTON	3
THE GREATER NEW ORLEANS FOUND-NEW ORLEANS	3
THE PHILADELPHIA FOUND-PHILADELPHIA	3
THE PITTSBURGH FOUNDATION-PITTSBURGH	3
THE SAINT PAUL FOUND-SAINTE PAUL	3
THE SEATTLE FOUND-SEATTLE	3
TRIANGLE COMM FOUNDATION-DURHAM	3
WESTERN COLORADO COMM FOUND-GRAND JCT	3
WINSTON-SALEM FOUND-WINSTON SALEM	3
ARIZONA COMMUNITY FOUND-PHOENIX	4
AUSTIN COMM FOUNDATION-AUSTIN	4
BOSTON FOUNDATION-BOSTON	4
CAMBRIDGE CHARITABLE FOUND-CAMBRIDGE	4
CENTRAL CAROLINA COMM FOUND-COLUMBIA	4
COMM FOUND OF GREATER DES MOINES-DES MOINES	4
COMM FOUNDATIONS OF TEXAS-DALLAS	4
COMMUNITY FOUND OF GREATER MEMPHIS-MEMPHIS	4
COMMUNITY FOUND OF JACKSON HOLE-JACKSON	4
COMMUNITY FOUND SONOMA COUNTY-SANTA ROSA	4
COMMUNITY FOUNDATION OF THE OZARKS INC-SPRINGFIELD	4
FEDERATION OF JEWISH COMMUNITIES-NY	4
GREATER KANSAS CITY COMM FOUND-KANSAS CITY	4
GULF COAST COMM FOUND OF VENICE-VENICE	4
HOPE CHRISTIAN COMM FOUNDATION-MEMPHIS	4
JEWISH COMM FOUND OF THE JEWISH-LOS ANGELES	4
LUTHERAN COMMUNITY FOUNDATIONS-MINNEAPOLIS	4
OMAHA COMM FOUND DEPOSITORY-OMAHA	4
OMAHA COMMUNITY FOUNDATION-OMAHA	4
ORANGE COUNTY COMM FOUND-NEWPORT BEACH	4
SILICON VALLEY COMM FOUND-MOUNTAIN VIEW	4
THE COMM FOUND OF GREATER BIRMINGHAM-BIRMINGHAM	4
THE COMM FOUND OF WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA-ASHEVILLE	4
THE COMMUNITY FOUND-JACKSONVILLE	4
THE DALLAS FOUNDATION-DALLAS	4
THE DENVER FOUND-DENVER	4
THE GREATER CINCINNATI FOUND-CINCINNATI	4
TULSA COMMUNITY FOUNDATION-TULSA	4

The Digital Cultural Aggregate: a *Source Material* within a Cultural Ecosystem to Support Creativity and Innovation

Esposito, Marco

University of Salento,
Lecce, Italy
m.esposito@unisalento.it

Giordano, Andrea

University of Salento
Lecce, Italy
andrea.giordano@unisalento.it

Vestito, Daniela

University of Salento
Lecce, Italy
daniela.vestito@unisalento.it

Abstract

La crescente attenzione verso le risorse culturali, quale *asset* strategico di sviluppo territoriale, ha stimolato la ricerca di nuovi paradigmi capaci di offrire una più ampia lettura del fenomeno culturale. Alcuni approcci si sono focalizzati sulle dinamiche relazionali che si realizzano lungo i processi di produzione culturale, evidenziando il ruolo della capacità creativa della cultura nel favorire la creatività e l'innovazione.

Partendo da qui, l'articolo evidenzia come le recenti tecnologie ICT abbiano favorito una crescita esponenziale di contenuti culturali digitali, ognuno incentrato su specifici aspetti del bene culturale. Muovendo dai primi risultati ottenuti dall'applicazione degli approcci del Product Lifecycle Management (PLM) e del Business Process Management (BPM) ad un'area archeologica, si propone un modello concettuale di *Aggregato Culturale Digitale* (ACD). L'ACD viene definito come aggregato informativo multidimensionale e multilivello il cui obiettivo è promuovere la comprensione del patrimonio culturale in un ecosistema, in accordo con una logica di servizio.

Keywords: Ecologia Culturale, Patrimonio Culturale, Valorizzazione, Business Process Management, Aggregato Culturale Digitale.

Introduzione

Recentemente, la cultura ha assunto il ruolo di *asset* fondamentale per l'incremento dei livelli di innovazione e creatività nell'ambito delle politiche di sviluppo territoriale.

Il binomio cultura-creatività va assumendo così un nuovo significato intrinseco: da un lato, se ne riconosce il valore economico generato in ambito produttivo, quale motore propulsore di nuove opportunità sul mercato; dall'altro lato, si focalizza l'attenzione sul valore simbolico ed estetico, in grado di influenzare i processi di valorizzazione e diffusione dell'immagine del territorio (Throsby 2010; Florida 2002; Lash & Urry 1994).

Si assiste, dunque, ad un cambiamento di prospettiva, stimolato dal mondo accademico e dal dibattito internazionale, che attribuisce crescente centralità al valore simbolico ed estetico dei beni rispetto al valore d'uso e funzionale, riconoscendo, peraltro, il ruolo della creatività come condizione preliminare per generare

innovazione (Bertacchini & Santagata, 2012). È indubbio che l'attivazione di processi creativi favorisca l'emersione di nuovi modelli di business, nuove tecnologie e nuovi talenti in grado di rispondere ai bisogni e alle preferenze contingenti della comunità di riferimento. Seguendo una logica speculare, si osserva che un ambiente altamente innovativo, a sua volta, induce le organizzazioni culturali a riprogettare i processi creativi, produttivi e distributivi secondo modelli di knowledge management.

Condizione imprescindibile affinché la creatività generi vantaggio competitivo e innovazione sul territorio è l'adozione di un approccio più integrato e strutturato per la gestione del patrimonio culturale materiale e immateriale: l'obiettivo è quello di creare *luoghi* d'offerta capaci di stimolare la proliferazione di *creative habitat* attivando fattori di sviluppo culturale quali il senso estetico, il pensiero laterale e l'intelligenza emotiva (Lazzeretti, 2011). Affinché si possa parlare di cultura come motore della economia creativa è necessario attivare nuovi processi della catena del valore culturale che spostino l'attenzione dalle tradizionali fasi di produzione e fruizione verso quelle di *storicizzazione*, *ambientazione* e *contestualizzazione* (Barile, 2012: 82) del contenuto culturale. Uno dei processi atti a riscrivere il ciclo di vita del prodotto culturale secondo tale logica è la digitalizzazione. Si parte dall'assunto che l'avvio di processi innovativi in ambito culturale è in parte ostacolato dalla mancanza di adeguati strumenti atti a rendere disponibile il dato per successivi utilizzi o analisi. L'aggregato digitale, inteso come aggregazione intelligente di metadati, consente di esplicitare il valore intrinseco del valore culturale, mettendone in risalto sia elementi materiali che immateriali e ricomponendo i diversi approcci disciplinari.

Il presente articolo ipotizza l'adozione di un modello teorico che consenta un effettivo accesso e riutilizzo delle risorse culturali digitali (disponibili nelle collezioni scientifiche, negli archivi, nei musei, nelle librerie e nei siti di Beni Culturali) attraverso nuove modalità di gestione dei flussi informativi e documentali riguardanti il patrimonio culturale, sia nei processi interni dei differenti enti creatori o collettori di informazioni (perlopiù di natura pubblica) sia nelle relazioni che intercorrono tra questi, i cittadini e le imprese. L'obiettivo è quello di facilitare, attraverso l'aggregazione digitale di dati, l'avvio di un processo incrementale in grado di generare ulteriore conoscenza a partire dalla conoscenza prodotta e resa fruibile al pubblico. L'omogeneità e la completezza dei dati, infatti, consente il riutilizzo dei dati archiviati senza incorrere nella duplicazione o dispersione degli stessi. Ciò implica riprogrammare la catalogazione secondo una nuova logica di utilizzo del dato che sposti il focus sull'aspetto *cognitivo* correlato all'apprendimento e alla crescita dell'individuo e risponda, così, in modo più efficace alle esigenze e agli interessi del fruitore.

1. La valorizzazione tra economia e creatività

Il crescente riconoscimento attribuito al patrimonio culturale nella realizzazione di modelli di sviluppo locale *culture-driven* ha rappresentato uno dei principali framework di riferimento su cui hanno trovato fondamento gran parte delle esperienze di valorizzazione. Precedentemente all'affermazione di tale prospettiva, lo scenario presentava un'azione rivolta per lo più verso la creazione di dotazioni infrastrutturali caratterizzata da una scarsa attenzione dal punto di vista dei processi. Di fatto, tali politiche hanno generato un aumento esponenziale dei contenitori culturali a cui, tuttavia, non ha fatto seguito la dovuta attenzione in termini di gestione, valorizzazione e fruizione di tali realtà e degli attrattori presenti al loro interno. Nel passaggio dalla logica di conservazione a quella di valorizzazione economica della cultura, l'attenzione viene posta sulla capacità strumentale che le risorse culturali assumono all'interno del processo di creazione del valore. Gli asset culturali di un territorio, infatti, al pari delle risorse finanziarie, umane, tecnologiche e infrastrutturali, sono parte integrante di tale processo di valorizzazione. In particolare, si assiste ad un nuovo significato associato al concetto di bene culturale³⁴: da mero *oggetto* dotato dei requisiti di utilità, materialità e limitatezza, nonché fattore avulso dal proprio contesto e capace di influire in maniera marginale in percorsi

³⁴ A fronte di equivoci interpretativi, si rileva che la nozione di *bene culturale* qui intesa si riferisce al "complesso dei prodotti storici intellettuali e materiali dell'uomo sociale" (Montella, 2012: 22).

volti all'ampliamento della varietà informativa del fruitore, il bene muta la sua forma assumendo le caratteristiche del *prodotto* (Barile, 2012: 79). In quanto tale, il bene si caratterizza come un insieme di attributi tangibili e intangibili inserito in un percorso precostituito dal proponente. Quest'ultimo, sulla base dell'identificazione di una funzione d'uso, seleziona e organizza le possibili opzioni di offerta, nel tentativo di rispondere ad esigenze tipiche attribuite ai fruitori (Barile, 2012: 80) potenziali di una comunità. Si assiste così ad un'evoluzione nella visione percettiva del fenomeno, passando da una prospettiva di *storicizzazione* ad una di *ambientazione* (Barile, 2012): il bene si pone in relazione con beni, luoghi e tempi differenti da quelli d'origine, ponendo in risalto la dimensione relazionale, rispetto a quella oggettiva. Si evidenzia così l'opportunità di creare una filiera culturale che possa valorizzare sia l'insieme delle risorse territoriali sia i prodotti che ne derivano. All'interno di tale processo appare importante, inoltre, creare un sistema di narrazione basato su valori e simboli condivisi che caratterizzino il territorio, dotando al contempo quest'ultimo di un sistema di offerta capace di integrare settori esterni ma connessi con il percorso di valorizzazione (Imperiale, 2006: 71). A tal fine, è necessario dotare le istituzioni del comparto artistico e culturale di strumenti gestionali di tipo manageriale, in linea con la tendenza di carattere più generale che interessa lentamente l'intero settore pubblico. Nel caso della valorizzazione economica della cultura, dunque, risulta essenziale dimostrare l'associabilità della stessa ai fattori produttivi tradizionali (capacità strumentale), favorendo l'ingresso del settore privato, profit e no-profit. Il modello di riferimento si configura, dunque, come un paradigma orientato alla conservazione e al consumo di cultura, all'interno del quale un ruolo di primo piano è ricoperto dalle industrie culturali (cinema, televisione, editoria, industria musicale), dal patrimonio storico artistico (musei biblioteche, archivi, gestione di luoghi o monumenti di cultura, ecc.) e dalle *performing arts*.

Il processo di valorizzazione economica del patrimonio culturale risulta così finalizzato al perseguimento di un fine economico, cioè deve indirizzarsi verso il soddisfacimento diretto o indiretto dei bisogni umani incrementando il valore d'uso delle risorse culturali tanto in relazione all'utilità diretta (il bisogno culturale in senso stretto), quanto all'utilità indiretta (la capacità del bene culturale di contribuire al soddisfacimento di bisogni differenti) che questo esprime (Imperiale, 2006: 71). Elemento centrale in tale formulazione concettuale diviene dunque, oltre all'adozione di adeguati modelli gestionali da parte delle istituzioni culturali, la produzione di significativi effetti di *spillover*.

Tuttavia, tale pensiero, come evidenziato da Holden (2015), presenta alcuni elementi di criticità. Innanzitutto, la nozione di *spillover* individua in maniera eccessivamente deterministica un core *espressivo* culturale, prodotto da un determinato nucleo artistico che sarà, in seguito, commercializzato dalle industrie creative. In secondo luogo, "lo *spillover* implica un movimento unidirezionale di idee, persone o contenuto da una parte della cultura ad un'altra, mentre le interazioni sono molto più varie" (Holden, 2015: 11). Inoltre, il modello di *spillover* pone il creatore artistico al centro del processo, quando in realtà la sua posizione risulta essere il più delle volte periferica. Infine, e non di minore importanza, si evidenzia che la produzione culturale non rappresenta il frutto di una creazione individuale ma rappresenta, piuttosto, il risultato di uno "sforzo comune" (Holden, 2015: 11).

Proseguendo nel ragionamento, i recenti contributi della creative economy (Florida, 2002; Trullen & Boix, 2008), all'interno del più ampio dibattito dell'economia della cultura sulle modalità di valorizzazione, hanno permesso di focalizzare maggiormente l'attenzione su un ulteriore aspetto proprio della cultura nell'ambito del processo di creazione di valore: la "capacità creativa". In tale accezione, la cultura diviene stimolo per il pensiero e per la creatività: mediante la propria capacità di ristrutturazione cognitiva, oltre ad espletare una fondamentale funzione sociale, si innesta all'interno dei processi produttivi divenendo una risorsa per l'innovazione in grado di generare idee, di ringiovanire i settori maturi o di crearne di nuovi (Lazzeretti, 2011). Seguendo tale prospettiva, il modello si orienta alla produzione di cultura chiamando in causa l'intero comparto delle industrie creative.

Assumere la creatività quale elemento di vantaggio competitivo, significa dotare il territorio di quei luoghi d'offerta di avvenimenti, segni e momenti culturali necessari alla proliferazione di un ambiente creativo, prediligendo un approccio più integrato e strutturato nei confronti del patrimonio sia materiale che immateriale. Cultura e creatività si presentano così come due componenti di un medesimo elemento, una sorta di *Giano Bifronte*, in cui un ruolo fondamentale è esercitato dalle risorse umane e territoriali.

Richiamando alcuni aspetti dell'impianto teorico della proposta di "culturalizzazione dell'economia" e del "modello della capacità creativa della cultura", elaborati da Luciana Lazzeretti (2011), in questa sede preme rilevare alcuni elementi utili ad inquadrare la creatività e in grado di favorirla.

Da qui si rileva che la creatività fatica a trovare una dimensione ideale manifestandosi in tutte le forme in cui "il pensiero laterale si possa esprimere e alimentare" (Lazzeretti, 2011: 121). Tale incontenibilità, però, necessita in parallelo di essere sistematizzata al fine di produrre innovazione. Il compito di ordinare e definire tali idee risulta indispensabile e chiama in causa le capacità imprenditoriali nel tentativo di codificare le idee in innovazione e per creare nuove realtà produttive (Lazzeretti, 2011: 121). In tal modo, le idee vengono a configurarsi come il risultato di contaminazioni che si realizzano all'interno di interazioni in cui i fattori localizzativi, di differenziazione e di varietà agevolano una loro emersione (Lazzeretti, 2011: 121). In tale contesto, la *cross-fertilisation* rappresenta il motore del processo innovativo, mentre la capacità creativa della cultura diviene la capacità di ricercare nuove relazioni (Lazzeretti, 2011: 122). Ne deriva che il fattore localizzativo rappresenta un elemento fondamentale, nonostante la stessa Lazzeretti evidenzi come nella pratica sia impossibile individuare dei luoghi creativi di per sé. Questi luoghi vengono definiti *New Creative Milieu* (NCM) e rappresentano: "uno spazio informale collettivo, fisico o virtuale in grado di favorire la capacità creativa della cultura e caratterizzato dalla presenza di processi di *lateral thinking* e *problem finding*, alimentati da una prossimità laterale di tipo cognitivo, capace di stimolare correlazioni inusuali" (Lazzeretti, 2011: 133).

Quanto sinora delineato consente di porre in evidenza una duplice capacità attribuibile alla variabile culturale, una di tipo strumentale ed una di tipo creativo. Tale constatazione consente di individuare un possibile punto di svolta, nonché elemento unificante, all'interno delle prospettive sinora considerate: si tratta di assumere il fenomeno della valorizzazione in una prospettiva di *contestualizzazione* (Barile, 2012: 84), spostando il focus da una relazione tra beni ad una interazione tra soggetti. Il bene si dematerializza all'interno di un più ampio processo di valorizzazione nel quale "il complesso di circostanza, gli elementi di contorno, il quadro situazionale prevalgono sull'oggetto materiale" (Barile, 2012: 84). Il bene, da *prodotto*, diviene *servizio* sul quale il fruitore interviene in una dimensione ampliata, co-creandone le caratteristiche distintive (Barile, 2012). In un simile schema concettuale, tanto il processo di valorizzazione economica della cultura quanto il processo di valorizzazione culturale dell'economia appaiono come momenti, distinti e consequenziali tra loro, di un unico e più ampio processo il cui esito non è né scontato, né tantomeno automatico.

Elementi centrali divengono pertanto la presenza di risorse culturali rappresentative del valore idiosincratico di un luogo e la localizzazione di risorse e attori (prossimità).³⁵ Il patrimonio culturale si configura come stock, un potenziale generativo su cui impostare processi di creazione di nuovo valore e di produzione di nuova cultura. Quest'ultima non nasce improvvisamente ma è il risultato di processi di creazione di valore dal valore (Montella, 2012: 22). L'adozione di una siffatta prospettiva, "il passaggio dallo stato statico di *insieme* a quello dinamico di *sistema*, dipenderà dalle attività poste in essere al fine di rendere gli elementi dell'insieme *componenti* di un tessuto relazionale attraverso il quale attivare una progettualità gestionale

³⁵ In questa sede, in accordo con la Lazzeretti (2011), il concetto di *prossimità* non si riferisce al concetto di prossimità geografica bensì alla nozione elaborata da Boschma nella quale si distinguono cinque differenti categorie: *cognitiva* (based on knowledge gap), *organizzativa* (based on control), *sociale* (based on trust-social relations), *istituzionale* (based on trust-common institutions), *geografica* (based on distance). (Boschma, 2005).

volta a favorire la piena espressione del potenziale valore culturale del patrimonio culturale di un dato territorio” (Barile & Saviano, 2012: 112).

2. Ecologia e rigenerazione. Un framework di sintesi

Quanto sinora descritto evidenzia la necessità di ripensare il processo di valorizzazione economica della cultura in termini differenti da quelli dettati dai tradizionali approcci economici che ne hanno caratterizzato l'evoluzione. Ragionare in termini di *milieu* (Maggi & Dondona, 2006: 112) comporta che la dotazione di un determinato territorio necessita di diventare patrimonio comune, e dunque condiviso, dagli attori locali. Un processo di “creazione di valore riconducibile ad un sistema territoriale, come evidenziato, si realizza e si misura non già attraverso l'incremento del valore dei beni localizzati nel territorio, bensì sulla base di un processo di valorizzazione, inteso come generazione di valore d'uso per i sovrasistemi (cittadini, imprese, altre organizzazioni, ecc.)” (Barile & Saviano, 2012: 124). In tal senso, la proposta ecologica sviluppata da John Holden (2015) offre una utile chiave di lettura delle dinamiche connesse alla variabile culturale, attraverso la quale adottare un approccio analitico volto all'identificazione del valore culturale, inteso non solo nella sua accezione economica ma anche in termini di valore “poliedrico e pluralistico” (Holden, 2015: 12). “La cultura recupera così il suo significato biologico, sociale e il suo peso morale, mettendo in campo la salute del sistema culturale, la sua capacità creativa, la sua capacità di generare un nuovo significato, beni sociali e pubblici, così come un ritorno economico” (Holden, 2015: 12). In questa proposta, con il termine “ecologia culturale” si fa riferimento a “le complesse interdipendenze che caratterizzano la domanda e la produzione delle arti e l'offerta culturale” (Holden, 2015: 2). L'attenzione, dunque, viene posta sulle relazioni e sui differenti modelli che si realizzano all'interno di un ambiente più ampio in cui la cultura opera. Nello specifico, egli muove la sua trattazione partendo da una rilettura critica del modello delle tre sfere (Holden, 2008), punto di partenza per la sua indagine. I risultati emersi, supportati dall'analisi dei principali contributi presenti in letteratura, gli consentono di definire l'ecologia culturale come: “un ciclo di vita rigenerativo” (Holden, 2015: 3), “non gerarchico” (Holden, 2015: 12) e sociale, composto non solo da attori umani, ma anche da oggetti inanimati che possono anch'essi essere considerati come ‘attori’ nel loro ruolo (Holden, 2015: 4). All'interno di tale ciclo “la cultura si compone di momenti in cui persone e oggetti inanimati si fondono in concatenazioni” (“fioriture”) (Holden, 2015: 3), e si manifesta quando le persone, con le loro idee, competenze e abilità, trovano le giuste opportunità. “Queste opportunità sono attivate a loro volta dalle cose (denaro, attrezzature, strade, edifici, oggetti)” (Holden, 2015: 4) e promosse o soffocate da attori e politiche. Nel definire l'ecologia culturale come ciclo di vita rigenerativo, Holden individua, attraverso una rivisitazione del “creativity filter” di A. Missingham, un “modello ciclico di rigenerazione” (Holden, 2015: 27). Quest'ultimo, composto da 5 fasi, vede un primo step caratterizzato dalla “creatività” (1). Dopo una prima “fioritura”, questo atto creativo necessita di essere “curato” (2), attraverso un'operazione di scelta e selezione delle parti ritenute rilevanti che verranno in seguito collezionate (3). Nella fase di “collezione” la creatività, divenuta patrimonio, verrà acquisita o esperita dall'utente per poi essere successivamente “conservata” (4) trasformandosi in risorsa per un successivo atto creativo (5) (Holden, 2015: 27).

In una simile proposta, appare evidente come non sia possibile considerare il settore culturale come una singola ecologia, quanto piuttosto come un *insieme* composto da differenti microcosmi di attività, ognuno dei quali caratterizzato da numerose interconnessioni in cui differenti sotto-settori culturali operano in modi molto diversi, a seconda del proprio contesto, della propria dimensione e delle proprie specificità (Holden, 2015: 5).

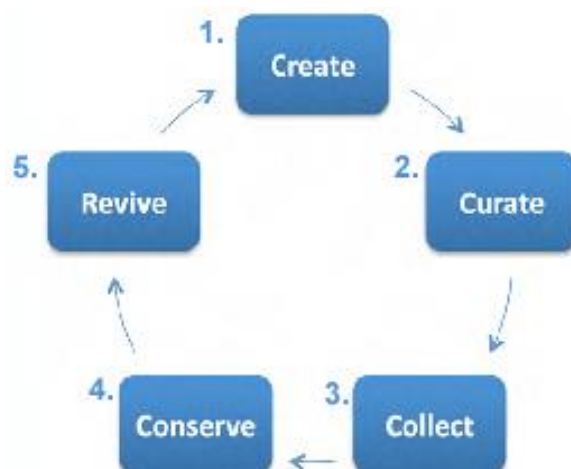


Figure 1. Modello Ciclico di rigenerazione (Holden, 2015: 27)

Così, come le ecologie naturali possono essere visualizzate in molti modi diversi (dal punto di vista dei processi, delle funzioni, ecc.), anche le ecologie culturali possono essere “visualizzate concentrando l’attenzione sulle relazioni dinamiche che intercorrono al loro interno” (Holden, 2015: 27). In tal senso, l’ecologia culturale viene intesa come un insieme la cui esistenza ed il funzionamento sono dettati dalle interazioni tra differenti ruoli (Holden, 2015: 29). Questi vengono classificati all’interno di quattro categorie idealtipiche (*Guardiani*, *Connettori*, *Piattaforme* e *Nomadi*), non esclusive e trasversali rispetto ai differenti settori dell’ecologia culturale.

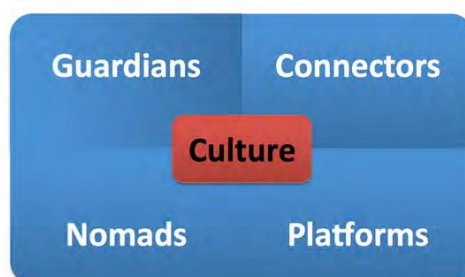


Figure 2. Ruoli attivi nelle ecologie culturali (Holden, 2015: 29)

La categoria dei *Guardiani* si compone di quegli attori che assolvono una funzione di cura dei beni culturali materiali e immateriali (es. musei, archivi, ricercatori, restauratori, ecc). Il loro ruolo risulta essere fondamentale per la vitalità dell’ecologia stessa. I *Connettori*, invece, sono rappresentati da tutti quegli attori, non solo umani ma anche inanimati (es. spazi, sedi), capaci di mettere insieme persone e risorse, spostando l’energia intorno alla propria ecologia culturale. D’altro lato, la categoria delle *Piattaforme* è caratterizzata da luoghi, gallerie, strade, siti web e quant’altro sia in grado di ospitare contenuti culturali. Queste possono fornire degli spazi in differenti modalità e per scopi distinti. Infine, la categoria dei *nomadi* rappresenta una parte spesso trascurata, ma essenziale all’interno dell’ecologia, ovvero il lato della domanda culturale. All’interno di questa categoria sono inoltre considerati anche i singoli produttori di cultura come artisti freelance, tecnici, musicisti e tutti coloro i quali si relazionano con le altre parti dell’ecologia per eseguire, vendere, comprare, condividere e godere della cultura (Holden, 2015).

Alla luce di quanto esposto, si ritiene di poter affermare che possano emergere una pluralità di sistemi in virtù delle effettive finalità perseguite dagli attori e sulla base delle differenti combinazioni che si realizzano all’interno del processo di valorizzazione (in termini di interazioni, relazioni e qualità degli elementi, tra

risorse *operand* e *operant*³⁶ di un determinato territorio) (Barile & Saviano, 2012: 125). In tal senso, la creazione di un'atmosfera creativa, di un differente tipo di *prossimità*, la prossimità laterale, la possibilità di dar spazio alla capacità creativa attraverso il pensiero creativo (Lazzeretti, 2011) risultano direttamente correlate alle modalità e alle opportunità di interazione tra le componenti sistemiche. Queste ultime si realizzano a partire dalle traiettorie evolutive e dalle regole di funzionamento del sistema che a loro volta derivano dall'azione dei singoli attori appartenenti alle differenti ecologie culturali locali.

Un ultimo elemento che preme rilevare in questa sede è quello relativo alla localizzazione degli attori all'interno delle singole ecologie culturali locali. Come evidenziato dalla Lazzeretti (2008), le comunità locali mutano le proprie caratteristiche principali omogenee e relativamente stabili, così come i propri valori e identità, verso comunità eterogenee e multiculturali sotto la spinta di continui aggiustamenti dettati dalle relazioni locali e globali. In tal senso, appare evidente che gli attori locali e globali coesistono nello stesso spazio, all'interno della stessa ecologia culturale, ampliando ulteriormente la dimensione ed il numero di relazioni che si realizzano nella singola ecologia, rendendo particolarmente complesso stabilire un modello idoneo di sviluppo applicabile su scala generale.

3. Parzialità e ricomposizione del processo

Un'evidenza della parziale realizzazione del processo di valorizzazione, assunto nella prospettiva prettamente economica, emerge dall'osservazione dell'esperienza museale e della applicazione dell'approccio esperienziale alle attività di valorizzazione dei beni culturali.

Considerando la natura meritoria che caratterizza tali beni, l'esperienza museale dovrebbe essere finalizzata alla creazione di benefici culturali pubblici in linea con le finalità intrinseche dell'istituzione museale. Allo stesso modo, la declinazione del marketing esperienziale dovrebbe convergere verso la creazione di politiche di prodotto in grado di esplicitare in chiave esperienziale l'ampiezza del valore del patrimonio culturale.

Questa impostazione però, come ben evidenziato da Mara Cerquetti (2014) e alla quale si rinvia per ulteriori approfondimenti sul punto, si scontra nella realtà con una maggiore attenzione nella direzione della valorizzazione della componente emotiva, sensoriale e comportamentale dell'esperienza museale, a dispetto della componente cognitiva. Tale tendenza, le cui radici possono essere ravvisate in una maggiore considerazione a livello scientifico della nozione di "esperienza" nord-americana rispetto a quella europea (Cerquetti, 2014: 90), trova una ulteriore spiegazione in relazione al sostegno fornito dalle tecnologie ICT nella valorizzazione di tali componenti dell'esperienza. La crescente esigenza di migliorare il proprio sistema d'offerta e di ampliare la comunicazione verso pubblici differenti ha individuato nelle recenti innovazioni tecnologiche legate ad internet ed agli strumenti di supporto alla visita un utile alleato, il cui incontro ha ulteriormente stimolato una particolare attenzione verso aspetti quali interattività, dinamicità, immersività ed esperienzialità, che si sono affermate come nuove buzzwords (Stogner, 2009). Così facendo, l'attività di valorizzazione si è concentrata solo su alcuni moduli esperienziali, ponendo in secondo piano "il valore cognitivo dell'esperienza connesso all'uso, alla pratica, all'osservazione, allo studio o alla consuetudine" (Rescinti, 2005: 5) producendo "uno sbilanciamento opposto a quello tipico degli approcci tradizionali fondati sulla razionalità funzionale e utilitaristica (Rescinti, 2004: 22). Una simile impostazione, ha favorito così nel tempo il proliferare di un gran numero di "mostre-spettacolo" legate ad installazioni e applicazioni altamente

³⁶ "Adottando la [...] prospettiva della logica dominante di servizio (Service-Dominant Logic) e assimilando teoricamente il sistema territoriale al modello dei sistemi di servizio, le componenti di dotazione del territorio possono essere considerate come risorse di tipo "operand", ossia risorse da rendere *operative* attraverso un processo di gestione, mentre le componenti sistemiche possono essere considerate come risorse di tipo "operant", ossia risorse capaci di assumere un ruolo *operativo*, quindi di agire su risorse operand. (Barile & Saviano, 2012: 125).

tecnologiche in cui viene “(ri)creata un’atmosfera in cui i sensi prendono il sopravvento sulla ragione e il visitatore si immerge per lasciarsi trasportare dalle proprie emozioni” (Cerquetti, 2014: 95).

Le difficoltà legate all’applicazione di un simile approccio in relazione ai beni culturali sono facilmente riscontrabili considerando la natura stessa del bene. Poiché il bene culturale si configura prioritariamente come bene pubblico, la sua esperienza prima che essere di tipo sensoriale, si pone come esperienza di tipo cognitivo. L’attività di valorizzazione in tal senso dovrebbe essere finalizzata innanzitutto alla trasmissione di informazioni attinenti la dimensione cognitiva dell’esperienza, favorendo una comprensione piena del valore del bene, anziché puntare prioritariamente su sensazioni ed emozioni indotte che rischiano di inficiare l’attività conoscitiva del fruitore.

D’altro canto, però, la pratica riflette una declinazione progettuale dell’esperienza di fruizione maggiormente incline verso la creazione di politiche di comunicazione e branding, anziché su politiche di prodotto nelle sue componenti sia materiali che immateriali. Un ulteriore motivazione in tal senso può essere ravvisata tra nella difficoltà, implicita nella natura stessa del prodotto culturale, di rendere percepibile l’ampiezza della propria componente cognitiva.

Ciò che accade è che il bene culturale viene assunto all’interno del processo di valorizzazione nelle sue caratteristiche di *prodotto*, caratterizzato da un insieme di attributi tangibili e intangibili, e inserito in un percorso precostituito dal proponente che, sulla base dell’identificazione di una funzione d’uso, seleziona e organizza le possibili opzioni di offerta, nel tentativo di rispondere ad esigenze tipiche attribuite ai fruitori potenziali di una comunità (Barile, 2012). In tal senso, associando l’immagine del modello “ciclico di rigenerazione” di Holden (2015), il processo di valorizzazione si configura così come *atto creativo* in cui il bene viene posto in relazione con beni, luoghi e tempi differenti da quelli d’origine, ponendo in risalto la sua dimensione relazionale, rispetto a quella oggettiva. Tale atto però, tenendo conto che il valore del bene si compie solo in relazione al contesto storico e geografico di appartenenza in quanto *place e time specific* (Montella, 2012: 22) necessita di essere assunto in una prospettiva in cui tutelare gli aspetti significativi del bene comporta un atto di valorizzazione capace di renderne percepibile il valore culturale ad una congrua quantità di soggetti. Una proposta in tal senso è data dall’assunzione di tale processo in una prospettiva di *contestualizzazione* in cui il bene si dematerializza all’interno del più ampio processo e si assiste ad uno spostamento da una relazione tra beni ad una interazione tra soggetti. Il bene, da prodotto, diviene *servizio* sul quale il soggetto interviene nella dimensione ampliata del bene, co-creandone le caratteristiche distintive (Barile, 2012).

Semplificando, ciò che si sostiene è che, slegando il processo di valorizzazione da una prospettiva prettamente economica, questo possa essere interpretato come il risultato di differenti atti creativi che si realizzano all’interno di un’ecologia culturale. Tali atti sono il frutto dell’interazione tra differenti attori, ognuno dei quali operante nel proprio ruolo. In tal modo, il bene culturale viene ambientato in un contesto differente da quello di origine, non creando però automaticamente i presupposti per la creazione di nuova cultura. Affinchè questo possa accadere è necessario contestualizzare anche la sua componente cognitiva rendendola esplicita e percepibile. Ciò comporta che il bene debba essere considerato in rapporto al più ampio ciclo di vita rigenerativo dell’ecologia culturale, operando come archeologi (Foucault, 1994) del valore, affinché questo possa assumere il ruolo di risorsa a supporto di creatività e innovazione.

In tal senso, un’utile chiave di lettura per comprendere questa prospettiva può essere offerta da una prima formulazione di un modello di *Aggregato Culturale Digitale* (ACD), inteso come risultante di processi di produzione, analisi e fruizione di contenuti culturali digitali.

4. Product Lifecycle Management (PLM) e prime ipotesi di un ACD

Lo stimolo ad avviare una riflessione in merito alla definizione di un modello di ACD nasce nel solco delle attività di ricerca svolte nell’ambito del progetto Dicet – InMoto da un team di ricercatori del Dipartimento di

Ingegneria dell'Innovazione dell'Università del Salento in collaborazione con un team di archeologi professionisti. In tale contesto, l'attività si proponeva, attraverso uno spostamento del focus dal bene culturale in sé al ciclo di vita del potenziale cognitivo dell'oggetto culturale, di intervenire sui processi di creazione e organizzazione dei dati raccolti nelle varie fasi di gestione della conoscenza di un'attività di indagine archeologica, al fine di individuare uno standard e rendere replicabili le procedure di digitalizzazione del Patrimonio Culturale.

Muovendo dalla considerazione che all'interno delle attività di scavo l'impiego di tecnologie di digitalizzazione dei contenuti informativi non rappresenta una novità e adottando una *helicopter view* (Holden, 2015: 13), l'attenzione è stata focalizzata sulle modalità di gestione dei flussi informativi e documentali riguardanti il bene culturale, sia nei processi interni ai differenti enti creatori o collettori di informazioni, che nelle relazioni che intercorrono tra questi ed altri attori coinvolti nel processo.

L'approccio generale che ha ispirato l'avvio dell'attività di ricerca si proponeva di sperimentare l'applicazione della logica del Product Lifecycle Management (PLM) al settore dei beni culturali, mutuando tale logica dal settore industriale. L'approccio classico PLM (Saaksvuori, 2008) consente notoriamente l'impiego di soluzioni innovative per la produzione, gestione e mantenimento di tutte le informazioni che circolano lungo i processi rilevanti di un'impresa. Così in un'impresa, estesa o meno che sia, un'informazione può essere raggiungibile e, viceversa, distribuibile attraverso differenti media. Il PLM si pone così come un approccio particolarmente idoneo alla gestione della rappresentazione digitale delle informazioni. Nel caso specifico dei beni culturali, tale applicazione non è un assoluto elemento di novità. Già nel 2013 ne venne proposta un'applicazione per la gestione della conoscenza storico-artistica e dei musei (Hervy *et al.*, 2013).

Sulla base di queste considerazioni, la ricerca si è concentrata sullo studio approfondito dei processi che accompagnano il bene culturale lungo il suo intero ciclo di vita. Ricorrendo agli strumenti del *Manual Business Process Discovery* (Aalst, 2011) si è proceduto alla creazione di una mappatura del processo completo di identificazione e documentazione del Bene Culturale e ciò ha consentito così di definire un modello di processo AS- IS, attraverso cui individuare, rapidamente e con precisione, i momenti in cui vengono generati i dati.

Una prima evidenza emersa in questa fase di studio è che l'attività di scavo è configurabile come il risultato dell'interazione tra differenti attori, umani (archeologi, professionisti, tecnici) e inanimati (tecnologie di rilevazione, attrezzi di scavo, ecc.), ed un oggetto (il bene culturale) caratterizzato ancora dal requisito di utilità, di materialità, di limitatezza, come un fattore avulso dal proprio contesto e capace di influire in maniera marginale in percorsi volti all'ampliamento della varietà informativa del fruitore (Barile, 2012). Questa condizione iniziale è data dall'assunzione che il valore del bene si compie solo in relazione al contesto storico e geografico di appartenenza in quanto *place e time specific* (Montella, 2012: 22). Da ciò, l'osservazione di un'attività di scavo secondo una logica di processo consente di evidenziarne una doppia finalità: una, volta al recupero della fisicità dell'oggetto, ed una seconda, volta ad una rigenerazione della componente cognitiva del bene. Questa constatazione consente così di configurare l'attività di scavo al pari di un atto creativo attraverso cui il bene, ambientato in un contesto differente, muta la sua forma e assume le caratteristiche di prodotto. E' in questa fase che vengono definite le prime griglie interpretative su cui si andranno ad innestare in seguito le attività di valorizzazione del bene culturale.

Dopo aver formalizzato i processi, la loro modellazione e progettazione (To-Be) consente di approfondire l'applicabilità di nuove soluzioni tecnologiche al loro interno, al fine di favorire una maggiore precisione e qualità nella cattura dei dati. La digitalizzazione del materiale cartaceo e la disponibilità del dato in tempo reale, consentirebbe di superare le criticità a livello operativo legate alla difficoltà nel rinvenimento delle informazioni, nonché all'asincronia e disomogeneità tra i dati reperiti da diverse sorgenti.



Da qui la proposta di iniziare a definire le caratteristiche di un prodotto digitale, capace di veicolare un valore culturale esplicito, che viene definito in prima istanza come *Aggregato Culturale Digitale* (ACD).

Ripercorrendo quanto sinora delineato, il quadro concettuale su cui si innesta la proposta di sviluppare un

“immateriale che [...] si esprime all'interno di una dinamica di processo” (Barile & Saviano, 2012: 116). Su queste, si innesteranno in seguito ulteriori iniziative tese ad ampliarne il valore che, sulla base dell'identificazione di una specifica funzione d'uso, selezioneranno e organizzeranno le possibili opzioni di offerta (Barile, 2012), generando nuove fioriture (Holden, 2015). Così, il bene evolve ad una fase di ambientazione, non creando però automaticamente i presupposti per la creazione di nuova cultura. Seguendo il ragionamento del modello ciclico di rigenerazione affinché ciò possa avvenire è necessario che la creatività venga curata e poi collezionata perchè possa assumere la dimensione di patrimonio culturale. Richiamando l'attenzione sul fatto che la cultura rappresenta un fenomeno di tipo non gerarchico e sociale, appare così evidente che un processo di valorizzazione che intenda rendere esplicito il potenziale cognitivo del bene non possa realizzarsi se non all'interno di una fase di *contestualizzazione* (Barile, 2012). In questa si assiste ad uno spostamento da una relazione tra beni ad una interazione tra soggetti. Il bene si dematerializza all'interno del più ampio processo di valorizzazione nel quale il complesso di circostanza, gli elementi di contorno, il quadro situazionale prevalgono sull'oggetto materiale. Il bene, da prodotto, diviene *servizio* sul quale il fruitore interviene nella dimensione ampliata del bene, co-creandone le caratteristiche distintive (Barile, 2012).

Detto ciò, la proposta qui avanzata si orienta verso la definizione di uno strumento che in prima approssimazione viene definito “Aggregato Culturale Digitale” (ACD). Questo è rappresentato da un'aggregazione intelligente di informazioni riguardanti l'oggetto culturale generate lungo il suo intero ciclo di vita. Si tratta di un oggetto digitale complesso, generato in maniera sistemica all'interno del più ampio processo di valorizzazione, da differenti processi di produzione (storicizzazione), analisi (ambientazione) e fruizione (contestualizzazione).

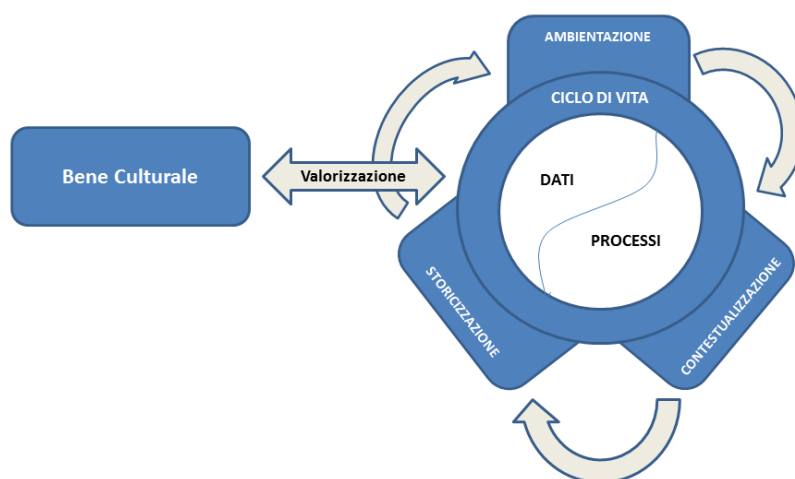


Figura 4. Modello embrionale di ACD

Lo sviluppo di una simile proposta presuppone che si cessi di considerare la tecnologia come una categoria a se stante e che si inizi a considerarla, affinché le nuove buzzwords possano divenire “valorizzare, interpretare, contestualizzare e comprendere” (Stogner, 2009), un attore rilevante attivo nel proprio ruolo all'interno di una specifica ecologia (Holden, 2015: 22). Così, come fatto nel caso delle attività di scavo, estendendo il campo di applicazione di strumenti quali il Business Process Management (BPM) ai differenti processi nei quali il potenziale informativo del bene si manifesta, appare possibile fornire una rappresentazione chiara che consenta di individuare, rapidamente e con precisione, i momenti in cui vengono generate le informazioni. Attraverso tale lavoro di mappatura, modellazione e progettazione dei processi, l'implementazione di opportune soluzioni tecnologiche al loro interno consentirebbe di aumentare

sia la qualità che la quantità delle informazioni relative al bene culturale. Queste, se opportunamente integrate all'interno di un sistema di archiviazione che ne abiliti la condivisione in un ambiente fortemente orientato alla collaborazione tra diversi attori, consentirebbero di incentivare una maggiore oggettività delle informazioni attraverso un processo di costruzione sociale (Berger & Luckmann, 1997) del valore culturale del bene. Tale ipotesi, assume ulteriore valenza se posta in relazione alla crescente tendenza verso l'applicazione di tecnologie digitali nei differenti campi che si rivolgono ai beni culturali (restauro, ingegneria, ecc.) e che sta favorendo una crescita esponenziale di risorse e banche dati digitali. Così come in relazione alle sperimentazioni legate a progetti di piattaforme come Europeana e Google Cultural Institute che stanno consentendo di esplorare nuove frontiere nella comunicazione e diffusione del patrimonio culturale, ricercando una via per integrare, supportare l'accesso e il riutilizzo delle risorse culturali digitali. In tal senso, questo contributo, per quanto ancora acerbo, si focalizza maggiormente su una dimensione di micro-analisi rispetto alla portata di tali iniziative, cercando di individuare le caratteristiche di una possibile soluzione innovativa che consenta di rendere percepibile la componente cognitiva presente nel bene culturale secondo una logica di servizio. Si tratta dunque di "non [...] rimandare il discorso alla lontana presenza dell'origine [...]" ma di "[...] affrontarlo nel meccanismo della sua istanza" (Foucault, 1994: 35).

Tale soluzione, a parer nostro, può essere ravvisata nella proposta di sviluppo di un modello di ACD, attraverso cui il bene culturale si *dematerializza*, trasformandosi in un aggregato informativo (metadati), per poi ricomporsi digitalmente al suo interno esplicitando così il proprio potenziale informativo. Si tratta in tal senso di adottare un approccio di tipo sistemico-processuale e fenomenologico (Cerquetti, 2014: 100) rispetto al processo di emersione del valore culturale. Considerando che ogni atto teso ad ampliare il valore di un bene culturale è configurabile a sua volta come atto creativo potenzialmente in grado di produrre nuova cultura, l'esplicitazione del valore culturale del bene in una prospettiva di contestualizzazione sarà data dall'aggregazione dei risultati dei differenti processi aventi ad oggetto il bene all'interno di un processo di costruzione sociale del valore.

Per comprendere il concetto di costruzione sociale del valore culturale, faremo riferimento a due prime caratteristiche attraverso cui iniziare a definire l'ACD come multidimensionale e multilivello.

Con il termine multidimensionale si fa riferimento alle componenti valoriali caratterizzanti il bene culturale (Throsby, 2001: 75). Dato il livello di complessità proprio della componente cognitiva del bene, adottando un prospettiva di tipo multidisciplinare, appare evidente come le singole componenti valoriali possano essere valorizzate partendo da differenti punti di osservazione ognuno dei quali focalizzato su specifici aspetti inerenti il bene (dimensione fisica, storica, socio-antropologica, geografica; ecc.). Da qui l'ipotesi che l'ACD debba essere immaginato come un prodotto multidimensionale in cui le informazioni sono organizzate e rese disponibili in modo tale da rendere percepibile il valore cognitivo del bene nella sua complessità.

Con il termine multilivello ci riferiamo invece ad un aspetto differente e più legato al lato operativo di archiviazione delle informazioni. Prendendo ad esempio il caso di studio considerato, in ambito archeologico le informazioni prodotte sono caratterizzate da un maggiore o minore grado di complessità. Ad un livello zero possono essere classificate le informazioni relative alle singole unità stratigrafiche (US), mentre ad un livello *n* l'elemento con il maggior grado di complessità, ovvero la relazione di scavo. Nel mezzo, opportunamente classificate si troverebbero altre tipologie di informazioni come ad esempio schede analitiche degli elementi architettonici, rilievi, planimetria generale della città, foto di scavo o analisi sulla distribuzione dei materiali, analisi diagnostiche del degrado, ecc. In tal senso, sarebbe opportuno individuare una modalità di classificazione delle informazioni in grado di consentirne una lettura differenziata per livelli di profondità a seconda dell'interesse particolare dell'osservatore o del livello di conoscenza posseduto.

Considerate queste due caratteristiche dell'ACD, appare con evidenza la dimensione sociale del processo di costruzione del valore culturale del bene il cui compimento si realizza, non più in una interazione tra beni ma in una interazione tra soggetti. I risultati di tale interazione, che si realizzano nei differenti processi,

possono così trovare compimento all'interno di un ACD in cui le differenti componenti cognitive "dematerializzate", possono essere collezionate e conservate (fasi 3 e 4 del modello ciclico di rigenerazione) consentendo di rendere percepibile la complessità del valore culturale del bene.

Conclusioni

Per come delineata, la proposta di definizione di un modello di ACD pone in risalto le difficoltà che un processo di valorizzazione, fondato su una visione dicotomica del rapporto tra tutela e valorizzazione, manifesta nel rendere percepibile la componente cognitiva del bene culturale. È su tale visione che, forti del supporto offerto dagli approcci della valorizzazione economica della cultura, sono stati innestati nel tempo i differenti interventi di valorizzazione del bene culturale. Questa impostazione ha prodotto così un'influenza marginale nella direzione di una generazione di valore d'uso per i sovrasistemi (cittadini, imprese, ecc.) e di supporto alla creatività e all'innovazione.

Le possibilità in tal senso offerte dall'ACD sono date dall'assunzione del fenomeno in una prospettiva di *contestualizzazione* che è il risultato di processi di creazione di valore dal valore (Montella, 2012: 22). Cosicché il bene *place e time specific* (Montella, 2012: 22), muta la sua forma lungo il processo, ricomponendo la propria componente cognitiva all'interno dell'ACD. Questa ricomposizione, affiancata alla possibilità di collocare l'ACD in relazione ad altri aggregati o risorse digitali attraverso la rete, consente di individuare potenzialmente in quest'ultimo uno spazio idoneo in cui possa svilupparsi un'atmosfera creativa, una *prossimità* di tipo laterale, dando spazio alla capacità creativa della cultura (Lazzeretti, 2011). Il risultato di tale processo sarà direttamente correlato alle modalità e alle opportunità di interazione, sia locali che globali, che si realizzano all'interno di una simile *piattaforma* che può fungere da *connettore* tra *guardiani* e *nomadi* di una specifica ecologia culturale (Holden, 2015).

Chiaramente la trattazione di una simile proposta apre il campo ad una moltitudine di questioni, alcune delle quali ancora inesplorate o irrisolte. D'altro canto, però, l'intento del presente lavoro è al momento semplicemente quello di valutare la validità della proposta e di definirne eventuali traiettorie di sviluppo al fine di individuare nell' *Aggregato Culturale Digitale* una *risorsa materiale* che all'interno di un ecosistema culturale possa rappresentare una risorsa a supporto della creatività e dell'innovazione.

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No Sands Castles - Earth Architecture and Peace Caravans: Learning from the Practice of Culture, Development and Peace in Niger

Galeazzi, Greta

European Centre for Development Policy Management (ECDPM)

Maastricht, The Netherlands

gg@ecdpm.org

Helly, Damien

European Centre for Development Policy Management (ECDPM)

Maastricht, The Netherlands

dhe@ecdpm.org

Abstract

The paper aims to create a discussion among practitioners doing *culture and development* in local realities in Africa and elsewhere about the *culture-development* nexus and how to assess the role of culture. As such this paper discusses the link between culture and development and culture in the EU external relations or diplomacy and the literature on the value of culture. At the same time, the authors propose the application of a multimedia research approach as an innovative way to produce knowledge and conduct policy research on the role of culture in/for/as development. The authors formulate a multimedia research protocol or methodology adapted to assess two EU-funded cultural projects in Niger that aim to promote development and peace. This methodology, still tentative, could be tested in future work with practitioners and experts, in a *co-creation* experiment.

Keywords: culture and development; culture in EU external action; Niger; storytelling.

Introduction

Niger is described by analysts as a country in a *precarious balance*³⁷. This has only been confirmed by a tense domestic politics environment in a multiethnic and multicultural environment. Earlier in 2015 the participation of the President of Niger, Mahamadou Issoufou, to the “Je suis Charlie” march in Paris, in the wake of the attacks against the French satirical newspaper Charlie Hebdo, spurred - or, some say, was used as a pretext by the opposition to unleash - protests, leading to the burning down of churches, Christian-owned businesses, and the French cultural centre in Zinder.³⁸

Still a Least Developed Country (LDC), Niger has the lowest ranking in the Human Development Index of 2015 (187 out of 187) (UNDP, 2015) and has one of the highest population growth rates of the world. Local conflicts and jihadi movements at its borders threaten the precarious stability that the government has crafted with help from the international and donor community that sees the country as an ally in the fight against extremists groups in the region.

A source of interest for the foreign policy and security community, Niger has however a rich cultural heritage, which had been, until recent times, also a source of economic revenue, in particular in the region of

³⁷ For background on Niger see International Crisis Group (2013) Niger: Another Weak Link in the Sahel? Africa Report N°208. 19 September 2013.

³⁸ For an analysis on the events of January 2015 see Couture J.L. (2015) Niger: une lettre de Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan (anthropologue IRD, APAD). Mediapart, 21 January 2015.

Agadez.³⁹ Cultural work has also been supported by some donors, but remains not very visible, as the lion's share of interventions are made up by poverty reduction activities and programs to promote employment, food security and nutrition interventions, rule of law, peacebuilding and counter-radicalisation initiatives.

Cultural projects, for instance those funded by the European Union, are not aiming at promoting *culture for culture's sake*. Rather, the intervention logics and the activities always include development goals, defined in several ways. This is not surprising as the funding comes from budget lines specifically aiming to support the achievement of development and/or peacebuilding goals. But, as we will discuss in the paper, the idea that culture has a role to play in development, peace and governance is increasingly rooted in evidence, and receives support from policy circles in Europe.

Yet, evaluating or assessing the role of cultural action for this kind of instrumental purposes is far from easy, as many scholars but also practitioners have pointed out. There are however recent conceptualisations of the culture and development *pair* that could, in our view, pave the ground for innovative approaches.

The first aim of this paper is to contribute to the literature on culture and development and on the value of culture in policies promoting sustainable development and peace. It formulates hypotheses and addresses research questions such as: which lessons can be learnt from earth architecture as a type of cultural action aimed at poverty reduction and sustainable decent housing in this region?; what are the value and limits of cultural action in Niger as part of the EU's contribution to development and peace; the ways to engage the youth in this region, in a context of poverty, exclusion, religious tensions and risks of radicalisation, and migration? What is the potential impact of culturally-sensitive EU-funded projects in the Sahel?

Second, our ambition is to discuss the application of a multimedia research approach as an innovative way to produce knowledge and conduct policy research in social sciences. We formulate a multimedia research protocol or methodology adapted to assess two cultural projects in Niger that aim to promote development and peace, implemented by the Comitato Internazionale per lo Sviluppo dei Popoli (CISP), which are presented in the next section. To make the paper of grounded in practice and not only in theory, we test the protocol through interviews with cultural practitioners, which allow us to refine it. In this sense the paper can be regarded as a case study aiming to test the feasibility of innovative multimedia research to be pursued in a second phase through fieldwork in Niger.

1. Methodology and structure of the paper

This paper draws on the enormous body of work on the value and impact of culture and on the more emerging fields of research on the link between culture and development and on culture in the EU external relations, diplomacy, and action more in general. At the same time, this paper benefits from insights from the practice of doing *culture and development* in local realities in Africa and elsewhere. The paper also aims to create a discussion among practitioners. As such, a choice was made to discuss the literature, but also to start proposing research hypotheses, methodological options and ideas for multimedia research, however imperfect and tentative they might be, and to test them with practitioners and experts, in a *co-creation* experiment.

The methodology for this paper combines desk research and review of existing literature, with remote interviews. These have been used in particular to refine the proposed multimedia research protocol with stakeholders and test its theoretical feasibility.

The paper is structured as follows. In a first section we will present the context in which the two cultural projects in Niger were born, in particular the EU context leading to their funding. In a second section we will discuss the conceptual framework we adopt to analyse the *culture-development nexus* or the role of culture in, for, as development, in the specific case of the two projects. The third section present recurrent

³⁹ For further information see Grégoire (2006).

challenges for analysing the role and impact of cultural projects having development or peace goals - in our case the two projects implemented by the Comitato Internazionale per lo Sviluppo dei Popoli (CISP), and makes the case for a new approach, which we call a *multimedia* research approach. In the fourth section we attempt to build a multimedia research protocol that could be applied in a future, field, phase in Niger. We also discuss the limitations of this protocol, in particular the fact that it is context-specific, being drawn from two specific experiences. We test already the theoretical feasibility of this protocol with a number of relevant stakeholders to refine it. In the final section we will draw some early conclusions and agenda for next steps in multimedia research.

2. The context of EU-funded cultural interventions in Niger

The projects selected for the analysis in this paper are both funded by the European Union (EU) and implemented by the same organisation, Comitato Internazionale per lo Sviluppo dei Popoli (CISP), together with local partners in Niger. One of the projects, on earth architecture, is also implemented in neighbouring countries: Mali, Burkina Faso, Benin, Cameroon.

The Comitato Internazionale per lo Sviluppo dei Popoli (CISP) is a non-governmental organisation (NGO) based in Italy, and working since the early 80s in several countries in Africa, Middle East, Latin America and Asia with humanitarian aid and development cooperation projects.⁴⁰ The staff that implements the projects is based in Niamey, Niger, and in Rome. Though conceptualised, planned and implemented by the same organisation and funded by the same institution, the projects display different features.

Table 1. Selected cultural projects by CISP in Niger

Title	Programme d'épanouissement culturel de la jeunesse	Une industrie culturelle en développement : l'architecture en terre
Period	January 2014 - ongoing till December 2015	12 August 2014 - 14 August 2014
Funding	European Union (Instrument for Stability)	European Union (10th European Development Fund) and ACP Secretariat (Programme ACP-UE d'appui aux secteurs culturels ACP)
Logic of intervention / Theory of change	The project aims to: 1) improve the cultural programmes in the Maisons de la Culture, and the participation of youth in the programmes; and 2) strengthen the capacity of the Maisons de la Culture. These activities will lead to better access to culture for youth, ultimately leading to better social, economic and cultural conditions for the youth.	The promotion and strengthening of the <i>cultural industry</i> of architecture done with local materials (<i>terre</i>) will start a process of sustainable development, leading to reduction of poverty, the promotion of decent and sustainable housing, and better economic, social and cultural conditions for the population. The specific objectives through which this cultural industry is supported are: 1) technical and vocational trainings and exchanges of the sector's workers; and 2) sensitisation of the local communities about earth architecture.

⁴⁰ Comitato Internazionale per lo Sviluppo dei Popoli (CISP) is a non-governmental organisation (NGO) based in Italy, and working since the early 80s in more than 30 countries in Africa, Middle East, Latin America and Asia with humanitarian aid and development cooperation projects. CISP implements projects funded by, among others, the European Union, the United Nations, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Italy. For further information about the CISP visit <http://www.developmentofpeoples.org>. The authors are in no contractual relationship with the CISP.

Beneficiaries	Population of town and villages where activities of the <i>Maisons de la Culture</i> and where the <i>caravanes de la paix</i> take place (almost 700.000 people). Beneficiaries include youth audiences and participants; local officials from relevant ministries of culture, youth, sport, education as well as people working in those sectors; directors and staff of the <i>Maisons de la Culture</i> ; local authorities and representatives; local, regional, national artists.	Cultural organisations, professionals and companies (more than 500); local authorities and representatives, including ministry staff; visitors of the National Museum Boubou Hama, the general population.
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The first project, on earth architecture, is funded by the 10th European Development Fund (EDF)⁴¹ and co-financed by an ACP-EU program for the cultural and creative sectors. The aim is to promote this emerging *cultural industry* which has the potential to provide sustainable solutions to the problem of urbanisation.

The second project, aims to strengthen cultural participation in the youth population through a series of activities like workshops and travelling shows, workshop and master classes, with the ultimate objective to promote better social, cultural, economic conditions. The action is funded by the EU's Instrument for Stability (IfS).⁴²

The EU has supported cultural action within Europe⁴³, and outside Europe. The research for the *Preparatory Action for Culture in EU External Relations* shows the myriad of ways the EU has engaged with culture and cultural practitioners in the sixteen countries of the Neighbourhood and in the ten Strategic Partnership Countries⁴⁴ (Isar *et al.*, 2014). The engagement was substantial yet fragmented, since a single vision for culture in external relations was not available to EU staff, who was therefore responding to different needs and implementing different policies.

More often than not, the EU's engagement in culturally sensitive initiatives stemmed from the encounter of dedicated staff, often based in EU Delegations - the EU's *embassies* in third countries - who recognised the potential of culture, with international and local practitioners.⁴⁵ This is also how the programmes implemented by the CISP in Niger could be regarded, the EU Delegation in Niamey being an essential supporter of the NGO's work.⁴⁶

A strategy for culture in EU external relations⁴⁷ is now in the making in the EU's internal kitchens, demonstrating new awareness and political willingness as well as some drive from the top on this agenda.

⁴¹ The European Development Fund (EDF) is the EU's main financial line to provide Official Development Assistance (ODA) to African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) states. The EDF is not part of the EU budget: EU member states contribute to it according to distribution keys. The EDF is managed mostly by the EU's Directorate General in charge of international cooperation and development, also known as DG DEVCO-EuropeAid, and involves at several stages the EU member states and the beneficiary countries. For further information see Herrero *et al* (2013) and Herrero *et al* (2015).

⁴² Since March 2014 the Instrument for Stability (IfS) is succeeded by the Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace (IcSP). The rationale of this budget is to support urgent short-term actions in crisis or emerging crisis and assist longer-term action by organisations engaged in crisis response and peace-building. Compared to the IfS, the focus on crisis prevention has broadened.

⁴³ The most recent programme is Creative Europe, managed by DG EAC. The programme includes also the possibility for operators of non-EU countries to benefit from EU funding, provided some procedures and requirements are fulfilled.

⁴⁴ The ENP countries are: Algeria, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Egypt, Georgia, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Moldova, Palestine, Syria, Tunisia and Ukraine. The Strategic Partner countries are: Brazil, Canada, China, India, Japan, Mexico, Russia, South Africa, South Korea and the United States of America.

⁴⁵ This was noticed by the authors in several countries such as for instance Jordan, Algeria, Tunisia and Mali and the role of EU Delegations in cultural relations was emphasised by the 2014 EU Preparatory Action on culture in external relations.

⁴⁶ Remote interviews with CISP staff in Niger and Italy, September 2015.

⁴⁷ We use the term "culture in EU external relations" which is the concept commonly employed in EU's communications and displays a broader meaning than traditional "cultural diplomacy" conducted by nation-states. We are aware of the critique that the concept is not immune to discourses and practices associated with "cultural diplomacy". On this point see Isar (2015).

As a result of the Preparatory Action, culture has achieved a higher priority in the work of DG DEVCO-EuropeAid, the EU's Directorate General in charge of the budget for international cooperation and development. The DG has now commissioned a study to map scenarios for supporting culture in the framework of the *Global Public Good and Challenges* budget line of the Development Cooperation Instrument.⁴⁸

The three panels devoted to culture and development at the recent European Development Days - the EU's annual three day gathering of development experts and practitioners in Brussels - showed the curiosity, buy-in, political support, and engagement for more culture in development work (Helly & Galeazzi, 2015). There are several schools of thoughts within the EU institutions and debates showed that the conceptualisation of the interplay between culture and development is not univocal. The next section will deal more in depth with the different understandings of the "culture and development" couple. While some EU staff - and also some national cultural institutes of EU member states - focus on the potential of cultural programmes and projects for development purposes, other EU staff proposes a more context and culturally sensitive development cooperation - also called *mainstreaming culture in development*.

These approaches are not entirely new in the EU development cooperation, which in the past has already supported cultural projects in developing countries. The main argumentations brought forward to include culture in development cooperation were: i) development is more than material deprivation (human development); ii) knowledge of the cultural context improves aid effectiveness; iii) culture and cultural participation can improve social cohesion; iv) the cultural and creative industries are an economic sector with potential (Jeretic, 2014).

Against this background, it appears that CISP projects in Niger can also be looked at as part of a broader global and European policy dynamics and frameworks revisiting the role of culture in international cooperation and explored in the next section.

3. Conceptual framework for the culture-development nexus

This section deals with the ways to conceptualise the culture-development nexus or the role of culture in, for, as development, before setting out the framework through which the projects by CISP will be analysed.

As the literature points out, culture and development have intersected at several stages in the past (De Beukelaer, 2015). A mainly economic interest in the creative and cultural industries (CCI) and their potential of GDP growth was first on the agenda of UNCTAD. The reflection has since then expanded.

There have been international efforts to address the role of culture in development. UNESCO has development indicators for culture in development, thanks to the support of Spain, whose development agency AECID financed the project from 2009 to 2013.⁴⁹ The indicators are mostly a policy and advocacy tool and are applied at the national level. Among the outcomes, some national dialogues have been started and some national actors started to develop cultural policies.⁵⁰

The interest for the pair of *culture and development* has blossomed in the preparation work for the new development agenda that will succeed the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), whose stated date of achievement should be the year 2015. While it is evident that the goals have not been achieved consistently⁵¹, the new development paradigm is in the final stages of its construction. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) should be approved at the United Nations General Assembly in September 2015.

⁴⁸ The Development Cooperation Instrument (DCI) is the EU's funding line for actions aimed at poverty reduction in 47 developing countries in Latin America, Asia and Central Asia, the Gulf region and South Africa.

⁴⁹ For more information visit <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/cultural-diversity/cultural-expressions/programmes/culture-for-development-indicators/>.

⁵⁰ As presented by UNESCO staff at a briefing in Brussels, 21 September 2015.

⁵¹ For more information visit <http://www.cgdev.org/page/mdg-progress-index-gauging-country-level-achievements>.

In the run-up to the negotiation of the SDGs, organisations and individuals active in the sector of cultural policies launched reflections on culture and development. UNESCO was a main driver with the International Congress *Culture: Key to Sustainable Development*,⁵² held in Hangzhou, China, in May 2013 and which led to the Hangzhou Declaration *Placing Culture at the Heart of Sustainable Development Policies*. A global consultation process throughout 2014 by UNESCO and UNFPA, together with UNDP, led to the Final Report of the Post-2015 Dialogues on Culture and Development.). The EU also promoted independent research on cultural and development for instance through the project COST Action *Investigating Cultural Sustainability* (2011-2015).⁵³

These reflections - some of which could also be qualified as advocacy as their aim was to make the case for culture in the post-2015 development framework - have not managed to achieve the result of a specific goal on culture. Rather, culture is mentioned in four targets of the Sustainable Development Goals as well as in the policy statement accompanying them. In the zero draft culture is mentioned in: education (“include awareness rising on the contribution of culture to sustainable development”); economic growth (“incentives for sustainable tourism taking into account local culture”); inequality (“promoting and respecting cultural diversity”); cities (“protect cultural heritage”) (IFACCA, 2014). Whether the outcome is dissatisfying as some argued⁵⁴ or whether the lack of a proper goal is not a drama provided development practitioners understand how culture and development can interact and act accordingly, as other state⁵⁵ will not be discussed here.

Nevertheless, these debates led to advancements in the understanding and conceptualisation of the pair or *nexus* of culture and development. There is a convergence towards a more sophisticated understanding of the *nexus* which is not limited to the potential economic benefits of the cultural and creative sector. In this paper, we adopt the framework suggested by the final report of the COST action *Investigating Cultural Sustainability*. In the final report the researchers suggested a three-pronged approach:

- Culture in development. An autonomous, but linked, sector or pillar that is added to the three traditional sustainable development sectors or pillars - social, economic, environmental.⁵⁶ This conception includes the role of the cultural and creative industries,
- Culture for development. The mediating or facilitating role of culture that helps to find a (local) balance between the at-the-times competing needs of the economic, social and environmental goals of sustainable development,
- Culture as development. Culture as a driver for behavioural change through the creation of a new lifestyles and sustainable development paradigm. This approach is community-based or locally-rooted but could also be global and virtual.

This approach has been shared also by other experts, for instance the Final Report of the Post-2015 Dialogues on Culture and Development, which for instance argues that culture should be seen as enabler of development in addition to being a driver of development, as a sector in its own right (UNESCO, UNPFA, UNDP, 2015).

These three meanings are what the term *culture-development nexus* refers to: this *labelling* allows to encompass all the three dimensions.

The contribution of cultural projects and programs funded by the EU and implemented in developing countries could be regarded through these lens. We are aware that this very recent paradigm is being

⁵² For materials and information about the proceedings visit <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/culture-and-development/hangzhou-congress/>.

⁵³ The works of the research project are available at <http://www.culturalsustainability.eu/>.

⁵⁴ At a recent conference on culture and development organized by the Luxembourg Presidency of the EU, Luxembourg MEP Charles Goerens (ALDE) argued that culture occupies “an extremely mediocre position” in the post-2015 development agenda. See <http://www.eu2015lu.eu/en/actualites/articles-actualite/2015/09/03-04-conf-culture-dev/>.

⁵⁵ See Helly & Galeazzi (2015).

⁵⁶ These pillars are the components of sustainability first identified by the so-called *Brundtland Report*. See World Commission on Environment and Development (1987) *Our common future*.

applied ex-post to projects and programs planned some years ago and with their own intervention logics - which are described above in the case of CISP. However we are not evaluating programs or projects on the basis of this paradigm. Rather, we build our methodology to understand how these projects can contribute to sustainable development on the basis of this paradigm and taking on board a number of - more practice-oriented - suggestions on how to go about this research.

Table 2 The 3 dimensions of the culture and development nexus

	The 3 dimensions of the culture and development nexus		
Sources	Dimension 1	Dimension 2	Dimension 3
Holden 2013, Dessin <i>et al.</i> 2015 ⁵⁷	Intrinsic / Aesthetic / Artistic & technical excellence	Instrumental / Value for money	Institutional ⁵⁸ / Behaviour change potential (anthropological)
Dessin <i>et al.</i> 2015 language	Culture in development (including cultural and creative industries)	Culture for development /	Culture as development
Authors' understanding of the three dimensions of the culture-development nexus	Cultural sector producing culture for the sake of it / Culture as an autonomous but linked sector	Role of culture in influencing / impacting other sectors (mediation role)	Culture as (potential) driver of change of sustainable development, peacebuilding, counter radicalisation etc.
Resource persons / interviewees / Main stakeholders / directly concerned / people able to provide data for indicators	Peers in the cultural and creative sector / artists / cultural professionals Audiences & participants	Environment Economic Social experts in development & sustainability Audiences & participants	End users promoters of change / advocates Observers / Knowledge experts/ researchers Audiences & participants

We propose a three-pronged approach to understand the culture-development nexus in the case of the two projects planned and executed by the CISP. This approach will allow taking into account the role of culture as an autonomous, but linked, sector or pillar; the mediating or facilitating role of culture for sustainable development goals; and the role of culture as a driver for behavioural change.

⁵⁷ In its final report *Enriching Britain: Culture, Creativity and Growth*, the Warwick Commission which was set up to investigate "the social, economic and artistic value that culture brings to Britain", does not define the three types of value it adopts. The impact is recognised on individuals and on the "shared culture", therefore the "goals for growth and enrichment" that the report puts forward are not only economic gains but include education, diversity, digital access and prioritising arts that "deliver crucial benefits in building and forming local identity and creative aspiration and shaping international views of the different regions and cities of the UK".

⁵⁸ The institutional type of value proposed by Holden could appear at first sight as in contradiction with the meaning of behaviour change potential. However the institutional value "refers to the social goods created (or destroyed) by cultural organisations" - there is therefore an element of behaviour change, since this value indicates "the contribution of culture to producing a democratic and well-functioning society". The difference is that Holden defines already the specific aim or behaviour change, while the approach of the COST researchers, by promoting the search for locally culturally rooted solutions for sustainable development, leaves open the question of what type of society should be created.

4. Analysing cultural projects in developing and conflict countries: the case for a multimedia research approach

The question of assessing the value of culture is high on the domestic agenda of some European or more in general Western countries. Much thinking and energy has gone into the question of measuring the impact of public spending on culture in the Western world.⁵⁹ This debate is linked to decreasing public budgets and requests for justification of support to arts, heritage and culture (Belfiore, 2014).

There have been methodological advances, for instance the use of tools of valuation in studies measuring the economic impact of cultural experiences (Bakhshi, 2012). Yet cultural values are subjective and personal experiences, which are given a social meaning by individuals, making evaluations difficult (Gielen *et al.*, 2015). Shortcomings of traditional evaluations for cultural projects have already been pointed out by researchers.⁶⁰ Some propose to investigate the effect of a single project or phenomenon in a specific context, given their specificities or focus on long-term impacts (Gielen *et al.*, 2015).

For EU funded projects about culture and development, the main questions that have arisen concern, first of all, the lack of systematic long-term evaluation and, secondly, the limited availability of baselines to compare results over time (Jeretic, 2014). These critiques are not dissimilar to those made in general about development programs.

Multi-media research and storytelling as innovative methodology

In addition to proposing an approach built on the three-tier conceptualisation of the culture-development nexus, we also propose to use multimedia research and storytelling to provide information and evidence on the role of culture in/for/as development.

Our starting point was to identify how storytelling has been employed as a qualitative research methodology in some fields. A first literature screening (Mitchell & Egundo, 2003) shows the following applications in research – academic and non-academic – often linked to the understanding or *sense-making* of complex systems:

- Use of storytelling in collaborative / participatory research,
- Storytelling as a complementary methodology to (or a methodology derived from) narrative research / analysis, interpretative research, ethnographic research,
- Storytelling as a method of qualitative research (and communication?) in organisational science, organisation research, information systems, management studies, but also health and nursing studies.

In addition, storytelling has been used as an educational and learning tool and a communication tool.

Obviously storytelling might not lend itself to all contexts. Results would also tend to be very specific and not suitable for generalisations. But precisely for this reason storytelling can be one of the ways - in a multi-disciplinary approach - to counteract limitations of qualitative semi-structured interviews - on the limitations see Diefenbach (2009). Other methodological approaches, their strengths and weaknesses, could be explored. See also Mitchell & Egundo (2003).

What we have also explored is the potential strengths and added value of multi-media research as a data collection method. In comparison to more traditional qualitative development studies, initial thoughts about the potential of multi-media research lead to the following hypothesis:

- Preparatory protocol for audiovisual implies trust-building preparatory exchanges, meetings and sometimes interviews, giving the opportunity for deeper relations with interviewees,
- Data can be stored under a variety of development-related topics and can be re-used as part of a database for future usage and memory storage,

⁵⁹ As shown by the literature collected and analyzed in the context of the Warwick Commission on the Future of Cultural Value.

⁶⁰ See the section on the limitations of existing evidence in Cultural Ministers Council Statistics Working Group (2004).

- Collected data is context-specific, multi-dimensional (it can be studies from a variety of angles), culturally sensitive and potentially multicultural and multilingual, increasing the potential audience for it,
- Data is the result of a new type of interaction in research: a co-creation and a co-performance in which the interviewee is also an actor and not only an information provider - the interviewee shares thoughts and knowledge of the context, the interviewer shares images and sound later on, there is a memory of the interaction that is potentially available to a wide audience,
- The interaction (and images) created around the interview goes beyond the mere meeting consisting of extracting data and information. It implies to take time and the discovery of a specific human environment with its specific development questions.

Multi-media research and storytelling can be coupled together – or storytelling can intervene in a second phase. As a methodology to produce information, multimedia research and storytelling offer some practical advantages over standard written outputs while not being mutually exclusive. The product does not have to be printed out, nor read, which matters when people don't have time to read. It can potentially be downloaded and consulted while travelling. Its usage is faster than the reading of a report.

In an age of increasingly integrated communications, multimedia research and storytelling have a number of strengths in comparison to written publications: they put the narrative or the story upfront, allowing the audience to make an immediate connection with the content. Multi-media synthesis of written outputs can make research more accessible to audiences and can be used to target policy-makers who feel disconnected from realities in developing countries. A proper tailoring of multi-media products that brings the narrative upfront and creates an emotional link as much as provides rational evidence can have a stronger impact, as evidenced by research on storytelling.

These potential strengths, identified in theory, need to be tested in practice. Applying multimedia research and storytelling to concrete cases will help to discuss in depth the pros and cons of this approach.

A choice between research, evaluation and advocacy

Storytelling – including in its multi-media form - is often used in marketing, journalism, and advocacy. Analysts have already noted the risk of confusion between independent research and research linked to policy agenda on the question of the value of culture (Beffiore & Bennet, 2010). Hence the need to have a framework to distinguish between these different approaches, on the basis of the main questions they seek to answer. Taking into account that these domains create a continuum rather than rigidly separated categories, we place our proposal in the research realm and to some extent in the evaluation realm.

Table 3. Differentiating between research, evaluation, advocacy.

	Research	Evaluation	Advocacy
Main questions	Why is this phenomenon happening? Includes several steps, like: the definition of phenomenon, their description, adoption or formulation of a theoretical framework and hypothesis to test, etc.	Does it work?	What should be done?
Evidence production	Evidence on the phenomenon	Evidence of success / impact or not / value for money	Evidence tailored to the advocacy agenda

			Recommendations on policies to be carried out
Conclusions and way forward	Knowledge creation / stock taking / lessons learned	Record of experience + lessons learned	Recommendations of pilot projects experiments and policy decisions

5. Building and testing a multimedia research protocol

Building a multi-media research & storytelling protocol

Identification phase

1. Scoping the debate around the projects managed and implemented by CISP and its partners, to identify the political and policy context. This step has been partially done already. Research questions could be further narrowed down and refined, as the research process deepens, taking into account its cumulative and evolutionary nature. In this phase, the hypothesis would also be formulated. Our main hypothesis we want to test are:

- If the CISP projects contribute to the three dimensions of culture & development nexus
- If a multimedia research and storytelling approach brings added value to assessing the role of culture in/for/as development.

2. Indicators examined to understand the processes - social, financial political, emotional, psychological - through which culture has an impact (or not) on development. We would follow the three dimensions or conceptualization of the culture and development nexus.

The table below shows a selection of potential (*work in progress*) indicators that emerged on the basis of interviews and literature review on the CISP projects in Niger, to be refined during further work.

CISP had already provided *narrative reports* to its funders. The documents are remarkable in the amount of detailed information they provide, in particular about the activities implemented, like ateliers, construction of buildings, trainings, workshops, conferences. Therefore our proposal would aim to build on those reports rather than replicate them. Our approach intends to cover unintended or indirect potential side effects, which are not always considered in formal evaluations. For instance questions of migration and radicalization of youth are part of the context in which CISP intervenes.

Table 4. Types of indicators for cultural projects, on the basis of the 3 dimensions of the culture and development nexus

	The 3 dimensions of the culture and development nexus		
Indicators for interviews with audience and participants	For the audience & participants: a selection of qualitative indicators (ex post survey) based on the groupings identified by Carnwath & Brown (2014), in particular: - 1) engagement, energy, tension, concentration, captivation and absorption level; - 4) aesthetic growth,	For the audience & participants: a selection of qualitative indicators (ex post survey) based on the groupings identified by Carnwath & Brown (2014), in particular: - 3) provocation, challenge and intellectual stimulation;	For the audience & participants: a selection of qualitative indicators (ex post survey) based on the groupings identified by Carnwath & Brown (2014), in particular: - 2) personal resonance, emotional connection; empathy, and inspiration; - 5) social connectedness, sense

	aesthetic validation, and creative stimulation;		of belonging, shared experience, social bridging and social bonding.
Indicators for interviews with experts and resources people Indicators for audiovisual evidence		<p>Economic / Revenue: Contracts / Requests to build/renovate buildings with techniques in earth architecture (including photo/video evidence) Entrepreneurial activities linked to earth architecture Contracts / grants obtained by artists that received mobility support Private and public funding leveraged by cultural festivals</p> <p>Environmental/Ecology: (Plans to) Use of earth architecture by public institutions and local authorities (including photo/video evidence)</p> <p>Social: Participatory cultural programmes are developed and put in place of the Maisons de la Culture Cultural programs address social issues (including migration, radicalization, etc).</p>	<p>Direct impacts: More dialogue among youth groups More dialogue among youth groups and local authorities, including the Maisons de la Culture Renovation of buildings/village upkeep/upkeep of the Maisons de la Culture</p> <p>Indirect impacts (impacts on issues not explicitly targeted by the projects): Personal growth of audiences and participants More dialogue among groups of different faiths and ethnicities More dialogue among local populations and migrant population</p>

3. Identification of resource persons to interview in Europe and in Niger, Mali, Benin. The profiling of individual interviewees prevents broad generalizations.

4. Identification of key locations to visit and focus the research on. In terms of geography, what has emerged from a first round of exchanges with CISP is the need to make choices.

The project *Architecture en Terre* has seen Niger has the main *hub* – notably with the organization of the weekly conference *Semaine de l'Architecture en terre* and with the construction of actual buildings with earth architecture methods, hosted in the National Museum of Boubou Hama in Niamey.⁶¹ But activities have also been implemented in other countries or have involved partner organizations of neighboring countries.

The project *Programme d'épanouissement culturel de la jeunesse* has de facto three different components in three different types of locations in the North-West and South-East of the countries. In the towns and villages where there are Maisons de la Culture, the project supports cultural programming and the cultural operators and local authorities working with or in the cultural houses.⁶² In locations where there are no such

⁶¹ For further information visit <https://terredafriqueetarchitecture.wordpress.com/>.

⁶² Cultural houses supported by the projects are found in Agadez, Tchirozerine, Arlit, Tanout, Diffa, Maine Soroa, N'Guigmi.

establishments, travelling cultural caravans - the so-called *caravanes de la paix* - bring cultural activities to local populations.⁶³ Lastly, the support to existing and ongoing festivals – four in total, one per region⁶⁴ of intervention – has been provided.

5. Identification of key partners including audiovisual companies and operators.

6. Screening of available audiovisual data. CISP already produced videos interviews during the time of the workshops and performances of the *caravanes de la paix* and of the *Architecture en terre* project. Multimedia interviews could be used to compare the impressions, feelings, views recorded then, with those recorded more than one year after the events. Challenges could be represented by the fact that quality of materials is likely to vary, since some footage has been recorded by NGO operators while other material has been produced by professional companies.

6. Building a questionnaire based on our hypotheses and tentative indicators

Clusters of questions based on indicators, focused on the three dimensions of the culture and development nexus will be created.

In the case of the projects by CISP in Niger the potential added value of a multimedia research approach is given by the following arguments.

For projects like the ones funded by the EU, the onus on CISP is to report about *objectively verifiable indicators*, like the numbers of participants in the trainings, or the number of partnerships developed. The organisation is also reporting about the opinions of participants, for instance through ex-post questionnaires that were administered after the trainings. As noted already in previous studies on the EU's support to culture in developing countries (Jeretic, 2014), measuring the results of such outputs is quite challenging however for a number of reasons.

The approach proposed here would allow to start a participatory discussion with the project staff and participants about what are the relevant indicators to select. In order to be *fit* for the SDGs agenda, indicators for the culture-development nexus could be selected in a participatory way (Dessin *et al.*, 2015). This approach would allow the indicators to be selected on the basis of what matters in the local context. However limitations are evident: the comparability across different projects would hardly be possible.

The approach would aim to tackle one of the recurrently stated issues with the evaluation of cultural projects and the impact of culture - namely the fact that assessments take place on the day of the event of straight afterwards, instead of long term monitoring of the subtle influence of culture. This approach would take into consideration the fact that the interviews already produced by CISP were recorded under different premises (visibility, advocacy, evaluation) and that the experiences fall more into the anecdotal views while a robust system needs to rely on structured or semi-structured interviews.

Testing the multimedia research and storytelling protocol

1. Identification phase (7 steps),
2. Conduct pilot interviews with 5 resource persons to test and refine the questionnaire,
3. Visit identified places and locations and assess feasibility, including security considerations,
4. Select geographical scope and database of audiovisual material, process existing video material to create a selection of potentially usable images,
5. Build-up an audiovisual synopsis based on initial consultations and options for storytelling,
6. Develop a detailed storyboarding scheme with key images, resource persons, locations, voices and narrative,
7. Carry out field research,

⁶³ In 2014 cultural caravans have been organized in communes in the departments of Tanout and Tahoua.

⁶⁴ The festival *Jam for Peace* taking place in Agadez in December 2014 was supported. Other festivals in Tahoua, Zinder, Diffa are being identified.

8. Process materials and communications.

Conclusion

When this paper was submitted, the authors had no clarity about the chances to partner with CISP or the availability of research and audiovisual material to draft this article. The opportunity to present our work to ENCATC has actually stimulated an already dynamic partnership with CISP and opening doors for a serious multi-media research and storytelling project.

This initial research phase has proved that it is conceptually and practically possible and beneficial to envisage a multimedia research project on earth architecture and peace caravans in Niger.

The second phase of our work will remain focused on the key questions to which we plan to bring answers: lessons learnt from earth architecture as a type of cultural action aimed at poverty reduction and sustainable decent housing in this region; the value and limits of cultural action in Niger as part of the EU's contribution to development and peace; the ways to engage the youth in this region, in a context of poverty, exclusion, religious tensions and risks of radicalisation, and migration.

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The Importance of a New Marketing for a New Audience in the Symphonic Music

Gómez Durán, David

Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Hidalgo

Mineral del Monte, Hidalgo, México

gduran@uaeh.edu.mx

Abstract

In this paper we discuss the principal circumstances and decisions that avoid the development of the audience in the Mexican Symphonic Music, getting focus in OFUNAM⁶⁵ case; fact that affects most of the artistic organisations of the performing arts. The content of this paper expresses the situations in which different cultural and artistic organisations in Mexico and Latin America are trying to deal with and resolve the lack of a correct marketing strategy to develop their audience.

The opportunity to assist a concert of symphonic music and wait a long time to repeat this experience, do not represent any step further, in the opposite could generate rejection and distancing. Constant contact with the environment is essential, and listening to concerts over a long, continuous period will not elicit an immediate response. People need to be provide an avalanche of information, as happen with other musical styles.

Keywords: audience development; artistic organisation; artistic administration & symphonic music

Resumen

En este artículo abordamos las principales circunstancias y decisiones que evitan el crecimiento de la audiencia en la música sinfónica, sin embargo, con las debidas adecuaciones podremos utilizar los comentarios aquí hechos, para comparar y utilizarlos en la generación e incremento de nuestra audiencia cotidiana. Si bien este trabajo se desprende de los resultados obtenidos en la investigación para la Tesis (Gómez, 2013) *OFUNAM, New marketing for new audience*, su contenido expresa las situaciones que la mayoría de organizaciones culturales y artísticas del país buscan abordar y solventar. Los procesos abordados por OFUNAM y la Dirección General de Música, son analizados y reflexionados, ya que sus resultados estarán reflejados en el desarrollo y porvenir de la organización musical y en su público. De este último debemos definir su papel y aprender de él, para saber que podemos mejorar en nuestra organización y que estrategias son más adecuadas y con mejores resultados.

Palabras claves: generación de público; organización artística; administración artística, música sinfónica.

Introduction

The Mexican symphonic music into the last decades, has not had a good relation with the audience. It is very common to find that promoters, artists, managers and administrative, mention that the lack of interest to assist a musical event from the audience is in all the country. The crucial aspect is to know which are factors that generate these symptoms in the personal consumption behaviour, what are we doing wrong? What are we not doing? To my perception one factor that inhibits the approach of the audience with this kind of artistic activities, is the way that we advertise the events. The way, the background and the media; should be of big interest for all the persons in charge of the organisation and the promotion to the artistic activities. The lack of awareness about the audience who we conduct our work, lead us to a poor contact and in almost all the

⁶⁵ OFUNAM - Philharmonic Orchestra from the National Autonomous University of Mexico.

cases limit our influence in their decision making process.

As a musician it is very sad to be prepared on the stage, with all the hard work behind you, and to look at the seats and see empty spaces at the concert hall. For any artistic activity, the best result is to have a sold-out event; the audience and the artist form a couple. Looking forward, the lack of audience could become a serious problem with the market opportunities. Less demand means less supply is needed, and this reduces work opportunities. All these reflections led me to undertake this research aimed at understanding the strategies, campaigns and methods used to develop new audiences, the results obtained and what can be done in the future.

The opportunity to assist a concert of symphonic music and wait a long time to repeat this experience, do not represent any step further, in the opposite could generate rejection and distancing. Constant contact with the environment is essential, and listening to concerts over a long, continuous period will not elicit an immediate response. People need to be provided with an avalanche of information, as happen with other musical styles. According with Bourdieu, the best phase during which to appropriate something as part of our own personal taste, is childhood, and this is the period during which symphonic music organisations should establish and maintain contact with children, to acquire potential candidates for concertgoers of symphonic music.

The lack of audience in concert halls is repeated in nearly all the orchestras in the country; most of which belong to public universities in various cities and regions. Different ways to analyse the situation have been studied, as has been mentioned in the final part of this paper, in order to understand the reasons behind the problem and the various levels of responsibility that make up the solution. It is necessary to be sure about the destination of our programs for the generation of new audiences, that in fact responds to the expected limits and in the other side we cause the desertion of our frequent followers.

1. Different orchestra organisations

Government orchestras in Mexico are very clear and well-defined. In the case of orchestras that belong to government bodies, such as the Orquesta Sinfónica Nacional (OSN), which depends on the Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes (National Institute of Fine Arts) and the Orquesta Filarmónica de la Ciudad de México (OFCM), which depends on the local government of Mexico. The model is repeated in different cities inside the country, even when the limit of their advertising to small-scale printed media which they distribute at their own concert halls, as well as placements in local newspapers, but only when the concerts include pieces that are well-known among the public or the invited soloist has a renowned career. Government-owned radio stations and TV channels, which have very low penetration, show ads for the orchestras and Sunday concerts are nearly always broadcast on these channels.

According to a survey conducted by the OSN in 2009 among 400 people who attended their concert hall, the most common way for people to find out about OSN events is by word of mouth, followed by the internet. This results in a considerable segmentation of the market, since only (2009) "53.6 out of every 100 inhabitants of Mexico City are internet users", meaning that the remaining 25% of the audience is drawn in by printed media and radio advertisements.

As was mentioned, the OSN is one of the few orchestras in Mexico who apply budget to create market studies and marketing campaigns. In the specific case of the OSN, they hired the company VERTICE, who works with advertising in large buildings and shopping centres where, according to their surveys, 67% of the audience is older than 26 and belongs to the upper-middle class and upper class. This is a clear sign of its attempts to promote itself and seek to gain greater attendance among adults, since some of the other clients of VERTICE include BlackBerry, BMW, BOSS, American Express and Pfizer.

The orchestras of educational institutions, such as the National Autonomous University of Mexico's Philharmonic Orchestra (OFUNAM) and the National Polytechnic Institute's Symphonic Orchestra, or other dependent of Autonomous State Universities, have an even more limited scope for marketing their services.

One might assume that they have a captive audience, due to the thousands of students, teachers and administrative staff that constantly visit their premises, but they also have large communities of alumni, which currently form the backbone of society in Mexico City. These two orchestras produce printed advertisements, such as flyers, triptychs, posters and calendars. They also generate content and information for websites, and their concerts are broadcast by radio in the case of OFUNAM and TV in both cases.

The last season alone, the Subdirectorato of Diffusion and Public Relations of the OFUNAM printed and distributed two thousand posters and five thousand pocket calendars within the UNAM and specific spaces inside the different faculties. The spaces to which the information on the concert season is sent do not guarantee that all the advertising will be posted, since it depends on each of their individual policies.

New technologies have led to a reduction in printed advertising, which has been replaced with social networking campaigns on networks such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube, where the aim is to refresh and increase the audience of the OFUNAM, as can be seen in the pictures and the type of language used in these digital forums, entirely aimed at young people from 18 to 35.

Another marketing drive is also aimed at publicising and promoting the OFUNAM, although for an older audience: the Patronato y Sociedad de Amigos de la OFUNAM A.C. (Trust and Society of Friends of the OFUNAM), which seeks to gather funds and personnel for the artistic development of the orchestra. Its strategies include the creation and distribution of informative texts that talk about the contents of the musical programmes performed by the OFUNAM. These texts are available through the orchestra's website, Facebook, Twitter and podcasts.

2. Developing new audience in Mexico

Whereas marketing for adults and young adults seeks to position orchestra music on a different level of entertainment—like a status or an unconventional way of life, attempting to set people who attend these concerts apart, making them feel special—marketing for children and teenagers focuses particularly on individual growth and personal discovery. Hence the mission statement of El Sistema in Venezuela: (2013) “to help children and young people in achieving their full potential and acquiring values that favour their growth and have a positive affect their lives in society”.⁶⁶

In my thesis *OFUNAM, New marketing for new audience*, mention the various problems, opportunities and factors that can influence the generation of new audiences in Mexico, specifically in the community of the National University and Mexico City. Also discuss the social complications and the internal problems of the organisation when seeking to produce a constant, comprehensive strategy, and not just generate to new audiences, but also to maintain current attendance levels.

Attempts to bring children and teenagers closer to symphonic music have concentrated on the production of concerts with content aimed at children, from traditional songs for children to symphonic classics, which are generally performed for younger audiences. In other words, orchestras are trying to engage new audiences through different kinds of programmes or projects with different objectives in mind, for example concerts in other cities, even when the logistics of transporting a group of one thousand people plus instruments are very complicated and delicate. Orchestras are trying to develop their own concerts in different places for different audiences which find it difficult to attend a concert hall.

A very important programme is the Sistema Nacional de Fomento Musical⁶⁷, backed by the Mexican Government, dedicated exclusively to the generation of new symphonic musicians in the country. Unfortunately, none of the strategic lines mention the development of audiences for these future professionals, which is absent in almost every orchestral institution, with only a few people taking that into account; to have an orchestra, it is necessary to have an audience.

⁶⁶ <http://www.fesnojiv.gob.ve/en/mission-and-vision.html> - 17 October 2013.

⁶⁷ The symphonic studies are enrichment with choral and chamber practices.

It is quite unusual for orchestras to change their performance programmes, especially considering that they are used to only playing classical music, but a very effective proposal in other orchestras are the so-called pop concerts. These types of concerts have their own seasons and generate a very interesting buzz around the concert hall and the orchestra. Another aspect of this change is the talks with the audience, which are a very interesting way to explain to people who are new to symphonic concerts the history, stories, customs and important issues about classical music to generate interest around the orchestra. At last, new media strategies generate a big change in how classical music is introduced to children and young people, especially because this is the medium where young people interact and seek information.

Meanwhile, in different parts of the world, it seems that orchestras and the people who are close to these organisations understand the need not just to generate a stable future for the organisation, they go one step further and realise the importance of teaching music to people as something that is useful and beneficial for society.

The General Directorate of Music of UNAM and OFUNAM has created advertising campaigns aimed at generating new audiences that enjoy, understand and become frequent consumers of symphonic orchestra music. Two of the schemes with greatest importance and scope are: Soy Fan OFUNAM and Amigos de OFUNAM.

Both these schemes are based mainly on the generation of advertising content in person at Sala Nezahualcóyotl and through social networks, for consultation and active participation with the orchestra. As will be seen below, these advertising campaigns have considerable educational content and use written and visual language that stimulate and attract both regular concertgoers and new attendees and people who may be interested in attending the concerts of the orchestra. Each one of these schemes is managed and organised by two different departments, aimed at different age groups and socio-economic brackets.

Soy Fan OFUNAM aims to establish direct contact with University audiences, in the age group of 15 to 30. Belonging to this group requires the user to have an active Facebook or Twitter account, since registration is conducted only by internet, using your nickname from either one of these social networks, setting one of the pictures available on the main page as your avatar and sending an e-mail with the requested personal details. The programme entitles members to special access to OFUNAM rehearsals and concerts, while also offering and managing discounts in season tickets for the orchestra, special concerts and notifications by e-mail and social networks of events related to orchestra music.

Amigos de OFUNAM is an organisation created by Patronato de la OFUNAM A.C. seeking to ensure more active participation by the audience that attends OFUNAM concerts. This search is extended to older population segments who have the economic resources necessary to be able to make donations in cash or any sort which, in the words of the very association, help with the artistic development of OFUNAM, since its main interest is the generation of economic resources for individual artistic growth of the members of the orchestra and of the group as a whole. In recent years, the Patronato has sought active collaboration in the generation of audience, making notes on the programmes performed by OFUNAM and publishing musical news through its social networks and its weekly newsletter for subscribers. Donors receive a number of advantages, such as their name being published on the hand programme, access to discounted tickets and personalised treatment at each concert, as well as exclusive, free material.

3. Symphonic music diffusion

In Mexico, symphonic music is something that people cannot find in regular places. It can be said that it is not fully integrated as part of Mexican culture. One of the options for hearing this music should be in schools, but elementary schools are not performing this role.⁶⁸ Even the universities do not always offer this

⁶⁸ It is necessary to appoint that since 2006 the plans of Artistic Education in the basic education the focus is just in one artistic field, the teacher choice the field of the lecture.

information or at least the activity as general culture.

At this point the only organisations that are interested in teaching people about symphonic music are symphonic orchestras. Because if nobody else is doing anything for symphonic music, the professionals and the organisations need be involved in the process. They will be reinforcing their own career and the professional development.

As happen in most of the orchestras around the Mexican territory, their advertising campaigns are aimed at audiences with higher buying power, and thus they precisely segment adult audiences with medium incomes, who are the targets of almost all of these marketing efforts. This is not the only type of marketing: few orchestras have turned their eyes towards younger audiences, and not only the segment from 18 to 25 (the most common target): their main goal is children of school-going, ages 6 to 14.

At present, most of the orchestras in the country focus mainly on drawing in adults and senior citizens who, as mentioned in the last paragraph, are the demographics in Mexico that have the financial resources needed to be able to afford this regular attendance. Considering this factor, which most orchestras apply (although not all of them), the spaces where we most frequently find advertisements for orchestra concerts are: Specialised newspapers (economics, management, business, etc.), designer clothes shops, luxury car retailers (BMW, Mustang, Alfa Romeo, etc.) and their own concert halls.

Let go back with OFUNAM, the thesis prove how the different activities of the administration of the philharmonic, highlight a noticeable lack of interest in their audience. Provably as a result of the non-existent supervision in the relation between the budget and the goals achieved, the largest part of the budget is assigned in automatic by the University and a smallest depends in their capacity of planning.

This way of work affects in almost all the decisions of the administrative staff, artistic direction, due to the actions or programs are not planned for the community from the university and much less for the society. This fact is easily corroborate, we just observe inside of the administration and realise that there are not a specific statistics of attendance to the concerts, neither social profile of who by the tickets or which is the opinion of the audience about the program.⁶⁹

The conjugation of all this actions show us that the artistic and administrative direction, are just organising the musical programs and the administrative planning without any information about the audience. Leaves attendance to the concert hall and the future of the Orchestra in the hands of fate.

The emergence of online spaces is opening up new opportunities to find, invite and guarantee the attendance and permanent interest of new audiences at the concert halls. For people with internet connections, it is very easy to listen to concerts produced in Berlin, Los Angeles or Mexico without having to leave their house. Popular social networks such as Facebook and Twitter have given the opportunity for orchestras to intensify their advertising by a factor of thousands. Another source of followers and future concertgoers are video sites such as YouTube and Vimeo. These two vast websites offer any person with an internet connection the possibility of watching professional and amateur videos.

In addition, advertising through these media is targeted specifically at people who are interested in the subject and their contacts, so that it acts as word of mouth. Most of the renowned orchestras around the world have already set up profiles in these two major networks. All of them easily exceed fifty-thousand friends or followers, which is enough people to sell out an entire season. The reality for the Mexican orchestras in the internet opportunity looks very difficult, even when the landscape promise an endless variations of the promotion for the orchestras, just the 20% of the population in the country can full access to an internet connection. The opportunities to realise diffusion of the work, go back in several cases in the traditional ways.

⁶⁹ When I mention *specific statistics of attendance* make reference in the areas that the visitants use and the size of the group, not just number of people who came to the concerts.

4. The generation of a music taste as a marketing strategy

The creation or recreation of a programme aimed at developing new audiences for symphonic music should be a top priority among all the orchestral organisations in Mexico and around the world, considering that, even in countries with a historically strong symphonic music influence (Germany, USA, England, etc.), these programmes started several years or several decades ago.⁷⁰ The creation of educational programmes and strategies to achieve a stable future for the orchestras has become an imperative in our days, with ever-increasing budget cuts for artistic activities.

OFUNAM has activities aimed at developing new audiences, but is it enough to present around fifteen concerts per year? (Bourdieu, 1984) "What is acquired in daily contact [...] moving in a universe of familiar [...] is of course a certain 'taste'". The people who do not have daily or familiar contact with symphonic music will rarely be engaged after just one concert in their lives to buy a season ticket and then become part of the regular audience of the orchestra.

Is important to make a tour about the fifteen concerts per year performed at different venues around the University (faculties, squares, gardens and principally in high schools), but only once per year in each place, and some venues need to wait for more than one year before they can host the Orchestra again. This system does not create constant contact for the younger audience, so it just passes like any other activity and the results cannot be measured. This first impression of or contact with symphonic music needs to be reinforced within a short time and to be supervised.

There are another three concerts in the year made it in the main hall, sold out most times. Sadly, the most important thing in the programmes is not the Orchestra: the scenography, dancers, actors or images are given more importance. At the children's concerts there is no option to learn about the orchestra, is used as an instrumental group for this children's activity.

In line with this idea of searching for audiences that do not have the possibility to listen to symphonic music live, the orchestra has started Open Rehearsals, making it easy and less expensive to visit the orchestra, despite the fact that the cost of attending a concert are less than €10 for a full ticket in a good seat, and that students, teachers, senior citizens and groups, the price is less than €5.

Another popular method orchestras have found for interacting with younger audiences is the so-called pop concerts or proms. In these events, the orchestras play music of different genres and, in certain cases, with famous artists. The main goal is attract audiences that otherwise would find it very difficult to connect with symphonic music. In some cases these concerts are performed outside of the main concert hall, thus combining the previous strategy of playing concerts near where the new target audience lives, as well as including music with which they are more familiar.

A good example is the season organised by the province orchestras, where the assistance to the halls are less than in the big capitals (Federal District, Monterrey & Guadalajara). In these capitals the use of the pop concerts is fact of discussion between the more conservative persons and the young audience, even several managers of the important orchestras in the country know the opportunity in the production of these concerts, but the fear of loose the traditional and established audience make then forget to explore this new way.

Several orchestras are currently presenting programmes which include short talks, conferences or question & answer sessions with the audience before the concert. It is important to remember that this strategy is helpful when the hall has good attendance levels and is easy to find, when press strategies persuade people to assist or when the hall is located in very popular places where the persons arrive on their own. In Mexico this strategy has yielded good results at places like the Palacio de Bellas Artes, in downtown Mexico City,

⁷⁰ Some examples of these programs: YOLA/Los Angeles Philharmonic, Young people's concerts/New York Philharmonic, Sistema England/England Government & Family concert/Berliner Philharmoniker.

and the OFUNAM at the Cultural Centre. These places have a constant affluence of people, not only for these orchestras but for all the activities that surround the concert halls.

This space for the audience increases the value of the actual concert, offering people a more comfortable experience of symphonic music and its history, as well as interesting details about the pieces, composers, musicians and their space in the history of humanity. The OFUNAM present talks sporadically, but connect with the audience in other level. For all the concerts the personal of the orchestra prepare with weeks of anticipation, podcasts about the soloist, conductors, members of the orchestra, history and stories of the orchestra and about the composer and the music, in the web page and social networks we can see texts about the topics mentioned and special articles and short texts, which are available to download at any moment.

5. Administrative measures

OFUNAM administrative staff does not have a dedicated office for marketing, educational programmes, developing audiences or press. Overall the administrative office of the orchestra is managed by five persons. It is a very complex task to organise and produce one concert per week with only this number of people plus three technicians and two librarians. The orchestra seriously needs to hire more people to help with administrative tasks. The current team is doing a very good job, doing everything they can to solve the various problems that an orchestra involves. With this workload it is difficult to find time for ideas aimed at generating long-term strategies. At the moment the most important task is to solve everyday problems, which is not at all bad.

However, the orchestra as a project should at least have a direction based on what the University community needs and, in the future, what the Orchestra can offer the University. In addition, OFUNAM has plans to visit various regions of the country, going on tour and visiting places that do not have a symphonic orchestra, seeking to expand knowledge of this specific art in places where it is very difficult to find it.

As a result of the short and limited margin of action due the scarcity of staff, other offices in the General Directorate of Music have to perform several tasks and help to develop different actions. This might sound like a good idea, considering the lack of staff at OFUNAM, but these offices have other priorities and the needs of the Orchestra are less important. Even when the departments of marketing,⁷¹ box office & subscriptions and education cover for different people inside the General Directorate, they are still not members of OFUNAM staff and this leads to greatly divergent points of view, general ideas and communication about what they want for the Orchestra.

Several actions are required in the organisation of the Orchestra to make up for the lack of staff. First, the office needs to hire qualified personnel to work in the various areas mentioned above. Filling the empty spaces will reduce the workload and develop new, innovating ways to manage the orchestra, while also creating a new way of thinking about the orchestra (What are we? What is our commitment? Where do we want to go?). Remembering these questions, all the staff could work better and in a more synchronised way.

6. The audience, source of information

The general manager should get to know the audience better, since an unknown market will generate difficulties in the present and future when seeking to engage and develop new audiences. At the risk of seeming repetitive, I need to stress that at OFUNAM the only statistic on record relates to entries to the Hall, in other words, only information on how many people attend any given concert.⁷² I know that this data is

⁷¹ This department from the General Directorate of Music, is the responsible of the publicity of three concert halls, two orchestras and the chamber music season.

⁷² Even when the collection of data can offer more possibilities in example: Age, sex, family number, address, education, professional activity, income, transportation, musical taste, preference in the artistic activity and more.

helpful for gaining knowledge of the audience, telling us about the most acclaimed pieces, soloists, instrumental soloists and conductors, the best times for the concerts compared with another direct competitors and indirect competitors in order to decide whether the current time and day is the best, and also to know whether or not variable weather in the city affects attendance at the concerts. But in order to develop audiences and even to sell season tickets it is essential to know more about the people who attend: sociological, ethnographical, economic and individual data regarding who is coming to see the Orchestra and, even more importantly, why people are not coming to listen to the Orchestra.

The lack of statistics about who is coming and who is not coming to the concerts are just more proof of the unfamiliarity with the market. Consequently, the creation of campaigns and general strategies is impossible and the results cannot be measured. This lack of statistics leads to the creation of activities without any expectations. The only goal is to do things, but there is no way to know whether these actions work. This means that the management is working in the dark, since they do not know anything about the market in which they are competing, or even about even their own audience.

The marketing department suffers the greatest effects from this lack of statistics, mainly because knowledge of the market is essential for generating a good strategy. Without information regarding the target of a campaign, success becomes merely a question of luck. An important aspect of the marketing office is that the people in charge of all OFUNAM campaigns are not fully involved with the Orchestra. The creation of calendars, posters and other marketing material depends only on basic knowledge and the repetition of past seasons. There is no real creation or innovation in the marketing field. The lack of communication between the Artistic Sub-director and the marketing office generates poor campaigns without any firm purpose.

OFUNAM needs to be restructured such as to have its own marketing office, seeking to foster closer relations and to generate the strategies required to attract the audience and innovate information, changing how it is distributed within the University and across the city. It is essential for audience growth to have marketing staff dedicated thoroughly to research about the current audience and the entire market, to generate the right strategies and campaigns aimed at engaging and developing new audiences.

The concentration from OFUNAM on the service it offers to the public. As part of the University the Orchestra cannot escape its responsibility to spread and promote Culture and the Arts within its own community and society as a whole. The Orchestra should have a very high commitment. At this point of the discussion, the least important thing (as until today) should be the box office. The real interest should be in teaching about symphonic music, beyond economic factors, since the highest human value is the ability to express oneself through art.

Conclusion

Pierre Bourdieu says in his book (1984) "that the consumption of goods no doubt always presupposes a labour of appropriation". This is the sole reason why the symphonic music need to continue working in Mexico, to generate in people the need to hear symphonic music live. Constant contact with the environment is essential, and listening to concerts over a long, continuous period will not elicit an immediate response. People need to be provided with an avalanche of information, as happen with other musical styles.

According with Bourdieu, the best phase during which to appropriate something as part of our own personal taste, is childhood, and this is the period during which symphonic music organisations should establish and maintain contact with children. Developing as a first step the knowledge of the genre, people who can recognise symphonic music, even if they do not appreciate it, so as years go by, the constant contact with this genre will be an open door to potential candidates of concertgoers and professionals in the world of symphonic music.

For a long time, symphonic music in Mexico did not have enough audience to sustain its own organisation. Orchestras in Mexico were dependent on educational institutions and the various levels of government, and

built their own audiences based in the infrastructures of these institutions. Some attempts to develop different audiences began with the orchestras, using different strategies such as concerts for children, talks with the audience before the concerts, concert tours in regions without an orchestra in the city, and connecting through the internet with specific segments of the market, using social networks and e-mail.

The economic factors influence or affect the way Culture and the Arts are currently organised? the orchestra has the budget to operate even without attendance, so the prices are very accessible to the audience. As I mentioned when we talk about The generation of a music taste as a marketing strategy, the costs are very low, averaging €10, but in certain cases the orchestras give free passes to the public. The cost of the event is not the main problem in the economic factors, since other types of entertainment are even more expensive than attending an orchestra concert. For instance, a single ticket for a concert by a pop artist costs around €60 and most of the times the stadiums or big auditoriums are sold out. The cost of a ticket is not the problem with attendance at concerts halls. The reasons are to be found elsewhere.

The develop of audiences is not an easy task and certainly we cannot obtain short time results, is a complex strategy that need determination and a long time planning. To achieve the goal of a sold out concert hall, should not be the final objective. This goal will be a collateral result if we decide to generate culture around the symphonic music and spread the information of the different musical languages.

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Visions, Values & Reality: Implementing a Political Campaign Agenda for Cultural Policy

Hawkins, Julie

Drexel University

Philadelphia, USA

julie.hawkins@drexel.edu

Abstract

How does a mayoral candidate express arts and culture's value to a city? How does this value translate into policy action? In November 2007 Michael Nutter became Mayor of Philadelphia, America's fifth largest city by population. His campaign's cultural policy platform, *The Nutter Plan to Promote Arts & Culture in Philadelphia*, outlined objectives for the stewardship of Philadelphia's cultural assets. How did this platform fare during Nutter's two terms as Mayor? This intrinsic case study explores Philadelphia's cultural policy agenda from Nutter's election to today, interpreting both the campaign platform and his administration's policy actions through the lens of Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris' typology of cultural development strategies (2007). Factors affecting the direction, implementation, and outcomes of Philadelphia's cultural policy agenda are examined from multiple perspectives to illuminate how the policy strategy changed over time, and to what extent candidate Nutter's cultural policy objectives were met during his tenure as Mayor.

Keywords: municipal cultural policy; cultural planning; cultural development strategies; Philadelphia

Introduction

This case study examines the implementation of cultural policy strategy during the tenure of Philadelphia Mayor Michael Nutter, from 2007 to 2015. It begins with an inspection of Nutter's campaign platform outlining his policy aims and ideas regarding arts and culture, and then proceeds to observe the major policy actions taken by cultural leadership during Nutter's two terms as Mayor. Cultural policy strategy is assessed through the lens of a three-part framework developed by Carl Grodach and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris in their 2007 article, *Cultural Development Strategies and Urban Revitalization*. This case study of Nutter's two terms as Mayor of Philadelphia reinforces Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris' findings that municipal cultural policy often includes elements of all three types of strategies identified in their framework. The case study further demonstrates clear shifts in Philadelphia's municipal policy strategy over the course of Mayor Nutter's tenure, which can be traced to the choices of three leaders – Mayor Nutter, and Chief Cultural Officers Gary Steuer and Helen Haynes – responsible for setting and implementing the cultural policy agenda.

1. Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris' typology of cultural development strategies

Carl Grodach and Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris' 2007 article, *Cultural Development Strategies and Urban Revitalization*, is used here as the foundational element to assess a case study of municipal cultural policy enacted during the tenure of Philadelphia Mayor Michael Nutter from 2007-2015. Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris' article begins with an examination of the history and theory regarding municipal cultural strategy in the existing literature, and I thus refer readers of this article to theirs for that purpose. Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris then utilize their analysis of the existing literature to present a framework encompassing three different types of municipal cultural policy strategy. That framework is described below, and is used throughout this case as a means to identify the elements and strategies of Philadelphia's cultural policy activity during the period studied.

Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris describe three different models of municipal cultural strategies in the United States. The first type of strategy, entrepreneurial, is focused on the idea of economic revitalization through large-scale, blockbuster projects and placemaking activities that establish the city's brand to its visitors. Substantial promotional campaigns are designed to bring tourists flocking to the city's downtown core for spectacular cultural experiences and amenities. Locally, the target audience is composed primarily of wealthier patrons. An entrepreneurial strategy is undergirded by private sector support and investment, and aims to deliver economic impact.

A second type of strategy, creative class, is designed to draw creative economy workers to the city, ultimately growing the population with highly educated workers skilled in businesses that generate innovative new ideas and products. The term *creative class* is most often defined by Richard Florida's work on the subject; thus, his definition of the term will be helpful here. Florida defines the creative class by occupation, separating it into two categories. One category encompasses professionals from engineers and scientists to artists and poets, summed up as those who not only solve creative problems, but who seek and recognize new creative problems to solve. The other category includes workers in numerous occupations who are called upon to, "interpret their work and make decisions," exercising the intellectual aspect of the creative class but not necessarily the actualization of the new idea or product generation part of it. He describes the members of both occupational categories as people, "engag[ing] in work whose function is to 'create meaningful new forms'" (Florida, 2012: 38). Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris identify a creative class municipal cultural strategy as one featuring arts and entertainment districts and collaborative projects between the arts and private sectors, ideally in the downtown core or historic urban neighborhoods. This strategy is targeted to young urban professionals and knowledge-based workers (the members of Florida's creative class), and is designed to attract and keep them as residents in an effort to stimulate the city's economic growth.

The third type of strategy, progressive, is more diffuse than the others, and indicates a grassroots approach focused on increasing access, equity, education, and community development. A progressive strategy utilizes arts and culture as vehicles for personal, communal, and social transformation. Projects and programs support the work of community arts organizations and arts education programs in challenged inner-city and/or underserved neighborhoods throughout the city. The target audience is composed of residents who generally do not have readily available access to arts and cultural programs or facilities. This type of strategy is not about short-term economic return, but about advancements in community health and quality of life.

After developing the framework, Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris then studied twenty-nine cities across the United States to better understand how these three strategies operate in practice.⁷³ Their findings note that while entrepreneurial strategies were found to be dominant among the cultural policy agendas of the cities they studied, elements of the creative class and progressive strategies were also often present. This case study of Philadelphia's municipal cultural strategy from 2007-2015, during the tenure of Mayor Michael A. Nutter, reinforces that finding and then seeks to understand, through the lens of Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris' framework, how Philadelphia Mayor Michael Nutter first positioned his cultural strategy as a candidate, what types of strategies were actually enacted while he served in office, and the factors that may have influenced any differences between the two. The study concludes with a preliminary assessment of the results of the cultural policies enacted during Mayor Nutter's tenure.

⁷³ Though the city met the initial criteria for inclusion by population size, Philadelphia was not among the cities studied by Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris, presumably because at the time of their investigation the city did not have an Office of Arts & Culture, the prior one having been closed by Mayor John Street in 2004.

2. Methodology

As a Philadelphia resident, arts advocate, and cultural employee, I have been interested in this topic for many years, and I followed Michael Nutter's political career and cultural support during his tenure as a member of Philadelphia City Council before he chose to run for Mayor. The case study presented here is built on the foundation of Nutter's Mayoral campaign platform to support arts and culture, which I interpreted through the lens of Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris's framework of municipal cultural strategies by identifying each strategy within Nutter's plan according to whether it best reflected the entrepreneurial, creative class, or progressive type. I then looked at the results of this analysis to determine the dominant focus of the plan as a whole.

Next, I chronicled the major actions, activities, and policy agendas of the Philadelphia Office of Arts, Culture and the Creative Economy (OACCE), established by Mayor Nutter shortly after he took office in order to carry out his cultural policy agenda. Once again, these strategies were interpreted through Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris' framework by strategy type. This facet of the case study was informed by multiple documents and reports from OACCE itself and the Mayor's Cultural Advisory Council (MCAC), an advisory body to OACCE. News articles, conversations with current and former OACCE staff, and reflections from other Philadelphia cultural workers also informed this aspect of the research. As some of the people I spoke to did not wish to speak on the record, I have not identified any of them as sources within this paper, though their collective observations and reflections have aided my understanding of this case study. My own experiences as an employee of the Greater Philadelphia Cultural Alliance, a member of the board of directors of the Philadelphia Cultural Fund, and a member of the Advisory Committee for OACCE's *Creative Vitality in Philadelphia* report also informed this study.

In conclusion, I returned to the campaign platform to assess to what extent its original goals were achieved, and I considered a number of factors to examine what influenced the eventual outcomes. This analysis does not seek to identify the causality of those outcomes, however. Rather, it aims to understand how the cultural policy agenda shifted during Nutter's tenure as Mayor in light of Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris' framework. In so doing, it raises correlations, factors that may have influenced the cultural agenda's implementation and outcomes, which warrant further study.

3. An entrepreneurial approach: the Nutter campaign's cultural platform

In 2006, Michael Nutter announced his intention to become a candidate in the 2007 election for Mayor of Philadelphia. A member of Philadelphia City Council since 1992, he was initially regarded as a policy wonk, an intelligent, capable leader who simply was not popular enough with the common man to become Mayor. Yet, in a crowded field of candidates, his popularity surged on the eve of the primary election, buoyed by endorsements from nearly all of the city's news outlets. His primary election win led Nutter to an all but assured victory in the general election, given that he became the Democratic party candidate in a city where registered Democrats enjoy a strong majority (Terruso, 2015), and in which a Mayor of any other political party has not been elected since Bernard Samuel, a Republican, won the job in 1948. During the primary, the five Democratic candidates engaged in numerous debates on topics ranging from education to job creation to environmental stewardship. The debates included a public forum on arts and culture organized by a consortium of local arts service organizations. Their efforts were buoyed by the release of the RAND Corporation report, *Arts & Culture in the Metropolis: Strategies for Sustainability* (McCarthy *et al.*, 2007), which compared Philadelphia's cultural policy infrastructure to that of other peer cities and made recommendations to improve it. As a result, all five of the Democratic candidates in the primary election issued platform statements outlining their intended cultural policy agendas as Mayor. Nutter's cultural platform, "The Nutter Plan to Promote Arts and Culture in Philadelphia," was released on March 30, 2007, at a press conference held at LOVE Park (Michael Nutter for Mayor 2007).

The choice of location was not accidental. LOVE Park is built around one of Philadelphia's most iconic pieces of public art, Robert Indiana's LOVE sculpture. The sculpture is placed in the park in such a way that it frames a large fountain and a view looking out over the city's Benjamin Franklin Parkway. A grand downtown boulevard modeled after Paris' Champs-Élysées, the Parkway features flags from countries around the world adorning its street lamps, and is bordered by large museums, a cathedral, and public parkland where landmark city festivals occur. The Parkway leads from LOVE Park to the Philadelphia Museum of Art, located high up on a hill at its end, just before the Schuylkill River. The choice of LOVE Park and the LOVE sculpture as the setting for the release of Nutter's cultural policy agenda was in keeping with the strategic thrust of the platform itself – investing in arts and culture in order to leverage economic benefits for the city, including elevating Philadelphia's profile and branding it as a world class city.

Nutter's campaign platform, while encompassing some elements of all three of Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris' municipal strategies, is predominantly entrepreneurial in nature. The first paragraph of the document provides an example of this:

Arts and culture are at the center of Philadelphia's greatness. Their importance as an economic driver has been well-documented. For example, the Philadelphia Museum of Art has higher annual attendance than the Eagles. Arts and culture contributes \$562 million to the region's economy each year, which amounts to 14,000 jobs – and approximately 75 percent of this impact is in Philadelphia. In addition, arts and culture are a major draw for the most sought-after workers today – the creative class, and increasingly, companies and jobs follow those workers to where they live. Our arts and culture sector also gives Philadelphia an international reputation for excellence, because of our many world-class venues and performance organizations. The arts and culture industry also helps to create a 'brand' identity that attracts tourists to the city, according to *National Geographic Traveler* magazine. Finally, arts and culture enriches our lives. The quality of everyone's life is enhanced in a city that values arts and culture, design, architecture, libraries, and history (Michael Nutter for Mayor 2007a, 2).

The first half of the paragraph speaks to culture's economic value to the city, comparing the Art Museum's attendance favorably to that of the city's beloved professional American football team, the Philadelphia Eagles. The language then turns slightly towards a creative class strategy, highlighting the value of creative class workers to attract new businesses and residents to the city. It next returns to the entrepreneurial angle, noting the role that arts and culture play in defining and promoting Philadelphia's brand and identity as a world-class city. Finally, in the last sentence, there is a mention of what could be considered a progressive approach in the acknowledgement that arts and culture improve quality of life. Overall, however, the tone and language of this paragraph, one that sets the stage for the rest of the platform to follow, point to an entrepreneurial approach to municipal cultural policy.

The platform outlined four goals, each accompanied by a set of objectives, as follows:

1. Provide funding and resources to City institutions that enrich Philadelphia's arts and culture community.
 - i. Re-open the Office of Arts & Culture, aligning its work with the city's economic and tourism promotion efforts.
 - ii. Increase support of the Philadelphia Cultural Fund⁷⁴, as it, "provides critical funding to neighborhood

⁷⁴ The Philadelphia Cultural Fund is a nonprofit 501(c)3 organization established in 1991 whose mission is, "to support and enhance the cultural life and vitality of the City of Philadelphia and its residents," (web citation). Serving as the city's grantmaking agency for culture, the Fund receives an annual appropriation from Philadelphia's general operations budget with the approval of City Council and the Mayor, which it then distributes to the city's cultural organizations and artists through a peer-review process via grant awards that support general operations.

organizations and multi-cultural arts groups that are essential to neighborhood vitality,” (Michael Nutter for Mayor 2007a, 2).

- iii. Appoint arts and culture leaders to the boards of the City’s economic development agencies.
 - iv. Fully fund the city’s obligations to city-owned cultural amenities and institutions, such as the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Atwater Kent Museum, and others.⁷⁵
 - v. Make the city’s cable channel available to local musicians and other performers to highlight their work.
2. Support programs that provide arts and culture to our children.
 - i. Appoint members to the School Reform Commission who will ensure that music is taught in all schools.
 - ii. Expand after-school programs in the arts through the city’s Recreation Department.
 - iii. Ensure that every child in the school district has two or more cultural experiences each year.
 - iv. Provide children with access to unused tickets for sporting and cultural events.
 3. Provide leadership to help our civic organizations for arts and cultural institutions that need additional assistance.
 - i. Assist organizations with fundraising and other support who are vital to the city’s cultural life and its neighborhoods, but who have been chronically underserved themselves, such as Freedom Theater, the African American Museum, and Taller Puertorriqueno.
 4. Provide leadership on an effort to establish a regional culture and recreation fund, and to identify a dedicated source of funding for the Philadelphia region’s parks and cultural institutions.
 - i. Utilize relationships with state and regional elected officials to create a dedicated source of ongoing public support for Philadelphia’s arts, culture, and parks.

Like its opening paragraph, the rest of the platform hews most closely to an entrepreneurial strategy. Though it does contain some progressive elements, they are underscored by entrepreneurial aims. For example, the second goal, concerning arts education, describes it as an investment in future and current audiences as well as an educational improvement strategy, and the funding for this initiative was to be secured from the business sector. In a similar vein, the third goal, while progressive in its intent, was to be supported by economic development and tourism funds, and the fourth goal was described as a branding strategy, “part of my vision to make Philadelphia a great city,” (Nutter for Mayor 2007, 4). Interestingly, though the value of a creative class approach is mentioned in the platform’s opening paragraph, none of the four goals addresses this idea. There is also no mention of public art in the campaign platform, considered by many to be an oversight as Philadelphia owns a substantial collection of public art and was the first American city to adopt ordinances requiring that construction projects supported by the local government spend a certain percentage of their construction budgets on public artworks (Bach, 1992).

4. From entrepreneurial to creative Class: the OACCE and chief cultural officer Gary Steuer

Following Nutter’s success in the general election, a transition team of area cultural leaders was appointed to guide Mayor Nutter’s new administration in developing and implementing a cultural policy agenda based on the campaign platform. The team researched the functions, roles, and responsibilities of similar municipal agencies in peer cities across the country, using the information gathered to develop a set of best practices and ideas that could be applied in Philadelphia. The transition team championed the creation of a city

⁷⁵ Though the Philadelphia Cultural Fund (see prior footnote) supports more than 200 cultural organizations and artists annually, there are some cultural amenities and organizations with a direct relationship to the city, who receive other types of city support. Each operates through its own contractual, departmental, or other relationship, independent of the Philadelphia Cultural Fund and the city’s Office of Arts, Culture and the Creative Economy. Those relationships are not detailed in this study. The institutions include the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the Atwater Kent Museum, the Mural Arts Program, the Greater Philadelphia Film Office, the Mann Music Center, the Dell Music Center, the Avenue of the Arts, the Philadelphia Zoo, and the African American Museum in Philadelphia, among others.

agency to support arts and culture, one of the objectives outlined in first goal of the campaign platform, and also served as recruiters and initial interviewers for a leader of the agency.

On July 18, 2008 Mayor Nutter signed Executive Order No. 10-08, establishing the Philadelphia Office of Arts, Culture and the Creative Economy (OACCE) (City of Philadelphia 2008). For arts advocates and transition team members this represented first and foremost a re-establishment of the city's former Office of Arts and Culture, which had been shuttered by Nutter's predecessor, Philadelphia Mayor John Street, in 2004 (Coulombis, 2004), and an early win in the form of the achievement of one of the campaign platform's objectives. Yet, the addition of the term *Creative Economy* to both the name and purpose of the new Office of Arts and Culture indicated a shift in strategic focus for the city's cultural policy agenda, one that expanded upon the campaign platform's entrepreneurial approach to incorporate a creative class one. The inclusion of the creative economy language signaled a conscious decision to expand Philadelphia's traditional view of arts and culture beyond the performing and visual arts to incorporate a growing design, creative technology, and maker community in the city. The mission of OACCE, as established in the executive order, was, "to build a healthy and vibrant Philadelphia through fostering and investing in its creative sector, leveraging the role of the arts and culture in economic development, and ensuring access to cultural opportunities." The mission leads with the creative class language, ties it back to an entrepreneurial strategy, and then acknowledges a progressive idea.

Mayor Nutter also announced that Gary Steuer would take the helm of OACCE as Philadelphia's Chief Cultural Officer, a newly created cabinet level position within his administration. Steuer was recruited to Philadelphia from New York, where he had most recently served as the Vice President for Private-Sector Affairs and executive director of the Arts and Business Council at Americans for the Arts (AFTA), America's national service agency for local arts organizations. Steuer's role at AFTA was to guide a national network connecting businesses to arts and culture, and to increase private sector business support for the arts. In naming Steuer to lead OACCE, Nutter chose to emphasize the more economically and entrepreneurially focused aspects of the role of the new Chief Cultural Officer, declaring, "Art and culture are not just about pretty pictures and performances [...] They are also an economic development tool, a tremendous asset for the city," (Kerkstra, 2008).

Steuer, working with the Mayor's Cultural Advisory Council (MCAC), an advisory group also instituted within Nutter's executive order, framed the mission of OACCE as being, "to support and promote arts, culture, and the creative industries; and to develop partnerships and coordinate efforts that weave arts, culture, and creativity into the economic and social fabric of the city," (OACCE, 2008). In this way, he led with a creative class strategy by ensuring that the "creative industries" were given equal billing alongside the term "arts and culture." Though the mission statement goes on to mention economic impact in a nod to an entrepreneurial approach, and social impact in a nod to a progressive one, the creative class strategy led the way.

In keeping with a creative class approach, the OACCE under Steuer's leadership sought to bring Philadelphia's creative industries into the arts and culture fold. Reflecting the name change of the OACCE, which in its previous incarnation was simply the Office of Arts and Culture, Steuer took placing the *Creative Economy* on the map in Philadelphia as his primary charge, broadening the city's traditional focus on arts and culture to encompass more of its design and technology oriented companies and workers. Steuer's arrival in Philadelphia coincided with a growing maker culture. Coding hubs, shared workspaces, design-focused collaborations like the annual DesignPhiladelphia festival, and hybrid maker labs like NextFab had begun to take off around the city (Carr 2013; Kerkstra 2013), and Steuer sought to connect this trend to OACCE's work throughout his tenure.

The membership of the Mayor's Cultural Advisory Council (MCAC), reflects this drive to embrace Philadelphia's creative class as well. In addition to the usual suspects – the leaders of large, small, and an otherwise appropriately diverse mix of nonprofit arts and cultural organizations by ethnicity, geography, and

artistic discipline – the MCAC’s initial membership included some well-known local creative entrepreneurs working outside of the traditional disciplines of the visual and performing arts, such as innovative web designer Ian Cross, creative advertising and marketing guru Ed Tettemer, and highly respected architect James Timberlake (Lucey, 2008). The executive order establishing OACCE and the MCAC also echoes this aim to incorporate the creative economy into the mix, describing the MCAC’s desired Chair as one, “who shall be a leader in the arts and culture community respected for his or her ability to unify stakeholders in the arts, culture and creative economy sector,” (City of Philadelphia 2008, Section 3. B.).

The MCAC developed a strategic plan to guide OACCE’s efforts. *Creative Philadelphia: A Vision Plan for Arts, Culture and the Creative Economy* was released in December 2011 and sought to define OACCE’s policy agenda, goals, and strategies. It also served to re-brand OACCE as “Creative Philadelphia,” in yet another nod to a creative class approach. The key objectives and strategies are described in the plan as follows:

The overarching goals and objectives of the OACCE are to lead the coordination of public and private sector efforts needed to ensure that:

- 1) The Philadelphia region is recognized internationally as a world class city - a global center for the creation and enjoyment of arts and culture, as well as a welcoming home for individual artists and creative businesses;
- 2) The arts are accessible and relevant to as many Philadelphia residents and visitors as possible;
- 3) Arts, culture and the creative economy are core components of the City's economic development, tourism, promotional and community revitalization strategies; and
- 4) Artists, cultural organizations and creative businesses have access to the resources they need - human, facilities and financial - to be successful (MCAC, 2011).

The plan touches on all three strategies advanced by Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris, though it seems to most closely reflect an entrepreneurial approach in its underlying goals for the city. The list of goals begins with an entrepreneurial agenda through adopting the branding strategy espoused in the campaign platform. Other goals speak to increasing access to arts and culture, a progressive strategy idea, and to supporting creative businesses, a creative class approach. Yet, though these other strategies are present, they can all be traced back to the values of an entrepreneurial approach, as the goal concerning access mentions *visitors* in the same breath as *residents*, and the final goal is underscored by the notion of *success*, most likely intended in the economic sense. So, while Steuer was grounded in a creative class strategy, the MCAC seems to have more closely followed the entrepreneurial approach first put forth by Nutter during his campaign for Mayor.

Nutter’s reaction to the plan, while mentioning Philadelphia as a place of creative endeavor, was primarily in keeping with his campaign platform’s entrepreneurial approach, stressing the economic impact and branding effect that the plan could bring to fruition. Upon the plan’s release, Mayor Nutter was quoted as saying, “[Philadelphia is fast becoming known as an] epicenter for the making of art and as a creative place where people want to live and do business [...] The Mayor’s Cultural Advisory Council has presented to me a comprehensive plan for how our city can continue this progress and strategies for how we can elevate Philadelphia as a world class city for the arts,” (Salisbury, 2011). Again, Mayor Nutter returns to the notion of enhancing the city’s brand identity as a reason to support the work of OACCE and the MCAC.

During his five year tenure leading OACCE, Steuer kept to a creative class strategy. OACCE’s research and policy activity under Steuer’s tenure reflects this. In 2010 OACCE, with support from the William Penn Foundation, commissioned the Cultural Vitality Index, a research tool developed by the Western States Arts

Federation to assess the relative strength of a region's creative sector as compared to other benchmark regions. Philadelphia's first Creative Vitality Index report chronicled changes in the city from 2006 to 2008, while a second refreshed the findings with data from 2010, presenting the most recent numbers available (Creative Philadelphia 2010; Creative Philadelphia 2012). The initial report and its update were intended to unify the identity of arts, culture, and the creative industries under one umbrella, and to raise the visibility of innovative and entrepreneurial activity in Philadelphia. Five case studies in the 2010 report speak to the latter idea, profiling unique creative endeavors across the city including an annual design festival, a hybrid maker lab, an avant garde theater artist, a former textile manufacturing site in a challenged neighborhood that was re-envisioned as a creative center, and a joint venue operated by a radio station and a music presenter.

The report itself, and in particular the choice of profile subjects, aligned with Steuer's strategy to highlight the creative industries. As he notes in the introduction to the 2010 report, "[...] we know that the nonprofit arts are a thriving economic engine in Philadelphia. But what is less apparent is how other aspects of the creative sector are at work in the city and throughout the region," (Creative Philadelphia 2010, i). Mayor Nutter's comments on the report also speak to Steuer's creative class strategy. In the city's press release about the report, the Mayor remarked that, "Creative businesses and workers are a vital part of Philadelphia's creative renaissance and our path to economic revitalization. We know that our city is attracting artists and creative entrepreneurs; we want to make a welcoming home for them here in our business community, in our arts and culture organizations and in our neighborhoods," (City of Philadelphia, 2012).

OACCE also partnered with The Reinvestment Fund, a community development financial institution supporting neighborhood investment, and the University of Pennsylvania's Social Impact of the Arts Project (SIAP), a research group led by Mark Stern and Susan Seifert that develops ways to measure the impact of arts, culture, and humanities on community life. Together, they developed CultureBlocks, a creative asset mapping tool combining cultural and other data. CultureBlocks aggregated a number of available datasets about arts, culture, and creative industry activity in Philadelphia, making the information available to the public for analysis alongside neighborhood, social, economic, and U.S. Census population data. CultureBlocks' mapping tools help its users visually assess and understand the existence, effects, and gaps in support for the arts, culture, and creative industries across Philadelphia. It was used by the city's Planning Commission in its recent citywide public planning process, Philadelphia2035, and has been used in numerous other cultural research and policy efforts, as well.

While Steuer worked to implement his creative class strategy, a critical challenge arose that threatened OACCE's ability to achieve its goals – the Great Recession.⁷⁶ Though it was tagged as one of America's "Best Cities for Riding Out a Recession," (Gopal, 2010), Philadelphia encountered substantial financial challenges when the recession hit. Locally, private companies, philanthropic organizations, and individuals all experienced financial hardship, leading to extreme fundraising difficulties for arts and cultural organizations citywide (GPCA, 2009a). Mayor Nutter, faced with declining government revenues, chose to cut public funding across the board, resulting in a 42.5 percent reduction in support to the arts through the Philadelphia Cultural Fund in 2008, a decision that would not be reversed until 2014 (Shea, 2015). The depressed funding climate made it difficult for Steuer to raise sufficient capital to realize OACCE's goals, as less money was available all around for investment in arts and culture.

Despite the locally constrained fiscal climate caused by the recession, Steuer was able to marshal resources

⁷⁶ The Great Recession refers to a period of time between December 2007 and June 2009 when America experienced extreme chaos in its financial and housing markets coupled with its steepest employment decline since the Great Depression of 1929-1939.

from the federal government through the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (Recovery Act)⁷⁷ to implement OACCE's creative class agenda, securing \$500,000 in federal stimulus funding. This funding came in the form of Community Development Block Grants, a federal program that provides resources to address community needs. In Philadelphia, Steuer used the grants to support eight facility-based arts and creative industry projects (City of Philadelphia, 2011). The funding also supported low- to moderate-income jobs related to these projects. OACCE then partnered with the Greater Philadelphia Cultural Alliance, a local arts service organization, to distribute eleven Recovery Act grants to Philadelphia arts organizations for job creation and support (GPCA, 2009). These funds were secured from the National Endowment for the Arts, America's federal arts agency. OACCE's efforts attracted national attention as well as federal funding support, and in 2011 Mayor Nutter received the Public Leadership in the Arts Award, a joint effort of AFTA and the U.S. Conference of Mayors that recognizes elected officials who advance, support and promote the value of the arts and arts education within their communities.

In 2013, Steuer left OACCE to take the helm of the Bonfils-Stanton Foundation in Denver, Colorado. Deputy Director Moira Baylson led OACCE in his wake, continuing to implement the creative class strategy adopted by Steuer through the release of the Creative Vitality Index reports and CultureBlocks research project. Public Art Director Margot Berg, a longtime city employee, briefly led the agency after Baylson's departure, faithfully maintaining OACCE's agenda and operations until a new Chief Cultural Officer was appointed by Mayor Nutter.

5. From creative class to progressive: chief cultural officer Helen Haynes

In May 2014 Mayor Nutter named Helen Haynes as Philadelphia's new Chief Cultural Officer. Haynes came to the post after serving as Director of Cultural Affairs at Montgomery County Community College, a school located in an affluent suburb of Philadelphia where she consciously sought to expand the cultural and aesthetic awareness of audiences by curating and presenting a diverse mix of artistic and cultural experiences. Haynes, unlike Steuer, was a local resident, having first come to Philadelphia three decades earlier to work with the Coalition of African American and Latino Cultural Organizations. She was well-known to local cultural workers as a community leader and arts advocate.

With Haynes' arrival came another shift in focus for OACCE, from a creative class strategy to a progressive one. Drawing on her substantial experience as an arts presenter, Haynes moved to expand OACCE's presence beyond the walls of city hall in an effort to address some of her core priorities – animating neighborhoods and civic spaces, supporting and presenting performing as well as visual art and artists, and increasing OACCE's profile across the city. Philadelphia is known as a city of neighborhoods (Washington Jr., 2012), and Haynes embraced this philosophy in her plans for OACCE. Under her direction OACCE created a new program, Performances in Public Spaces, with federal government support from the National Endowment for the Arts matched by local government funding from the Mayor's Fund for Philadelphia. The program supported artists presenting performances for free in public spaces, many of them outside the city's downtown core, and in its first season invested \$58,000 in twenty-seven performances by twenty-three artists (Creative Philadelphia, 2015a).

Haynes devised multiple ways to implement a progressive approach for OACCE, by strategically highlighting existing programs that aligned with her vision and values as well as recruiting philanthropic support for new initiatives. She placed greater emphasis on OACCE's Poet Laureate and Jazz Appreciation Month programs, adding a youth poet laureate position and increasing promotional support and partnership activities related to Jazz Appreciation Month. OACCE also became a partner in the Neighborhood Time Exchange, an innovative social arts practice project that brought artists in residence to a chronically underserved

⁷⁷ The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA) was a federal job stimulus and support program created by U.S. President Barack Obama in 2009 to address the effects of the Great Recession. For more information visit <http://www.recovery.gov/>.

community in Philadelphia. In exchange for studio space, time, and supplies, the artists spent an equal number of hours working in the community on service and neighborhood enhancement projects requested by residents (Mabaso, 2015).

Though she kept the mission and goals outlined in the MCAC's 2011 *Vision Plan*, Haynes' progressive approach is underscored in a recent vision statement she put forth for OACCE, "Culture builds community, and we all have a role to play in sustaining the well-being of our neighborhoods and our city by promoting civic engagement, enhancing education, and contributing to the city's vitality," (OACCE, 2015). Haynes also shifted the focus of OACCE's Town Hall Meetings, a program begun in Steuer's tenure to provide opportunities for Philadelphians to engage with OACCE. While under Steuer's direction the prior two Town Hall Meetings had focused on regional dedicated funding and creative industry support, Haynes held a third Town Hall Meeting in November 2014 which featured a decidedly progressive approach. At the meeting a panel of community arts leaders spoke to the impact of Philadelphia's longstanding community-based arts organizations. The panel was followed by the release of SIAP researchers Mark Stern and Susan Seifert's *Cultural Ecology, Neighborhood Vitality and Social Wellbeing – A Philadelphia Project* (2015), which explored Philadelphia's changing cultural dynamics and utilized CultureBlocks to help establish its findings through the development of a social wellbeing index.

Haynes' public statements echo her progressive strategy, as well. In describing the need to better support neighborhood-based community cultural organizations, she noted:

There are many [organizations] that are rooted in neighborhoods that were important and vital developments in their neighborhoods [...] What we're trying to do is make a case as to why it's important to support neighborhood institutions. Where they exist, property values rise, crime goes down, ethnic tension goes down, educational outcomes rise, the economics in communities become better – even with just small institutions, (Miller, 2014).

Haynes' statement speaks to a grassroots, community-based approach to arts investment rather than advocating for greater support of the city's arts and culture organizations based upon their economic impact, brand identity, or contributions to job or population growth in the city.

Interestingly, Mayor Nutter's remarks since Haynes' arrival are also in keeping with a more progressive approach to municipal cultural policy, highlighting Haynes' experiences in the community rather than any connections to the private sector. When appointing Haynes as Chief Cultural Officer, Mayor Nutter remarked, "She has had a significant impact in the arts community, particularly in the jazz and dance genres. Her experience and passion for arts and culture will bring a fresh perspective to our programs and initiatives," (City of Philadelphia, 2014). More recently, in announcing the first grantees of the Performances in Public Spaces program, Mayor Nutter said:

I am looking forward to seeing how these performances make use of the diverse, dynamic spaces in the city and the way the public responds to and engages with these performances in non-traditional locations. We hope that this program will demonstrate the breadth and vitality of Philadelphia's artistic community, encourage people to explore their interests in performance art and inspire continued creative use of public spaces beyond this program, (Creative Philadelphia 2015).

Haynes' efforts to transition Steuer's creative class strategy to an increasingly progressive approach can also be seen in one of OACCE's recent funding efforts, a joint project of OACCE, The Merchant's Fund (a private foundation providing financial assistance to Philadelphia merchants), and Philadelphia's Department of Commerce. Two new funding programs – named ReStore and InStore – arose from this partnership to assist companies and organizations along neighborhood commercial corridors to locate, expand, or improve

their businesses and facilities, with the goal of improving economic and social outcomes for the communities where they are located. The first cultural and creative organization to benefit from the new grant programs is the Asian Arts Initiative (AAI), a twenty-two year old community arts organization in Philadelphia's Chinatown North neighborhood whose origins lie in addressing racial tension in the area. In keeping with a progressive agenda, AAI will use the funds awarded for improvements to its multi-tenant community center, to enhance its street-level presence in the neighborhood, and to continue development along Pearl Street, a formerly decrepit alley bordering its facility that AAI has been steadily working to revitalize (AAI, 2015).

Over the course of Mayor Nutter's two terms in office, the main thrust of the city's municipal cultural policy strategy shifted from entrepreneurial, to creative class, to progressive. How did these shifts impact the outcomes of the policy agenda? The next section of this case study examines to what extent the goals outlined in *The Nutter Plan to Promote Arts and Culture in Philadelphia* were met, and considers how to assess them in light of Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris' framework.

Conclusion: assessing outcomes

Mayor Nutter's tenure will end in January 2016, due to term limits. At this point in time, then, it is natural to wonder what cultural policy objectives were accomplished during his eight years as Mayor. In evaluating the success or failure of what happened, the first challenge presented is determining by what means to measure it. One method would be to review the outcomes of the 2007 campaign platform's goals and objectives. Another could be to examine changes in public and/or private funding for the arts, in attendance figures, in arts-related tourism, in the number of cultural organizations and artists working in the city, or in the engagement or test scores of school-aged children that have occurred during his tenure. Certainly, any attempt to measure success or failure at this point in time is also hampered by the fact that the long-term effects of cultural policy enacted during Mayor Nutter's tenure cannot yet be examined, as his time in office is just now drawing to a close.

That said, a preliminary look at how the campaign platform's goals were realized or not is possible based on what is currently known. Of the four goals established in *The Nutter Plan to Promote Arts and Culture in Philadelphia*, one has been somewhat fulfilled, while the outcomes of the other three remain in question. The platform's first goal, providing funding and resources to cultural institutions, has been met with the most success. Despite the recession, which delivered deep cuts in public funding for cultural organizations, the other objectives of this goal – re-establishing an Office of Arts and Culture, appointing arts leaders to the boards of other city agencies, and making the city's cable channel available to the artistic community – were met, and much of the funding that was cut in the recession has now been restored. Yet, because OACCE exists only by the Mayor's executive order, and is not a city department established in Philadelphia's Home Rule Charter, it remains vulnerable to closure going forward. Efforts to establish OACCE as its own department within city government have yet to take root⁷⁸, leaving the future of OACCE unclear. Unable to achieve a permanent place in the city's infrastructure, it remains to be seen whether or not OACCE will survive in the next Mayor's administration.

Regarding the other three goals of the campaign platform, progress is either unclear or unsuccessful. Mayor Nutter did not establish himself as a champion of dedicated funding for Philadelphia's arts, culture, and parks, possibly due to the impact of the recession on other civic concerns, or due to a need to focus his attention on other critical issues facing the city. Regarding the platform's goal of providing leadership to chronically under- supported organizations, some attention has been paid, though both Haynes' progressive

⁷⁸ Established by Executive Order, OACCE exists at the discretion of Philadelphia's Mayor. In order to become a city department, legislation must be introduced in and passed by Philadelphia City Council, recommending a change to Philadelphia's Home Rule Charter that would then be placed on the public ballot for voters' approval. At the time of this writing, a bill to establish OACCE as a city department has not been introduced by Philadelphia City Council.

agenda and Stern and Seifert's recent research demonstrate that these organizations are still lacking the full capacity to realize their potential, and that they need more support than they currently receive. The platform's goal of supporting programs that provide arts and culture to children is perhaps the most difficult to assess, and requires research beyond the scope of this case study. Further examination of this and the other goals outlined in the campaign platform would be helpful in understanding what outcomes were achieved, and what factors influenced those outcomes.

What is apparent is that the focus of the city's cultural policy strategy, as examined through the lens of Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris' framework, shifted throughout Mayor Nutter's tenure. These shifts are best seen in the strategies employed by those in positions of leadership. Though the OACCE's planning and public documents often embraced all three strategies in their language, the predominant strategic focus of each of the critical arts leaders during Nutter's tenure – Nutter himself, Steuer, and Haynes – is clear. Nutter's initial desire for the city's municipal strategy, as demonstrated by his campaign platform and his subsequent statements about OACCE's work, was entrepreneurial in nature. He viewed arts and culture as economic vehicles by which to positively brand and grow the city, raising its external profile and financial success. Steuer, on the other hand, led OACCE with a creative class strategy, embracing the creative class and creative economy mindset in an effort to expand Philadelphia's traditional notion of what arts and culture meant, and to promote innovation. Haynes, still helming OACCE at the time of this writing, leads with a progressive approach, highlighting community arts organizations and promoting civically engaged artists and cultural activities in neighborhoods across the city.

It is impossible to know the full impact of these shifts in municipal cultural strategy at present. While it is true that OACCE failed to achieve a permanent place in the city's administrative structure – a goal that Nutter, Steuer and Haynes all embraced – this failure could be due to any number of factors, which may or may not reflect the different cultural policy approaches of the three leaders. For example, the recession, as well as other changes in government, philanthropic, and cultural leadership, which are not explored here, could also have affected the outcomes of OACCE's work and its ability to achieve permanence during Mayor Nutter's tenure.

What, then, awaits Philadelphia's next Mayor? Certainly arts advocates will continue to press for a permanent place for a cultural agency within the city's administrative structure. A recent opinion editorial by Maud Lyon, President of the Greater Philadelphia Cultural Alliance, urges the next Mayor to endorse a cultural planning process that integrates arts and culture into Philadelphia's broader civic agenda, building on the city's cultural assets and recent population growth to ensure Philadelphia's continued and future success (Lyon 2015). Though they did participate in a forum discussing their thoughts about arts and culture in Philadelphia, candidates in the 2015 Mayoral primary did not issue platform statements outlining their intended cultural policy strategy. Thus, it remains to be seen what strategic approach Philadelphia's next Mayor will adopt.

One final question arising from this case study lies in assessing municipal cultural policy strategy based on Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris' framework. In the course of the analysis presented here, I began to consider how the motivation of a given policy strategy affected my interpretation of its type. For example, on its surface, an effort to improve access to arts education can be considered a progressive approach. Yet, if the motivation of the effort is to increase future attendance at arts organizations, or to breed future creative class workers who want to remain in the city, might this really be considered an entrepreneurial or creative class strategy instead? If its goal, on the other hand, is to improve the lives of the individuals engaged in arts education, or to inspire them to enhance the lives of their communities, then such a strategy would indeed fall clearly within the progressive domain.

Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris' framework provides a useful lens through which to assess a city's cultural policy strategy. This case study of Philadelphia Mayor Michael Nutter's tenure illustrates one example of how

that strategy can shift over time based upon the actions and values of the leaders responsible for its implementation. Its findings serve to reinforce the importance of a leader's influence over the policy agenda. Future research regarding Philadelphia's municipal cultural policy strategy can investigate other factors that also affect the city's cultural agenda. Similar case studies of other cities can also illuminate whether or not similar occurrences to what has been observed in Philadelphia can be seen elsewhere.

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Festivalisation of Cultural Production

Jordan, Jennie

De Montfort University
Leicester, UK
JJordan@dmu.ac.uk

Abstract

The growth in arts festivals that has taken place since the 1990 has changed the structure of the cultural market place. Based on interviews and discussions with festival directors and arts producers, participant observation as a producer and audience member, primarily in the UK, together with examples from the literature, this paper explores the question of whether festival aesthetics and the particularities of festival production and exhibition are changing the nature of the work that is being produced in response to festivalisation. It identifies a number of dimensions of the festival experience, commissioning, spectacularisation, thematic programming, immersion and participation, that are increasingly prevalent in the performing and visual arts being produced for non-festival settings. This festivalisation of culture poses new challenges and offers different opportunities to artists, producers and audiences to make innovative kinds of work that wouldn't have been possible within the hitherto standard production models.

Keywords: festivalisation; cultural production; festival aesthetics

Introduction

Festivals are an increasingly common feature of cultural life. Not just outdoor greenfield site music festivals such as *Sonar* or *Glastonbury*, but also city arts festivals and large outdoor events and parades (Quinn 2005, 2006; Klaic 2007). As such, festivals are a growing market for artists and this paper seeks to understand whether the nature of the work that is being produced is changing in response to festivalisation of cultural exhibition.

Festivalisation of culture has been defined by Négrier (2015: 18) as “the process by which cultural activity, previously presented in a regular, on-going pattern or season, is reconfigured to form a ‘new’ event, e.g. a regular series of jazz concerts is reconfigured as a jazz festival”. The causes of this reconfiguration might be found in the need to differentiate the live experience in a market dominated by virtual entertainment opportunities and downloading (Connolly & Krueger 2005); or the potential to benefit from economies of scale in marketing, ticketing and site management; in the case of outdoor events, festival capacities might also be larger than most indoor venues; or there may be something inherently attractive about festivity (Knudsen *et al.* 2015; Morgan 2007; Klaic 2009).

Festivity can be thought of as a time and space for celebration and play that is distinct from everyday life (Jordan, forthcoming 2016). Pieper (1999 [1963]) distinguishes festive periods from times of mundane labour. Falassi (1987) highlights the spatial rituals associated with festivals, such as decorating the site, fencing it off or opening normally restricted spaces. Decorating the festival venue removes as many reminders of the humdrum world as possible creating a message that this space will, for a limited time, obey different rules, welcome different people, symbolise something new or other; something festive.

Making work specifically for festivals requires an understanding of why people choose to attend. Audience motivations have been an area of interest in the events management and tourism literature (Getz 2010, 2011; Glow & Caust 2010; Robinson *et al.* 2004) and indicate that festival-goers have different motivations to audiences for theatre, exhibitions or classical concerts (Fabiani, 2011). The social and experiential facets of

festivals emerge as important attractions, indicating that, at festivals, audiences have an altered frame of mind and are looking for an affective and symbolic intensity in the event design and programme that differentiates the festive time and place from everyday life (Lash & Lury 2007; Lash 2010). This paper will argue that artists and cultural producers are responding to these expectations by creating multi-sensory immersive and spectacular works that create festival-like experiences, both for the growing festival market and for conventional forms of cultural production.

The growth in festival numbers has also attracted attention in the social science literature, where festivals have been considered as sites for exploring McGuigan's conception of the cultural public sphere (Giorgi *et al.*, 2011), places that encourage the emergence and development of political ideas, both in the art works exhibited and amongst citizen participants. Archer (2015) and Fabiani (2011) are amongst those who feel that artists and audiences mix more freely in a festive environment, creating a sense of community and involvement that is lacking in theatres, galleries and concert halls. This sense of involvement, of the festival being co-created, is enhanced by the fact that many festivals encourage volunteering as a practical management solution to the need for large numbers of staff during the festival itself and because they perceive the festival as having a role in developing and encouraging community participation (Autissier, 2015).

For Comunian (2015) festivals act as communities of practice, connecting artists and cultural managers in similar ways to conferences and trade fairs (Moeran & Strandgaard Pedersen 2011). The Mladi levi Festival in Ljubljana, for example, seeks to maximise this social and artistic mingling through creating "opportunities where we could invite artists to stay with us for as long as possible..." (Koprivšek, 2015: 119), to develop relationships with each other and the city. The festival holds an annual picnic for artists and its volunteers and encourages use of a bar as an after show meeting place. "It was exactly at these places that a great many friendships and new co-operations came into being" (Koprivšek, 2015: 119). Festivals bring together significant numbers of cultural practitioners all sections of the production cycle and, therefore, act as hubs in cultural economy networks that provide practitioners with professional development prospects that are otherwise hard to find outside major cities (Moeran & Strandgaard Pedersen, 2011).

These studies, in their various ways, all point to the fact that there is something inherently different in the way that festivals produce and present work and in the way that audiences experience that work. There has, however, been no exploration of the structural effects that the festivalisation of cultural production and exhibition is having on the work that artists produce. Based on interviews and discussions with festival directors and arts producers, participant observation as a producer and audience member, primarily in the UK, together with examples from the literature, a number of impacts have been noted, including spectacularisation, participative and immersive experiences, thematic programming and commissioning. This paper is an attempt to theorise the responses that artists and cultural producers are making to festivalisation.

1. Commissioning

Commissioning new artistic works is a feature that is common to many aesthetically-led festivals, whether they celebrate a historic tradition, or explore contemporary and commercial genres. John Cumming, Director of the EFG London Jazz Festival; William Galinsky, Artistic Director of the Norfolk and Norwich Festival; and Ben Robinson, Director of greenfield music festival Kendal Calling discussed their distinctive reasons for commissioning new works during a conference on 22 May 2015. There were four themes that emerged; artform and artist development, exploration of distinctive local identity, market competition for artists and the creation of a unique product to attract audiences to the festival.

Artform development

For Cumming, festivals have a responsibility to commission new works because "without it the art form

doesn't move forward. It's the lifeblood". London Jazz Festival formalised its commitment to commissioning when it invited 21 artists to make new work for its 21st edition in 2013. Saxophonist Courtney Pine, one of those commissioned, explains the importance of being invited: "Musicians who are improvising and looking for inspiration need a springboard to help them — and commissions give them the opportunity to present new work" (London Jazz Festival/Serious 2015).

Evidence from the literature supports Cumming's observation that audiences are more likely to take artistic risks within festive environments than they are when seeing a concert means buying a ticket for one event and making a specific trip (Morgan 2007; Gelder & Robinson 2009; Uysal & Li 2008; Archer 2015). For Cumming this means that festivals are ideally positioned to "celebrate an art form's existing repertoire, but also to celebrate the right to fail". Pianist and composer Alexander Hawkins highlights the distinction between performing at a festival and at other concerts.

The chance to perform a commission comes along with a festival and the commission gives you an opportunity to do something new and something different from the day-by-day gig (in *EFG London Jazz Festival - 21 Commissions*. 2013 at 3mins 18 seconds).

Something new and something different echoes festivity's sense of being a time and space that is distinct from everyday life.

Unique selling propositions

Something new and something different also enables festivals to compete for high-profile artists in the increasingly competitive live music field. As it has become more difficult to make money from recorded music, the live music field has grown exponentially, a fact that was prophesied by David Bowie in 2002 when he said that recorded music would become as available as running water, leaving live performance as the main source of revenue for musicians (Krueger 2005: 26; Connolly & Krueger 2005). And, although live event numbers have grown, the number of superstar headliners has not. Festivals are forced to either pay ever increasing fees for names who guarantee ticket sales, or to find inventive ways to build relationships with musicians. Commissioning them to make new work is one method discussed by Comunian (2015) and Glow and Caust (2010), who each highlight the role festivals play in helping artists to launch their careers and develop professional networks. Other festivals, such as Meltdown at London's Southbank Centre develop partnerships with artists who are then asked to curate the festival. Notable Meltdown curators have included David Bowie (2002), Patti Smith (2005), Pulp's Jarvis Cocker (2007), Yoko Ono (2013) and Talking Heads front man David Byrne (2015). Each curator provides access to their contact book and who would turn down an invitation to perform from singer Scott Walker (2000) or dance music producer James Lavelle (2014).

Distinctive place identities

Galinsky feels that commissions are important because they are made for a particular place, reflecting and adding nuance to local identity. In 2015 the Norwich and Norfolk Festival staged *Wolf's Child* by immersive theatre company WildWorks. The specially created site specific show took place in woods surrounding a 17th century manor house in Norfolk and was inspired by the true story of a man from the area who spent two years as a fully integrated member of a wolf pack in Idaho.

In places such as Norwich, which is on the eastern edge of England and does not have its own producing theatre company, commissions create a unique reason to visit or live in a place by filling that gap and telling the community's stories. Narrative layers are provided by the experience of attending the event itself, the rediscovered tales and insights provided by artists who are seeing the place from a new or different perspective.

Ben Robinson is also interested in the pulling power of commissions; in his case to a music festival held in the remote and beautiful Eden Valley in the Lake District National Park in Northeast England. Kendal Calling has piloted an immersive art trail in the woods at the edge of the festival site. The woods became an additional – unique - attraction, adding a surprising feature to the visual and experiential design of the site. The trial, which saw Robinson and his team working with visual artists for the first time, was funded by Arts Council England in an attempt to access audiences who don't normally visit art galleries. The result, *Lost Eden*, is inspired by folklore from the Eden Valley. Audiences are encouraged to co-create new stories in the tale of a legendary lost people, the Carvatti, who inhabited the area. Wandering through the site, participants encounter themed costume parades, bespoke art works and giant installations and sumptuous creatures (Kendal Calling, 2015). The trail creates a link between the music festival, which could be sited in any green field with sufficient access and facilities, and this specific place.

The potential of festive-like events to influence place identity is a key element of many outdoor commissions being undertaken by cities seeking to rebrand or enhance communal identity. During a panel discussion during the Cultural Exchanges Festival in Leicester in February 2015, Shona McCarthy, the director of the Derry/Londonderry UK City of Culture 2013, highlighted the importance of culture in the city's peace process. New shared traditions and symbols of common identity are essential if divided communities are to find commonality. And large-scale spectacular outdoor experiences ensure that all communities feel that they can participate.

2. Spectacularisation

A spectacular is something highly visual and larger-than-life. Festivals have always sought to appeal and sometimes overwhelm the senses. Indeed, this is one of the reasons that the arts have traditionally been incorporated in to religious festivals. Contemporary sites, whether urban or greenfield music festivals, are decorated with flags, banners and lights. And, as with carnival or South Asian mela, the audience adds to the spectacle by dressing in bright, colourful costumes, creating the atmosphere of a very special occasion that is different from the everyday (Robinson, 2015). Kaushal and Newbold use the word *tamasha* to describe the bawdy, striking and exuberant style of performance found at mela, arguing that it enhances “the spectacle to convey greater emotion and to establish a greater level of empathy with audiences” (Robinson, 2015: 220).

What is new is the tendency of art works themselves to be spectacular, at festivals and, increasingly, in other environments. Giant puppets by French company Royal de Luxe have been seen on the streets of China, South Korea, Chile, Portugal, Sweden, Iceland and Mexico as a key ingredient in city marketing and place-making strategies, the. In 2006, the company's show, *The Sultan's Elephant*, toured the streets of London as part of the city's attempts to renew its sense of community in the wake of the previous year's tube and bus bombings. More recently, American artist David Best created a 22 metre high wooden structure he called a temple in a park in Derry/Londonderry in Northern Ireland in the summer of 2015 as a symbol of peace from the sectarian Troubles. The structure references a Protestant tradition of lighting large bonfires to celebrate a victory of the Catholic King James in 1690. Members of both communities came together to build the temple, and to leave messages inside. After a week, the *Temple of Grace* was put to the torch and burnt to the ground (Temple Derry/Londonderry, 2015).

Theatre, too, has taken to the streets to create large scale and spectacular events. In 2011 The National Theatre of Wales staged a version of *The Passion*, in the former mining town of Port Talbot starring Hollywood actor Michael Sheen, who grew up in the area. Working with 1,000 volunteers, the promenade production played out the story of Jesus's last days in the town's streets and attracted over 22,000 visitors (National Theatre of Wales, 2011).

In both of these examples, the sheer scale of the event has been used by the artists as a spark to inspire people and a metaphor for their desire to be inclusive, to involve as many people from the community as

possible.

Spectacle as advertising

The advertising potential of spectacular was noted by Debord in *The Society of the Spectacle* (1983), in which he argued that the highly visual had become a function of marketisation and commodification, with spectacular events being created solely for selling products. This aspect of spectacle can be found in the use of festivals for city branding and tourism, or in the huge light shows associated with stadium rock gigs and mega-events. Debord classifies such events as inauthentic and manipulative. It is clear that this is not the case in the two examples above, but in an environment where more and more art is spectacular, is it possible to create quiet works and still draw an audience?

In a seminar at De Montfort University in 2012, Jack McNamara, Artistic Director of small scale touring theatre company New Perspectives, addressed this issue in a discussion of his thought process when faced with a blank sheet of paper and the need to make a theatre show for Edinburgh Fringe Festival. Firstly, there are festival-specific practicalities: the show has to be quick and easy to set up and strike down, as venues are very strict on the time allowed between performances and fringe shows tend not to have an interval. Most importantly, the amount of competition means that the show has to have a really eye-catching hook. This might be a well-known performer or playwright, or a memorable title or gimmick. And, Edinburgh in particular is a market place for the sector, so the audience consists of industry specialists who might want to book the show for an autumn or spring tour as well as the public.

New Perspectives has successfully taken two of its productions to Edinburgh. *Farm Boy*, an adaptation of Michael Morpurgo's follow up to *War Horse*, sold more than 95% of its available tickets and was picked up by Bill Kenwright's production company for a commercial large-scale tour. *The Boss of It All*, a reworking of a little known Lars von Trier film attracted the attention of the Brits off Broadway festival in New York, where it also had a successful run, although it sold less well at the box office.

Both plays appealed to the press and industry because they were adaptations of work by well-known author or directors, but the public responded in larger numbers to *Farm Boy*, a sequel to a theatre production that includes highly spectacular life-size puppets of the war horses of its title. So, despite the tendency of festival audiences to take more risks, the scale of noise in the festival environment militates against the kinds of revivals that might be popular in a regional theatre, or new plays by emerging and relatively unknown playwrights. In this respect, spectacularisation is essential in attracting attention. Busy-ness is not exclusive to festivals though. Mobile devices and online gaming are just two of the new everyday distractions that bombard potential audiences, and with which artists and arts producers have to compete for attention. Star performers, sequels and adaptations of popular books or TV shows have been used by Hollywood producers for many years to reduce risk. In the visual arts, galleries are curating blockbuster exhibitions and even subsidised theatres are relying on well-known names from film and television to ensure media coverage and ticket sales.

3. Theming

In the absence of an eye-catching name, theming is a technique that arts festivals have used since Earl Harewood introduced a Russian theme to the Edinburgh Festival in 1962. Bryman (1999) sees themes as a method for establishing an intelligible identity for disparate activities and claims that themes create a narrative to explain why particular artistic choices have been made. They also provide curators with a framework that might be a source of inspiration.

John Cumming, Director of the EFG London Jazz Festival, considers that festivals need stories, a narrative that runs across the festive period. Themes are, therefore, especially valuable when programming a festival in suggesting a structure for programmers to work within. He also finds themes liberating in that they inspire

him to bring together artists and shows he otherwise wouldn't have thought of. In 2014 Cummings programmed jazz pianist Abdullah Ibrahim, a rare opportunity that stimulated him into developing a South African theme tied into the 20th anniversary of South African majority rule. The festival commissioned a new work from a South African big band to enhance the theme, and supplemented the programme with talks and panels discussing democracy and South African culture.

The festival environment gives an artistic director more space to develop a themed programme than would be possible with a weekly jazz club, or traditional theatre programme. The intensity of festival programming places concerts, exhibitions, and plays in juxtaposition to each other, so one might still be resonating as the next event starts, producing unexpected insights, nuances and reflections. Themes also provide a guide for audiences overwhelmed by the number of events and they might consequently be more willing to try something new (Festivals Edinburgh, 2005).

Themes inspire artists as well as producers. Ruth MacKenzie, Director of the 2012 Cultural Olympiad associated with the London Olympics, explained at the 2013 Cultural Exchanges Festival in Leicester how artists had been asked to respond to the idea of Olympic Truce in submitting proposals for commissions. The theme resulted in commissions such as Deborah Warner's *Peace Camp*, an installation involving illuminated tents with a soundscape of love poetry and nature emanating from within being installed on remote beaches across the UK (see Artichoke 2012 for more details on the installations).

This was a starting point for some of the most important commissions [...]. The Olympic Truce also provided a framework to allow work by politically marginalised artists and communities, such as the homeless, to be celebrated by the Royal Opera House and Streetwise Opera (Arts Council England and LOCOG, April 2013).

Themes serve as a spark to the artistic imagination and also convey layers of meaning. There is a contrast between the call to *lay down your arms*, and the intense international competition embodied in the Olympic Games, for example, that enhanced this artistic experience. Away from the festival sector, theatres in the UK are embracing themes to bring coherence to seasons of work. Nottingham Playhouse's winter 2015-16 programme is branded the Conspiracy Season, for example (Nottingham Playhouse, 2015) and The Bush Theatre in London had a justice theme for its spring 2015 season (Bosanquet, 2014).

4. Participation and immersion

Robinson (2015), O'Grady (2015) and Anderton (2015) each consider the participative, experiential and immersive nature of festivals to be something that distinguishes them from arts events held in theatres and concert halls. Fabiani (2011) contends that festivals create unique opportunities for encounters between artist and audiences unencumbered by the usual rules that separate performers from audiences in theatres and concert halls. For artists, particularly performing artists, festivals are rare opportunities to meet with and see their contemporaries' work, something that is difficult if they are on tour, or performing most evenings, meaning that audiences are more likely to include other performers. Combined with an increase in event numbers and intensity created by decoration of the site, and programming throughout the day and night, festivals can create a sense of what Turner called *communitas*, an "unstructured or rudimentarily structured and relatively undifferentiated *communitas*, community, or even communion of equal individuals who submit together to the general authority of the ritual elders" (Turner, 1969:19).

Increasingly, those ritual elders, the festival curators and directors, are encouraging carnival-like participation in the production of work. In her work on the Burning Man festival in Nevada, Chen (2011) discusses the way in which spectatorship is replaced with concepts of prosumption and co-creation; audiences are, explicitly, the producers of the festival's programme. There is no main stage, or concert programme, participants are invited to make and stage the festival themselves. For Robinson the No Spectators principle that guides the

festival's design and marketing messages means that there is "a fusion of practices based around this ideal [that] obligates festival-goers to contribute to such an extent, that perceptible differences between the producers and consumers of the event are largely eliminated" (Robinson, 2015: 166). Symbolically, participants are called Burners, a practice also employed by the UK's *Secret Garden Party* (Gardeners), which mixes the traditional concert-style music festival programme with participative zones inspired by the Burning Man ethos. Shambala, which takes place in a secret site in England, resists publicising the acts booked for its stages. Its claims on its Our Principles web page promote the idea of the festival participant as the star not the acts on stage.

Our passion is to encourage creative participation. *Shambala* is a canvas upon which diverse groups have autonomy to create and offer their ideas and create a rich tapestry of experiences in music, art and performance. The idea of the 'Shambalan' being just as important as the entertainment we provide is an essential part of *Shambala's* nature (Shambala Festival, 2015).

As in mela (Kaushal & Newbold, 2015) or traditional pre-Lenten celebrations such as fasching in Germany or mardi gras, striking and colourful costumes are increasingly visible at festivals. Indeed festivals such as Bestival, Standon Calling and BoomTown Fair encourage participants to wear fancy dress associated with themes or festival zones. Costumes, generally considered to be children's wear in most of the Western world, are a form of performance and play that places the festival-goer on a par with professional actors as part of the entertainment for other participants.

Participation is increasingly found outside the festival environment, too, and takes a range of forms. Conceptual artist Marina Abramović, for example, routinely involves the public in her work, whether sorting pieces of rice into piles, or sitting opposite her for five minutes in silence. The context is controlled by the artist and the public are, briefly, actors within it.

Bishop coined the term social turn to describe what she saw as "the recent surge of artistic interest in collectivity, collaboration, and direct engagement" (Bishop, 2006: 179), much of which she felt was at least partially politically motivated, a factor that can also be found in festivals. Shambala's principles explicitly refer to a desire "to discover and share ways of moving to a sustainable future" and "to be a place free of corporate influence" (Shambala, 2015), the latter being considered to remove agency from festival-goers. The Woodstock Festival in Poland is run as a thank you to charity volunteers and offers co-creating opportunities, including a virtual game version of the event (Great Orchestra of Christmas Charity Foundation, 2015).

Immersive experiences

Immersion in the festive world is a significant part of festival's otherworldly attractiveness (O'Grady, 2015). Participants are distanced from everyday life through spectacular décor and sensual excess, allowing them to shed their cares and give themselves up to the experience (Pine & Gilmore 1999; Knudsen *et al.* 2015; Falassi 1987). As discussed above, festival-goers are actors whose costume is part of the event for others. Volunteers, too, become involved in festival production in larger numbers than elsewhere in the cultural sector, enjoying the opportunity to meet artists and see backstage.

As festivalisation has taken hold, the desire of audiences to be immersed in a production appears to be influencing work in other settings. Whilst immersive theatre is not entirely new, there has been a noticeable appetite for productions that involve audiences as characters or witnesses since Punchdrunk's *Sleep No More*, a film noir style adaptation of *Macbeth*, where audiences explore a series of rooms in the McKittrick Hotel and happen upon scenes reminiscent of the Shakespeare play, opened in New York in 2011. Other examples include a musical adaptation of *War and Peace*, called *Natasha, Pierre, and the Great Comet of 1812* and *Leviathan*, a production of Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* in which the audience play the ship's

crew, or graffiti artist Banksy's anti-theme park, *Dismaland* (Banksyfilm, 2015).

For practitioners such as Mark Storer immersive theatre has a political agenda. His 2012 *A Tender Subject* was a promenade performance devised by gay prisoners that asks audience members questions about why they make the judgements they do. Placing audiences within the action changes their relationship from spectator to actor, with agency and responsibility for the subsequent events. For other practitioners immersion is more closely related to Pine and Gilmore's (1998) concept of events as highly memorable experience. They maintain that an immersive event is one in which the audience member is surrounded by the sights, sounds, smells and feel of an event, and that they might be active or passive participants. In Punchdrunk's *Sleep No More*, audience members are immersed in a film noir environment, but wear masks that anonymise them and differentiate them from the actors. His or her movements and decisions make no difference to the action, but each individual's journey through the event is unique.

Large scale immersive installations have also become a feature in art galleries such as Tate Modern, which has commissioned several for its sizeable Turbine Hall, and the Guggenheim in New York. Arguable some of these, such as Olafur Eliasson's *The Weather Project*, a gigantic indoor sun, are spectacular rather than immersive; exhibited primarily as a means of attracting visitors. Others, such as Rirkrit Tiravanija's 1997 *Untitled (tomorrow is another day)*, create an environment in which the audience become actors in the piece. The exhibition saw the Cologne Kunstverein opened 24 hours a day so that visitors could live in the artist's recreation of his New York home. Participants could cook, sleep and even have a shower. More recently Carsten Höller's *Decision* at the Hayward Gallery in London uses mirrors, 'Upside Down Goggles', and twisting helter skelters to disorientate, disrupt and undermine the logical, scientific paradigm that he believes dominates Western understanding (Adams, 2015). Immersion in an artistic world, like immersion in a festival world, invites participants to play in an environment that rejects the disenchanting rationalism of everyday life.

Conclusion

Festivals are unique environments in which to enjoy cultural events and experiences. Each is different from the next, yet there are features that distinguish the festive from the everyday and festivals from other forms of cultural production and exhibition. Immersive and spectacular environments, fewer distinctions in status between artists, audiences and participants, place-specific events and themes have been traditional expectations of festivals. As the number of festivals has expanded artists and producers are adjusting to this new market and it is becoming possible to identify shifts in cultural production that encompass the types of work that are being produced and the production methods. These raise a number of issues for cultural managers and for artists, just as digitisation has created the need for new business models within the music and movie industries. Ethically, too, there may be concerns that festivalisation is a market rather than an aesthetic response to contemporary life.

Spectacularisation

Artistically, the need to be eye-catching in increasingly busy and distracting environments poses problems for artists whose work is quiet, small in scale, or demanding of sustained commitment in order to understand it. For those who know Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, for example, Punchdrunk's *Sleep No More* provides an experience that is layered with meanings unavailable to those who don't. Négrier (2015) regards festivals as entertainment, experiences that anyone can enjoy regardless of their level of cultural capital, a view that is similar to Debord's (1983) arguments about spectacle. If festivals become the dominant mode of production, will the opportunity to learn about a genre or art form over a sustained period be limited? Yet the examples of thoughtful spectacular and immersive artworks discussed in this paper indicate that artists are responding to festivalisation in ways that are thoughtful and thought-provoking, that ask questions about place and society that are just as interesting as more traditional works.

There are, however, practical considerations in regard to spectacular events. Large-scale performances are inevitably expensive to produce and, despite the intentions of the artists, may be distorted by funders and sponsors with city or brand marketing priorities. The need to make events eye-catching simply to be heard above the noise in the market place, whether that market place is a festival, or the increasing competition from the virtual world that is providing cheap access to the best (and worst) of global culture, is also a pressure facing cultural managers. Some, as Négrier notes, are using the festival model as a solution to this problem. But if more and more venues and cities focus their resources on festivals or spectacular events, it will create a dilemma for companies such as New Perspectives; can they continue to commission new, small-scale plays from unknown writers, or will they, too, have to bow to market pressure and choose projects primarily for their ability to attract attention?

And there is the need for new production skills. Do you know how to hire a crane? An outdoor events producer recently admitted that she had just fulfilled a professional ambition of hiring a crane when she co-ordinated an event at a ruined castle. On a practical note, crane hire is not a skill often taught on cultural management courses, but perhaps it should be. ISAN, the network for street arts organisations in the UK, publishes guidance documents for its members; Guidance Document No.2 is entitled *Guidance on the Use of Cranes for Performance* (2014). Large scale performances are, effectively, building sites which are then opened to the public.

Themes

Themes emerge as an important tool for artistic directors, audiences and artists. They give a structure to a festival's narrative that can inspire ideas for commissions or the selection of particular works, or highlight links that would not otherwise be obvious. Audiences, too, can use the theme to guide their choices about what to see in a crowded market, which encourages them to take risks they otherwise might not. When combined with commissioning, thematic programming adds layers and depth to the potential of the work to reflect a particular place identity or to develop an artform. It can also encourage audiences to take risks on shows they might not otherwise attend as the theme highlights connections to cultural works they know and enjoy.

Immersion and participation

As festivals have become more mainstream, so too have immersive and participatory arts. This is a phenomenon that is both rationally commercial - the immersive experience cannot (yet) be digitally replicated, you do have to be there - and a meaningful, affective response to the demands of contemporary life. Artists and participants are seeking playful, sensory, surprising experiences that bear little relationship to their everyday lives.

But marketisation is not the only reason for this phenomenon. Artists are also employing immersive techniques more often found in commercial leisure and marketing fields to reflect upon and critique society, to highlight individual social and political agency. Just as festivals can provide alternative visions of society (Bakhtin, 1994 [1965]) in which the personal is political, so too can immersive and participatory art experiences.

The practical production processes of festivals differ from those found in venues or touring companies. The particular relationships that festivals have with place is highlighted in their commissioning of site specific works. Both Norwich and Norfolk Festival and Kendal Calling have commissioned work related to local myths, and added to the local myth-making in doing so. Theatres and concert halls are constrained by maintaining a building and selling tickets for a regular season of events, but festivals have the flexibility to explore new sites and create links between venues, places and communities in new and playful ways. For

those that produce one festival a year, or even biannually, there is also the time to build relationships and develop larger, more complex shows.

For artists and producers, festivals pose different challenges and offer different opportunities to those facing venue managers and touring companies. But festivalisation is changing and reshaping the cultural market place, audience expectations and production processes across four key dimensions, creating new kinds of festivalised cultural aesthetics.

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The Possibility of Implementing a Public Action Strategy through Participatory Programs

Karaulić, Jovana

University of Arts Belgrade

Belgrade, Serbia

jovanakaraulic@gmail.com

Abstract

The paper analyses what possibilities do museums have in implementing public action strategies and relevant philosophies through participatory programs as shown by the example of the Museum of Yugoslav History, which is now transitioning from a memorial center to a place of active contemplation of the past. By framing itself in its strategic documents within a context of an adaptable institution and a place of meeting of ideas that wishes to influence the process of revitalizing the community by the method of intertwining, the Museum poses the question if it actually does so, and what is preventing it from doing so? By analyzing the possibility of the community's participating in the Museum's activities by implementing the public action strategy, the paper draws attention to the potentials of attaining research goals of analytic and interpretive nature and defines the possibilities of museums actualization in implementing a public action strategy through participatory and inclusive programs.

Keywords: public action strategy; cultural participation; intertwining method; Museum of Yugoslav History

Introduction

By observing culture through a broad understanding framework, as a collective way of life, art becomes one, but not the defining manifestation of unique cultural identity of the place and its community (Matarasso & Landry, 2003). Thus established *broad conception* culture has a significant role in shaping the cultural policy of its native environment. Over the past 20 years, candidate countries and the EU member states have been creating a cultural policy which also includes the issue of citizens' participation in the cultural development of the community, and so in the cities of Western Europe the type of mutual interactions of citizens, civil society and practical public policies becomes the determining factor. The well-grounded opinion is that vibrant, diverse and inspiring cultural life with which the community should and can be connected represents a significant share of the social fabric which determines the functioning and quality of life of a society. Thus observed, every member of the community should have a fundamental *personal need* to participate in the creation of cultural policy of the environment in which he lives, while on the other hand, cultural policy creators need to understand and encourage his role in the creation of models of cultural policy with the aim of constant "creation of cultural arena as the key component in the development of democratic society, nearly parallel to the formal structures and institutions" (Dietachmair, 2007).

A wide range of interpretations of the term *cultural participation* indicates the need for determining its meaning in this paper. In order to come up with a proper understanding of the term, it is necessary to look at the dichotomy principles in the relation between the democratization of culture and cultural democracy, which are changing according to the changes that occur in the concepts of cultural policies. The democratization of culture is understood as the need to ensure that the greatest number of people get access to the *hereditary culture*, which is why its principles are based on the grounds according to which cultural heritage and contemporary creativity "belong to everyone regardless of class affiliation, place of residence, or cultural group"; therefore it is not just a privilege of a narrow circle of "favored minorities" (Mekli,

1981). From the standpoint of practical cultural policy, the term includes a series of practical acts, measures, activities and actions whose initial implementation is related to the work of the Minister of Culture of France André Malraux, who believed that it was necessary for the culture created in the elite cultural institutions to be available to all (Djukić, 2010). As opposed to this, the principle of cultural democracy has its foundation in the Recommendations made in Helsinki at the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Europe in 1972, according to which: "Culture comprises the structures, mores and conditions of life of a society and the patterns of individual self-expression and self-fulfillment therein." According to this interpretation, culture is not just an optional free time activity, but rather a significant factor in the social self-expression of an individual, as well as the factor of the overall material and cultural progress of the community. During the seventies, the principles of cultural democracy emphasized the review of *cultural policies at crossroads* whose task was to resolving the cultural identity crisis, where culture was seen as a "community lifestyle" (Pine, 1981). The former function of culture as the creator of the unique national cultural identity is replaced in the post-Malraux era with the understanding of cultural democracy as a possibility of expressing of a multitude of special cultural identities, and therefore the emphasis is focused on stimulating initiatives and creating conditions for intensive production and participation on all levels of society (Dragičević Šešić & Dragojevic, 2005). Thanks to its dynamic diversity, culture expands the possibilities of choice and provides greater freedom to each of its members, as clearly stated in the paragraph 3 of the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity: "Cultural diversity widens the range of options that open to everyone [...] as a means to achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence." Contrary to availability, this interpretation places in the center of consideration the concept of "inclusion in cultural life" whose main characteristics are participation, cultural life, parallel cultural models and inter-sector cooperation (Dragicevic Šešić & Dragojevic, 2005). From this perspective, the concept of cultural democracy impacts the understanding of cultural participation as a possibility of active community involvement in the production and creativity which has far-reaching positive effects on society (Đukić, 2010). Current, official definitions of cultural participation omit the mentioning of the distinction of the concept of active participation as opposed to approach, and therefore participation "includes cultural practices which involve consumption, as well as the activities undertaken within the community, which affect the quality of life, traditions and beliefs. It includes access to programs such as visits to the cinema or a concert, participation in informal cultural activities and events, or amateur artistic productions, as well as everyday activities such as for example reading books. This means that cultural participation includes both active and passive behavior patterns. However, the classification of level and type of participation influences the response to what is essential determinant of cultural participation from the perspective of cultural democracy, thus it is sometimes interpreted as active involvement in the cultural production of organized civil society, the attendance of audience to local cultural activities, or everyday cultural habit of individual community members" (Pascual & Dragojević, 2007). According to Nina Simon, in course of interpreting the term in the context of museum practice, classifications are possible via approach, contribution, collaboration, co-creation, and hosting (Simon, 2010). It is important to note here the possible difference in observing the positions of power and decision-making, where according to Carpentier "if the audience does not define their participation and has no influence on the future course of performance, there can be no talk of participation"; he also distinguishes three levels of involvement: access, interaction and participation (Carpentier, 2011). Access form is often favored on the level of political decision-making in relation to the active form of participation in culture, which requires a higher degree of established democratic values in society.

The concept of cultural participation in this paper is understood as the developing of *participatory mechanisms* which include the citizens and all other stakeholders (Djukić, 2010) in the domain of cultural dialogue between the formal structures and individual members of the community in creating cultural forms and content, and not only mere presence (Pascual & Dragojevic, 2007). According to Jordi Pascual, "the

issue of citizen participation in the design, development, implementation, and evaluation of cultural policies is not a matter of choice anymore, as it is the characteristic of advanced democracies" (Pascual, 2007). The contemporary interpretation of the term, an increasing number of experiences that connect local governance and participation, divides participation into two large groups in accordance with the longevity of the objectives and basic values of the process: participation in order to provide legitimacy, or participation in order to achieve transformation. When it comes to participation in order to provide legitimacy, those who promote or incite participatory practices are striving to strengthen the initial positions, goals and interests, but they are not too interested in fundamental change. In the second case, the objective is not to retain the initial position, as it is to empower the processes which enable the community to propose changes and transformations, as well as to discuss them.

The museum practice in this process can impact the creation of conditions for the complete communication with the community by conducting different supporting, animation, and participatory activities, or special cultural programs. Museum thus obtains the role of interweaving of previous museum practices and position of users, as a dynamic relationship in the actualization of the past and achieving freedoms (Claire, 1978). In this way the museum becomes an institution directed toward audience, i.e. the place where "visitors create, share and connect with each other around content" concerning the local community (Simon, 2010). Among the basic functions of the museum this approach includes also the proactive and dynamic role of institution through programs that attract the media attention, stimulate interest of the audience and ultimately lead to re-visit in the context of revitalization of community (Simon, 2010). By developing the content which, instead of being *about* something or *for* someone, result in interaction *with* visitors, museums are erasing the difference between institution and user, thus influencing the ability of the creative exchange of ideas, knowledge, opinions and experience in contemplation of the common past of its actors. From this perspective the paper analyzes the possibilities of museums to implement the public action strategy and appropriate philosophy through participatory programs on the example of the Museum of Yugoslav History which is located on the transition line between the memorial center and the place of active consideration of the past.

1. Theoretical role of museum practice in the process of *interweaving*

Art historian and curator Jean Clair, in the late seventies announced "probable disappearance of the museum at the end of the twentieth century, in the form in which it was then known" and pointed to the presumption of defining a new form of action, composed of intertwining of two until then most durable types of museums - pretext and context, where one created a space of expression of the order of understanding, and the other enabled understanding of the order of society (Bulatović, 2004). The museum practice interpreted as a process of interweaving indicates the type of relationship between the institution and visitors as "the moving force that brings into question and disturbs common codes", where the former role of authority is substituted with the memory being created. In this way the museum becomes a space of memories in the making, "more present, more imposing, and more necessary than ever before" (Claire, 1978). Claire's idea of mixing the positions of consumer, creator and user has become important in the last decade with the help of advocates of a participatory role of museums. One of them is Nina Simon, who points to the difference between the traditional type of museum where the institution produces content consumed by the visitors, and participatory model focused on programs – platforms in connecting the diverse users who become creators, distributors, consumers, critics, associates (Simon, 2010). This distinction basically refers to the channels of communication between the institution and visitors, where the traditional type includes a one-directional channel of presenting the content, while in the participatory model institution supports two-directional, or multi-directional experiential content as a mutual process in the interpretation of heritage. Museum thus becomes a place where visitors can create, exchange their views and experiences, connect mutually around specific content, contribute with their personal ideas, objects and

creative expressions, as well as participate in the activities and programs of the museum they consider important, therefore establishing the community around the museum. This interpretation of the role of museums greatly reduces the possibility of exclusion of community from the museum practice (Sandel, 1998), and impacts the establishment of management techniques which will place the museum in the appropriate context. As the development of authorized heritage discourse, the development of participatory role of museums takes time, but primarily the change of ethical standpoints, ways of thinking, knowledge and skills in adapting to a community that has been instructed for far too long a period to think about the heritage in the traditional way. The issues of amending the principles of the heritage idea and focus on the community can also be found in the document of the Framework Convention of the Council of Europe on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, which states that "institutions should encourage everyone to participate in the process of identification, studying and interpretation of protection, preservation and presentation of cultural heritage."

On the other hand, the access of adaptive management is focused on strategic management of art and refers to dynamic and adjustable institutions, where the concept of adjustability does not mean a one-way pandering to the tastes and preferences of society and the environment, but rather an active two-way relationship in which an organization, aware of the circumstances, may also be and the initiator of social change (Šešić & Dragojević, 2005). Defined by the same authors, Šešić and Dragojević as "managing the sector of art and culture that insists on developing excellence through the application of management knowledge and skills which correspond to the needs of the organization in order to adapt to the turbulent circumstances, to ensure continuity, achieve excellence," adaptive quality management as its primary method uses the strategic management which is realized in the cyclical manner through the process of work analysis, planning, plan implementation, evaluation and revision. Unlike ordinary planning, strategic planning includes discussion, analysis, and selection of development scenarios and their corresponding strategies, as well as mandatory creativity, synthetic and multidimensional thinking. In the process of revitalization of institutions, strategic cycles that also include evaluation and review, stimulate the principle of continuous learning and adapting to the established set of principles in the given circumstances with the use of strategic options. According to the same authors, by acting in the sphere of public interest, museums impose themselves the goal of adapting to changes and democratization of public space, and thus more "become centers for social debate and lobby organization for issues of interest to the general public or specific groups, as well as the promoters of new ideas and forms of action". Those institutions that lost their functional position in the new conditions, in order to ensure positioning in the public and influence the development of recognition, apply the strategy of public activity which heavily relies on the development of PR and marketing techniques, animation and new content, of partnership, networking, etc. By using this strategy museums participate in the development of specific ethics and aesthetics, as well as the creation of special programs, and are placed in the order of those organizations that operate and become "conceptual meeting place for the consideration of ideas and values present in the political and cultural public, and examination of social and cultural consequences that they assume".

The Museum of Yugoslav History is according to the assessment of eminent national experts, one of the best structured, dynamic and visible institutions in the field of cultural heritage in Serbia. However, the museum is going through a crisis period due to organizational and financial difficulties, but primarily due to the lack of precise ethical and theoretical methodological designation. In order to overcome the current situation, the Museum of Yugoslav History developed a new strategic plan, where the document is not set as the operational plan, but as a new philosophical and program design of the institution.

Positioning itself in the strategic documents in the context of a flexible institution and meeting place of ideas which wishes to influence the process of revitalization of the community by method of intertwining, the question poses itself whether the Museum actually does this, and if not, what is preventing it from doing this?

By observing the possibility of achieving community participation in the activities of the Museum, this paper points to the potentials of achieving research objectives, the first group of which includes the analysis of the situation in Serbia from the standpoint of participation, as well as the analysis of institutions from the standpoint of public action. The following group of objectives has the analytical and interpretative character and determines the possibilities of realization of the Museum in the application of the public action strategy through participatory and inclusive programs. And finally, the scientific objective of research is pointing out to (in)ability of actual development of participatory role of the Museum without the firm stronghold within the institution itself, which is united in the issue of application of the public action strategy. In order to achieve its mission of the place of open dialogue and exchange of knowledge and experience through the method of intertwining, it is necessary to implement a strategy of action that directs the institution to the development of special ethical and aesthetic values through participatory programs that bring a community together around the museum. From this it emanates the presumption that states that the Museum, in order to become the place interweaving and exchange of experiences, should clearly determine the philosophy of public action both toward the community, and toward the professionals who make up the team of this museum. Using empirical research methods, a case study on the example of the Museum of Yugoslav History, we observed the attitude of the institution with 28 employees, out of which 16 women and 12 men with an average age of 49 toward the issue of public action in gathering the community around the active interpretation of heritage. Among the employees are 10 curators, out of which 4 possess a sufficient level of knowledge of foreign languages. The subject of the paper was observed by analyzing narratives directed to the Strategic Plan for the period from 2014-2018, the Strategic Plan for the period from 2012-2017, and Work Report for 2014. In order to broaden the basic experience and gain a sense of entirety in course of perceiving the problems of applying the public action strategy, we used the analysis of narratives relating to the press documentation in order to animate the community; we therefore explored the periodicals on the theme of the exhibition which showed expressive participatory value entitled *They have never had a better time, have they?* from 2014, catalogs, expert literature and the like. Observation without the participation is a method which, by analyzing the exhibition *They have never had a better time, have they?* contributed highly to the formation of impressions on relations between public action strategy and practical experience. With the aim of collecting precise information, we also used a method of interview with the curator Ana Panić, where the first group of questions focused on the mission and vision of the museum, while the second group contained the questions focused on potential participatory role of museums and implementation of the public action strategy.

2. Cultural participation in Serbia - current situation

At the end of the 20th century in Serbia began the process of transitional changes from a totalitarian into a democratic state polity, and in the field of cultural policy the establishment of democratic cultural system and the formulation of new objectives and priorities of development (Đukić, 2011). Specific for the countries in transition is the state in which the changes are felt in all areas of social development in relation to social, political and economic circumstances, including the spheres of culture and arts. The main feature of the model of cultural policy in transition countries is that they are still “deeply dependent on old models of cultural policy and the organization of the system of institutions, and on the other hand, on the expressed requirements of the democratically-oriented intellectuals, focused mainly on issues of the nation and national culture” (Dragičević-Šešić & Stojković, 2007). In the beginning of the transition processes (2001 -2004), a special emphasis was placed on the reform of the major national cultural institutions and the public sector as a whole, by the introduction of new managerial and marketing techniques. After ten years of experience of destruction during the nineties, extreme centralization, nationalization and manipulation, the necessary priorities on all levels of public policy were directed to the issues of decentralization and de-nationalization of culture; strengthening market orientation of cultural institutions and their efficient and effective work;

establishment of a new legal framework for culture (harmonization with European standards); multiculturalism, active cooperation in the pre-accession processes with the bodies of CoE and EU.

By observing the issue of participation through the framework of access to cultural contents it is possible to notice the insufficient velocity of cultural development; the data from the comparative analysis of visits to the cultural institutions in the empirical studies summarized in the text of Predrag Cvetičanin "The field of cultural production in Serbia" show that in the period from 2005 to 2013 the minimum change for the better was only reflected in the visits to theaters and cinemas, while the percentage of those who visit the museums, libraries, concerts of classical music and rock and roll music and galleries significantly decreased.

What can be observed is that for almost all the programs of cultural institutions the percentage of those who have not visited them even once during the year ranges around 70%. The percentage of those who occasionally visit the cultural programs of institutions is around 20% (for motion pictures around 30%, and for concerts of classical music less than 10%), while the percentage of those who make "regular" audience (who attended the programs of cultural institutions/organizations more than 4 times a year around 10% (Cvetičanin, 2014). Factors that can adversely or positively impact the participation in Serbia are linked to the financial capabilities of the community and its members, therefore the majority of research respondents highly rank the problem of lack of funds, and right after that the problem of unavailability of content and the lack of time. The issue of centralization of culture also affects its development, so the indicator of cultural participation in large cities, primarily Belgrade and others significantly differs from other, particularly rural areas. For example, over 80% of the population in the villages in Vojvodina and Šumadija evaluates cultural offer as very poor (Cvetičanin, 2007). Availability is also problematic for a variety of marginalized groups: ethnic minorities, older people, people with special needs and others.

Although in the documents of the Ministry of Culture frequently appears a common entry directed to the availability of culture, active participation of citizens, decentralization, fostering children's creativity etc., it is built into the declarative level of existence. A real intention to systematically monitor and evaluate the issue of cultural participation as the substance of democratic values has not been recognized. The conclusion which can be drawn from all the above stated indicates that the cultural participation is not an essential priority, but rather that its implementation is left to the care of individual institutions and their strategies.

3. The possibilities and limitations of the participatory role of the Museum of Yugoslav History by implementing the public action strategy

Museum of Yugoslav History was created in 1996 by merging the Memorial Center Josip Broz Tito and the Museum of the Revolution of Nations and Nationalities of Yugoslavia, with the task identical to the task of the museums established in the 19th century - to justify the existence of the state and promote the ruling ideology. However, soon after the establishment of the museum the social and political context changed drastically, and the state whose name the museum bears disintegrated. Until a few years ago, the change of cultural policy and culture of remembrance resulted in threatening to close of the museum with the idea of transferring its collections to other parent institution. From then until now the Museum of Yugoslav History is facing a serious task to justify its existence. In recent years, a high number of visits is in its favor (approximately 100,000 visitors), mainly tourists from the region who guided by nostalgia come to *pilgrimage*. The results from the surveys of the audience realized in 2014 confirmed that the visitors with the focus on the "House of Flowers" continue to think that they are coming to the Memorial Center Josip Broz Tito, while the audience that comes to the thematic exhibitions and animation programs in the building of the Museum 25th May believes that only this building and its program is the Museum of Yugoslav History. In this way the museum was faced with the anticipated reality that the attempt to balance between the different programs was not ultimately successful considering the fact that although it ensured the presence of different groups among the museum's audience, it certainly did not diminish the dichotomy between them. In order to

overcome this problem and lay the foundations for its future work, without waiting for a national strategy for culture and clearly defined cultural policy by the Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia, the Museum of Yugoslav History created a new Strategic Plan for the period from 2014-2018, corrected in relation to previously existing Strategic Plan for the period from 2012- 2017.

Orientation of the Museum of Yugoslav History toward the implementation of the public action strategy will be observed through the analysis of two strategic documents that define the role and the strategic goals of the museum. Through comparative observation of document segments, amendments and supplements in the Strategic Plan from 2012-2017 and the new plan from 2014-2018, we can perceive the attitude of management of the Museum toward the positions advocated in this paper. First, it should be noted that apart from the change of the director of the Museum, the circumstances in which the museum operates also changed. The first change is related to the character of management, and the other to the rapid development of new museum practices and attitude towards this concept. Visible in the very mission of the strategic plan is a difference which indicates the aspects of museum activity which are closely related to the participatory function of the museum.

“The Museum of Yugoslav History is a relevant, actual, vital, modern and networked cultural institution which deals with the history of the 20th century from the perspective of the history of Yugoslavia through contextualization of these issues and topics in the current social, political and cultural situation of Serbia, the region, the Balkans, Europe and the global community; recognized (and popular) in Serbia and abroad – in terms of the exhibiting material, the way of its processing and presentation, its topics, and by modern tools used for promotion and communication with the audience and users of funds, colleagues and associates” (Mission, Strategic Plan 2012-2017).

Mission Statement of the Strategic Plan for the period from 2014-2018 emphasizes keywords such as open dialogue, knowledge, experience and impression to clearly explain the new role of institution: “The Museum of Yugoslav History is a place of open dialogue and exchange of knowledge and experiences about the social and cultural phenomena of the 20th century. With its innovative approach, unique collections and preserved testimonies about Yugoslavia, the Museum offers visitors and users a unique experience through exhibiting, educational and animation programs” (Mission, Strategic Plan 2014-2018).

The set of values selected by the museum include: comprehensiveness of heritage, trans-disciplinary approach, critical thinking, inclusion and participation, as well as widely observed availability; thus in the vision set forth in the Strategic Plan for the period from 2014-2018 the Museum unambiguously positioned itself as a significant actor of social development: “The Museum of Yugoslav History is an open institution of international character, which, through innovative interpretation of the past, encourages various actors to the active perceiving of the present.”

SWOT analysis of both documents showed that the strengths are based on the richness of the fund and a unique complex, as well as on the expert and motivated staff and the number of visitors (over 100,000 per year). The biggest weakness refers to the lack of adequate storage space, as well as on the fact that the Museum does not have sufficiently specialized staff for performing of tasks which are in line with the growing interests of the audience and the contemporary requirements of communication. The biggest identified threats are the insufficient sources of funding, constant political changes and undeveloped instruments of cultural policy at the state level. Chances are based on the broad interest of the regional public in Josip Broz Tito, socialism and Yugoslavia. By focusing on the ex-Yu population, with intensive international cooperation, and by using alternative sources of financing and the development of innovative programs and products, the Museum has chances which can be used in the near future.

As understanding of the need for harmonization with the new interpretation of the idea of heritage, based on the Decision on amendments and supplements to the Statute, the Museum established the following organizational units:

- Department for Research and Conservation of the museum fund,
- The Department for Communication and Development Programs (new Department),
- The Department of Common Affairs.

In course of further observation of these documents, special focus will be on strategic objectives of the Museum relating to the questions posed by this paper. Strategic Plan for the period from 2012-2017 takes into account the following objectives: to improve the ways and conditions of the entrusted cultural and historical goods, continuous improvement of space and technical capacities, improvement of human resources, modernization of the program contents, more intensified communication with the public/audiences. Overall objectives relating to operations and infrastructure, human resources and capacity expansion, and the attitude towards the manner and modernization of protection are represented in both documents. However, in the strategic objective 4 of the Plan for the period from 2014-2018, strategic area and programs are stated, where the Museum of Yugoslav History recognizes its role as facilitator in the process of reconciliation, development of tolerance, and establishment of dialogue between various actors.

By developing innovative, balanced and socially relevant program contents, the Museum wishes to influence the specific objectives in this area:

- Realization of discussion, education and animation programs aimed at active and critical observation of the past,
- Initiating a dialogue with the community,
- The development of interactive (digital) contents,
- The opening of new permanent exhibitions.

In the Strategic Plan for the period from 2014-2018 Action Plan is stated as the main implementation instrument, whose revision was planned once a year in May. Through the comparative analysis of the Action Plan and the report of the Museum of Yugoslav History for 2014 we concluded that there is no clear formulation of specific participatory programs and deadlines in the framework of the Action Plan, and thus for some of the completed projects which attracted the most attention in the end of 2014 and the beginning of 2015 there are no further details in the Report apart from the basic data:

Whereas in the framework of the film program at the cinema hall of the Museum of Yugoslav History there were 40 films broadcasted in seven selections (Films he did not like, Films of the awarded directors, On the wings of adventure, Night after a hard day, Towards the unknown worlds, Tito and film and Europe in flames), the selection of a guest selector, Croatian director Rajko Grlić was the special eighth selection. In the framework of the project we organized guided tours for visitors of the exhibition, as well as workshops based on modern trends in education which foster independent reasoning and the development of critical thinking, as well as an interactive discussion with the participants. The exhibition was seen by 5,400 visitors (GRAND ILLUSION - TITO and 24 million meters of filmstrip (11th November – 18th December 2014).

The objective of the project is more intensive interaction with the audience, which is invited to bring objects from that period, talk about its recollections of life under the socialist regime and actively participate in the creation of contents and commentary on social networks.” During the exhibition the accompanying program was organized in the Museum of Yugoslav History: children's workshops, theater play National Class 1979-2014, directed by Ana Grigorović produced by the Youth Theatre Dadov, guided tours of the exhibition led by celebrities, the lecture by Dr. Igor Dude - Standard of living and consumer culture in the socialist Yugoslavia, panel discussion on children's everyday life

in the socialist Yugoslavia and growing up between East and West, as well as the guided tours led by the authors of the exhibition every Saturday at 1 p.m. which attracted special attention of visitors. In just a few days during the New Year holidays, the exhibition was seen by around 3,000 visitors (THEY NEVER HAD IT BETTER? December 27, 2014 - February 17, 2015)

Ana Panić, the curator of the project *They never had it better?* in an interview for the research purposes states that the exhibition includes in its program the activities which involve the shift of power between museums and audiences, therefore influencing the participatory role of the community. Believing that the visitors are entitled to their memories, the exhibition uses a variety of PR, marketing and animation methods in its interpretation. Animation role is especially focused on a younger audience that is not sufficiently taught in schools about the epoch of socialism, and therefore perceive the socialist past through the stories they hear in their families and media interpretation. The author of the exhibition cited as a problem the lack of inter-sector cooperation from the standpoint of education, and therefore the involvement of young visitors in the function of culture of remembrance boils down to the enthusiasm of employees at the museum and personal contacts with individual schools.

As the application of the public action strategy entails pronounced PR techniques and new contents in the process of animation of the community, more media presence was achieved via intensive communications with the press but based on personal contacts. In addition to the usual media representatives like Blic, Beta, Tanjug, Danas, Naslovi, Studio B, Elle magazine the information and announcements of the exhibition *They never had it better?* was also covered by the media not often centered on culture and art: TV show Exclusive (TV Prva), daily newspaper Kurir, Informer, etc.

The goal of the project is to establish a more intensive interaction with the audience by inviting visitors to bring their own items belonging to the period in question, recount their memories of life in the era of socialism and take active part in the participate in the content creation and commenting in social media (From the announcement of the exhibition *They never had it better?*).

We may conclude that Action Plan as the accompanying document of the Strategic Plan in the specified section 4 formulates the deadlines on the annual level, but not concrete activities on individual projects, and thus the Report lists only the realized activities but not their effects observed through the level of participation. Furthermore, thus established Action Plan relies on interdisciplinary potential of individual curators and their organizational skills in the domain of improvisation.

As the strategic framework for implementation of strategic changes envisioned three stages, the question remains as to how the Museum of Yugoslav History will overcome the above problems in course of the period of development and excellence:

1. Establishment, consolidation, reconstruction and maintenance (June 2014 - July 2015),
2. Development and achievement of excellence (August 2015 - June 2017),
3. Maturity and reprogramming (July 2017 - June 2018).

Conclusion

In the late 20th century, most European countries based their cultural policies on four defining principles: promotion of cultural identity, promotion of cultural diversity, promotion of creativity and from the standpoint of participation the most important principle of promoting participation in cultural life (Đukić, 2012). The principle of promoting participation observed through opportunities of action strategies impacts the perception of change in power relations, adjusting to new initiatives in terms of financing, as well as the self-organized communities (the third sector) towards the implementation of their own cultural interests. A new

approach to cultural policy, based on the principle of participation of cultural community, has led to a new interpretation of the role of culture as a whole.

However, observed from the domestic point of view, this kind of upheaval in terms of directions of development of culture and cultural policy modeling still does not take into account for this domain the key interweaving model in which the partners and determining allies in the process may be different levels of government, other ministries, economic sector, foundations, NGOs and all stakeholders in the community. By collective perceiving of the principles of European values, among which is the promotion of participation in cultural life, and on the other hand of the problem in the implementation at the state level in Serbia, it is possible to select an appropriate set of strategies and recommendations which can have a favorable influence on the process of resolving.

Understanding the current cultural system from the standpoint of cultural participation requires involvement of partnerships between public, private and civil sectors, where it is necessary that all the participating parties have an equal role in deciding on the defining issues of cultural policy.

In the aim of efficient and effective achievement of objectives it is possible to apply linking strategies oriented to cooperation of stakeholders (public, private, and civil sectors) in the process of cultural development. Necessary direction of development of partner relations sets the precondition for the existence of legislation which will regulate the operation of stakeholders (civil and private sectors). Next possible line of common modeling of cultural policy is focused on the perception of the cultural community, which includes the civil sector in the decision-making process. If the culture crosses over into the domain of a number of social fields (media, education, economy, tourism, town planning, architecture, science, transport etc.), through the model of interdepartmental cooperation cultural participation becomes their integral part. Special perspective in observing possible directions of development of cultural participation should be focused on the development of education policies. The analysis of existing research of cultural needs, habits and tastes of the citizens of Serbia showed that the formal education has a strong impact on the awareness of the need for cultural participation, but also a minimal impact on its actual realization. Thus perceived, the main recommendation from this domain is focused on the creation of strategic partnerships between the actors working in the field of education, culture and science, in order to create conditions for development of creativity that will later influence the social, economic and cultural life of the community.

By adopting the argument that the basic substance of operation of the museum is its identity, and its obligations within this identity communication and participation, the Museum of Yugoslav History focuses its strategic work in this direction. Strategic documents have shown that the management of the institution places in the central zone of reference framework the positioning of the museum as a "place of dialogue and exchange of knowledge and experience" in the function of public action, where it sets out the method of innovative participatory programs as a basis for future realization of objectives. The analysis showed that the strategy of public action through use of participatory and inclusive program is one of the priorities of the the Museum of Yugoslav History; however, the insufficient integration into philosophical reflection of the strategy application was observed, which resulted in inaccuracy in formulating concrete plans whose feasibility is focused on the minimum interconnections of operational work, but not on internal unity. Such internal image of the institution influences the perception of the Museum of Yugoslav History in the community it addresses, and therefore only some of the projects possess the outline of an institution that functions. The method of submitting the report refers to its formal purpose, but does not allow for the learning process, measuring and improving the work of the museum. All these indicators influence the fact that the dominant, authorized discourse of heritage even when explicitly reshaped, implicitly still manages the frameworks of thinking that influence the practices and the boundaries between the community authorities - experts, institutions, country - and other stakeholders; therefore the actual direction of development remains in the domain of "popular rhetoric and cosmetic changes." The establishment of the Sector for Communication and Program

Development speaks about the intention of the management of the Museum to impact the possibility of community gathering around the museum, as well as the possible future development in this direction.

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Partnership as a Strategy to Achieve Optimal Participatory Governance and Risk Mitigation (of Cultural and Natural Heritage)

Kocovic, Milica

Institute of Economic Sciences

Belgrade, Serbia

milica.kocovic@ien.bg.ac.rs*

Djukic, Vesna

Faculty of Drama Arts

Belgrade, Serbia

djukic.vesna@gmail.com*

Abstract

In addition to the scientific public this paper may be of interest also to wider public, professionals, and all potential initiators of changes. The term *participatory governance* may be interpreted as a process that allows shared responsibility of management models, wherein the responsibility is shared and decisions are taken by communities rather than by individuals. It is already wide spread trend to participate in community values by different sector actors, and various forms partnerships.

In this paper, in addition to relevant institutions (cultural institutions, tourism organizations, civil organizations, NGOs, public companies such as the National Parks), we propose possible alternative ways of integrative management and PG. We emphasized the importance of local community involvement (thru ecocultural tourism, and other ways of participation by creation of new jobs), but also private sector (such as insurance companies, infrastructure etc.) in the managing and important questions about natural and cultural heritage. The cultural, touristic, heritage, natural issues, should be treated interdisciplinary and by multisectoral approach.

Keywords: partnership; participatory governance; heritage; new system solutions; risk management

Introduction

In light of global changes, financial challenges, and all known problems faced by transitional and developing societies, responsibility is not just on traditional organizational structures to pursue objectives of general interest with aim to protect, manage and valorize cultural and natural heritage. The contemporary world is characterized by extremely fast development and experiencing and consequential structural changes which have high impact on societies, economics, governments and public administration (Farazmand, 2004, 2009). In order to achieve new suggested Millennium development Goals⁷⁹ set globally, every actor on local level should have on mind those challenges and think of strategies to deal with them. The main idea of all mentioned goals is determined as communion of common concerns. While much has been written in recent years separately about those topics, there is a plenty of practical and scientific space to develop and connect

* Milica Kocovic, associate researcher at Institute of Economic sciences, this paper will be part of macro project : no. 17901 and no. 47009 Ministry of Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

* Vesna Djukic, full professor on Faculty of Drama Arts on Cultural Policy and Cultural tourism.

⁷⁹ By the UN: The Millennium Development Goals Report 2015, main goals: 1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; 2. Achieve universal primary education; 3. Promote gender equality and empower women; 4. Reduce child mortality; 5. Improve maternal health; 6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; 7. Ensure environmental sustainability; 8. Develop a global partnership for development;

the fields, in order to adequately address the question of the common goods/challenges.

Our main research questions:

- i. How to create a new system solution (for use, managing, conservation and risk mitigation of cultural and natural heritage, creation of new touristic products and local integration)?
- ii. Is participatory governance model that should be applied in order to achieve sustainable development of national parks and its heritage?
- iii. What type of (new) management model and/or partnership we are suggesting?
- iv. What type of integrated governance is preferred with aim to increase synergy and involvement of the stakeholders at the local level?
- v. How to minimize *transitional disease* (sluggish bureaucracy and lazy administration; unemployment, poverty, corruption etc.).

Our recommendations are encouraged by many previous relevant papers, cases, and on the example of the National Park *Djerdap* (accompanying cultural and natural heritage) in Serbia, with respect to the previous scientific and professional literature relevant to the topic.

1. Theoretical review of participatory governance and partnership strategy

Participatory governance (PG) occurs as a response to the problems that characterize transitional societies in developing countries. The way in which PG provides its positive impacts on vulnerable societies shocks is through the: higher transparency, active multisectoral cooperation, fair distribution and greater inclusion of local people. There are four forms that characterize developing countries in the sense of institutional changes: decentralisation - viz. deconcentration, delegation, devolution, and privatisation/partnership (Rondinelli & Nellis 1986; Rondinelli *et al.* 1987; Blair 1995, 1998; Osmani 2000). The idea of PG is defined as a strategic and interactive people-centred process of seeking the active involvement of relevant stakeholders in the framework of public action — i.e. public authorities and bodies, private actors, civil society organisations, NGOs, the volunteering sector and interested people — in decision-making, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of cultural heritage policies and programmes, to increase accountability and transparency of public resource investments as well as to build public trust in policy decisions. (EENC, 2015) Thus, PG is the way to achieve greater equity, through decentralization of power, management, decision-making and accountability. Grounded in the theory of participatory democracy more generally, it offers a theory and practices of public engagement through deliberative processes (Fischer, 2010). The modern social discourses and repetitive crises have highlighted the problems and state failure in resolving them (Farazmand 2004; Carment 2003; Patrick 2007; Call 2011; Asaduzzaman *et al.* 2015). Those diagnosed challenges led to the urgent need of creating stronger and more efficient partnerships between stakeholders in order to resolve newly emerging communities challenges in relation to disaster management, climate change adaptation, global health issues including HIV/AIDS, widespread structural poverty, corruption and terrorism (Farazmand 2009; Fukuyama 2004; Young *et al.* 2012; Frantzeskaki *et al.* 2013; Sami *et al.* 2002; Mert 2009; Kolk *et al.* 2008; Bontenbal 2009; Nisar 2012; Nayarko 2011; Ramiah & Reich 2006; Bantham *et al.* 2003; Morsink *et al.* 2011; Buseand, Harmer 2007; Asaduzzaman *et al.* 2015). In short PG is a way of ensuring factual democracy. Community-based organizations (CBOs), local governments, and deconcentrated sectoral agencies, as well as private organizations such as NGOs and firms, should be linked more coherently in order to support improved empowerment, governance, service provision, and private sector growth. A spatially framed approach, which links such local organizations through their respective roles and relationships at local government and community levels, promises to improve coordination, synergy, efficiency, and responsiveness in local development processes (Helling *et al.*, 2005). Helling also mentioned four core elements to achieve participatory governance: empowerment, local

governance, service provision, and private sector growth ; three enabling elements a favorable policy; institutional environment, capacity enhancement, and resource transfers (Helling *et al.*, 2005).

PG as we see it, as a means is the system solution to meet the goals. Our goals of this paper are presented at research questions, but it is also applicable in other examples. And partnership is a strategy that assumes connection of public, private and NGO sector, without which it is impossible to encircle socio-cultural cycles and achieve above mentioned goals (Djukic, 2010) .

Partnership could be seen as a legal form of business operation between two or more individuals who share management and profits.⁸⁰ It is almost any kind of relationship between individuals and groups (Harriss, 2000), who shares responsibility, power and achievements (Farazmand, 2004), interests and aspirations (Binagwa, 2005). Partnerships are flexibly, but at the same time forcefully, because they create stronger link between stakeholders which leads to synergies with more likely to achieve desired goals. It also contributes to creativity, involvement, the quality of positive governance and, service delivery, administration, political support as well as stability among governments, citizens, the private sector, and NGOs (Farazmand, 2004). Local government approaches are created with the aim to strengthen democratic values and create stronger nets between local governments, state agencies and civil society institutions with intent to achieve sustainable and dynamic development. There are also few prospective how we should look on the strategic options of integration. We see linking strategy (read partnership) as a basic support of integration management. From a theoretical point of view linking strategy is often implemented to facilitate provision of financial resources and better international acceptance and recognition of participants. From the perspective of cultural management, this strategy is primarily related to productions; from the standpoint of cultural policies it implies a partnership of public, private and NGO sector (Djukic, 2010) . Thus, this strategy from the standpoint of any public policy, is being implemented in order to facilitate financing (which is a very critical point when we talk about issues related to: culture, heritage, ecology, tourism, traditional crafts, social entrepreneurships, as well as an integrated activity of those different departments). Local government scale is likely to be more appropriate for strategic planning and decision making linked to medium-term, crosssectoral resource allocation and promotion of local economic development (Helling *et al.*, 2005).

About mentioned there are world recognized approaches of participatory budgeting, intergovernmental systems, and local governance. Effective and efficient world pioneer programs have helped with the acceptance of the idea of participatory governance⁸¹. Also parts of this paper related to cultural and natural heritage will be supplemented with concrete examples relating to participatory management culture/cultural/natural heritage, mostly European cases.

Participatory governance and partnership have been recognized and applied by various international organizations such as the World Bank, UNDP , UNESCO, the US Agency for International Development, U.N. Habitat, European Union etc.

It is very well known that adopting more integrative management at local level, is not simple task at all. Realization of desired outcomes assumes strengthened institutions at the local level. This applies particularly to the less privileged regions, far from the big cities. To effectively integrate local development processes Helling pointed to some challenges that should include:

- i. changing attitudes and practices in the public sector and civil society;
- ii. managing complex processes involving both governmental and non-governmental actors at several levels;
- iii. surmounting institutional boundaries among sector, local government, and community-based

⁸⁰ Internet source: *Entrepreneur online magasin*.

⁸¹ Such as: India, Brazil, Mexico, Spain, UK, Norway, and many more African, Asian countries. also parts of this paper related to cultural and natural heritage will be supplemented with concrete examples relating to participatory management culture / cultural / natural heritage.

organizations;

iv. and realigning relations of power to favor local actors rather than national actors, and communities and civil society rather than public officials.

Authors also suggests that more integrated approach could be achieved easier with respect of diagnostic methodologies that should be applied for linking sectoral, local government, and community support approaches; context-relevant prescriptions for adapting institutional arrangements to local conditions; and systematic methods for coordinating across sectors and levels (Helling *et al.*, 2005). There are also few prospective how we should consider strategic options of integration. We see linking/networking strategy (read partnership) as a basic support of integration management. From a theoretical point of view linking strategy is often implemented to facilitate provision of financial resources and better international acceptance and recognition of participants. From the perspective of cultural management, integration strategy is primarily related to productions, from the standpoint of cultural policies it implies a partnership of public, private and NGO sector (Djukic, 2010). Thus, this strategy from the standpoint of any public policy, is being implemented in order to facilitate financing (which is a very critical point when we talk about issues related to: culture, heritage, ecology, tourism, traditional crafts, social entrepreneurships, as well as an integrated activity of those different departments). In the paper, we propose a new system solution for the specific example of NP Djerdap. New system solution represent all the solutions that the system does not know, based on the forecast of the future situations (Djukic, 2010).

Favorable environment for the local initiative and pluralism is created by involving local population and building human and social capacities. More effective collaboration between public sector and nongovernmental organizations, more responsive and legitimate forms of social capital, better performing organizations, and individuals more capable of working together to solve problems also enhance the capacity for local development (Helling *et al.*, 2005). Economic security of the poor as an integral part of the drive towards decentralization, because an economically insecure group of people can hardly be expected to express other needs. Before raising the awareness and spreading state of mind on importance of managing cultural issues at local level of chosen community, basic needs from elementary Maslow scale must be satisfied. NGOs and civil organizations have been recognized by role and successfully addressing the influence and points to the issue of poverty.

Better integration could be achieved also by focus on social capital, strengthening civil society and organizations, by timely provided technical assistance, capacity building, and networking all the sectors by official documents, common development strategies and market actions.

Integrating sectoral, local government, and community support approaches involves providing technical guidance about harmonizing methods, actions, multidisciplinary approach, multisectoral organizational arrangements and partnerships to facilitate collaboration.

Essentially tips for achieving new forms of integration :

- i. integrate activities across the sectors by creating common strategies
- ii. develop networks and channels of cooperation at the local level
- iii. ensure community inclusion and active participation in governance
- iv. provide a climate for capacity building and lifelong learning and creative finding solutions
- v. execute the conversion of old public buildings that are not used in offices for new initiatives

The World Heritage Manual dedicated to Managing Tourism has a useful chapter on 'Involving stakeholders: the benefits and challenges of public participation. An effective participatory approach that delivers reciprocal benefits to the cultural property and to society depends on understanding:

- Who participates in decision-making, assessment, planning, implementation and evaluation processes, and how?
- Who contributes with experience, knowledge and skills, and how?

- Who benefits economically, socio-culturally and psychologically, and how? (Pedersen, 2002).

Efficiency and effective public sector demands horizontal changes and interactions between national agencies, local governments and other organizations that share governance at the local level, so policy coherence and technical competence will be ensured. This will lead to creation of opportunities for greater local discretion and stronger accountability. All stakeholders at different levels in a participatory approach should take part in the decision making process. New system solutions with more integrative management approach with the desire to achieve synergies requires strengthening the power of all local actors.

2. Good examples of participatory governance

The most progressive projects have developed in the developing countries especially Brazil and India. These innovations were influenced by work parties and social movements. Projects included deliberative processes analogous to citizen juries but have more formally integrated them into the policy processes of established governmental institutions. Particular importance has: public budgeting in Porto Alegre, Brazil case, one of the most innovative participatory governance practice. It was started by work party bottom-up system of budgetary deliberations geared to the needs of local community. All interested sides (community groups, interested citizens, city administrators, representatives etc.), could come twice a year to have transparent talk and decide budgetary issues. India case of people's development planning in Kerala was also a bottom-up system of participatory planning. This was five year project of participatory planning on village-level where villages got the help by higher amount budget for planning development, actions and monitoring outcomes. The project was rated as promoting decentralization and good governance practices (Fischer 2000; Fischer 2010).

Examples of creative practices addressed to heritage are given by European Expert Network on Culture. Their paper is about mapping good participatory governance practices in heritage (EENC, 2015).

The field of cultural heritage management demonstrate a very wide range of activities and types of engagement with diverse social groups and diverse types of heritage, achieving a multiplicity of outcomes and impacts, as could be seen by Table 1. We decided to chose those examples, because ideas are partially applicable to our research questions. There are also more good examples, related to civil and community inclusion and managing processes. The methodology they use is structured by making a distinction between top-down / bottom-up projects (initiated by institutions/community) and the Wilcox/Simon framework⁸². Combination of the Wilcox Ladder of Participation with Nina Simon's participation framework to distinguish different levels of participation.

Table 1. Examples of good participatory governance projects connected with heritage.

Examples of Top-Down projects	Shortly about	Target groups	The main objectives
Spain- Románico Norte and Románico Atlántico	If heritage has to become a course for local development, it must be valued by society!	Everyone, special attention on: school children, tourist guides, residents.	Wilcox/Simon: Consultation Restoration (churches, monasteries, surrounding land, variety of purposes to use those buildings).
Greece - Diazoma	Initiative for all stakeholders: institutions and citizens to adopt an ancient theatre	Stakeholder approach, everyone who want to participate	Wilcox/Simon: Contributory Research, participation,

⁸² This framework is a combination of the Wilcox Ladder of Participation (informing, consultation, contributory) with Nina Simon's participation framework (deciding together, acting together, hosting) to distinguish different levels of participation.

			restoration, enhancement, financing, participation, with the aim of promotion ancient theatres in Greece
Malta- The Muza Project	MUSA- National museum of Art	Citizens, community	Wilcox/Simon: Contributory
	Community curation		Synergy creation, co-creation, constant interface and empowerment
Germany – Digitising the Stadtgeschichtliches Museum Leipzig	The Museum of City History Leipzig	everyone	Wilcox/Simon: Contributory
	New form of museum, use of new media, research of auditorium-feedback		Transformed the museum into one that now addresses the needs of a modern public. Cooperation with other institutions, researchers
Belgium - Gemeenschapsarchief AMVB	The Archive and Museum of Flemish Life in Brussels (AMVB)	everyone	Wilcox/Simon: Contributory
	Give a voice to youngsters and their parents in Brussels	Children, young people, teachers, parents..	Call for teachers, students, parents to contribute to local schools through educational programs, exhibitions, etc .. interaction to a new offer, which will approach others ..
	Maintenance management systems that control fires		Sharing experiences, participation on various levels
Denmark – Danish Butterfly Atlas	Online atlas	Everyone	Wilcox/Simon Contributory
	Interactive maps, engagement with the public	Public is also encouraged to collect	Targeting and mapping butterfly species, insects, distribution
The Netherlands - National Landscape Drentsche Aa	The Dutch National Landscape Drentsche Aa is a successful example of integrated natural and cultural heritage management!	Community cooperation	Wilcox/Simon: Deciding together / acting together
	Use of digital media	Stakeholder approach, professionals, volunteers.	Landscape biography and digital landscape atlas for planning actions
United Kingdom - Derby Silk Mill	World's first factory- as a museum	Everyone	Wilcox/Simon: Deciding together / acting together
		Public as management	Encouraging visitors and volunteers to become citizen curators, designers and makers.

Finland - Pirkanmaa Provincial Museum	Adopt a Monument!	Stakeholder approach	Wilcox/Simon: Acting together
	pet it, do the breed of it!	Everyone	Finding the adopter; Museum is managing, contracting, adopters should encrease the visibility
Slovenia - The Slovenian Network for the interpretation of Heritage	A local network of <i>heritage communities</i>	Everyone	Wilcox/Simon: Acting together
		Stakeholder approach, started by NGOs	The Slovenian Network of NGOs for the interpretation of Heritage.
Estonia - programme for owners of public buildings	Open air museum for rural heritage and farm architecture	community	Wilcox/Simon: Acting together
	Involving citizens to importance issues of heritage	citizens	Educate the owners to manage restaurate, preserve..

All of projects we chose are top-down projects. There are also few bright projects bottom-up, where initiations started from citizens, after success they got different partners. Light example of sustainable project is Italian project La Paranza. La pranza is formed as a cooperative in Naples with the aim to manage and valorize a large network of Paleochristian catacombs that lie underneath the neighborhood. This abandoned places pushed and stimulated young people of the neighborhood to take care of the area, trying to keep it partially clean and leading guided tours on demand. Also, very good example is the case of Portugal. The Portuguese Association of Archaeologists is one of the oldest civic cultural heritage association created in Europe, completely independent of the State and does not receive any public subsidy or grant. It is the best and most inspiring example of how the so-called *civil society*. Authors gave an examples of co-creative projects with completely stakeholder approach, state, private, NGOs, Civil society, characterized by strong creativity approaches, innovations, education.

The authors done very important job showed in publication, where is possible to see more details about projects Mapping of practices in the EU Member States on Participatory governance of cultural heritage to support the OMC working group under the same name (Work Plan for Culture 2015-2018) (EENC, 2015). Based on examples of good practices in represented examples, we can see that all of the good participatory governance practices are characterized by more flexible institutional approach (towards cultural institutions, museums new variants). Creativity, multidisciplinary approach, innovation, participation in decision-making processes and creation of strategies as an integrated process of relevant parties is very important. Multi-sectoral partnerships, with continual educative learning programs with the aim of increasing and built the total capacities.

3. Case study of National Park Djerdap: recommendations to achieve participatory governance and risk mitigation of heritage

A special focus of our work concerns the protected areas, as territorial denominator of cultural and natural heritage. Protected areas as cultural artifacts, have a long history. Over time the idea on the purpose of protected areas evolved, from the simple concept of large, wild area used for consumption, to nature protection and promotion of cultural values. In that sense, significant development of environmental science during the sixties, which led to the wide acceptance of the need for a systematic approach to planning and managing natural resources. Recognized economic impact of tourism and heritage in protected areas, made new view of their development importance at the local, regional and national level.

The protected areas are a clearly defined geographical space that has been recognized, dedicated and managed through legal or other effective means with a view to long-term conservation of nature with associated ecosystem and cultural values (IUCN, 2008).

The World Heritage Convention recognizes that heritage can be defined as 'monuments, groups of buildings and sites'. In practice, a broad set of typologies has developed that includes: urban centers, archaeological sites, industrial heritage, cultural landscapes, heritage routes but also different kinds of natural heritage and mixed properties.

The Convention of World Heritage recognizes four different types of World Heritage property, having on mind cultural and natural heritage definitions:

- Cultural properties (monuments, groups of buildings, sites), that meet the definition in Article 1 of the Convention (i.e. they meet one or more of criteria i–vi),
- Natural properties (natural features, geological and physiographical formations, natural sites), that meet the definition in Article 2 of the Convention (i.e. they meet one or more of criteria vii–x),
- Mixed properties (if they satisfy a part or the whole of the definitions of both cultural and natural heritage laid out in Articles 1 and 2 of the Convention. Properties should meet one or more of criteria (i)–(vi) and one or more of criteria (vii)–(x),
- Cultural landscapes 'represent the "combined works of nature and of man" designated in Article 1 of the Convention (UNESCO/ICCROM/ICOMOS/IUCN, 2012/13).⁸³

Protected areas are appropriate examples for the subject of research, since they include both natural and cultural assets, which as such, create the need for inter-ministerial and inter-sectoral approach in management.⁸⁴ Given that protected areas are characterized by distinct geographical area, with its municipalities, cities and villages, this introduces in the analysis the need to establish adequate management models.

Our very important goal is finding a solution to identify, mitigate and reduce the negative impacts of potential risks that could endanger the sustainability of protected areas, with a rich heritage within.

We have commitment to apostrophize the importance of risk management activities and their involvement in the overall process of managing at some form of new system solution.

Since heritage issues become more complex in time, there is a need to be more quick and precise in addressing to the challenges. Good governance practice must be shifted to a wider, more inclusive approach to heritage management and greater community engagement. More inclusive approach 'new paradigm for protected areas' seen by Adrian Phillips and re-presented in the IUCN Guidelines for Management Planning of Protected Areas in 2003. New paradigm for protected areas highlights very effectively the increased importance of more inclusive approach to heritage management and community engagement. Much of this guidance applies to cultural sites too, so it is desired way of new approach to management of

⁸³ Article 1 For the purposes of this Convention, the following shall be considered as *cultural heritage*: - monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of Outstanding Universal Value from the point of view of history, art or science; - groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of Outstanding Universal Value from the point of view of history, art or science; - sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and of man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of Outstanding Universal Value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view.

Article 2 For the purposes of this Convention, the following shall be considered as *natural heritage*: - natural features consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of Outstanding Universal Value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view; geological and physiographical formations and precisely delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of Outstanding Universal Value from the point of view of science or conservation; - natural sites or precisely delineated natural areas of Outstanding Universal Value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty. Criteria (see also Operational Guidelines Paragraph: 46, 47, 77).

⁸⁴ Within the categorization of protected areas, it is particularly welcome take for example national parks, since they include the natural and cultural heritage.

natural heritage, which already exists in many parts of the world. The future success of heritage management systems, in particular for World Heritage, will depend greatly on their ability to:

- employ a values-led approach ,
- deliver approaches that anticipate and manage change,
- invest in the relationship between heritage and society, constantly examining why and how cultural heritage should be conserved and for whom and with whom. (UNESCO/ICCROM/ICOMOS/IUCN, 2013).

Case of National Park Djerdap will give information about direction to create new system solution with adequate strategies. National Park *Djerdap* is one of the most important protected areas in Serbia, which is characterized by rich cultural heritage, that comes from various historical eras ranging from the Neolithic period. This indicates that the riverside of the Danube was inhabited in the Neolithic period. The development of civilization in this region can be traced through archaeological sites, Roman, Turkish and modern buildings. Material evidence of culture of world importance has been discovered, relating to various epochs, civilization, religion, ethnos. *Lepenski Vir* is located on the archaeological map of Europe as a very important cultural site. In the disclosed resorts that are older than 6.000 years archeologists found deliberately erected shelters, graves, stone tools, jewelery, stone slabs with signs similar letter and sculptures of stone. Putting into operation of hydroelectric power plants *Djerdap 1* at the beginning of 1970, the old city *Tekija* and an island *Ada Kale* have been flooded ,with a large number of material and intangible cultural heritage. It is obvious that the economic, ecological and socio-cultural sustainability goals do not support each other always. Old Tekija was built on the ruins of a Roman Transdierna, created during the reign of the Roman Emperor Trajan at the beginning of a new era. We know that the village existed in the same location during the *Byzantine Empire*. The old town, sunken seventies of the twentieth century due to the construction of hydroelectric power Đerdap 1. There were the remains of the Iranian divinity *Mithra shrines*, and ancient Greek *Cybele*, *Sabasius*, *Hermes*. The island *Ada Kale* was located a few kilometers upstream from the current dam HPP *Djerdap I*, three kilometers downstream from the city *Tekija*. It was 1750 meters long and 500 meters wide. It represented the most essential strategic point at Djerdap to the Roman period. During the tumultuous history the structure of the population was changing, and the last inhabitants were mostly Turkish population. After the construction of HPP *Djerdap I* and the sinking of the island in 1971 population was moved to their motherland, and the fortress of the island was moved to the Romanian island *Simijan* downstream from the remains of the *Trajan's Bridge*. Particularly interesting is the fact that the way of life of residents of the island has not changed much and that the Muslim population maintained their customs and culture through a compact community. They practiced the manual production of Turkish sweets *ratluk*, the manufacture of tobacco, matches, a product of figs and olives. Old Tekija before flood concerned, was one of the richest city in the region. Tekija was very rich little city on the Danube, especially from *Smederevo* city, to the border. Greater revenues from taxes brought by the Danube river management, organized in 1933, whose director was required and Deputy Transport Minister of Serbia. *Locovi* (marine pilots, the elite in River Navy) had a salary as ministers. In that time in Tekija there was a lot of them. Over the Tekija, from the time of *Prince Milosh* until the Second World War, it was organized complete major export of pigs, sheeps, fish and others. So it is known that at the Viennese palace lamb was served from around the Tekija (Tekke). Attached SWOT analysis was performed based on data derived from the survey in June 2015 for the purpose of the thesis of Milica Kočović- one of the authors of this paper.

On the basis of the accompanying SWOT analysis, we can see clearly the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats to the territorial and organizational level NP Djerdap. Strengths and opportunities are reflected in the uniqueness of the position in which the National Park extends, good connection with a large number of European countries over the Danube. The potentials are reflected in the development of creative and innovative solutions that could represent new forms of tourism (alternative such as ecocultural, natural, adventure, educational etc.), touristic products, built on existing ones.

Table 2. SWOT analysis of NP Djerdap

	Beneficial	Harmful
Internal	<p><i>Strengths</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Unique position, transboundary ➤ Values of the National Park created by heritage ➤ Comprehensive and rich heritage ➤ Cooperation with the Romanian nature park <i>Portile de Fier</i>, and Danube cluster countries ➤ International projects- are making better visibility than national, regional, local ➤ Cultural Routes: Trail of Roman Emperors, Wine Route ➤ New organizational unit for tourism ➤ Increased number of eco prefix private accommodation ➤ Increased number of foreign tourists, cyclists, and other alternative forms of tourists ➤ Healthy environment forestry, wood, herbs, various number of wild animal and plant species, autochthonous varieties 	<p><i>Weaknesses</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Without instrumental/organizational strategy ➤ Occasional institutional cooperation ➤ Lack of expertise and capacities ➤ Problem of legal form, NP -public institution ➤ The State does not help as a founder ➤ State expects of NP Djerdap to do business profitably, self-financing ➤ Low level of partnership with any sector ➤ Low level of skills , number of experts ➤ Low level of community inclusion ➤ Only two camps ➤ Insufficient marked maps of sites, inaccurate, old maps ➤ Insufficient number of park rangers, who are responsible for monitoring, trekking tours on the trails- in charge of everything. <i>The rounders</i> ➤ There is no service for cyclists
external	<p><i>Opportunities</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Transboundary, transnational, Danube funds and Project : IBA, IPA, PBA etc. ➤ Danube as the <i>European highway</i> ➤ Danube as cheapest logistic transport option and good European connector ➤ Grate social entrepreneurship potentials ➤ Old and traditional crafts, ethnology, knowledges, Old dialect <i>Vlaški</i> (Vlashky), Vlach Magic ➤ Beekeeping, breeding animal, milk products, fisheries ➤ Alternative forms of tourism such as Ecocultural tourism ➤ New touristic routes, products, landscapes ➤ New approaches in use of heritage ➤ (Re)Use of old industrial buildings ➤ cooperation, cocreation, thure participation governance ➤ social inclusion, capacity building, sharing knowledge 	<p><i>Threats</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Lack of funding threatens sustainable development ➤ The challenge to achieve the objectives, without a clear institutional development strategy ➤ Uncontrolled basic business without a strategic approach to planning, evaluation and monitoring, insufficient control activities ➤ threatened pillars of sustainable development ➤ Infrastructure and logistic accessibility are not good enough ➤ Lack of rural touristic products and services, low visibility of local supply (natural, material, intangible heritage, manufacturers of food, wine, brandy, private accommodation, etc.) ➤ catastrophic risks, natural disasters: floods, stormy winds, fires etc.

There is space for better and more active involvement of local communities in participatory governance. A large number of cooperative buildings built in the period of industrialization and socialism, which are not in use can be re-used by conversion into the new forms of multifunctional cultural institutions that will be mainstay: creativity, innovation, knowledge, mediation, greater involvement of stakeholders from all sectors. On proposed question: Do you think that the old infrastructure (factories, farms that do not work) could be used for restructuring in the new forms of cultural institutions such as HUBs, interactive museums, eco-cultural museums? Where the local population will be educated in conjunction with the necessary knowledge about the functioning of markets, environment and cultural issues, and at the same time this would be a space for the sale of products that they have to offer, where the local population would be found in the role of educators and performers (old knowledge, handicrafts, customs, recepies, Vlach magic, dialect, etc ...for interested cultural tourists.). This would, of course also be a service point for information and a variety of

other products and services offered by National Park Djerdap. "We believe that this proposal could be implemented", was their answer. We can see, that this organization is also very open for suggestions and necessary changes.

Weaknesses and threats are detected. One the first place of the crucial problems in Serbia in all fields, including in the areas of nature protection is insufficient control of the realization. There is also big problem with the lack of institutional frames, and consequently organizational strategies. Without having continual evaluation, monitoring and control processes and appropriate action plans, in long term it is not easy to achieve sustainability. The top management of NP Djerdap also agree, and feel this problem. Also, it is not possible to reach (or at least closer) to the vision of the National Park, if previous objectives was not defined in order to achieve the main purpose, without any analysis, measures for evaluating performance, good / real strategic (eg. SWOT). It is obvious that on territory of NP Djerdap there are no partnerships, or that is very rare. Maybe the reason of this is reflected in the mentioned lack of expertise and capacities, State expects of NP Djerdap to do business profitably, by self-financing; low level of partnership with any sector; low level of skills, number of experts, low level of community inclusion, and not good enough supporting infrastructure.

Based on the survey that conducted with the management of NP Djerdap⁸⁵, there has been large losses in 2014 during the floods, but also stormy winds which have caused additional damage estimated to have taken away about 70 cubic meters of wood from parts of the NP in the first degree of protection. It is unknown that the disasters endangered cultural properties. However, local communities in the region of Djerdap, suffered important material loss. Within the National Park Djerdap, still there is not fully established, nor the estimated damage caused as a result of disasters (flooding and storm winds). It is known that certain forest roads disappeared completely. This represents a great threat from potentially new damage for example fire, due to the inability to access all parts. In addition to previous procedures, which were related to the fire, after the adoption the Regulations in the case of disasters at the the Republic level ,National Park Djerdap also adopted the Risk Management Plan. Version was submitted in April 2015.

Local residents are involved in the monitoring process. Keepers of the forest on a daily basis monitor and report with respect to possible changes that have occurred in the field.

The existing forms of insurance were related to the capital assets (buildings) and insurance of employees. It is not known that NP Djerdap got any other insurance products offer. Although the national parks are public institutions, in order to survive they are forced to do self-financing, because the state budget does not provide sufficient funds required. This is the general situation with the NP in Serbia, not only Djerdap.

Natural disasters, historically occurring like the only logical explanation of the disappearance of civilizations (Vesuvius took Pompey and the surrounding cities, Atlantis, Vinca civilization, etc.). Cultural heritage, comprehensive perspective movable and immovable (archaeological, built, historical, environmental entities), is heavily influenced by the catastrophic risks.

Risk management, in terms of cultural heritage is a major problem (especially in low-income countries), since the assessment of the value of cultural heritage as difficult as evaluation of emotional pain in insurance (Kocovic, 2015). Consequently, the damage that can strike cultural and natural heritage in NP Djerdap are additionally burdened by absence of adequate measures concerning the assessment, evaluation and risk reduction.

The simultaneous adoption of an adequate risk management strategy of natural disasters and the management of protected areas actions, but also the risks arising from the action of man, especially when we are talking about protected areas should be taken into account. The particular goal is consideration of significance of linking strategy and possibility of application of open method of coordination (OMC), which

⁸⁵ Field research have been provided from may- july, for the need of PhD thesis of Milica Kocovic, one of the authors of this paper. The theme of thesis is *Contribution of ecocultural tourism to sustainable development of protected areas with natural and cultural heritage*.

achieves the transition of cultural policy towards the convergence of different national policies in order to define and realize common goals, synchronized with the EU policy and recommendations from the Council of Europe (Djukic, 2015). Synchronization should be established initially in the Serbian framework at various levels of government (national, regional, local). Given that protected areas often cover both, urban and rural areas, participatory management framework should include boat developing strategies: for urban and rural areas.

Indian example of achieving synergies by integrating local development, in large scale rural development program has demonstrated how a broadly based approach to strengthening community-level capacities can enhance empowerment, governance, service provision, and private sector growth. This program was strongly civil inclusive, and also created networks of other local institutions allowed communities to cope more rapidly and effectively to Tsunami natural disaster. Those most affected got the essential help from self-help groups organized in partnership with state agencies and local governments by quickly and accurately channeled assistance from public agencies and donors. It took less than a month for village organizations to develop micro-plans for reconstruction after Tsunami. Community investment funds have been provided by private bank loans, and fishing communities received the first boats on which their livelihoods depend (World Bank, 2005).

As we think, social involvement and responsibility in this field is essential. It requires high level of coordination between public and private sector that can be achieved by applying of linking strategy, that is, public-private strategic partnership in the realization of a common/public interest. The significance of this strategy can be viewed in the application of principles of socially responsible behavior of insurance companies, based on which they can offer the state, donors or insured parties benefits of *ex post* or *ex ante* insurance of cultural (and natural) heritage from catastrophe risks caused by natural disasters (Kočović *et al.* 2014; Djukic 2015).

The problem arises in determining the value of the insured object of cultural monuments. Since the cultural heritage is priceless, this problem can be solved analogously with determining the value of human life in life insurance. Since life is priceless, it determines with the insured amount which we want to ensure, regardless of its value. Pursuant with the State possibilities, (which is supposed to fund) this type of insurance is determined by a certain amount of insurance which provides concrete monument, regardless of its value. In relation to the frequency and intensity of risk to be insured, certain premiums and damages are paid, up to a maximum, which corresponds to the sum insured. So far, practice of insurance companies in Serbia has been unwilling to accept this type of insurance. For this reason we have propose compulsory insurance of the cultural heritage of catastrophic risks as some kind of hibrid model would be acceptable. The most logical way, would be that all types of insurance of common goods move from the State level, by subventions in the initial years, until awareness about the importance of insurance is created. For this kind of insurance the most merit and responsibility should have our state insurance company since this type of insurance has national interest. All sectors should be motivated to such investments (Government institutions, universities and the private sector, NGOs). Infrastructure projects should include analyzed information, on the basis of which will be able to make decision when and where *green infrastructure* has advantages over the heavy infrastructure, when it comes to the management plans and disaster risk reduction, like planting of adequate cultures that may affect the reduction of landslides, etc.

Effective measures of risk management of cultural heritage are rare and difficult to determine (due to the lack of adequate knowledge, which would require an interdisciplinary approach). It is impossible to easilly determine the costs incurred losses and damage of cultural property. However, in the analysis of risks of natural disasters related to the cultural heritage, we can include general issues, to come up with elements of planning. What may be critical? Wich direction goes hazard? What is the probability of occurrence of harmful events? What is the scope and magnitude of adverse events? Relevant information can be obtained on the

basis of: historical records of past events, as well as taking into account the range of impacts that adverse event can have on cultural heritage.

Every state should predict the compulsory insurance of the cultural heritage of catastrophic risks, under the catastrophic risk management strategies. A key role in launching this initiative should have a Ministry of Culture, which would be credited to the budget funds for the financing of insurance premiums. Ministry of Culture, as a competent, also should conclude an insurance contract for cultural heritage. Cultural heritage as part of our national identity must be protected from the destructive impact of natural catastrophes and the best way of protection is adequate form of insurance. In addition with this proposal goes the fact that the cultural heritage and the diverse nature are most important triggers for the development tough ecocultural tourism and other creative initiatives. Ecocultural tourism with rich heritage in NP Djerdap also stimulates higher involvement of community, by power to create and hold the value on local level. All old buildings from industrial era that are not in use, should be available to community as a space for initiatives and creation. In NP Đerdap there are a lot of examples of old public infrastructures that is unused.

New approaches in management should actively incorporate effective treatment of all relevant *ingredients* in the field of protected areas. The aim of such integrated approach is to create synergy effects, to make sustainable development achieved. Sustainable development in protected areas is characterized by: greater social involvement of local communities, raised economic performances, with active attention to environmental issues, natural and cultural authenticity.

3. Discussion: Principles to achieve sustainable development of Heritage

The freshest principles are given by European Commission. Objectives on cultural heritage are given in report Getting Cultural heritage to work for Europe. Report argues that the EU should vigorously promote the innovative use of cultural heritage for economic growth and jobs, social cohesion and environmental sustainability. Three main objectives, by tree basic sustainable pillars are :

1. Economy: Promoting innovative finance, investment, governance, management and business models to increase the effectiveness of cultural heritage as an economic production factor. An alternative approach consists in the private sector getting more involved in cultural heritage, in order to optimize its use within its own business model. This would build on the potential of historic areas as well as intangible assets to nurture new manufacturing, service and creative industries attracting investment in the fabric of heritage as well as creating growth and jobs.
2. Society: Promoting the innovative use of cultural heritage to encourage integration, inclusiveness, cohesion and participation. Heritage management system in which local communities often bear little responsibility for their own cultural landscapes, monuments, collections and intangible heritage. Innovative use of cultural heritage has the potential to actively engage people - thereby helping to secure integration, inclusiveness, social cohesion and sound investment, all necessary ingredients of smart, sustainable and inclusive growth.
3. Environment: Promoting innovative and sustainable use of cultural heritage to enable it to realize its full potential in contributing to the sustainable development of European landscapes and environments. Cultural heritage plays an important role in the sustainable development of rural and urban cultural landscapes. The research, planning and management of these cultural landscapes have been traditionally split. Science is often mono-disciplinary, policies are mostly single-sectoral and the management of landscapes shows a strong divide between nature and heritage management. This often leads to miscommunication, inefficient use of resources and loss of cultural and ecological assets (EC, 2015).

As we could evaluate, almost all of mentioned examples of good practices have applied mostly of all that EC suggested. Especially important example in order of comparison and implementing some blue-prints into our

model is Norway example, of integrative approach to deal with both cultural and natural heritage, with high involve of local community and regular use of new media. UK example- *Derby Silk*, is grate inspiration for re-use of buildings. Similar is with Finland, Estonian examples on how we can treat heritage with innovative prospective. Other examples are good because they all points to necessity of target/public active involve. Very important prospective in regard with heritage is to look at them as a common goods. Common goods are also able to create values. With aim to point on possibility of heritage to create jobs, cohesion and participation, EC suggested four actions, that rely on their findings, also grate examples.

1. Heritage led to urban regeneration,
2. Sustaining Cultural landscapes,
3. Inclusive governance,
4. Innovative business models for cultural heritage (EC, 2015).

What applies to all activities that it is desirable by their recommendation is to take into account 30 best practices, and base on their findings create good specific model. Everything they suggested is about and with an aim to increase knowledge; building capacities; job creation and growth, improving quality of life on local level; stronger and better link among actors; experimental and creative approaches; use of new technology; re-use etc.

Historians, economists and social scientists have done a lot of research on the management of common goods, common land and common resources since the nineties. These show that common management can actually be very sustainable if it is in accordance with situation-tailored, or situation-specific types of governance. The potential of heritage contribution to environmental protection, social capital and economic growth is being increasingly recognized. The artificial isolation of heritage concerns from other sectors would be simply unfeasible, since external factors would 'continue to penalize heritage practice just as isolated heritage management decision-making would penalize the relationship of heritage to its context (Boccardi 2012). We insist on the importance of risk reduction and mitigation of dangers of heritage because risks threatens the existence of heritage in its authentic form. Threatened heritage is an issue that excludes all the benefits which could be achieved from creative and innovative use of it.

Conclusion

Paper reflects basic theory, examples and best practices in order to capture the importance of partnership strategies in participatory governance, with active participation in the decision-making process. We saw that efficiency and effective public sector demands horizontal changes and better institutional interactions that share governance at the local level, so policy coherence is ensured with achieved technical competences. This will lead to creation of greater opportunities on local level for every interested part to get involved. We suggest new system solution with more integrative management approach connecting many different sectors, departments, variables, as we could see in shown Case study of NP Djerdap, with the aim of achieving better social, economic, environmental, cultural effects. New system solution through-establishment of institutionalized strategic partnership in the form of a new legal entity. Establishing a legal and political interdependence, economic, value-ideological and organizational instruments are *must do steps* for mentioned legal entity, to ensure the operationalization of strategic decisions. The mandatory monitoring and control of activities, according to the plan, with internal and external evaluation by actors and other target groups (local population, tourists, sectors). Integrative planning protection and use of heritage which includes: ecology, environmental protection, culture, tourism, economy, employment, insurance options for heritage from the catastrophic risk etc. Our goals and contributions are reflected in the finding and proposing new system solutions in the management of heritage by identification of challenges, especially in the context of risk management on the example of NP Djerdap. This findings are specifically applicable on this example, but some aspects could be re-used. Similar as in European and Worlds examples and best practices we

mentioned in paper, related to the topic, because they illustrate and motivate for further actions, an use of heritage. Examples also show high inclusion of all sectors in order to achieve desired goals. All stakeholders at different levels in a participatory approach should take part in the decision making process. And very important finding is that achieving desired synergies, requires strengthening the power of all local actors. We proposed participative management with linking strategies, because such a form of integrated action leads to social prosperity, creating new opportunities for work and development of the community with respect to sustainable development. This also reduces the *transitional diseases* faced by post-transition economies and developing countries, especially important in Case of Djerdap, because NP is located in very poor region of Serbia. We pointed out the possibility of heritage to create economic value through comprehensive connectivity and mutual support of sectors, disciplines, institutions and departments, thru re-use of old infrastructure and creation new forms of cultural institutions. Those propose HUBs would cherish creativity, by multidisciplinary approach, innovation, participation in decision-making processes and creation of new linking strategies. Re-used buildings of former cooperatives with new use value on NP Djerdap territory, will present infrastructural backup for multi-sector partnerships, with continual educative learning programs with the aim of increasing and built the total capacities, by sharing knowledge. With provided infrastructure and partnership, heritage seen as common good will contribute to sustainable development by new collective arrangements and strategies on the local and level.

We think that institutions on territory of NP Djerdap (NP Djerdap, Touristic organizations, museums, galleries, NGOs, municipalities, private sector companies etc.) could have very important roll in pushing community, contracting, educating, building stronger local level, because stronger engagement of community also reduces management costs. To ensure that heritage creates additional value, we need the survival of heritage, and that is why we pointing out necessary measures in the activities of risk management, as well as the role of different actors.

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Impact of EU cultural policies on programming strategies in contemporary performing arts

Letunić, Ana

Academy of Drama Arts
Zagreb, Croatia
ana.letunic@gmail.com

Abstract

This article stems from the idea that the current cultural politics discourse of the European Union points to the necessity of the struggle for articulation of values in art that are above those pragmatically instrumental. The priorities of the European Union programmes Culture 2007-2013 and Creative Europe 2014-2020 are coming from the current socioeconomic policies so the arts and culture is increasingly associated with social action and the fight against spatial segregation and social exclusion, the promotion of individual and collective identities, the support to urban regeneration projects, which altogether creates a debate on possible instrumentalization of culture.

Inevitably, what arises is the question of reverse impact studies that are the subject of this paper while the research objective is the examination of the impact of financial instruments of cultural policy on the formation of programming strategies in contemporary performance practices in Croatia and Serbia's independent scene. Research methods used in the paper are the analysis of tender documents of European Union in the field of performing arts, analysis of programs and activities of the users of EU funds in the context of Croatia's and Serbia's independent scene and interviews with the directors of relevant performing organizations.

Keywords: contemporary performance management; European Union financial instruments of cultural policy; instrumentalization of culture; impact studies; South Eastern Europe

Introduction

International Network for Contemporary Performing Arts has commissioned a mapping report in 2015 with the purpose of presenting the state of the art on research in the performing arts sector on cultural impact. In the report, it is visible that performing arts organizations are making efforts in order to contribute to the latest justifications undertaken to counteract budget cuts in the arts and culture sector (Shishkova, 2015). This discourse of justification of the arts seems to dominate the performing arts sector in its attempt to comply with the quantitative criteria of evaluation imposed by the cultural policy makers.

The debate on the evaluation of the arts by the criteria that are not inherent to the field of the arts, mainly economic and social ones, has been on going and resulted in documents such as the Warwick report on the Future of Cultural Value (Belfiore *et al.*, 2015). Prior to this report, one of its authors, Belfiore elaborated extensively on the instrumentalization of the arts in the context of UK New Labour policies (Belfiore, 2007, 2010, 2012). Similar tendencies of instrumentalization of arts and convergence of economic and cultural goals have been appearing in the European Union cultural policies, i.e. the shift of objectives from the Culture 2007-2013 and Creative Europe programme. What seems relevant to observe is how this shift in the funding programmes influences a change in the programming strategies of the organizations whose financial sustainability depends on the funds secured by those programmes. Such organizations are easily found in the context of SEE countries since there is a lack of national and local funding of independent cultural scene in Croatia and Serbia and its organizations have primarily developed due to support by international funders

from the nineties on. Some of the organizations are adjusting their programming strategies in order to achieve financial sustainability while others insist on redefinition of the evaluation criteria of their work. Based on documentation analysis and semi structured interviews with directors of most relevant contemporary performance independent organizations in Croatia and Serbia, a mapping of the influence of transnational financial instruments of cultural politics on the programming strategies in contemporary performance practice will be laid out in this paper.

1.The independence of the third sector

Although different definitions and interpretations are often attached to the third sector, the scope of this paper does not allow a broader elaboration of this term or initiating a theoretical argumentation in favour of a particular opinion nor does it allow an attempt to develop a new definition. The fact is that various agencies, both donors and users, interpret the term in a different manner. Various reports of both international and domestic organizations intended for different donors and the public are filled with statements about *the importance of civil society development* and *strengthening of civil society institutions*, etc. However, no specific explanation of what that means can be found. There are several terms to describe this sector: the third sector, the non-profit sector, the civil sector, non-profit, non-governmental, independent, charitable, socio-cultural, etc. but none of them fully conveys the sector's complex nature. The third sector has three key functions. It guarantees, protects and ensures the right to free assembling of people around common interests, promotes values and ideas, and introduces new initiatives in the existing cultural system. The third sector also provides a control to ensure public interests are met within institutions of public sector and, a voice to secure public interests are met within institutions of public sector and, a voice to secure fair spending of public resources. In this manner this sector partly guards the trust of the citizens in their society and its institutions (Dragičević Šešić & Dragojević, 2004).

In so-called post-socialist Europe, the third sector in culture mostly began to develop along with the appearance of the civil society, often being a part of it. It is supported by the international community within the different financing schemes, mostly through the programmes of democratisation, human rights protection, civil emancipation, civil society building etc. Since the public opinion in these countries has developed extremely firm attitudes towards the NGO sector, taking positions on the issue cannot be avoided, ranging from extremely positive to extremely negative attitudes.

According to Mišković (2013), source of the term "independent culture" does not mean political or financial independence but independence in the terms of choice of themes and preferences. An answer to the financial sustainability of regional contemporary performance independent scene we find in the factors that can adversely affect that constitutive determinant of independency.

In the context of the SEE the dichotomy of the cultural sector is still visible, also in the way local and national cultural policy bodies deal with austerity measures imposed on the cultural sector. For example, in 2009. Zagreb City Council for Culture made a significant budget cut of funds for the independent cultural sector (26,59% less funds than the previous year) that wasn't equally implemented on the institutional cultural sector. A large amount of public resource is still invested in maintaining the status quo of the cultural framework, its infrastructure and paying the salaries of a high number of administrative, technical and artistic personnel. A smaller amount is invested in cultural programmes, mostly in the minimal programmes of these institutions. It is obvious that this financing system is not based on programme logic nor is it significantly determined by the evaluation of a programme. Until the appearance of Kulturanova foundation, that contributes to the stabilization and development of civil society organizations in the fields of contemporary arts and culture, a major part of the independent cultural sector was achieving financial sustainability mostly by functioning in the project based model that implies collaborating in international initiatives and using strategies of internationalization and networking.

During the nineties, when the regional independent scene was constituted with the help of international foundations, and in general, one of the phenomena emerging organizations in the region of South Eastern Europe reported as a challenge is the *procedures of the Western European model of cooperation*. Donors, of course, preferred those organizations that have organizational structures and skills compatible with their choice of methods and fields of action, and with their expectations of reliable resource management, monitoring and report making. The partners who spoke a similar language were more acceptable (not only linguistically, but also the *language* of projects, logic diagrams, etc.), who had professional staff capable of writing projects and providing reliable management in their performance, drawing up credible reports and clearly lead finances. Flexibility, mobility, rapid adoption of new technologically and media hybridized communication practices, all within low budget projects, were affirmed. As Dragicevic Šešić and Šuteu (2005) clarify, Western agencies, organizations and foundations applied their own specific rhetoric and models of cooperation equally, both globally and in the countries of South Eastern Europe. It is important to note that, with such models of collaboration, presumptions on the nature of social relations and significance of the political are also tacitly adopted. Vujanovic (2012) warns about the diverging histories of international and local scenes claiming that "while from the international perspective these processes might be understood as normativized precariousness, which should find off-hand creative solutions for the social and economic crisis, in the local context they are primarily a political critique, an act of resistance, and an alternative to the state system of art and culture".

During the early two thousands, major international foundation that enabled stable development of non-governmental organizations (primarily, the Open Society Foundation) have withdrawn from the region after assessing the good development of the countries *on the path of democratization*. Access to European Commission programmes for Culture have been granted to Croatia in 2005 and to Serbia in 2008 and a part of organizations from the contemporary performance independent scene (BADco, Domino, Croatian Institute for Movement And Dance, Eurokaz, Drugo more, Mala performerska scena, de facto, Walking Theory, Stanica) have become partners and coordinators of international projects with the support of European Commission.

2. EU funding programmes and the convergence between economic and cultural aspects

European Commission funding periods last for seven years, and recently the evaluation of the last funding period Culture 2007-2013 was completed and Creative Europe 2014-2020 programme started. Both programmes shared priorities such as transnational mobility, and in the previous cycle a greater emphasis was placed on intercultural dialogue and on this one it is audience development. The evaluation criteria used in both programmes is "relevance, quality of content and activities, communication and dissemination, quality of partnerships" what, during the application process, leads to the necessity of atomization of artistic work and the objectification of aesthetic operations and processual aspects of works of art.

General objective of programme Culture 2007-2013 was to enhance the cultural area shared by Europeans, based on a common cultural heritage through the development of cultural cooperation between creators, cultural players and cultural institutions taking part in the programme, with a view to encouraging the emergence of European citizenship.

Specific objectives included promoting the transnational mobility of cultural players, encouraging the transnational circulation of works and cultural and artistic products and encouraging intercultural dialogue. Beyond the specific objectives the programme did not specify any further priorities, leaving freedom to cultural operators to adopt tailored approaches suited to their needs while the Creative Europe programme gained more precision about the programme's priorities to supplement the specific objectives.

The specific objective to support the capacity of the European cultural and creative sectors to operate

transnationally addressed the challenge of globalization and the adaptation of the sector to the digital shift. That is visible in the objectives of providing cultural operators with skills and knowhow to facilitate adjustment to the digital shift (audience-building strategies, new business models) through mutual peer learning; supporting artists/cultural professionals to internationalize their careers; strengthening European and international networks of cultural professionals to facilitate access to new opportunities and markets.

Promotion of the transnational circulation of cultural and creative works and operators and reaching new audiences addressed the problem of fragmentation, which, in the words of the Commission (2014) “resulted in limited circulation of works and artists and limited choice for consumers”. That objective is fragmented into supporting international touring, events and exhibitions; supporting literary translation, including promotion packages; supporting audience-building as a means of raising curiosity of the public and particularly young people and building a long-term audience for European cultural works.

General objective of Creative Europe programme is to foster the safeguarding and promotion of European cultural and linguistic diversity, and strengthen the competitiveness of the cultural and creative sectors, with a view to promoting smart, sustainable and inclusive growth, in line with the Europe 2020 strategy.

Specific objectives, besides those already mentioned, are supporting the capacity of the European cultural and creative sectors to operate transnationally, promoting the transnational circulation of cultural and creative works and operators and reach new audiences in Europe, fostering policy development, innovation, audience building and new business models through transnational policy cooperation, supporting studies, evaluations, policy analysis and statistical surveys, supporting transnational exchange of good practices and knowhow, peer-learning activities and networking related to policy development, including cultural and media literacy, support the testing of new and cross-sectoral approaches to funding, distributing, and monetising creation and more.

Condensed into core aims, this means: identity politics and the economic aspects of the cultural sector. Both have been among the main objectives in EU cultural policy since the early 1980s at the latest. In a cultural policy, which has become more and more pragmatic,⁸⁶ these core aims – including the economic aims – are increasingly becoming overwhelming today.

With these priorities laid out, the convergence between economic and cultural aspects is a clear objective. Reaching these kinds of convergences, or at least making them plausible, seems to be especially easy once the ‘cultural aspects’ have been simplified to essentialist cultural identities. Yet on the other hand, these convergences are also not always so easy to achieve, so tensions between economic and cultural aspects remain present as a topic – either in the form of a critique of economistic cultural policies, or in the neoliberal denial of the contradictory nature of this relation.

Assessing culture only in terms of economic profit perpetuates a modernization paradigm of progress, understood as economic growth that some theorists believe to be unsustainable (Ac, 2014). In this context, the concept of sustainable development is also criticized, if reduced to economic principles. Since the limits of growth are reached and the crisis became apparent, thinking about it on a global level has resulted in an insight that the study of economic, social and environmental problems is insufficient and that: “[...] These three dimensions alone cannot reflect all the complexities of contemporary society. There were many of those, including UNESCO and the World Summit on Sustainable Development, which voted for the model of sustainable development involving culture, because in the final analysis, culture shapes what is considered to be the development and determines the relation of people to the world.”

Culture is, therefore, declared the “fourth pillar of sustainable development” (UCLG, 2014). Knowing the history of the concept of sustainable development, which was created as an attempt of legitimation and the extension of economic growth, of course we must not forget the danger of the *vicious circle* in which we

⁸⁶ This is also evident when comparing the *Culture 2000* program and its successor *Culture 2007*.

inevitably fall into when we interpret culture as a means for incorporating development, understood as economic growth. Such a threat is evident from the plenary presentation that was a part of *Agenda 21 for Culture*. Thus, for example, the director and founder of BRAC Foundation (Sir Fazle Abed) at the opening of the International Congress of UNESCO (which took place 15 to 17 May 2013 in Hangzhou in China), according to a 2009 interview with the BBC, stated that “the purpose of development is to change the culture.” He obviously puts the spotlight on economic development, and he further clarifies that “culture becomes absolutely essential for determining effective programs” [...] because “if the program is not culturally appropriate, it will not work” [...] “It is only when some developmental program becomes part of the culture, it becomes viable.” In the spirit of this, Abed points to the formation of more than 400 theatre groups that are “the most effective way to convey the values and perceptions of social problems,” given that they are “both ways of education and entertainment.” He sums up his presentation by Agenda post-2015 according to which “we need sustainable development, and to be sustainable, it has to affect the culture, so that sustainable development means cultural change until it incorporates the development and then it becomes viable.” This can explain various protests that call themselves rebellion against globalization totalitarianism contained in this agenda.

Sustainable development is established in a neoliberal system, which is based on market-oriented activity, competitiveness and financial efficiency. International and European documents addressing sustainable development promote, above all, economic development and recommend the reduction of public services, which leads to the fact that the economic pillar of sustainable development contains several risks for art and culture.

Current trends in the European union- at local, national and transnational levels- is cutting public funding and encouraging private financing. Creative Europe programme shows encouraging “cultural industries” that, as an instrument of economic development, fit perfectly with the economic pillar of sustainable development. In addition to growing competition between cities, many local politicians are interested in the concept of *creative class* and *creative cities* that were developed by Richard Florida. With regard to the immaterial work in the field of performance, Rullani (2004), in terms of cognitive capitalism, does not really stress the process of sharing knowledge but the process of cognitive valorization. He clearly stated that there is an equal (or maybe even stronger) competition in the domain of the immaterial economy.

As a recent example of the relationship of a trending socioeconomic concept and the artistic programming, many artists in the European Union are currently seeking to integrate sustainable development issues in their practice and structure the artistic work around environmental, social and economic issues, acting as concerned citizens. It is important to note that the relationship between culture and sustainable development is based on a few misunderstandings - culture is clearly a broad concept with different meanings and the recent expansion of anthropological interpretation of culture increases the risk of seeing culture as being affiliated with a wide scope of activities. Sustainable development is a phrase that many people use, but with different connotations, and for these reasons, there is always a certain disconnect between representation within the cultural sector and those in the sector of sustainable development which have environmental and technological issues as a focus. The intention is to primarily define the strategies that lead to practical solutions to environmental problems that have little to do with matters of art and culture. Many actors in the cultural sector have only recently discovered the problem of sustainable development and are not yet aware of the current controversy and are, consequently, implementing a variety of different practices in the name of sustainable development. Some organizations will only recycle plastic cups while having their side programs, some will defend the cultural rights, some will promote some creative cities in order to stimulate economic growth. It is necessary to examine the sincerity of these practices. Are all artists really interested in these topics or are they instrumentalized by politicians and forced to swim on the wave of the current buzzword to get financial support?

3. Influences on programming strategies in contemporary performance practices

A similar problem of funding programmes decisive influence on the selection of artistic themes is detected in the analysis of results of the competition *Culture 2007-2013* which acts as an important financial instrument for the regional independent scene. Portal Kulturlogue (2013) is the product of research *Evaluation of Cultural Policies and EU-Funded Programmes as Promoters of Cultural Diversity* and includes a database and analysis of cultural policies, programs and projects in the region of South Eastern Europe that are associated with the themes of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue. One of the major findings of evaluations of the programs financed by the EU in the last period of financing is that the organizations have a need for a longer and more stable funding period than seven years. As already mentioned, with each new funding period the priorities in the financing are changing, depending on the flow of capital, and the organizations are asked for different measures. Also, according to the same report, there is a problem also in the discrepancy between the European contextualization of interculturalism, multiculturalism and cultural diversity and the ways in which these concepts to understood, reacted to and implemented in the local context. The authors of the report state that this shows the need for foreign financiers, in the preparation of the tender criteria for the projects, to engage more deeply in recognizing the needs of certain local communities. What is symptomatic for the *loss of independence* is that part of the organizations surveyed in the report ceased dealing with certain issues that were priorities of a particular funding programme with the end of that funding period.

While analysing the programme and key projects of the relevant contemporary performance organizations (Domino, BADco, de facto from Croatia and Walking Theory and Stanica from Serbia), there have been some cases of discrepancy between the organizations mission and the key themes of the undertaken projects.

For example, Domino from Zagreb has a mission of questioning of the traditional and the transformation of oppressive norms in transitional societies through culture, media, public policies, education and collaboration with local and international organisations. The vision of Domino is that in the society there is a continuous recognition of norms that disables the freedom of art and, more specifically, queer expression. While most of the Domino projects deal with issues of queer expression (EIDHR: Another Society is Possible: *United For LGBT Equality*, Pink Tank Zagreb, United against discrimination of LGBT people) among those that stand apart from organizations mission is IMAGINE 2020, a project about climate change that encompasses nine European countries and brings together ten diverse cultural institutions. Project mission of the IMAGINE 2020 is to work towards making changes necessary to stabilise the climate and secure a sustainable future which is unrelated to the “transformation of oppressive norms” Domino has in its mission statement.

Dobrović, Domino’s director, openly talks about these issues: “There has been a shift towards the expectation of the financiers, towards ‘what works’. There is no sense in writing such big applications for something you know isn’t going to go through, that isn’t guided by the criteria they impose. But also, there is a model, actually a method that you write what suits them but make whatever you want, because there is no kind of an artistic evaluation. But still, most of the programmes are made by what is written and they are made in the terms of the instrumentalization of the arts. It doesn’t always have to turn out to have poor artistic quality, there are great projects coming out of that logic but that first assumption- that the criteria of the grant is a starting point for the project- seems very wrong to me.”

Another project where Domino is a partner and that is somewhat off the track of organizations mission is BeSpectACTive!, a European project based on audience development, “which encourages intercultural dialogue through the exchange of practices amongst professionals, artists and audiences in Europe, through local and transnational activities, on-line and off-line strategies”. Audience development is an important new priority in Creative Europe. In explanation of the concept, it is stated in the program that audience

development seeks to “help cultural organizations adapt to the need to engage in new and innovative ways with audiences both to retain them, to build new audiences, diversify audiences including reaching current ‘non-audiences’, and to improve the experience for both existing and future audiences and deepen the relationship with them” (2014). It is possible that the priority of audience development, as well as the narrative on sustainable development, exists with an intention of involving audiences more in the financing of culture, while reducing the responsibility of the public bodies to do so.

In an interview with Goran Sergej Pristaš, a member of the artistic collective BADco, this is exactly the problem he refers to while reflecting on the issues his organization had with the priorities and the evaluation processes in the European programmes. BADco. is an internationally acknowledged collaborative performance collective based in Zagreb, Croatia that focuses on the research of protocols of performing, presenting and observing by structuring its projects around diverse formal and perceptual relations and contexts. The performance collective has been both a project coordinator and partner in three project supported by Culture 2007-13: Black/North SEAS, a multi-lateral European platform which linked the arts with other sectors of political and social life through a series of international and intercultural co-productions that toured seaports, coastal cities and resorts around the North Sea and the Black Sea between 2008 and 2010; LAB021, a European Platform for Interdisciplinary Research on Artistic Methodologies and TIMESCAPES, a long-term artistic research and production platform whose objective is to artistically reflect the transversal issue of time that cuts across economy, society and art.

Concerning the focus on the audience development, Pristaš states that the culture of presentation and care for the spectator is developing more and more while the emphasis on financing the artistic production is missing, which is all “in accordance with contemporary populist politics”. He continues: “The emphasis is on the politics of presentation which has a lot to do with the curatorial turn. Role of a curator appears as a function that is oriented towards the audiences and not towards the artists and that is visible from the discourse of the curator. Namely, former programmers were producers who were taking care of their artists and curators are now taking care of their audiences [...] that is a significant paradigm shift.”

Dragana Jovović, a producer from the Walking theory that is an independent platform for performing theoretical-artistic activism from Belgrade, mentions the same issue: “There is no more focus on the production, but just on presentation and circulation of artworks as market goods. Also, when we look at the results of Creative Europe strand for Culture, there are many big institutions than there were in the previous cycle [...] It is getting more difficult for smaller, independent, non profit-driven organizations to be interesting to the EU programmes.” Walking theory have collaborated as partners in two projects supported by Culture 2007-13, Timescapes and Create to Connect, another project that deals with “researching and finding new approaches to educate the audience as well as the production models that will engage the audience in new innovative ways”. Jovović warns the structure of the organization heavily depends on the received project grants since there is no consistency in local funding nor institutional grants to support the organization.

Marijana Cvetković from Stanica, an organization from Belgrade that supports development of contemporary dance scene in Serbia through education, production and promotion of the emerging artists, dancers and choreographers, also warns about the position of the “small players” in the recent funding landscape:

We have a valuable experience of working within a network that worked as a consortium (big European houses with a fewer SEE smaller scale organizations) and it seemed like a strong hierarchy at the beginning but actually, by constant questioning of modes of working, relations, communications, goals and so on, we made a step from a consortium to a real network [...] And there happened a growth to a network where you can really share ideas on what is supposed to be happening and how it is supposed to be realized in the contemporary dance scene and the European culture.

She also states that the change in the relationship of the partners, where the hierarchy in the project is usually dictated by the percentage of a certain organizations budget in the overall project budget, is an intensive process of constant work that gives fantastical results. Stanica also insisted on developing some models of work that avoid "systems of the jury, commission, deciding of ones on the destiny of the others and tried to find models of decision making that are based on individual responsibility for a certain choice". This intensive work on changing how the hierarchies and decision making processes that are usually set up already in the application process can be understood as a bottom-up intervention, which reflects more closely the real interests of the community (Blackshaw, 2010).

Another issue that reappears for these producers when talking about the valorisation of their work is the issue of quantitative vs. qualitative evaluation. For example, Saša Božić from *de facto*, an organization that makes work in between theatre, dance and performance, mentions that there is a no content evaluation of their programmes in the EU funding programmes which "says a lot about the monetization of artistic practice- what can be monetized, will be financed".

In conclusion, what seems the main issue for the cultural producers from contemporary performance independent scene in Croatia and Serbia are the problems that come from all discourses and policies that praise arts and culture in an utilitarian manner which, ultimately, leads to the impossibility of the arts to confirm its own generic value as art- but in economy, society, politics- that means it always has to be valorised through another logic.

Conclusion

In the context Western governments' apparent loyalty to evidence based policies, it is not surprising that one of the main results of such development of cultural policy is the flourishing of quantitative criteria of evaluation and impact studies. Their purpose is to measure and evaluate the impact of subsidized art on socioeconomic issues, and their contribution to economic and social policies. Impact studies encourage a *toolkit* mentality in politicians, public services, art funders, cultural administrators and cultural policy analysts, as the request for direct methods impact evaluation, which can be easily replicated in different geographical contexts and to various art forms and different audiences. The idea that *what matters is what works* and that the cost-benefit analysis of effective guidance in decision making on financing is becoming a way around the problem of the articulation of values and ideologies in the background of cultural policies. Current cultural-political discourse of the European Union indicates the need of a struggle for the articulation of values in the art that are above those pragmatically instrumental. It is possible that the obsession with measuring the impact results offers a diversion tactic and acts as a substitute to a more constructive articulation of values and beliefs in the background of various policies that the instrumentalization of the arts puts aside.

According to the cultural actors interviewed in this paper, what is necessary is that the debate on cultural policy separates from the focus on the instrumental value of art and, especially after the austerity measures, its *economic value* as the main justification for the *public investment* in the arts and culture. If we already affirming the art within the economic logic (which are certainly artists themselves partly responsible for), Kunst (2013) places art closer to the senseless spending than to the economy of the production of value. Instrumental cultural policies are not sustainable in the long run and can easily turn from cultural policies of "survival" to the cultural policies of *extinction* (Belfiore, 2010). If there would be no institutionalization of art practices, such as contemporary performance practices, they would probably disappear before the market which instigates experimental practices to become more aesthetically conventional in order to survive and, approaching from the other side, creating added value to what is trying to avoid commodification.⁸⁷ Institutions are, though considerably weakened by presentation policies that result in the instrumentalization

⁸⁷ From a materialist position, performance is a material product of the organization of performing arts despite its ephemerality that is superficially associated with immaterial resistance to commodification.

of culture, the only guarantee of the survival of art production under the neoliberal populist pressure as they mean physical infrastructure whose public cultural function is (still) not questioned. In this regard, it is necessary to further insist on participatory cultural policies and cooperation of the public and the civil sector.⁸⁸ Some of the practices of European cultural actors suggest that the discussion on the new evaluation criteria and valorisation of artistic production that should be the way out of the dichotomy of intrinsic value and instrumentalization of culture belongs to the domain of "bottom up cultural policies" and the struggle for the public interest.

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⁸⁸ In the local context, the infrastructure for the performance practices of the independent scene is partially secured as a result of the "bottom up cultural policy" which had as a consequence, among other, the establishment of a civil-public institution Pogon that is also used as a model for the Association Independent Culture Scene of Serbia in establishing a model of governance of Magazin in Belgrade.

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War Intangible Dissonant Heritage (Heritage of Violence): Family Memories, Neglected Narratives and New Heritage Participatory Governance

Letunić, Ana

Academy of Drama Arts

Zagreb, Croatia

ana.letunic@gmail.com

Dragićević Šešić, Milena

University of Arts Belgrade, Serbia

msesic@gmail.com

Abstract

Heritage of war and violence is important part of national identity narratives throughout the Balkans, mostly linked to built, material heritage or to different types of *lieu de mémoire*. Although most of the memory sites are linked to Heritage of violence, this term is not much explored and neither how narratives of violence are integrated in national identity constructions.

The paper will explore neglected part of this war heritage - intangible heritage (women memories) and its existence through memory transmission outside of official policies and practices of commemoration. Individual and family memories, women stories of war and violence are kept in local family memories in spite of those „patriarchal“ policies of forgetting (Connerton, 2008). Based on the results of the empirical research done through oral history method (video-testimonies) conducted in the region in 2014-15, when 50 families has been interviewed (postmemory, M. Hirsch), the paper will focus on how those memories of violence are shaping identities and how interlinkage of those specific individual & local memories are entering, through efforts of civil society, and through new memory policies as developed in some cultural

Keywords: culture of memory; heritage of violence; First World War; patriarchal patterns of memory; memory narratives; postmemory; intergenerational transfer of memories

Introduction

The history regarding war and heritage of violence has not started looking into the woman's past yet; especially not into the past of women who were not feminists and who didn't participate in the civil rights movement and didn't fight for equality (even though at least some of them were very aware of that inequality and were important figures for local/national development in different areas). The fact that the women were those who kept going the country for 3.5 years during WWI was not enough to deserve attention of historians or public cultural institutional system.

Thus, the stories about women lives are still untold, especially when it comes to uneducated countrywomen. How to tell a story about their fights, their struggles to survive, to help the youngsters and the elderly, their neighbors and relatives, to confront (by whatever means) the occupation forces, to help their children to stay healthy, to maintain the family craft business. No, they weren't heroes to be officially celebrated, but they were neither traditional victims, in society where only giving life to the patria would be considered as a dignified way to be called a victim. Their stories were obviously not important – neither to their family nor to the society. Sometimes they were recounting their memories to their grandchildren, but just incidentally –

“glorifying” (using that very word) their husbands, the “Salonica fighters” and their dead brothers and fathers, mentioning themselves usually only when telling something about their children.

All those memories were never written down or memorized in any other way, and today when there is no live witness of the First World War, we realized how important it might be to try to transcribe the remaining family memories, and to “awaken” the culture of family memory (not just facts, but precisely “stories”, family narratives). Not only to wonder about how the societies remember, and how the states are trying to keep the culture of memory under their control, but to ask ourselves how WE remember ourselves, how our families remember their ancestors (postmemory) – and if and how, by what narratives and artefacts of memories (and “commemoration ceremonies”) we are trying to keep (or not) the family memory thereby supporting and confirming (or not) the dominant socially acceptable memories.

Therefore, relying on the postulates of oral history (Thompson, 2012) demanding to take into account “the under-classes, the unprivileged and the defeated” (Thompson, 2012: 21), a research was done about the lives of common women during the First World War, and the ways they are remembered by their families.

The hypothesis was that the dominant memories linked to heritage of violence (wars) are above all men’s memories, that is, the memories that follow the traditional patriarchal patterns, according to which only the heroism of men, their martyrdom, is remembered and transmitted through official memory channels (school curricula; museum and archive exhibitions, films and drama, etc.). Thus, even in the family memory, which is supposed to be *individualized*, typical narratives of the collective memory of the community (nation) are repeated.

The empirical method of research included two approaches: examining families and their memories, and examining the symbolical production as the guarantee of preserving the nation’s collective memory.

The research was conducted in 2013-2014 and included 50 families from Serbia (regardless of where the family was living during the First World War). This number represented half of the families that were approached (50% of the family asked had no family memories about women ancestors life). The family testimony (postmemory) about the roles of women during the First World War, the way they are usually remembered (narratives, visual representations, artefacts) are documented with a video recorder that could capture the significant artefacts in case the family used it to keep the memory alive.

Another important source of this research is the Facebook page called Humans of the Past, a collection of family visual artefacts (photographs, postcards, documents) from the Balkans. It is created by numerous anonymous or signed citizens, and it gives a different insight into the culture of family memory – because it assembles only people who are really interested in this domain and actively participate in its preservation.

By studying the symbolic production – artistic creation of music, film or literature – we wanted to show how much space was given to the everyday-life problems of women during the war (in the background), as well as the women’s struggle to cope with jobs/tasks they had never done before, jobs that they couldn’t previously get even if they wanted to.

Thus we analyzed several films dealing with these issues. The film *Besa* by Srdjan Karanovic is about a very particular destiny of a woman – a newcomer to the Serbian village, who is left all alone right after her arrival, labeled as an “Austrian girl”, even though she is actually Slovenian (but Slovenia in that moment is part of Austro-Hungarian empire). In the film *Sveti Georgije Ubiva Azdahu* directed by Srdjan Dragojevic there are only two female characters, both without a last name. Katarina, a beautiful city girl, unhappily married and in love with someone else, and aunt Slavka, an officer’s widow, the guardian of family and traditional values. There are only two more women mentioned in the film – yet again, as total opposites: Smiljka, the ex-wife of lieutenant Tasic, now married to Gavriilo, who took her in “to take care of the house, of the garden, fields, to give birth, work hard, wait and cry, and who is in love with another woman, Katarina - the one who he would “kill for if she was his own”. As if there are no other women in the village. Thus, although it is a drama behind the front lines, this is a drama about the army, about the front and the Serbian national illusions.

The third film, *Charleston for Ognjenka* by Uros Stojanovic, describes the events after the First World War in a village deprived of men. Yes, here we have two main female role, but – they are shown in their traditional occupation called: a “hunt for a husband” – what was, in a Serbia who lost 80 % of its men in their 20s – a hardest task in that moment. So, implicitly, all these films deal with the lives of women under occupation, but it is the key issue only in *Besa*. Yet, here we have a specific problem – a “foreign” woman and her “guardian”, the Albanian who made a promise (*besa*) to take care of her and save her.

Of course, there are other films, web sites, books and memories that tackle the questions of life under the occupation. The historical literature and other historical sources are also very important. Yet, this is not the subject of this research, it is not about the life under the occupation nor about the memory of the resistance movement, but about the politics of remembering and forgetting cultivated in the Serbian families – and consequently, about the culture of memory and the place of women in that culture, for their work, ambition, successes and failures.

The artistic narratives are just a secondary, complementary segment of research, significant only to an extent to which the work of art can incite reflection, interpretation, discussion, and bring back and revive forgotten family memories, and thereby bring certain episodes into public space and collective memory and turn them into important events. That is why we will take into account the narratives that are being reproduced via social networks, since they also encourage, activate and engage individual memories and incite discussions, deepening them and bringing them into collective memory.

Yet, the main focus of our research is to directly examine family memories, trying to establish dominant narratives about the situation in Serbia during the First World War, which were kept in families and not talked about in school books, dramatic arts texts and other media documents. Reliability and credibility of these memories are less relevant in this research, because this is not a historical study, but a memory policy study within cultural policy advocating for a new responsibility of public cultural system in this domain.

Socially desirable memories and dissonant memories of wars (heritage of violence)

Starting with the main assumptions of postmemory – the inherited memory (Hirsch, 2008), which describe the relations that the new generation has with the events that marked the lives of their parents and grandparents, and that they can only remember through stories, images and attitudes and emotional reactions of their ancestors, we tried to examine in what way the private, family and postmemory recollections are established in relation to the socially desirable memories that already entered into collective memory.

The connection of postmemory to the past depends to a large extent on the degree of emotional tension with which these narratives were transmitted from one generation to another, and on the social significance of the memories, as well (so it is clear that, for example, the memories of Holocaust are part of postmemory even within the European communities whose families do not have personal insights and direct memories), while the memories related to some other occasions, and especially the traumas of the defeated “other”, were suppressed for a long time even by this very population (the memory narratives ignore rapes committed by the conquering forces against the defeated nations after the Second World War; the ways of expulsion of Germans from former Yugoslavia – the destiny of Danubian Schwaben, etc.).

The postmemory also shapes *memories*, choosing narratives and visual images. It is more often under the influence of visual artefacts circulating through the media and social networks, and under the influence of the messages and ideas that these works of art are conveying, yet under the influence of the direct family narratives. That way, by joint actions of all these factors, the events from the past continue to live in the present, above all through the socially desirable and supported memories.

Hence, contrary to the Connerton’s taxonomy of forgetting (Connerton, 2007), we should establish a typology of socially desirable feelings, of memories that strengthen the social positions and values. However,

just like the social and family politics of forgetting (Dragicevic-Sesic, 2014), the socially desirable memories are changing according to social and political changes, or zeitgeist changes. Nevertheless, this research hasn't indicated any really dissonant memories related to the First World War – that the family considers positive. Political circumstances influenced family memories - it was only on rare occasions during memory recounting that families were mentioning the ancestors membership in the Black Hand movement (a secret military society established by the officers of the Serbian royal army), and if there were, those testimonies have shown the former fear and family discomfort (from very old descendants – spreaders of these memories) to talk about it at that time (family Vojteh, Valjevo-Belgrade) and even now. (The agents of that movement, although bringing the Dynasty Karadjordjević on the power in 1903-4, helped illegally Young Bosnia movement before WWI, were executed in Thessaloniki process in 1916. Thus Serbian State wanted to prove that it has nothing to do with Gavrilo Princip and other attentators. It was communist Yugoslavia that made them Liberation martyrs).

Yet, even though deserting from the First World War practically doesn't exist in the Serbian collective memory (since it is widely believed that the patriotic sentiment and enthusiasm were so prevalent that everyone, the too young and the too old, volunteered to go to the front), we still discovered some rare family memories with different, dissonant, stories.⁸⁹ In the first half of the twentieth century, the stigma of deserting⁹⁰ was so big that it would be unthinkable to *brag* about your grandfather being smart enough to stay at home. Today, after the war in the nineties, the family memory, if it exists as postmemory, also interprets the deserting in the First World War in a totally different light. The attitude towards it completely changed during the breakup of Yugoslavia, as a result of a completely different context – the civil war, the time when, for many people, their friends and compatriots couldn't become their *enemies* overnight.⁹¹

1. The women narratives of postmemory – the results of the research

The meaning of the First World War in the Serbian collective national memory is based on the generally agreed dominant narratives – represented in history manuals, museum collections of the military history, as well as in the numerous photographs from the photo album of the official war photograph Rista Marjanovic. There are almost no women in that memory, except when it comes to their traditional roles as nurses and mothers. Therefore, in the family memory, as a part of the collective memory, there are two predominant narratives – the narrative of victimization and the narrative of martyrdom, of a woman as the victim who stays alone and fights for her family.

My grandmother Vema from Šid has eight sons and one daughter. All of her sons went to war, only their wives and children stayed. With her daughters-in-law, Vema continued to cultivate the soil, which had been done by eight strong men before war: vineyards, orchards, fields [...] and then the army would come afterwards and take the pigs and the fat [...] especially near the end of the war (The Babovic-Kolaric family).

⁸⁹ In one of my classes I incidentally mentioned something I heard from a colleague: that no child was born in Serbia from 1916 to 1918. This was immediately contested by one of my students – That's not true, he said, my grandfather was born precisely in 1916, because my great-grandfather lived in such a remote hamlet in Southwest Serbia that he didn't go to the front (he didn't want to, and the state wasn't able to send for those who would be forcefully mobilized in such faraway places).

⁹⁰ If there was a case of deserting, it was lost in family oblivion – possibly prescriptive (Connerton 2008), when the bearer of the family authority didn't want the family to be burdened by shame and "ordered" that the event be forgotten, or it was oblivion as a humiliating silence, and the structural amnesia (Dragicevic-Sesic 2014), as no one really wanted to memorize something which might bring shame and stigma to the family.

⁹¹ In the laws of all European countries deserting is the negative notion and can't be defended. Still, during the Yugoslavian civil war in the nineties, there was a growing movement in Switzerland for the different treatment of deserters who should be given the right to asylum (which was generally denied to war deserters).

Women had to take care of the house, the children and the household, go to church, attend to the work on the fields and the meadows, and in the stables, and finally, make sure that something is sold so that the taxes are paid to the state [...] They wanted to make bread, but they couldn't [...] they had to live on herbs, nettles and cabbage (there was no spinach). They added meat to their dishes very rarely - only little bit of sorrel or cheese [...] because they had to pay taxes, as well [...] They didn't eat much so they could feed and clothe their children (of course they had to make the materials for clothes and footwear themselves), and they sold their cattle just to pay the taxes. And on top of it all, they were heartbroken and devastated because they didn't know if their loved ones would come back [...] the anticipation [...] And they all got along and took care of all the children as their own, and helped each other out with the difficult tasks. They had to preserve their families, their household and the "Serbianhood" [...] (a village near Uzice, number 10).

[...] to gather the children and the bed ridden elderly people and start doing work that their men used to do. Women collected wood, cut it, put it on fire, prepared the meals, and also worked in the fields, mowed the lawn, dug the ground [...] And then, at night, they would gather and knit or hand spin for socks, sweaters and all they could [...] often spending all night doing it [...] (testimony number 11).

My paternal grandmother was left with two younger sons and a daughter, took care of their education, and took them to church, because she felt the need to [...] My mom told me the same story – like all the other children, she had to work and contribute – to care for cattle, harvest hay, fed the farm animals...Women were socializing in the evening, and helping each other out during the day. My mom's friend Gvozdenija helped her a lot – she was already a widow. She also graduated from school and worked as a teacher. She had the hardest time teaching history, because it was difficult and painful. At that time, girls only went to school for four years. She didn't get married because she "promised herself" to a guy who never came back [...] So she took one of her brother's children to raise him. Gvozdenija told me that girls and young women had to hide from the invasion of all armies. They were hiding everything – all children, girls and boys – from the army raid, just like during the Turkish occupation [...] (Anonymous, number 10).

These four testimonies are paradigmatic of the image of women in the First World War. We can clearly identify the narratives pointing out to the burden of obligations that fell on women during the First World War ("They had to preserve their family, their house, the entire household and the Serbianhood [...]"). They did men's work in the field (mowing, vineyards, orchards, taking care of cattle), and in the house (cutting wood); women's traditional work in the household (cooking, knitting, embroidery, hand spinning); committed themselves to raising children, schooling, as well as attending church (to preserve the Serbian identity), took care of the sick and elderly who stayed in the household, and on top of that, they had to earn some money – to sell at least some of the things they produced, because, paying taxes was obviously the most difficult obligation (which was repeated so many times in the testimonies). They were often confronted with the imposed requisition, and had to give away their food and cattle, or, in the cities, they often had to hide from requisitions the essential working material, like leather in the shoemaker's shop (The Adžić family, Čačak).

So, even though no one ever asked them for advice or for their opinion until then, they now had not only to work but to organize the agricultural and household jobs, as well. Most of the testimonies recall the traditional role of women and recount what they did before the war, that is, how much their life revolved around the kitchen, reduced to their role in the household:

The cooperatives existed at that time, but everyone still lived in separate houses [...] Women were the lords of the “pantry”, they were the only ones who had the key and went in there (The Family Vajagic, Bosanska Krajina).

Hence, beside the narrative of martyrdom and strength (“women had to do what eight fit and strong men used to do along with their regular work”) – what is also emerging from these stories is the “entrepreneurial narrative” - showing that there were those, although rare, women who managed to organize the business, so in that sense their new role was too difficult for many of them:

“Women were gathering to help each other out when faced with difficult tasks and it was run by one of the bossy ones...the others were incapable of it” (The Babic-Kolaric family).

They agreed on the schedule themselves – who would look after the children, who would cook, who would work on the field...to continue working in order to feed the folks and help the soldiers [...] (testimony number 11).

Of course, the hardest part was selling what was produced, because there was no one to buy it. The occupier just took it away, and the urban population left or had no money, so there were very few buyers of agricultural products, even in cities.

My father’s grandmother had nine sons, and lost five of them in the First World War. She had to feed her family alone while all the men were fighting on the front, and she could sell some of her stuff only in 9 km away city of Topola. She went there with two hens and some other products that she had to bring back, because she found no one who wanted to buy it. The government didn’t care about that [...] (The Maksimovic family, Natalinci near Topola).

What is at stake here is the sequential memory – some episodes and information come out of memory, even though they are related to a terrible family tragedy⁹². Yet, the memory of the ordinary life is suppressed, these nine brothers had wives, children...their lives and destinies are not deemed important in the family memory – the only thing that matters is the *victim*, the loss of life in the wars presented as the wars of the great forces (in the First and in the Second World War, as well – the examinee goes on to say: “we have to realize that we are small [...] and that we do not have any influence on the world politics”, Maksimovic, Natalinci).

There are two very important narratives that are also emerging from these stories: the narrative of a waiting woman (Penelope - the archetypical narrative known in all cultures) and the narrative of solidarity, the narrative more linked to the rural communities and to the understanding that mutual aid is necessary in times of trouble.

Many testimonies describe women who are waiting – left alone, with no news of their loved ones – if they survived Albania or not. The first testimony cited here is symptomatic: all that the “transmitter of memory” can say about his grandmother is that she was “waiting” for her son for four years:

My grandmother stayed in Serbia and she didn’t have any news about her son for four years. My father went through everything” – then follows a detailed description of the Albanian Golgotha (the Serbian army’s retreat through Albania) that her father survived, all the way to Greece and France – “the

⁹² The family lost their five sons during the First World War, and then lost one in times of peace, because of the politics, then another three in the Second World War. That is without any doubt an indescribable family tragedy.

tortured Serbian soldiers were transferred to France to get some education [...] (The Petrovic family, Belgrade).

And beside all that they were mourning and suffering because they lost their loved ones – they didn't know if they were coming back or not [...] Waiting in anticipation [...] (village near Užice, number 10).

My grandmother was age 15 and she promised herself to my grandfather before he went to work in the United States in 1908 with his eight brothers. They got married in 1913, my grandmother stayed in Krajina, pregnant, and my grandfather went back to the US. Later on she gave birth to eight children who survived [...] They were all raised on the tradition of the Kosovo battle. Therefore, when nine brothers Vajagic came from the United States and went to the Macedonian Front, they were praised like the nine Jugovic brothers⁹³ [...] (The Vajagic family, Krajina, Austro-hungarian Empire, today Bosnia & Herzegovina).

Still, according to the patriarchal patterns of memory, whether recounted by a man (Petrovic family) or by a woman (Vajagic family), waiting is something which is self-explanatory and not worth of further discussion - there are no details, no episodes. "The heroic retreat", "martyrdom" (Golgotha) of the Serbian army and the common narrative of "France who loved us", or The Kosovo myth, quickly comes up in the stories, and the faith of women who stayed at home is put aside and forgotten.

The narrative of women solidarity pervades many stories, which normally isn't common for family memories that typically glorify a certain character, a particular male or female ancestor with extraordinary skills. However, in wartime, when women stay alone, the possibility of surviving largely depends on their mutual relationships and solidarity. Yet, even with that solidarity, the women who obviously had the hardest time were the widows, who had no one to wait for and were forced to find any solutions to get the work done. So that is why:

In Srem there is a proverbial "widow's solution", or "widow's tools" – a pathetic and useless solution. When the hoe handle falls from the hoe, the woman wraps a cloth around it and blocks the hoe or the ax. The term widow's tool means that it is bad – but it's not derogatory, it just indicates the poverty and misery, hard work [...] The same goes for the widow farming [...] (The Babic-Kolaric family).

The testimony about "the gesture of a brave woman" illustrates in what ways the woman's courage was evaluated through patriarchal models, primarily when it comes to their relationship to their sons and husbands (narrative of devotion and martyrdom for a husband):

[...] doctor Emil Kostić and his wife always by his side. When they took him hostage in Arad, his wife said: granny Olga, I'm going with him, and she went with him and served the sentence with him until the end of the war – today this would be rare (The Babovic-Kolaric family).

So, sacrificing /devoting herself for her husband (a narrative of duty), to make things easier for him was considered a heroic act, and a true sign of a loyal wife. There are numerous similar examples in the testimonies from the Balkan wars: the wife of Doctor Pavle Vojteh followed him to Jedrene, while the wife of Doctor Svetislav Stefanovic went to Pristina even with her children. When doctor Vojteh got the typhoid fever, his wife drove him to their house in Valjevo – not fearing for her life, to the house where everything

⁹³ From Serbian epic poetry.

had already been stolen in burglaries (while the family was on the run⁹⁴), and “he was lying on the assembled chairs because there was no bed left in the house”. The family memory then records the long battle for pension in the postwar period, because “according to the law of King Alexander, the pension could be given only to families of those who died on the front – and Pavle died in his house” (The Vojteh family, Valjevo-Belgrade).

There is a similar story, about a woman’s sense of responsibility, about her duty to accompany her husband, but with a tragic ending of another, also urban family:

My grandfather was dead right in the beginning of the war. One of my grandmother’s brothers died in the Battle of Cer, and his horse died of sorrow – he lay next to him and died beside his master. His dog in Belgrade waited for him. The other brother went through Albania and got to the Corfu Island, and his wife, the daughter of King Alexandre’s counselor Dobrivoje Ruzic, took their two children and went on to join him. The children were named Dragan and Mara. She got three tickets and went to Italy and from Rome to a boat called Italy that drove the soldiers and the refugees on the Corfu Island. The poet Dis was on that boat, as well [...] The boat was hit by torpedo and disappeared in the sea. All the passengers died [...] When her husband found out he was desperate. After the war he lived with his sister, my grandmother, and mourned for his wife and two children. He died in great sorrow. (Anonymous, Belgrade)

City women are obviously more ready to leave their house – they don’t have an estate or the cattle to hold them down, and in the cities they don’t have any source of income and feel a lot more insecure than the village women who live in tight-knit communities even when they don’t belong to a cooperative. Women in the cities are more active in protesting against the occupier, even though in family memories there are not a lot of protests or subversions (the most important forms of action were wearing the tricolor flag under their lapel or writing to the Red cross in Geneva; testimony of the Adžić-Lucic family, Cacak-Beograd).

Obviously, the patriarchal code of the woman-victim appears in all these stories – the woman who is not complete without her husband (widow’s solutions) – yet, exceptionally, the women who are remembered are those exceptionally capable, those who “are worthy” of it (from granny Vema to the nameless wife of Emil Kostic). This namelessness, so frequent in narration (“her relative” – “the wife of her husband’s brother”, “her/his sister”, mother, grandmother), is the clear example of the patriarchal structure of memory, which remembers a woman just in terms of her “function”, in the episode which proves that she exists only to serve her husband or support and maintain the family.

Still, in a few rare memories we come across the narrative that follows the real – active life of a woman during the First World War – women as a social agent, actor.

My mother survived the First World War as a young girl – as one of the three daughters living in Belgrade with her mother. My grandfather died in the fight for Belgrade. Their house was in Kneza Milosa street, but it was destroyed in the bombing⁹⁵...At that time a young widow of 32, with three daughters, she moved to Vranje and started working as a teacher [...] Her neighbors, all young

⁹⁴ Important narrative from this escape (bezanija as it was called) relates to the fact that Dr Vojteh gave two pistols to his wife and her sister, wife of Army officer in the front, suggesting to “kill first children and then yourself, if Bulgarians succeed in cutting the road”. The memories on Bulgarians crimes from Second Balkan War (2013) were still fresh. Thus, children who heard the command of the father, were fearing and escaping their mothers till their return to home.

⁹⁵ There was 90 000 people living in Belgrade in 1910. In the end of 1915, there were only 8 000 people left in the city. “Belgrade was a ‘dead city’, and then already in 1916 there were 48 000 inhabitants, of which 16 000 were children, and from 16 to 60 years of age there were 7 000 men and 20 000 women (Yet, a great number of them came from the Austro-Hungarian empire - the entire families of soldiers, clerks – so that half of the dwellers in Belgrade were the newcomers and half of them were the natives.

women, went together to hide in a village near Vranje. They lived in the houses of the villagers.⁹⁶ [...] They volunteered to work in the hospital even though they were untrained, but they did it with love. Those were the field hospitals under a tent...the wounded were moaning – it was so terrible for them because there were no medicines; so doctors had to cut them or amputate their limbs alive. Only later did they receive medicaments and bandages from the French. The occupiers were terrifying, they were killing, raping [...] Women were hiding, petrified⁹⁷” (Anonymous, Belgrade).

In the end of the war it was equally hard, the war invalids didn't get any help [...] They were beggars [...] It was so difficult for my grandma to watch them beg for a piece of bread [...] So she would give them what she could [...]

Many of them left their homes and went to field hospitals, to sooth the wounds of the soldiers, and give them the last sip of water before amputation [...] (number 11).

These stories show that women from urban families were ready not only to “go into hiding” but to reorganize their life by moving to another city, as well. To get into the role of the “Kosovo Maiden” – a nurse who will “heal the wounds”, a role for which they were preparing for a long time, because the whole first decade of the twentieth century was imbued with patriotic education and preparation for the necessity of war. (Narrative of Kosovo Maiden was imposing the task to mostly urban, enough emancipated and educated women to go to battlefields or in military hospitals).

We learned the poems about the Serbian Macedonia by hart, we dreamed of the day when our brothers would start liberating the poor Serbian people from the five-century long slavery (The Adzic-Lucic family, Cacak-Beograd).

Still, in spite of that “preparation”, not everyone could so easily accept letting her own son or brother go and fight the enemy, when it actually came to that:

My grandmother – even though a Serbian patriot – wasn't pleased when ‘her only son, her hope and her pillar’ was mobilized [...] (The Petrovic family, Belgrade).

When Milunka accompanied her son Tolimir and patted his chest and gave him an amulet, she told him: My son, don't rush, don't lose your head foolishly [...] You're leaving your baby son behind [...] Saying it, she was stone-faced and stood frozen for a long time [...] (a mother was watching her son retreating with Serbian Army). That year, in 1915, as the retreat continued towards the south, many women in Krupanj and Jadar were killed, pregnant women and children, as well...then they started to retreat with the army [...] trying to find their sons, asking other soldiers – where is my son? (Anonymous, 11).

In the family memories that really emphasize patriotism and the willingness to die for one's country, there are also cautious statements of mothers, who, having in mind the experience of the First and the Second Balkan War, looked at life in a different way – and tried not to encourage then very desirable, aggressive, heroic behavior. Rare are the stories about the mothers who went through the battlefields searching for their sons, and the formerly mentioned statement was given only generally speaking, and not as a concrete family memory: not as an episode from the grandmother's life, but as an image occurring in the collective, common memory.

⁹⁶ That was seen as a sacrifice itself – to be forced to live after Belgrade house in a village house (without toilets, bathrooms, running water, electricity etc.)

⁹⁷ This same narrative was always repeated when talking about the areas under the Bulgarian occupation.

2. The carriers of transgenerational memory

The carriers of the family memory are equally men and women, but when it comes to the transgenerational memory, women are the carriers much more often than men.

“I heard about all that mostly in the stories told by my grandmother Sava Repac, married into the Vajagic family. My aunts told me a lot, too – I collected these stories from my cousins in the seventies [...] (The Vajagic family, Krajina).

However, as a result of the contemporary way of life, their grandchildren often do not live close, or, when come to holidays didn't want to listen to these stories, and the sense of deficiency started to appear right then, when urban families lost a source – the carrier of the memory.

I didn't understand it then. My grandfather, with his Russian hat ushanka and his working robe, was out in the field the entire day. Sometimes I would go with him, and he would talk about his memories. The Second Balkan war was called the Bulgarian war and the first one the Turkish war [...] I only heard about the Arnauts from him, neither he used words Albanians nor Shqiptar. The retreat through Albania. Their food – half piece of baked corn bread for twenty days. You're eating a couple of crumbs a day [...] My grandfather lost a horse who accompanied him in the battles during the previous two Balkan wars. The horse slipped and fell into abyss. My grandfather held him in the beginning, but then got the order to let go of the horse...Then came the embarkation on the French ships – imagine, a Serbian peasant who sees the sea for the first time in his life, and the huge boat [...] and then they put them in the hammocks so as many as possible can get on, and send them to the Corfu Island (The Todorovic family).

This story shows that not even the *war myth* helped in making the individualized memories become “the integral family story”. People remember only a few, fascinating episodes...always related to “fighting in war”, to manhood, and not to the family life at that time, because in the sixties and seventies, when these stories were told, this very interviewer wasn't interested in them and didn't want to listen to his grandfather. So we could often hear that:

“When I was a young kid I used to listen to the stories of my uncle. He died, so I wanted to find out more from his children. They just told me their father annoyed them with those stories” (The Dzelatovic family, Cupria).

Yet, most often the first reply when asked for interview was: “I have no clue! Or : My grandfather fought on the Macedonian front, he went through the entire Albania - that's all I know!”. And when having to answer questions about women and mothers, about what they were doing, they usually just shrugged. Only then it became apparent that the picture in the family frame has faded, and that all personal characteristics of the female ancestors have disappeared to oblivion.

On the other hand, the collective narrative often became part of the family memory, and so many testimonies, especially of the more educated, well-read examinees, abounded with banal literary topos and common narratives, completely depersonalized.

All men old enough to go to war, and even the youngsters, participated. When they heard the church bells toll and when the “callers” started mobilizing around the villages – they gladly put aside their hoes and all other tools and immediately went to prepare themselves to go to war. They put on their hand-made clothes, their traditional peasant shoes and white woolen socks, and Serbian national hat called *Sajkaca*. Meanwhile, their mothers, sisters, wives [...] prepared woven woolen bags and filled them with what they could – bread,

bacon, another pair of socks, a sweater [...] They didn't kiss or hug them when they parted and said their goodbyes in those days – it wasn't in their habits – they just pat their men on the chest and sewed an amulet in their shirt to protect them from the bullets. All the women accompanied their men as long as they could, they stayed with their arms wide open and their gaze fixed until they were out of sight (number 11).

According to Asmann (2002), these common stories become part of the collective consciousness through different social practices, from education to serving in the army. "The education became a status symbol: it indicated belonging to a dominant middle class who wanted to maintain the history at its civil peak" (Asman, 2002: 68-69). That is precisely why more educated examinees rarely talk about the specific, personal episodes from their family histories, and try to give a more general overview of the events, or to contextualize the family memories.

Still, the majority of the people interviewed point out to the lack of the culture of memory in the broader sense, and to the obligation of the society to encourage those memories.

"We have monuments of Vojvoda Putnik and other war heroes – we haven't forgotten the First World War, but, in fact, we forgot everything [...]" (The Maksimovic Family, Natalinci, near Topola).

Some of the interviewed draw attention to their own indifference that today they are ashamed of: "the more they wanted to speak, the less I wanted to hear about it" (The Radulovic Family, Beograd). Still, for many of the interviewees it was the incitement, the beginning of examining their own family memory, especially after realizing the importance of oral history, as a form of family saga, and more importantly, of understanding the real historical and social processes. Still, that very non-existent attitude toward family memory created a certain "insecurity of memory", especially when it comes to transmitted memory – the postmemory.

Conclusion

Serbia is not the only country in the world that choose, through its official memory policy, to remember its soldiers above all – both those who survived and those who lost their life. Monuments to Gavrilo Princip and debates around his endeavor are popping up in public and media space in both Serbia and Republic of Srpska. Exhibitions in history museums are showing battles and its heroes, or scenes behind the front lines but directly linked to the situation on the warfront (like exhibition *The Hospital in Valjevo* by City Valjevo museum). However, few exhibitions tackled the life far away from front and during occupation, such as thematic *extension* of the great exhibition of the Historical Museum of Serbia: *Serbia 1914* called: *Women Face of the Great War*. This exhibition extension, as a difference from exhibition called: *Women in WWI* (curator Alexandra Ninkovic) of the Galery of Serbian Academy of Art and Sciences⁹⁸, that was opened on 5th Nov. 2014), has put some light on real life of women during war, however having in the first plan the most known of them - those who shared the military path of Serbian Army.

Few theater performances were done within independent sector, but all dealt with women-warriors (Iron ladies, dir. Jeena Mila, M.A.M.M.A. production, presented in theater Madlenianum, & Sister in arms, dir. Sanje Krsmanović Tasić, co-production of New Zealand theater and Bread theater from Belgrade, presented during Bitef Poliphonia festival in september 2014). Thus, although bringing on stage stories known to historians, but less known to wider public, both performances had accepted mainstream statement that women story deserves to be told only if she made a success *in a men's world*. But, it is important to mention, that both productions has been realized on the margins of Belgrade and Serbian theater life, without any impact or reactions of the theatre critics or cultural sector. Like they never happened.

⁹⁸ Represented the most "prominent contributions of women during war - including women warriors and women nurses, that got highest medal for their commitment and courage" (from exhibition press material).

The new heritage policies and practices have not yet clearly demanded the new memory policy of institutional cultural system (imposing new, more gender balanced, or ethnically-balanced policies of display and representation). Rarely projects of institutional system are linked to participative heritage preservation and dissemination (in accordance to the demands of Faro convention). Local communities are only included if they initiate a memory project, like in case of the battle for Gucevo memorial, raised with help of inhabitants from villages near Banja Koviljaca (that effort later was joined by the Municipality). But here again - it is mainstream official narrative of the heroic first winning battles of the WWI (Battle of Cer, & Kolubara Battle) that is in the heart of the project.

Thus, during first year of WWI memorialization, 2014, saw mostly old museum policies and practices contributing to official Serbian commemoration policies fighting against oblivion of the most *glorious moments of Serbian history*, moments when Serbia was the equal part of the Western democratic world. Unfortunately, this official care was not used to promote the new heritage/museum management participatory practices.

Specific focus during all this period was devoted to *dissonant heritage*, mostly regarding memories differing not only from one community to another but especially to those which divides present European countries. The question: How to celebrate or commemorate persons seen as heroes or criminals by different communities (Gavrilo Princip as paradigm), was solved by representing him as pro-yugoslavian or pro-serbian idealist. This issue is not only extremely actual concerning recent wars in the region, but it is also important for construction and re-construction and questioning of the common Yugoslav past.

However, in spite of several projects who brought on public scene some women memories, the issue of memory policy as a cultural policy, has not entered a official cultural policy circles. On the other side, heritage management as participatory inclusive collective governance in diverse society with dissonant memories, is practiced only in international-led projects (such as Senjski rudnik or Caricin grad).

It is interesting to notice that there were no important contemporary art projects which would open new perspectives and insights on questions related to war histories of the Balkans, especially the forgotten stories of First and Second Balkan Wars.

Opposite to those practices, in England, in 2014, the installation of 888 246 poppy flowers at the tower of London drew the greatest public attention - the flowers symbolizing the number of those died in the First World War. It is estimated that this work, the art project of Tom Piper and Paul Cummings, was seen by 4 million people (Le Monde, 9-10 Novembre 2014: 1). The Queen also bowed to the installation, and the mayor tried to prolong its duration aware of the fact that there would still be people interested in seeing it, but the artists said no. They believed that the exhibition was supposed to last shortly – “because the lives of the soldiers were short, as well”. All of the poppy flowers were sold for 32 euros after the exhibition, as the true memorabilia, not only of the commemoration of 100 years of the beginning of war, but of the war atrocities, as well. All the money went to the Association of war veterans and their families.

This example shows that it is possible to have a serious politics of collective memory which engages the artists in making the commemorative events, the places of memory, and in realizing specific projects that allow not only to look at the horrors of a particular event (the loss of numerous lives), but, to create the adequate memorabilia that could remind each family of its own loss, as well. The experiences of the past are remembered and transmitted through generations, so that each generation reinterprets this past through its own narratives that also depend on the current politics of memory and on the position the current narrator and the examiner (who are almost always related) have in the society. What is added to that remembered family past are the episodes taken from the social, collective memory, especially those that became popular through the Medias.

Here comes the responsibility of the public cultural system - how they will integrate stories from people around them, people belonging to different communities, especially to those whose words have not been

heard or recorded, whose destinies are not part of the official memory politics: women, Roma population, Vlachs, working class which already disappeared from social horizon [...] not to speak about communities with whom we have shared common past, but which disintegrated or integrated within majority population, such as Tsintsars, white Russians, Kalmyks etc.

How our city museums should reorganize their exhibitions and events to make unheard - heard, and invisible - visible? New, demanding cultural policies are needed and new managerial participative practices in institutional cultural system, in order to create truly comprehensive and inclusive cultural system, open to all, engaging and challenging official mainstream lines of history.

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Memory, Heritage and Identity. Intercultural Dialogue in the Higher Education

Lombardini, Nora

Dept. A.B.C., Politecnico di Milano

Piazza Leonardo da Vinci, 32, 20133, Milano

nora.lombardini@polimi.it

Abstract

At the core of this theme is the question about what we maintain from the past and how. Our approach to the past implies historic differentiation and conscious selection. Those elements of the past which become heritage are the result of our choices in the present. Not every historical record becomes heritage because it may not fit into the specific need of contemporaneity. However, the present is constantly changing, which consequently affects our management of the past and of heritage. Moreover, when we select items from the past and we grant them the possibility of becoming heritage, we exclude and forget other items, which are thus doomed to disappear from the specific historic narrative that we are creating for ourselves. Heritage, as a (visual) realization of memory is, thus, tightly linked to the idea of canon (Graham & Howard, 2008: 6). The construction of memory by selection and exclusion of unwanted elements is a key moment in the formation and establishment of identity. By turning into identity, the past offers validation and legitimation to the present, contributing to the strengthening of the national discourse in its relationship to surrounding cultures and states.

The intricate dynamics of national identification and preservation of international history in the approach to heritage is also extremely significant in this regard.

The theme of the paper is to try to identify main parameters on which it is possible to found the intercultural dialogue about heritage, memory and identity.

The aim of the article is to define the main aspects that are able to support the higher education and, more in general, to sustain the intercultural dialog on themes as memory, heritage and identity, strictly connected with each own culture.

Keywords: identity; memory; heritage; preservation; education & training

Introduction

The education in the sphere of cultural heritage regards not only the training in technical instruments and methodology but, especially considering the safeguard of the main objects, that we call *monuments* (Guidelines for Education and Training in the Conservation, 1993), but it must offer the instruments according to which it is possible to acquire the right *sensibility* useful to operate not only on our own heritage but also on the other ones.

The mobility of students, becoming from different Countries, with different cultures and characterised by different approaches to determine and to recognise their identity, forces the different European Communities to reinforce their capacity and their interest in the intercultural dialogue, for helping the improvement of the higher education.

The Bologna Process, that is a public effort supporting the exchange programmes of students and scholars, contributes to enhance “the modernisation of education and training systems to make sure these meet the needs of a changing labour market. This is important as the proportion of jobs

requiring high skills grows, and the demand for innovation and entrepreneurship increases” (The Bologna Declaration, 1999).

Educating young people to safeguard cultural heritage in different Countries need that they, as *foreign people*, can understand the memory, the heritage and the identity of the *other people*, which are the indigenous ones.

1. Which parameters can we identify? A short debate on the theme.

Finding parameters on which it is possible to base the intercultural dialogue on the cultural themes of the memory and of the identity is complicated by the fact that it is possible that the interlocutors couldn't speak on common topics.

This question is strictly connected with the necessity to recognise our identity considered as the element that is able to join and to share the memory that we want to consider, in this context, as the collective history that we are obliged to transfer to the future generations.

In the globalised world, as is shaped by the economics and cultural powers, characterised by important migration phenomena considering, also, the frequent exchange of students from one Country to another one, it could be right to offer some suggestions with which different cultures can recognise the objects and the historic events of other cultures and, in the same time, can contribute to their preservation in the respect of the National identities. The question arises when we must or want share our knowledges in training experiences and when we are going to work in foreign Countries.

Recognising different identities is an important prerequisite to respect the history and the traditions of each Country. Sharing the identity idea of the foreign Countries with the local people permits a more easy dialogue, useful to create a common cultural environment of reciprocal comprehension that can support the collaboration.

When this topics concern the cultural heritage and when the identification of the cultural heritage is supported by the description of the identity, it is necessary to introduce several explanations about them.

The historical identity is a concept with which we want to consider the identification of the historical events assumed as representative (and not necessary celebratory) of the identity of a people.

Establishing the historical identity of one nation or of one community means to accept and to objectify the historical events that represent the history of that community or that nation.

It is clear that the historical identity goes through a collective memory based on the national history of each Nation.

Usually the history is taught to the pupils starting from the primary school. In the same time and minimally the history could transfer through the collective memory, not codified by texts.

The Western Europe is characterised by a collective memory rooted in the “common” past of the Countries those are part of these community.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Chiamo Europa, semplicemente, una unità storica, [...], una unità che si è costituita in una data definita, [...], una unità storica che, come tutte le altre unità storiche, è fatta di diversità, di pezzi, di cossi strappati da unità storiche anteriori, a loro volta fatte di pezzi, di cocci, di frammenti di unità precedenti. [...] Questa Europa che raggruppa un insieme di paesi, di società, di civiltà e di popoli che abitano questi paesi, che compongono queste società, che incarnano queste civiltà, quest'Europa non si definisce in base a stretti confini geografici [...]. Si definisce dall'interno, col suo stesso manifestarsi, con le grandi correnti che non cessano di attraversarla, e che la percorrono da lunghissimo tempo: correnti politiche, economiche, intellettuali, scientifiche, artistiche; correnti spirituali e religiose. [...] Naturalmente vediamo subito che unità europea non è uniformità. Nella storia d'Europa, dell'Europa così come l'ho definita, il capitolo delle diversità resta importante quanto quello delle somiglianze. [...] Nel 1914 non godevamo forse di una civiltà solida, brillante, unificata? Forse che nel 1914 la società dei cervelli non lavorava a pieno ritmo, senza preoccuparsi delle frontiere? Era il tempo in cui i grandi fisici si raccordavano l'uno all'altro, in cui un inglese proseguiva il lavoro di un francese, che era ripreso da un danese, mentre nel frattempo, uscendo di scia, un americano rilanciava gli spiriti su un'altra pista. E 'arte? [...] I compositori russi vi si avvicendavano a quelli tedeschi, [...] E allora, oggi l'Europa? Oggi c'è stata la Guerra. [...] quel disarmo mentale e morale [...]”(Febvre, 1999: 3-4,313-315).

According to the official document *Enlargement of the European Union* by European Union: “The European Union is a unique economic and political partnership between 28 European countries. It was created in the period following the Second World War, when

From the historic point of view, in fact, the events of each Country are deeply connected together; the European citizens, in their moving from one place to another one, also outside the boundaries of their own Country, can easily recognise themselves in their common history. The citizens of the Western Europe can recognise themselves through several historical manifestations and objects, as artistic and literary elements, as: monuments, landscapes, buildings and historic centres.

After the 1917's revolution, the relationships between the eastern and the western sides of Europe changed, especially during the long period of the Cold War (Riasanovsky, 1984: 464-642).

From one side, the official channels of the cultural dissemination of the Countries of the ex Soviet Union, as is well known, caused a process of indoctrination that was the first reason of the celebratory reconstruction of the historical event in those Countries.

This process, certainly, entailed produced a deep cutting of the historical connection with the western side of Europe.

The consequence of that process is that the new generation of students and researchers have the necessity to know again a segment of their history, beginning from the building of a new own identity, that is the identity of new modern national states.

Building new identity means that it is necessary to see and to interpret all the historic signals as cultural expressions, vocationally orientated to becoming cultural heritage.

It is very important to define the historical identity that is able to *identify* a nation and to give to the citizens the universal values of their own history (Dube, 2002).

The locution *universal values* means the necessity to not discriminate no one historic period, because each historic period in a Country is useful to build the own national identity.

Universal means to acquire a very objective historic cognition.

An essential consequence of the *historical cognition* is the *re-cognition* of the facts and of the phenomena (that must not be necessarily symbols) representing the national history that the citizens are going to build and to represent.

In a historicist vision of the world, every event, or fact, or place acquires historical meanings, so that they became useful elements for the construction of the memory that the citizens of today want transfer to the citizens of the future.

Through these elements/documents (as cultural heritage), listed before, the citizens can share their history with the citizens in the future and, in the same time, they get the possibilities to show and to disseminate their cultural heritage to a more large community.

The moment of the acceptance, of the recognition and of the construction of the history, must be free from every ideological meaning.¹⁰⁰

The monuments of the totalitarianism, loaded of ideological and propaganda meanings, are strictly connected with the government that want to use them.

The dichotomous dimension¹⁰¹ of these monuments comes from the significance assumed by them over

European countries were determined never to let such dramatic conflicts occur again. To do this, the first steps were to encourage economic cooperation: the idea behind this was that countries that cooperate closely with one another would be more likely to avoid conflict. And indeed, there has not been a war within the EU since 1945 and former enemies have become close allies. The economic cooperation project was launched in 1951, when six countries founded the European Coal and Steel Community. Later in 1957, they also created the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Energy Community."

¹⁰⁰ It is possible to say that the recognition and the safeguard of the historical objects transmits, also, ideological meanings. Only in the long period it is possible to develop an objective idea of some historical events but, ideological and ethical reasons, force to lose and to destroy some symbolic monuments (in Italy because of the *damnatio memoriae*, elements as monuments, buildings, literature, and so on of the past that were uncorrelated with the passed ideology caused the loss of a lot of historical documents: i.e. after the Fascism, or during the Roman Empire). Also the philological approach adopted by the Italian theory and practice of restauration, during the unification, was influenced by the main idea to underline the historical phases representing the Italian culture as a common value and a national identity element.

time: in fact they bring a double interpretation according to which or they are accepted or they are totally rejected by its own national culture.

In the same time, also in the negative acceptance, the foreign people or cultures can see, read and accept them as interesting documents from the historic point of view.

Besides the ideological and different values that the cultural heritage can have and transmit, we must consider, in the world characterised by strong phenomena of migration due by very different reasons (and, in the same time, due by a very fast technological development), the different cultures able to recognise the others' historical-cultural values that represents their identity.

The example that it is possible to read in the published interview by Benedetto Vecchi to Zygmunt Bauman, according to which the identity is a kind of puzzle whose elements are counted and, especially, combinable, because is established in advance the mechanism and the shape of their combination, seems really suited to support what was told above.

In fact, in the interview it is possible to read: "[To create the identity] you don't start from the final pictures, but from a given amount of pieces that one already has. [...] And one tries to discover in which way it is possible to arrange and to re-arrange them in order to obtain an amount (how many?) of satisfying pictures" that are not defined a-priori. All that means "discovering how much attractive are the purposes that it is possible to reach with the given elements" (Bauman, 2010: 56-57).

The pieces of the puzzle are the cultural, civil, social elements (definable documents) with which the citizens try to build their identity. The pieces/elements/documents can be collected by the citizens to create their identity and, in the same time, pieces/elements/documents are used by the foreign people to understand the identity of the outsiders. Perhaps the two idea of identity (of the local people and of the foreign people) are not the same.

Now the question is if it is possible to establish common parameters and criteria with which understand and recognise the foreign identities and on which base the inter-cultural dialogue.

The term *parameter*, in the general meanings, implies a criterion of judgment, criterion that cannot be the same for all.

Geographical, social, historical, economic reasons lead the citizens to consider the concept of identity, both from the diachronic point of view (regarding their own contexts) and synchronous point of view (regarding outsider contexts).

In this case, it is right to consider that the historic value of the monuments, built to represent totalitarian governments (as Soviet and Nazi and so on), after the end of the totalitarianism is the same for the citizens and for the people outsiders? Two buildings of the Soviet period are examples of the situation just described: Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw and the monument Buzludzha, on the peak of the Balkan mountain in Bulgaria, built to remember the battle between Bulgarian and the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the XIX Cent.

They are buildings with a high monumental meaning (we can refer to the deliberate commemorative value, according the lesson by Alois Riegl) (Jokilehto, 1999: 215-217) exactly connected with the propaganda intentions that, in the indigenous, could cause different memories and impressions from the foreigners' feelings.

The two buildings are, reciprocally, expressions of the history of Poland and of Bulgaria and, according to an *objective* historic evaluation, they represent the identity of the two Countries: it is necessary that in the two Countries the citizens (and the local culture) decide to consider them as expression of identity.

¹⁰¹ The monuments (not only the intentional ones, but also what was built, following a common/normal need in one period) are dichotomous because of the double meanings: they are a general expression of a step of the history, without ideological implication, and they are symbols of a historical moment strongly influenced by a specific ideology.



Figure 1. The Buzludzha Monument (Bulgaria) built by the Bulgarian communist regime to commemorate the events of the organisation of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party in 1891. The Monument was opened in 1981. (<http://www.buzludzha.com/node/6192?language=en>)

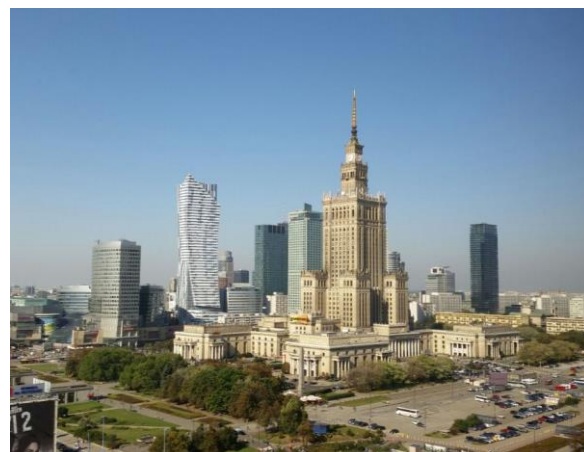


Figure 2. The Palace of Culture and Science, Warsaw, is the tallest building in Poland. As gift from the Soviet People was completed in 1955. Now it is hidden among several others skyscrapers. (www.salepepe.it)

The respect as cultural heritage of these monuments depends from the acceptance of their historic importance, going over their ideological as political meanings.

In fact, the monuments can be subjected to different diachronic evaluations.

For foreign people these buildings are symbols of some historical events, extraneous to their culture. They can read them as historical documents, witnesses of events that they were not lived directly, but are well known. After the Second World War, the same situation with an analogous judgment regarded the monuments of the fascism: they assume a double value according to the meanings given them by Italian citizens (against that ideology) and the foreign scholars that saw the documentation of a fragment of the history of the world.

The historical value bestowed from indigenous and from outsider could be different because of different interpretation of the past. But, in any case, when they are recognised as monuments, document of the past, they become cultural heritage. In this case, according to the international charters by Unesco/Icomos, they must be preserved.

To establish an intercultural dialogue on the objects and on the methodologies useful for their safeguard it is necessary to find parameters on which base the intercultural dialogue.

Very simply, the preservation can be based on different interpretation of the elements and them, for several reasons, can become expression of cultural heritage.

If it is possible to consider that the preservation/conservation means the respect *in toto* of the object, of all changes occurred on the original shape, of all the signs made on the construction materials (those are not replaceable) by the time passing: the total respect of the cultural heritage could mean the respect of all the differences in its historic interpretations.

For all these reasons, considering, also, the charters by Unesco/Icomos, parameters must be identified into the tolerant intercultural dialogue that can bring, together, to a common and shared decision of a safeguard project.

Safeguarding the memories means to recognise the elements in their historic dimension and hand down them as cultural heritage in the same status they have been found.

In the relationship with the material of the objects, as of buildings, and according the Italian lesson, recognised by the international committee as Icomos, for example, the conservation consists both in the respect of the building material, or of the material of the object in general, that today we can find and touch (and considered as a historic document bringing important information) and in the intervention, as restoration, necessary for the use of the building.

The restoration must be recognisable from the material and from the stylistic point of view.

A project of preservation, realised in the respect of the material of the object, is finalised to the conservation of the authenticity of the cultural heritage that is bearer of the identity values.

Better, it must be capable of revealing and transmitting the identity of a people and of a nation (and the same people and the same nation must recognise it as a document important for building their identity).

The subjectivity of the collective memory and identity is counterpoised to the objectivity of the material (Rossi 2012:167-185; Remotti 2009: 3-19).

By virtue of the above assertion, or that the building materials of the historical object is not replaceable, really because it is better not reply, rebuilding *à l'identique*, it is possible to consider also what was destroyed, totally or only partly.

In the respect of the authenticity of the material, it is impossible to rebuild it but, in the respect of the memory, the culture of people requests the rebuilding according the saying *com'era and dov'era* (as it was and where it was). For example, it is possible to remember the reconstruction of the Tower Bell of Saint Mark in Venice and the reconstruction of the orthodox church of Saint Michael in Kiev).

For the previous reasons it is necessary to: - define the object and the event that can represent the memory; - see the objects as cultural heritage in order to consider that they must build the historical identity of a people; - realise an empathetic intercultural dialogue based on the tolerance, in order to respect the authenticity of the object but, also, the authenticity of the identity of a people and of a nation;¹⁰² - start an intercultural dialogue than must consider the identity of the interlocutors starting from the mutual understanding of the specific historical, economic, social situations.

The dialogue must focus, for first, on the modalities with which it is possible to explain, each other, the reasons according to which some objects become cultural heritage and the procedures that it is possible to adopt to conserve them, also according to the economic, social and cultural characteristics of the Countries.

The dialogue, furthermore, ought to be based on the mutual comprehension and on the will to understand and to illustrate the differences, in an incessant empathic movement.

As stated by the *Declaration of Principles on Tolerance*, 1995 (art. 1.1):

Tolerance is respect, acceptance and appreciation of the rich diversity of our world's cultures, our forms of expression and ways of being human. It is fostered by knowledge, openness, communication and freedom of thought, conscience and belief. Tolerance is harmony in difference. It is not only a moral

¹⁰² According to the *Nara Document on the Authenticity* (1994): 5. The diversity of cultures and heritage in our world is an irreplaceable source of spiritual and intellectual richness for all humankind. The protection and enhancement of cultural and heritage diversity in our world should be actively promoted as an essential aspect of human, development. 6. Cultural heritage diversity exists in time and space, and demands respect for other cultures and all aspects of their belief systems. In cases where cultural values appear to be in conflict, respect for cultural diversity demands acknowledgment of the legitimacy of the cultural values of all parties. 7. All cultures and societies are rooted in the particular forms and means of tangible and intangible expression which constitute their heritage, and these should be respected. As stated by the *Venice Charter* (1964, adopted by Icomos in 1965): "Imbued with a message from the past, the historic monuments of generations of people remain to the present day as living witnesses of their age-old traditions. People are becoming more and more conscious of the unity of human values and regard ancient monuments as a common heritage. The common responsibility to safeguard them for future generations is recognized. It is our duty to hand them on in the full richness of their authenticity.; Imbued with a message from the past, the historic monuments of generations of people remain to the present day as living witnesses of their age-old traditions. People are becoming more and more conscious of the unity of human values and regard ancient monuments as a common heritage. The common responsibility to safeguard them for future generations is recognized. It is our duty to hand them on in the full richness of their authenticity".

duty; it is also a political and legal requirement. Tolerance, the virtue that makes peace possible, contributes to the replacement of the culture of war by a culture of peace.

A very important role in the implementation of the tolerance is developed by education and training.

The first step in tolerance education is to teach people what their and of the others rights and freedoms are, so to promote their respect and protection.

In particular it is important analyse the modalities with which the higher and the academic education are able to support the intercultural dialogue on the memory of a people, on the identity and on the practice of the conservation of the cultural heritage.

2. Intercultural dialogue on the conservation of cultural heritage. Education and training

The international mobility of students, supported by the financial projects of the European Community, as the old Erasmus Mundus and the programmes of training of trainers as Tempus (now flowed into the Erasmus Plus action), are able to promote the adoption of the rules established by the Bologna Process.¹⁰³

to increase compatibility between education systems in the European Universities and Colleges and to make it easier for students and job seekers to move within Europe.

The theme of the cultural heritage, inside academic programme, start from its identification as an object of the memory and as an expression of the historic identity, to arrive to the question of its safeguard and conservation (that is a preservation project aims to conserve cultural heritage) as the activity that must consider its intrinsic values and the economic, social, historical and cultural condition of the belonging nation. Teaching the conservation of the cultural heritage, especially according to the training programme inside the academic school of architecture and of conservation of cultural heritage, considering that this teaching is not present everywhere, changes in contents and modality in the different European Countries.

The teaching of the methods of conservation is strictly connected with the characteristics of the heritage and with the recognised historic value.

One of the most important declarations adopted by Icomos, in 1965, is the Venice Charter. This document introduces the concept of authenticity. According the Italian culture or Italian restauration, the authenticity of the cultural heritage is in the material of the object.

The respect of the materials considers the physical existence of the object and assuming the unicity of the material, rules out the possibility of its reproducibility.

One of the direct effect of this assertion is that is impossible the reconstruction of all or of a part of the object/monument that doesn't exist nowadays (destroyed for several reasons as, explosion by wars, unpredictable collapse, and others causes).¹⁰⁴

The debate sustaining this theory, and is taught into the Italian Universities, inside the scientific competence area, is strongly rooted in the history (and in the art, but with a different approach) of the Italian Country that the Italian students know (or must know).

¹⁰³ "The European process, thanks to the extraordinary achievements of the last few years, has become an increasingly concrete and relevant reality for the Union and its citizens. Enlargement prospects together with deepening relations with other European Countries provide even wider dimensions to that reality. Meanwhile, we are witnessing a growing awareness in large parts of the political and academic world and in public opinion of the need to establish a more complete and far-reaching Europe, in particular building upon and strengthening its intellectual, cultural, social and scientific and technological dimensions. A Europe of Knowledge is now widely recognised as an irreplaceable factor for social and human growth and as an indispensable component to consolidate and enrich the European citizenship, capable of giving its citizens the necessary competences to face the challenges of the new millennium, together with an awareness of shared values and belonging to a common social and cultural space". The Bologna Declaration of 19 June 1999, Joint declaration of the European Ministers of Education. <http://www.ehea.info/>

¹⁰⁴ After disasters caused by nature and by humanity, as wars, earthquakes, collapses, and so on, buildings, monuments and heritage in general, were remade, replaced and rebuilt but with important debate on the methodology of the reconstruction.

In Italy, synthetically, we can speak and teach about a conservative approach, that: -refers itself in a more general culture of architectural design; - is strongly founded in the history of the Country; - is not possible easily to share with other Countries and that it is possible to know with a good level of study.

According to what was just wrote, the lessons on the topics on memory, conservation and restoration of cultural heritage, and especially of ancient buildings and old centres, must be developed changing the point of view, not in order to change the aims of the lessons, but in order to change the approach to the problem, for avoiding the misunderstand of the importance of the history of our Country.

As Bocchi and Ceruti write: "the school and the university are in front of a crisis of their originally aims that was to create citizens with homogeneous languages, into a national state with a well-defined identity" (Bocchi & Ceruti, 2004: XI).

This assertion is referred to a *globalization* process and to the education of young emigrated citizens.

The training of young students *in exchange* does not presuppose that they could become new citizens in a different Country, but that they acquire knowledges and experiences that could give them the instruments to work in a *more wide world* (according the Bologna Process).

Developing an architectural design and, especially, a design of conservation, in different Countries, must be based on an empathic behaviour with which establish a continuous, long and fruitful professional intercultural dialogue.

It is necessary to change (or to correct) the teaching modalities, keeping into account the duty to support the training of foreign and local students to realise their new relations with different cultures in different Countries.

Especially this support is aimed to give the possibility to have theoretical and practical instruments to establish good approaches with foreign Countries.

It is possible, for example, consider the Countries in the past belonging into the Soviet sphere of influence in the Eastern part of Europe and that, in an older past, were into Europe (as the Regions, now Nations that were part of the Russian Empire).

In those Countries, the discover and the creation of the identity goes through the acceptance not only of the monuments, but also the acknowledgement of the buildings that are symbols of the "art of the urban planning as construction of the space in the time of the real socialism when the architectonic typologies have the names of the soviet leaders (as *stalinki*, *khreshchevki*, *brezhnevki*)" (Obrazkova, 2013; Tscherkas, 2014: 15-158).



Figure 3. Kharkiv (UA) Gosprom and residential buildings seen by Gosprom (N. Lombardini)

The historic judgment on these elements can assume an ideological dimension (it is possible to consider, for example, the imposition to remove of the soviet symbols, also the smaller ones hidden in more big contexts, in the present political situation in Ukraine).

In the same time, a more stable economic situation can bring these Countries to replace wide building areas that it is possible to consider bringing historical values, even if built according the governmental imposition, also regarding the adopted style.

The message brought by the conservation of the monument and of the historic buildings (also old city centres) must take into account the economic situation of the Country (or of some regions of the Country itself) and of the adopted administrative process to manage the urban territory.

It is easy that the message, taught by the Universities, is not exactly recognised, also because of the deeply differences that it is possible to find into the political system used to manage the territory in the different Countries.

Conclusion

If we want to assume an interlocutory behaviour, it is necessary to overcome the stereotypical idea of the *others*, idea that can prevent a conscious and critic view of the mutual historic situation.

Teaching the topics of conservation and preservation, also from the management point of view and not only from the methodological one, entails that the teachers or the trainers could give the same information with different training manners, that are able to guarantee the students' approach to the core of the question step by step.

Clearly, teaching is more complicated when the students came from miscellaneous foreign backgrounds (also ethnic), because the topics cannot be acknowledged and understood in the same way.

Creating working groups composed by local and foreign students, so as choosing symbolic cases of study, could represent a good approach to the study in a foreign Country.

But for having a good and correct teaching approach, it would be easier to work with homogeneous groups of students (or all local students or all foreign ones).

In this way it is more easy, as it is obviously, measure the information and don't impair the appropriate in-depth analysis, in the respect of the background of the local students (according their wish to develop the knowledges) and the needs of the foreign students (that must receive the instruments to understand new cultural assessments).

Continuous transformations and relations in a *liquid* cultural system, where, according to Bauman: "structures that limit individual choices, institutions that guard repetitions of routines, patterns of acceptable behaviour", cannot long conserve their shape (Bauman, 2007: Introduction, IV) and constrain the passage from a classical training to the *life-long learning* (LLL programme, according the Bologna Process), made by contents arranged in the right depth but continuously updated.

The technologies applied to the conservation of cultural heritage, so as the operative methodologies, compel to the training's development.

If, according to the Nara document: "The diversity of cultures and heritage in our world is an irreplaceable source of spiritual and intellectual richness for all humankind", the young students must acquire the necessary instruments to recognize and respect all these diversities, that show themselves in the tangible and intangible cultural heritage.

It is necessary that all the objects that are cultural heritage are recognisable to respect all the diversities, Even if the values of the cultural heritage are changeable along the time and the space, it is also, necessary, that, time to time, they are identified, known, analysed, maintained, conserved and transferred to the future, both in the case they exist in the present days, and in the case they don't exist (in this last case, using different training media and conservation instruments and methodologies).

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Horti+Cultures: Participation and Sustainable Development of Cities

Madeira, Cláudia

New University of Lisbon

Lisbon, Portugal

Madeira.claudia@gmail.com

Abstract

The wasteland vegetable garden, Horta do Baldio, arose from the artistic programme *More for Less than for More*, which was set up in Lisbon from December 2013 to June 2014. It was one of four community gardens that this cultural programme planned to develop with the participation and training of volunteers, under the thematic banner of a *vegetable garden on every corner*, with the objective that they would serve as a *temporary stage* for the artistic programme. The particular characteristics of the wasteland vegetable garden were that, firstly, it was set on an empty lot in the city center of Lisbon and, secondly, it managed to gather around itself an active and creative Community till today. This paper aims to reflect not only this process of participatory citizenship, but also on the role of art and culture in the sustainable development of a city.

Keywords: artistic vegetable gardens; art and agriculture; art and participation.

Introduction

From the beginning of the new millennium the performing arts sector in Portugal has expanded in two directions. The first covers the area of cultural programmes, through an increase in the number of cultural organizations, mega-events and festivals, from the most official to the most alternative. The second involves transdisciplinary or hybrid arts, through an increase in the number of artistic projects that combine different artistic disciplines and even the recent social and exact sciences researches in areas such as anthropology, sociology, biology, etc.

At the moment, the correlation between the two areas – cultural programmes and transdisciplinary arts – is particularly obvious in cultural laboratory programmes, which lay greater emphasis on the artistic process than production/presentation of the final work. We can see that this specific programming format, in which the transdisciplinary and transcultural facets of art predominate, goes beyond the performing arts system (by incorporating the plastic arts, technological arts etc.), the Portuguese national art system (by incorporating influences/agents with different cultural origins) and even the art system itself (by setting its action in active civic, participation and intervention movements in the local or even global society).

The programming space is taken as a test laboratory for social questions, jointly shared by the artistic community, specialists from the different social domains and the general public. To discuss this process and its effects, we shall analyse the wasteland Vegetable Garden, Horta do Baldio, which arose from the artistic programme *More for less than for more* (started in December 2013), which was elaborated by the Portuguese choreographer Vera Mantero (with the collaboration of the architect Rui Santos and the performer Elisabete Francisca) in a production of the Cultural Association Rumor de Fumo, Teatro Maria Matos and Culturgest. It was one of four (almost five) community gardens that this cultural programme planned to develop with the participation and training of volunteers, under the thematic banner of a vegetable garden on every corner, with the objective that they would serve as a *temporary stage* for the artistic programme that took place in the period from April to June 2014. Nowadays in September 2015 we still have this ephemeral and utopic space in our town with the participation of community. This paper aims to reflect

not only this process of participatory citizenship but also the role of art and culture in the sustainable development of a city.

1. Art programming for utopic planning of the city

With ever greater frequency, the spheres of artistic creation and programming are appealing to their potential public to be part of the artistic process, not only as receivers, or even participants or *collaborators* (Suzanne, 1996: 37), but also as active citizens. This can be seen when the public is encouraged to participate in the thematisation, problematisation and even resolution of social issues, within the scope of artistic or programming proposals.

Underlying this addition of the idea of civic engagement to the concept of artistic participation is a new endeavour to relate art to the social sphere, a *return to the real* (Foster, 1999) or a *return to social* (Bishop, 2012) of which the nucleus is no longer *objects* but the *issues* themselves of the social sphere (Milevska, 2006).

Various factors from the artistic, social and political domain help to explain this expansion in the concept of artistic participation.

In the artistic field, on the one hand, art has undergone a progressive invasion by everyday topics (Zolberg, 1997) — whose history can be seen in various artistic *movements* that seek to re-connect art with social issues, from romanticism to realism, to performance and happenings, and on to situationism etc. On the other hand, it may even be said that underlying this emphasis on participation is the recovery of one of the structural/original functions of art, as a means of expression for the common person.

In a manifesto article entitled *Art Alienated – An Essay on the Decline of Participatory-Art* (1989), Greg Evans emphasised the fact that in capitalist societies, in contrast to others (from primitive to pre-capitalist, e.g. mediaeval or Renaissance, societies), there has been a regression in artistic participation caused by the monopoly of art seen as a commodity/item of consumption and not as participation. In his view, this cycle should be reversed. To quote him:

It is vital that we liberate ourselves from this fetishism of art-products, and thereby overcome our artistic alienation. As with all forms of human expression, the making of art is an essential part of our being and of our need to express our feelings and thoughts, joys and sorrows. In addition, it can be satisfying and fun in a way that no art-commodity can possibly be, because one is actually doing instead of just watching. Ultimately, then, we must start making our own art in order to begin the process of liberating ourselves from the alienation of commodity culture, and thereby regain our ability to fulfil our expressive needs (Evans, 1989:2).

This proposal reflects what the philosopher Jacques Rancière (2007) calls the “emancipation of the spectator”, who should become a participant in artistic processes instead of standing by as a mere receiver, removed from the act of creation. Since the nineties, in particular, Claire Bishop has been producing a register of this type of “participative art”, which has been expanding the artistic field into post-studio practices and been given different names: socially engaged art, community-based art, experimental communities, dialogic art, contextual art and (most recently) social practice (Bishop, 2012:1). One of the characteristics of this “participative art”, as the author mentions, is that this art generally includes an ethical posture (Bishop, 2012: 23), where social transformation or change is sought.

In the social field, the sociologists Richard Sennett and Jeffrey Alexander offer a more structural explanation. For Sennett (1986), there has been a progressive erosion in the sphere of public life since the 18th century, through what he terms “the tyranny of intimacy”, in which public life has come to be evaluated on principles of intimacy, subjectivity and proximity. This mixture between the public and private spheres has reduced the

common citizen's active participation in public life, resulting in a fall in the number of those who have kept an active voice (e.g. the politicians or artists), with the rest becoming a silent crowd, merely squashed spectators. For Alexander (2006a), this separation between the spheres has resulted in the loss of "fusion" or "organicity" in the elements inherent in social performances (which include the systems of collective representation, the actors, the audience, and the means of symbolic production, e.g. the space, costumes and props for the production, along with the social power and the staging). This is reflected in a fall in the creation of shared "units of meaning", as happened in primitive ritualistic societies, for example. To regain that "fusion", this writer, like Greg Evans, recommends more active and participative integration of the agents in the public sphere (Alexander, 2006b).

In this connection, the expansion of participation in art may be explained both as a basic process, to be set against liberal trends that tend to reduce art to mere consumption and, from a more structural viewpoint, as a form of guaranteeing a more organic and inclusive social performance in the public sphere. This latter factor provides a better justification for associating the concept of participation in art with the political dimensions of the concept of participation, which are operationalised through more classical ideas such as representation and community or more recent notions such as participatory governance (Rhodes 1996; Rosenau 1992), planning and sustainability. This incorporation allows participation in art to be assumed as an alternative power to politics itself, a parallel polis, which competes as a civil power of citizen engagement and intervention, on the basis of civil society and beyond the authority of the state.

In the political field, therefore, there are various factors that may help to explain this expansion in the concept of artistic participation: from the crisis in the legitimacy of the state to the claims of the actors (seeking to take in groups that are generally excluded from participation or representation) and on to the complexity itself of the social problems and the diversity necessary for decision-making. In general terms, these factors may be included in the emerging paradigm of participation that is based on a re-interpretation of representative democracy and the need to complement it with participatory democracy, and perhaps extend it (Guerra 2006; Fung & Wright 2003; Dryzek 1990).

In brief, it may be said that the expansion of participation in the artistic sphere emphasizes a creative and less ideology-driven desire (in relation to the traditional 'ideological' protest model) to become independent, on the part of the citizens – a need to articulate their own questions "and find ever more inventive modes of taking part in the processes that are determining their lives" (Rogoff & Schneider, 2008:348).

This code of political ideas not only extends to discourse but also the forms and methodologies used to develop participation in art. The process is based on a combination of the classical principle of a cultural programme (generally applied by cultural intermediaries to activities restricted to the artistic field) and the concept of strategic planning (mainly applied in land-use planning policies and associated at present with participatory governance) (Madeira, 2010). This process has been strengthened with the expansion of the principle of sustainability, which, in being inherent in the planning process, is also being included now in artistic discourse and practices. For some writers, it reflects a "new frontier for art" (Kagan & Volker, 2008).

Adopted from the principles of planning and sustainability, these methodologies have the following underlying elements: the importance attributed to a critical attitude; the notion of participation as a democratic value; and the problematisation of social issues (e.g. social justice, cultural diversity, conservation). This problematisation includes a more comprehensive perspective of the various aspects of sustainability (social, economic, political, ecological and cultural) as well as of the various spatial scales (including, on the one hand, local and global dynamics, or even new "glocal" processes that stress an intercultural standpoint) and the various time scales (encompassing various notions of time, from the here and now to the long term or to future time). When associated with the artistic sphere, these methodologies are applied within platforms of collaboration, forums, composed of people from the art world, specialists in various social fields and the general public. These forums aim to develop diagnoses, beginning with urgent

social issues in a specific (local or global) territory that allow alternative and more inclusive scenarios to be generated.

2. Case study: Horta do Baldio

The mixture of art, ethics and politics, programming and planning, is reflected, at various levels, in Horta do Baldio. In the beginning, it was a wasteland, a vast space full of weeds and wild flowers, a shelter for the homeless and a place to take your dog for a leak, a place stuck behind apartment buildings near a very central zone of Lisbon, Campo Pequeno Square. It was a space marked out by crumbling walls, a car park, the Roma Arreiro train line and a cul-de-sac.

This space has had several uses and functions in Lisbon: an old panel of traditional tiles, on the other side of the train line, depict the meaning of the names of the different areas. These pictures show Entre Campos (Between Fields) and Campo Pequeno (Little Field), in former times, with their stately homes and farmed fields irrigated by the River Alvalade. The area was also the setting of a battle and civil war that didn't happen because a miracle. Two armies, son against father, divided by the River Alvalade, are kneeling before the saintly mother, who makes peace between them simply by her presence. More recently, in the first half of the 20th century, city life transformed this space that had, in the meantime, been surrounded by tall buildings, and a beer brewery (which has now gone). The brewery was replaced by a small lake created by an underground river where no miracle managed to avoid the drowning of two children playing there. Many good and bad memories are mixed in what was and is this space. There have been several projects for this valuable piece of land waiting for new constructions in central Lisbon, the most recent was for a new hotel and shopping centre. However, building stopped when it was realised that there is a river under the land which makes it difficult to lay deep foundations necessary. The empty space became the perfect place for a social experiment: a garden and a community looking after it. In the artistic programme More for Less than for More this blending of art and the social was objectified by a manifesto:

We wanted to dance among the vegetables, flow between roots, make music to encourage seeds, draw by listening to plants, humming to their growth, eating in front of the food (when it is still in the earth), talk to vegetables, recite great texts in the middle of the garden, have edible scenography.

We wanted to counteract the train and see the food growing near our homes in idle land we passed every day, encouraging others to cultivate it with us. We wanted have a hand in the food (*Mais para menos do que pra mais* program, Rumor de Fumo).

Based on this desire, four (almost five!) gardens were made: the Horta Mandala (which started as Horta Grande (Big Garden), then Horta Mandala (Mandala Garden) and was finally called Horta do Baldio (Wasteland Garden) after a vote by the volunteers); The Horta do Lago (Pond Garden) e a Horta da Cobertura (Roof Garden), which are both at the head office of the Caixa Geral de Depósitos bank; the Horta das Galveias (Galveias Garden) (a vertical garden in the Galveias Palace garden), and the site-specific installation of small gardens grown in small fruit boxes and taken in procession on the streets by the volunteers to another wasteland in Bairro das Estacas, the so called Marcha do Orgulho Hortícola (Horticultural Pride Parade), which would lead to the Horta súbita (Sudden Garden). These various types of gardens were designed and prepared by several gardeners with urban agriculture experience with the help of volunteers who wanted to participate in the project Uma Horta em cada esquina (A vegetable garden on every corner).

The volunteers were invited to participate in several permaculture workshops, such as Dream a vegetable garden – Garden Management, Build a pond, or Aromatic plants for cooking and medicine. Some private vegetable gardens appeared due to a part of this project called Da varanda ao produtor! (From the balcony

to the producer!), where training was made available for building vegetable gardens at home and promoting a network of exchange of seeds and extra-production with other gardeners, encouraging the sustainability of proximity vegetable production. At the website, we read that “It is possible to define where it makes more sense to grow something (e. g, aromatic plants on the balcony, lettuces in the kitchen garden, carrots in one of the community gardens, potatoes bought from a nearby producer). We can organize ourselves in order to optimize all our resources!)”.

Other events were developed in this project:

- A cycle of conferences and debates called Circuito Curto-Curto-circuito for experts and non-experts about urban agriculture, in order to discuss the current agricultural production system and explore alternatives for sustainable production and consumption based on national and international examples. In these conferences, scientists shared their experiences with associations and projects on urban agriculture. This theoretical approach allowed art to be put alongside a scientific position, an ethical art for social change, for *a better world*. In short, it thus created a social forum with the artistic community and theoretical specialists, to reflect on the social issues and “contemporary urgencies” (Rogoff & Schneider, 2008: 352) affecting contemporary societies and cities on a global level.
- Exhibition of documentaries and docfiction on the relationship between cities, agriculture and food in the shop windows in a nearby shopping area in Av. Guerra Junqueiro in Lisbon, called Cinema in the shop windows – bringing together the idea of consumption and a criticism of the way it is done in our societies.
- And also a group of artistic and performative events that had the city and the new gardens created as a set, promoting experiences calling for public participation and more sensorial, as well as being more closely connected to the land or the water: such as the performance One to One - Ruminant Tours where new details and sounds of the city were discovered and the participant's feet were washed in a bowl in the Horta Garden; or the Ação Aquática (Aquatic Action) performance with improvised music and action in an aquatic environment, in the Pond Garden and where the participants also had the right to get their feet wet and walk barefoot or in rubber boots in the pond; or the Time Beach performance made up of dance, performance, drawing workshops, readings, sound experiments, talks and guided tours that went between the Vertical garden in the Galveias Palace, and the Pond and Roof Gardens.

In this context, Lucinda Childs' Calico Mingling choreography, 1973, was presented again; where everyday situations become performance: walking, sitting or running. In the performance Conversas em namoradeiras (Conversations in loveseats), on stone benches placed opposite each other, private conversations between the performers and the audience became performances and in the wandering readings participants could hear readings *in keeping with its drifting*.

In the performance, Notas sobre Hortas (Nortas)(Notes about Gardens) (Notardens), created at the Horta Súbita (Sudden Garden) in the Bairro das Estacas, there was an attempt to show what it is to create a vegetable garden: “1. To work in a garden is to work uncovered. A garden doesn't have a roof. 2. In a garden, there are always things happening, things that aren't yet (potentialities or possibilities). Seeds are, we could say, pure speculation. 3. The city's hustle and bustle contrasts with the slowness of the garden: a fast car passing next to a cabbage growing.”

In Horta Mandala, now called Horta do Baldio, the Teatro da Agricultura (Agriculture Theatre) took place and included a harvest, drawing workshop, staged reading, audio-installation, a light meal and a dance performance: the harvest was a walk with each garden's gardeners, to harvest with cultivation tales. There were also several projects to hear the garden's sounds: Lisbon by sound/ Baldio (audio-installation) that presents with the historical impact of the train on the city's food consumption. Exercícios para ouvir plantas (Exercises to listen to plants) – a drawing workshop; A performance Para uma grande horta grandes textos (For a great garden great texts), performed readings directed by Vera Mantero where actors and audience got together inside the circular garden, “surrounded by edible plants and truculent thoughts”, followed by a

picnic in the garden and a dance performance.

This closed the *Mais para menos do que para mais* programme. This practice of creative vegetable gardens is not completely new. In the 1970s, there was a community project developed by Bonnie Ora Sherk and Jack Wickert in San Francisco, in a zone surrounded by overpasses and affectionately called The Farm. With some collaborators and the local community, they transformed this no place into a farm, a community centre, a school without walls, and a human and animal theatre. Several theatres and artists, poets, dancers, punks, children, gardeners, animals and members of the community took up residence there. It was around that time that performers like Joseph Beuys developed ecological intervention projects and land art came on the scene. Recently, for instance, Martha Rosler created a similar project within the scope of the 3rd Singapore Biennale creating a multifunctional garden with the help of the community in an avenue near the airport. In Portugal, the main ideologist of the restitution of spaces to cultivation by the urban population has been the architect Gonalo Ribeiro Telles, distinguished in 2013 with the *Nobel* of Landscape Architecture, the Sir Geoffrey Jellicoe Award. He began the process in the 1950s, in Pedrouos, an area which was built but later destroyed. Indeed, only at the end of the millennium, did municipalities such as Lisbon, Porto, Seixal, Oeiras and Odivelas, among others, start to invest in developing urban gardens. The process, however, is still relatively marginal and is not treated as a priority issue in the sustainable redevelopment of cities. Clandestine vegetable gardens, however, proliferate in various areas of the city, and several Portuguese artists have been recording these processes using photography in particular. In photography, for instance, there is the work *No name place* that Fernanda Fragateiro presented in 1998 in Sala de Exposiciones del canal de Isabel II, in Madrid, curated by Joo Pinharanda, where the artist documents the ephemeral vegetable gardens she photographed in 1989, in Martim Moniz, Lisbon. The catalogue tells us that “*No name place* documents a space that operated on the fringes of the system. These ephemeral gardens that, in 1989, were photographed at Martim Moniz, in central Lisbon, temporarily ‘occupy’ ‘abandoned’ spaces. A place where there are ruined buildings and new buildings are expected. During the dead times in between, people plant, labourers who left the fields to work in the city can thus maintain a link with the land, that they didn’t own. These spaces, both private and public, displaced and integrated, and quietly squatted on were small pockets of resistance, impossible to classify.” In 2001, during *Marvila Capital do Nada* (*Marvila capital of Nothing*), Fernanda Fragateiro developed a participatory project to regenerate the flowerbeds in the Loios area. Aromatic plants and lime trees were planted and the public space was reorganized with artistic intervention.

In 2006, ngela Ferreira also started keeping a photographic record through the series *Hortas na Autoestrada* (*Motorway Gardens*) and continued it in the exhibition in Museu do Neorrealismo in 2009. Her work shows the gardens emerging around the IC19 motorways, occupied mainly by immigrant communities from Portuguese Speaking African Countries. As David Santos, curator of the exhibition, said, these photographs “stress the paradoxical meaning of concepts such as survival, community, economy, territory and ownership, observing in the gardens of the Lisbon suburbs an individual practice that still has a political sense, even if reinvented, a urban “agrarian reform” (Santos, 2009: 118). This author points out that the reading of these photographs “promotes again in Angela Ferreira the need for a political re-evaluation of human action, even when it is not determined by ideology, but only the expression of an urgent need” (Santos, 2009:121). In artistic terms, ngela Ferreira adds performative dynamics to this record. In 2006, she had stamped her presence on the photographs, walking with a red flag along the vegetable gardens. In the 2009 photographs, performance insinuates its way into the artistic actions left in space, blending with the vegetable gardens. In October 2014, Fernando Brito also introduced in the Avenida da ndia gallery, a photographic survey called *Nas Hortas* (*In the Vegetable Gardens*), where once again the precarious, order and disorder, and chaos are highlighted. Also in 2014, Rodrigo Bettencourt da Cmara produced a work he called *Transportadores de Memrias* (*Memory Transporters*), where he carries out a photographic survey of

illegally cultivated land where Cape Verdean families residing in the Chelas valley cultivate sugarcane to ensure the reproduction of cultural tradition: the making of grogue, an alcoholic beverage, which otherwise could not be consumed because it is illegal. In March 2015, Teresa Palma Rodrigues also presented, at the Sala Veado, a project where she exhibited objects found in an empty space in Chelas, where there is an illegal vegetable garden. Some objects are transformed into paintings, while others are placed in showcase tables: fossils found in the ground, lost playing cards, tiles left from manor houses that occupied those places in the past.

These projects give visibility to the confluence of paths that run through these fringe locations: between leisure and work, between cultures, places and times.

Other projects have emerged in which a dynamic more programmatic or curatorial aspect is underlined. One of them was Projeto Bloom - Arte e jardins efémeros (Bloom Project - Art and ephemeral gardens), in Fábrica da Pólvora, between 8th and 31st July 2005, with an international discussion forum on relationship between art and ephemeral gardens and the construction of several of these gardens in space. *Projecto 270* was a space dedicated to permaculture, where in 2007, when the project was still based in Costa da Caparica, two artistic projects of collective experimentation were created. The *Morro* project, organized by Vasco Costa and Hugo Canoilas, was an ephemeral architectural project later dismantled and replaced by *Disco Batata*, a project by environmental activists and the artists Sophie Dodelin and Kzsas Tamás. This last project built a multifunctional performative space, that could serve both for future activist meetings for the ecologist cause, as well as a space for meditation and introspection, and also a space to play, among other possible functions. In 2009, the Cascais City Council launched a land art festival and, in 2010, the Museu do Design e da Moda hosted an exhibition called Sementes. Valor Capital (Seeds. Capital value) (18th Dec. 2010-20th March 2011), curated by Barbara Coutinho. In order to awaken public awareness regarding biodiversity, the exhibition displayed 500 varieties of agricultural seeds grown in Portugal, stored in the old vaults of the Banco Nacional Ultramarino, thus receiving another capital value on which the very survival of species depends: seeds. Other projects have been developed with less public visibility, but still showing an increase of interest from the artistic community. There was Estufa (Greenhouse) by Projeto Teatral, which took place between 2005 and 2006, in which a greenhouse was built in the garden of an apartment in a street in Lisbon's historic centre: Rua de Caetano Palha (in São Bento), nº 37, r/c. The project, as if it was different scenarios, was open to the public during its various stages of development, culminating in the dismantling of the greenhouse.

These projects, however, bear little resemblance to what goes on in the Horta do Baldio as it exists today. For this project's name, voted for by its members, implies a utopian and performative ideal to transform an empty space into agricultural land for communal and creative sharing (Baldio means both *wasteland* and *common*). Its guardians are the participants, an open community consisting of fixed and occasional members, depending on availability and skills for the development of the garden. It isn't a community based on physical proximity, but on ideology, with participants going there from other areas of the city and even from the metropolitan area of Greater Lisbon, such as Oeiras, Almada, etc. There are also people from different projects that help with the Horta projects. This informality has been an ethical value of respect for the space: the space has remained assigned to Rumo de Fumo with the compromise of immediate eviction if the owner's construction project comes to life.

This has slowed down the project's progress and its development into an association, but hasn't stopped it being a laboratory of experiments for new situations. There has, in fact, been a Dragon Dreaming process where the volunteers talked about their ideas and ideals for the space and the Horta has, in fact, won an award sponsored by the electricity company EDP / Visão magazine and the President of the Republic called Todos Queremos um Bairro Melhor (We All Want a Better Neighbourhood). In its application for the award,

the Horta proposed 1) a community centre / research garden; 2) construction of community gardens without individual plots; and 3) a communal outdoor cooking area with solar oven and a traditional clay oven.

However, if the existing type of open participation from the neighbours is an advantage, it can also be a weakness. The lack of constant local participation in the Horta makes it more difficult to keep the space up, in terms of agricultural maintenance, the creation of alternative solutions to become autonomous in relation to the water (which, for over a year, has been supplied by the police in the nearby carpark), or even in the difficulties maintaining the space clean and preventing vandalism. There is therefore a dissonance between participatory reality and the idealization of community involvement, which is fundamental for management on a daily basis. The project has, therefore, been reassessed, involving restoring the image of a clean garden, without wild vegetation, without waste and without vandalism, and establishing an artistic programming process to act as a bridge into the community. This last aim is being prepared by a group of students from FCSH-UNL, the Performing Arts Masters I'm supervising in my seminar about cultural programming. They were to devise concepts and programme lines for the Horta respecting the informality of the space. It is expected that these projects will be discussed later in the Horta with the gardeners and the Rumor de Fumo, and will bear fruit next year. The full article should be between 5,000 and 9,000 words in length. (This word count does not include references.). All text must start at the left-hand margin. (Word style: Arial 10 pt, line spacing 14.5 pt, alignment justified). The sections of the text's main body must be clear. The different subsections of the article must be enumerated and bold. The body of the text should not contain bold or underlined text.

Conclusion - The effects/defects of art participation programming

Therefore, we can conclude that these programmers undoubtedly demand a space in society for discussion and even intervention. For this reason, as already mentioned, their action is based on a notion of participation in art as an alternative power to politics, that is, as the "will to be able to act in another way" (Giddens, 2000: 87) – on a form of action that not only implies reflexivity but also the variability necessary to find non-codified solutions within already known effects.

This form of action may be reflected in the notion put forward by Irit Rogoff and Florian Schneider (2008) of "productive anticipation", which, when successful, may even create "social fictions" that serve alternative and more inclusive scenarios, in relation to the prevailing reality. This is because the notion of "productive anticipation" attempts to characterize a state that is simultaneously reflexive and participatory; not formatted or speculative (in the sense that it does not try to give directions on observing or to set out predefined ways of seeing) but endowed with a strong performing potential.

As a form of action, "productive anticipation" reflects an openness and a fundamentally experimental nature that is based on participant inclusion and factors that are not generally encompassed in the political powers' decision-making processes. And so, according to these writers, this inclusion of a multiplicity of voices and aspirations makes room for the "productive" construction of "social fictions".

"Social fiction" in the sense of the creation of imaginary manifestoes and projects that may offer the chances of alternative scenarios, because they focus "on the possibility of the here-and-now of aspects that generally remain at the edge of processes" (Rogoff & Schneider, 2008: 350). So the main value of these "social fictions" is "to experiment with the possible and, at the same time, produce narrations that resonate in the present" (Rogoff & Schneider, 2008: 349). As these writers mention, it is a question of "anticipation", in the more creative or productive sense, though it needs to be distinguished from reproductive anticipation, which operates on the basis of a predictable repetitiveness.

The potential of these "social fictions" encounters its effects and defects in the same practice on which it is based: participation. Because here, too, or especially here, in this alternative space to the more conspicuous forms of politics, a discourse on the participation and "emancipation of the receiver" is not enough for the

latter to take place. Because, as some studies indicate, democratic participation by the citizens seems to be inversely proportionate to the importance attributed to it in the discourses: the traditionally excluded people's difficulty in participating is maintained, a factor that tends to be conjured away by the growing presence of "middle-class" participation (Guerra, 2006). For this reason, participation processes must be assessed in order to achieve transparency not only in the form (which agents participate and how?) or their content (they participate in what?) but also the interplay of the inherent consensus and conflicts, and the effects of participation.

Paradoxically, evaluation seems to be the great absentee from these programmes that base their discourse and practices on the concept of participation in art. Generally speaking, no one questions who effectively participates or the results of that participation. This absence, which tends to be justified by the non-utilitarian nature of art, gives room for participation to be taken as a value in itself which needs no questioning. When this happens, it is not "social fictions" that develop, based on a de-programming that promotes scenarios of "productive anticipation" but, instead, Pandora's boxes are created – and their potential and their effects on the social sphere remain to be seen.

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Integrated and Networked Approach for the Lifecycle Cultural Heritage Management

Mangialardi, Giovanna

University of Salento

Lecce, Italy

giovanna.mangialardi@unisalento.it

Corallo, Angelo

University of Salento

Lecce, Italy

angelo.corallo@unisalento.it

Esposito, Marco

University of Salento

Lecce, Italy

m.esposito@unisalento.it

Fortunato, Laura

University of Salento

Lecce, Italy

laura.fortunato@unisalento.it

Monastero, Alessandro

A.R.Va – Archeologia Ricerca e Valorizzazione s.r.l.

Lecce, Italy

alemonastero@gmail.com

Schina, Laura

University of Salento

Lecce, Italy

laura.schina@unisalento.it

Abstract

The Cultural Heritage is a complex domain composed of interconnected ecosystems and stakeholders. Innovative methods and techniques have been proposed to facilitate the management of this complex environment if it thinks about the culture as an organism and not a mechanism adopting an ecological approach focused on relationships and interactions within the overall and local system (Holden, 2015).

This research intends to provide a new integrated approach able to optimise the flow of data, information and knowledge circulating in an archaeological site, starting from its lifecycle management, carrying on with the processes modelling through the Business Process Management approach and identifying roles and relationships among people through the application of the Social Network Analysis technique.

The final aim is to have a sustainable valorisation and a smart fruition of the archaeological site as part of the global cultural domain, facilitating the value creation and strengthening the connections between culture and local development.

Keywords: Lifecycle Management, Business Process Management, Social Network Analysis, Conservation, Valorisation

Introduction

“The community of heritage practitioners has long recognized the need for new approaches to conservation, which would reflect the increased complexity of their work and facilitate a positive interaction with the vast environment, with particular attention paid to local communities” (Romano, 2014).

Moreover, “the need for new approaches” can be extended to all the lifecycle phases of the cultural heritage (Bradshaw *et al.*, 2011). Managing complexity of the ecological and cultural system (Holden, 2015), these approaches identify some important elements that should be taken into account, among which the recognition of its lifecycle, its phases and its stakeholders.

The concept of *Cultural Heritage Management* (CHM) (Willems 2010; Mabulla 2000) is not new anymore, but it remains highly connected to a designation systems dominated by legal and administrative requirements and long bureaucracy. An integrated lifecycle management that leads to the conservation and valorisation of the heritage could incentivize the fruition of CHM from communities. In detail, *Cultural Heritage Management* is “the vocation and practice of managing cultural heritage. It is a branch of cultural resources management (CRM), although it also draws on the practices of cultural conservation, restoration, museology, archaeology, history and architecture. CHM has traditionally been concerned with the identification, interpretation, maintenance, and preservation of significant cultural sites and physical heritage assets, although intangible aspects of heritage, such as traditional skills, cultures and languages are also considered” (Miller *et al.* 2010; Latourelle 2013). Due to its complexity management, the archaeological domain is a section that typically receives most attention (Talato & Cisco, 2014). This domain is affected by the existence of a high number of threats (urban development, agriculture, absence of tutelage) and difficulties for the safeguard of the sites.

CHM was born with the rescue archaeology and urban archaeology undertaken in North America and Europe in the period of the World War II and the succeeding years. In detail, the Archaeological Heritage Management (AHM) was theorized for the supervision of the processes of the archaeological sites (Smith, 1993).

Furthermore, “modern thinking takes the view that cultural heritage belongs to the people, therefore access to cultural heritage has to be ensured”.¹⁰⁵ To do this, it is necessary to crystallize the information and manage them properly in order to prevent the risk of impairment or loss of data (such as archaeology is a destructive process) (Verhagen, Kamermans, & Van Leusen, 2009).

The intelligent and integrated management of all the phases of a cultural heritage, from the knowledge to the enhancement, and in specific way of archaeological asset, thus becomes strategic (Resca, 2011) for two reasons:

- It would facilitate the stages of conservation and enhancement with the various stakeholders external engaged to the process in the strict sense;
- It would justify a multidisciplinary approach which involves both aspects of management engineering, technology, urban planning, archaeology applied to cultural heritage.

The complex operation subtended at cultural knowledge, of its lifecycle and players involved in the process through alternative technical approaches, could be a tool for the enhancement of themselves, in correlation with the process of conservation of the heritage.

These actions, with the protection of the heritage, are fundamental concepts in specific legislation, which guarantees the right use of cultural heritage in respect of future generations. Moreover, the Ministry of Cultural Heritage (MiBAC, 2011) suggests to pursue an integrated approach where the stakeholders and the

¹⁰⁵ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cultural_heritage_management

structures involved interact with the subjects of the territory. The cultural heritage represents a real inexhaustible resource for local development, representing a heritage asset for the area, cultural and substantial, transmitted from generation to generation.

Moreover, the cultural heritage safeguard, conservation and valorisation require a great effort in terms of time, costs, skills and people involved. Indeed, the cultural environment should to be studied, evaluated, and defined both in terms of historical and present-day relevance, from a wide people network including suppliers and users.

In order to improve and optimize the whole lifecycle cultural heritage management, professionals (e.g. architects, archaeologists, or planners, etc.), public administrations, local authorities, public and private companies, associations, citizens should work together on joint initiatives, encouraging the value creation and reinforcing the link between culture and economy.

This paper aims to systematize this notions, optimizing processes and examining options for improvement. The practical problem related to the research questions is: how can we standardize and simplify the management lifecycle of cultural heritage, optimizing relations and implementing the network weaknesses of the ecological cultural organism?

To answer this question we have carried out a case study methodology, starting from the reconstruction of processes, information exchanged and players involved on an archaeological site, that represents a significant part of the widest cultural environment.

In more details we intend to contribute to the improvement of the cultural heritage management in two ways: Firstly, leading to the provision of a methodology for managing the whole lifecycle also through the standardization and digitization of procedures and documents;

Secondly, identifying the network of relations, exchanged information and outputs able to optimize practices and routines by enabling the active involvement of entities and final users during each phase of the above mentioned lifecycle.

The work starts with preliminary considerations on the Product Lifecycle Management (PLM) approach that is usually used in manufacturing domains. Then we applied the Business Process Management approach for the reconstruction of processes and activities carried out, and the Social Network Analysis (SNA) technique for the identification of roles and relations among the people involved and the definition of strategical steps to encourage the community engagement and participation.

Finally, the main aim of this research is to provide both technicians and citizens communities with an integrated approach for increasing the sustainable valorisation and a smart fruition of the archaeological site as part of the global cultural domain, facilitating the value creation and strengthening the connections between culture and local development through the optimisation of management and maintenance of existing or new cultural resources.

1. Background

Cultural and Archaeological Heritage Complexity

Over the years the cultural environment has been interested by a wave of change under the technological and methodological perspective.

The tendency to merge different disciplines has opened new visions on the concept of culture and related sub-domains.

In this context the archaeological heritage is part of the most global cultural environment, made up of elements coming from different domains, as for example anthropology, environment, technology, etc., that move the attention from the structural elements to elements as external knowledge, data, information and stakeholders, able to integrate the set of well-defined activities, processes and roles typically carried out

during an archaeological investigation (Brogiolo 2007; Manacorda 2008; Volpe 2008; Volpe & Goffredo 2009).

At international, national and local level, there is a global trend to emphasise the role of the cultural landscape as element able to integrate the whole cultural lifecycle and its typical cycle of knowledge creation, protection, fruition and valorisation. In this way it is possible to enhance the link between landscape and people and characterise the role of the cultural resources in terms of key parts of the global territorial development, also facilitating the communication and access to outcomes and findings for different target audience.

In general terms there is the need to work on the definition of a global approach able to manage the complexity inherent the cultural heritage in order to face the administrative and bureaucratic criticalities, the lack of optimised methodology for the knowledge sharing and management, inside and outside the complex network of players involved in the creation, protection, fruition and valorisation of an archaeological site (Volpe, 2014).

The archaeological domain represents a complex field of research characterised by different phases including administrative procedures, practical activities, research, publication, communication and valorisation both of theoretical outputs and archaeological evidences.

The main criticalities inherent the archaeological heritage put the attention on the conservation and integrated management of the data from the rescue to the interpretation. In this sense the importance to digitize the information is a well-known process (De Felice & Sibilano, 2010) even if it exists a huge fragmentation of methodologies and tools aimed to solve different issues often not connected each other (Ryan, 2001).

On the basis of these assumptions, it becomes essential to focus the attention on the upstream and downstream activities of the archaeological heritage lifecycle, because the former are the starting point for the following elaboration and representation, and are strictly linked to the latter that constitute the base for implementing strategical fruition, communication and valorisation actions. According to Manacorda (2008), the detailed documentation is able to guarantee the conservation of the widest number of information.

Nowadays it is fundamental ensure the real time access to data and information both for technicians and final users. From the technical perspective it is important to gain the access to analytical data in order to verify the qualitative relevance and allow different interpretations on the basis of their own expertise (Semeraro, 2009). From the final users point of view, there is the need to easily access data and information from multiple devices both for communication and valorisation purpose; in this sense the web provides the opportunity to share, spread and make use of culture, and represents the point of contact between technicians (acquisition, storage, and data management) and final users (sharing, communication and valorisation) coexisting with different role within the same environment. The importance of the web has required to revise the way to collect, manage, manipulate, communicate and valorise the archaeological data and information also highlighting the role of each player within the same network.

The presence of all these elements has led to consider this domain as suitable to propose a flexible model to manage the methodological and procedural complexity endogenous to the microcosms included within the global cultural environment.

Another important issue is related to the long tradition in terms of archaeological, cultural, and creative protection, that reflects the lack of economic and human resources engaged in the archaeological domain as regard to the protection and the valorisation of the cultural resources (European Convention 1992¹⁰⁶; Legislative Decree 42/2004¹⁰⁷). The intense legislation has often generated misunderstandings about roles and responsibilities and the consequent need to define structured processes, and to identify the stakeholders

¹⁰⁶ European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage (Revised), Valetta, 16.I.1992.

¹⁰⁷ Legislative Decree 22 January 2004, n. 42 *Cultural Heritage and Landscape Code*.

involved in order to optimise the global lifecycle.

The post-Malta archaeology is unanimously recognised as a phase of growth that has led several advances in terms of deep knowledge about the past, most efficient protection guidelines, increased and improved communication, fruition and valorisation of the archaeological sites.

“In ‘post-Malta’ archaeology, the financial, human and technical resources allocated to archaeology have increased enormously but at the same time, these resources have to be spent both effectively and efficiently. So why not create and use tools that will allow us to do so?” (Verhagen *et al.*, 2009).

This consideration marks again the requirements to optimise the management of the Archaeological Heritage under a number of perspectives that together are able to contribute to the evolution of this complex system.

Product Lifecycle Management & Business Process Management

Over the last years, a large number of studies have been started in order to define methods, tools and technologies to support the management of historical memory and Cultural Heritage, by adopting theories and practices from manufacturing sector, which is characterized by interaction and management models that can be replicated in various entrepreneurial contexts. The Cultural Heritage Management presents dynamics not so far from that of the other industrial sectors; the main difference can be found in the poor development of such dynamics that in this sector remain prerogative of the academic knowledge of the involved actors (Hervy *et al.*, 2013). In particular, the questions related to the knowledge management in the archaeological processes become relevant, because the valorisation process of Cultural Heritage is strictly related to the correct management of informative flows and knowledge within them. If we consider the Cultural Heritage like an aggregation of information, the adoption of a managerial approach to the lifecycle of the information supported by adequate technology could allow the identification of innovative methods of fruition focused on the flow and utilization of the Cultural Heritage information and data.

A PLM system is a collaborative backbone allowing people throughout extended enterprises to work together more efficiently (Saaksvuori, 2008). An archaeological excavation is a team work that involves a multidisciplinary team composed by actors with different responsibility levels and various competencies that generates a constant flow of communications and heterogeneous data. The knowledge management in the archaeological process can be optimized through the digitalization of data, whose properly utilization strongly depends from their analysis and interpretation processes (Privitera, 2011). In the manufacturing sector, the adoption of the PLM logic is mainly focused on time-to-market, that is to say the capability to accelerate the fruition time, to increase the efficiency of the intervention, and to rise the control, security and safe of processes and activities carried out (Ameri & Dutta, 2005). In the Cultural Heritage sector, where many different actors communicate, this approach properly works on the information management (Ding *et al.*, 2004). The main issues concern the knowledge extraction methods, the data visualization and the flow of information.

Hervy *et al.* (2013) have recently proposed the application of PLM in the management of historical and artistic knowledge in museum. They argued that the increase of cultural knowledge is the main motivation that makes necessary the adoption of a PLM system inside the museums. During the five-years research carried on inside the Nantes History Museum, in which various professionals were involved (historians, engineers and curators), all the available knowledge has been collected and the virtual links between the data have been created. The result is a system of virtual augmented reality based on real objects. The web-connected system allows both the experts and the common people to enrich the knowledge database with contents that include geographic information, semantics and historical links between the points of interest.

Starting from this considerations, it's possible to assert that the deep study of the processes along the Cultural Heritage life-cycle is particularly important because it fosters the standardization of procedures and

activities that generate the data output. Furthermore it allows to identify each actor involved into the process and the criticalities in the procedures that would be otherwise hard to identify. The digitalisation of the processes can be made through the Business Process Management (BPM) approach (Van Der Aalst, Ter Hofstede, & Weske, 2003), which sees processes as important assets of an organization that must be understood, managed and developed. The approach closely resembles other total quality management or continual improvement process methodologies, and it can be supported or enabled, through technology (Thiault, 2012). Gartner¹⁰⁸ defines Business Process Management as “the discipline of managing processes” (rather than tasks) as the means for improving business performance outcomes and operation agility. Process span organizational boundaries, linking together people, information flows, systems and other assets to create and deliver value. In this sense, one of the first experiments was conducted by University of Salento (Corallo *et al.*, 2015). Specifically, the collaboration between a team of archaeologists (A.R.Va – Archeologia Ricerca e Valorizzazione S.r.l., University of Salento spin-off) and a group of researchers of the Engineering of Innovation Department generated one of the first example of archaeological processes (Figure 1). In that case, the mapping has been carried out on the basis of the Manual Business Process Discovery (Van Der Aalst, 2011). The result, even though still acerb and in need of optimization, has clearly evidenced the complexity of the information and the communication flows among the actors involved, opening the way to future research and demonstrating the validity of the approach, described as an “opportunity to increase the value of the information provided”.

The main holders of the knowledge are the same actors of the communication exchanges.

“A significant component of a person’s information environment consists of the relationships he or she can tap for various informational needs” [...] “who you know has a significant impact on what you come to know, as relationships are critical for obtaining information, solving problems and learning how to do your work” (Cross & Parker, 2001).

For this reason most organizations recognize the importance of Social Network Analysis (SNA) as powerful diagnostic method used to analyse the nature and pattern of relationships among members of a particular domain. One means of understanding knowledge flows or bottlenecks that slow down business processes, is ‘mapping’ the relationships between employees, with whom they communicate and how often (Busch, 2008). According to Burt (1992), social network is a group of collaborating entities (i.e., actors) that are related to one another. Mathematically, the result of the SNA is a graph wherein each participant in the network is called an actor and depicted as a node in the network. Actors can be persons, organizations, or groups, or any other set of related entities.

Relations between actors are depicted as links between the corresponding nodes. Many social network relations are due to joint participation of actors in business or social activities or membership in collectivises. The common activities create a network of ties among different participants. There has been an increased interest in this methodology to analyse the nature and role of informal relationships among individual members in formal business organizations (Cross & Prusak, 2002).

Softwares as Ucinet, Jung, Pajek, Condor and Krackplot provide a graphic picture of the relationships of people, teams and organizations. Moreover they allow the user to create visual maps, movies and adjacency matrices and permit to calculate indicators of collaboration between actors or groups within a communication network (Hanneman, 2002).

¹⁰⁸ <http://www.gartner.com/it-glossary/business-process-management-bpm>

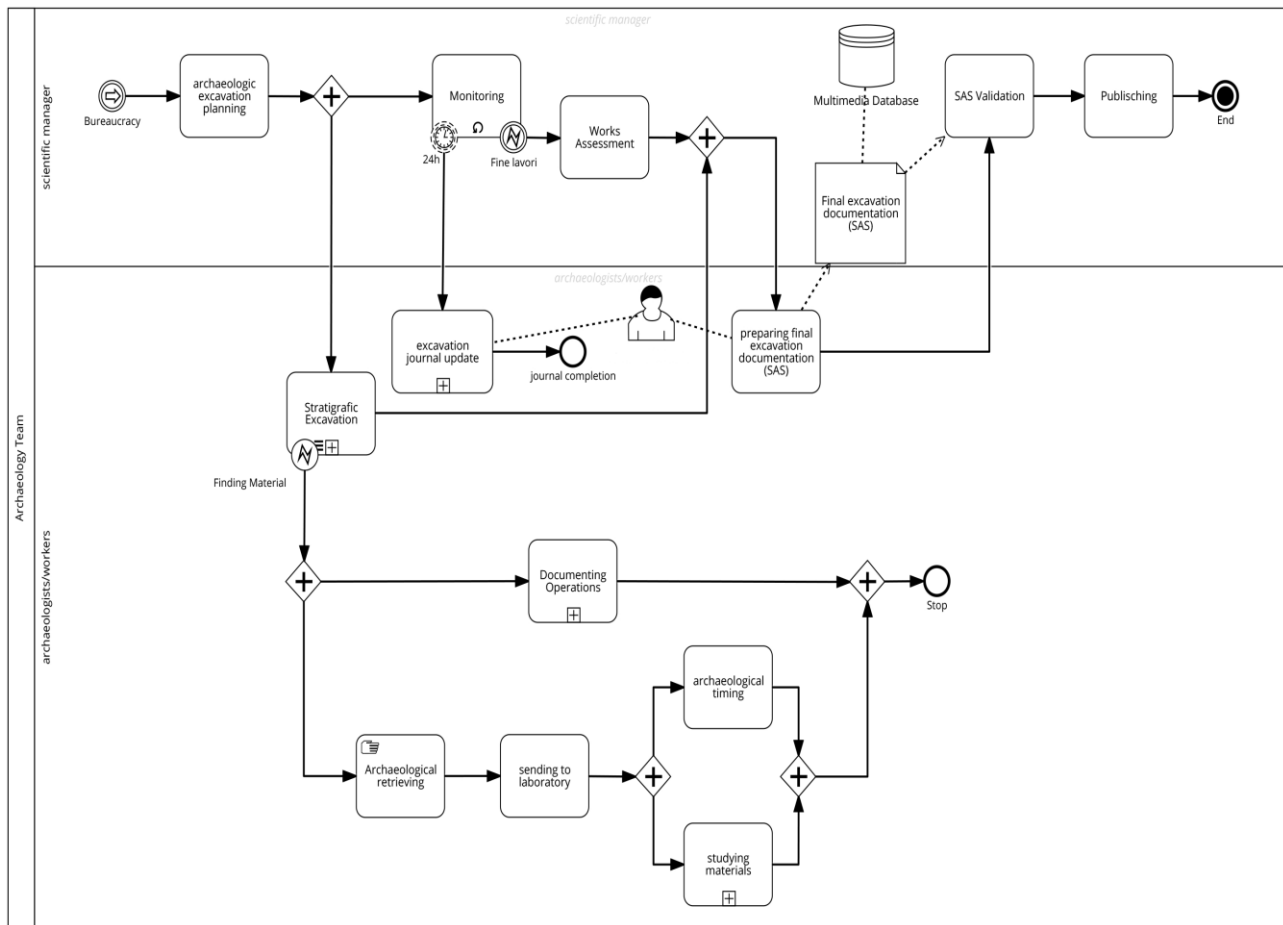


Figure 1. Archaeology Excavation Process elaborated with Signavio BPM Academic tool (Corallo *et al.*, 2015)

Social Network Analysis

With these techniques, SNA resolutely helps in identifying employees as well as work groups who play central roles in the organization; at the same time SNA is quite capable of discerning holes or bottlenecks in a communication network (Serrat, 2009). Through better understanding of the formal and informal networks existing in the organization, it is possible to know which tasks employees effectively undertake and consequently to better map the business processes.

The application of network mapping and his characterization it is recent but not new in the cultural field. Its recent use is mainly due to the actual availability of cheap and potent computing power especially suitable for large network.

Hewison, Holden and Jones (2010) describe a level of connectivity of a cultural organization, the Royal Shakespeare Company (RCS). He analyses informal and formal network of the organization in two different periods of time and evaluates the variation of the network density in order to obtain information about the compactness of the working relationships around the RSC. He identifies the central node of the network in order to identify the leadership and evaluate the consistency of the relationship between leadership and organization. Moreover he establishes how much the division between different organizational functions (artistic, administrative) is evident in the networks.

Jackson (2011) has used the Social Network Analysis to measure the extent to which connections in the sector have changed during and through the application of a visual arts strategy. The work shows clear growth in the connections between organizations and individual artists before and after the strategy, with a small number of individuals and teams that are most connected, playing a pivotal role.

In the archaeological field, many analysts have been strongly influenced by SNA in our archaeological network (Brughmans, 2013). In the last 15 years, the SNA application measures applied in archaeology concerned especially the construction of networks related to the ancient populations. Bernardini (2007) tracks the local movement of pottery among Hopi villages and map the interaction among them; Jenkins (2001) analyses the network of 54 sites connected by Inka roads, like administrative centres, productive enclaves, storage sites and Graham (2006) analyses a network of Roman towns connected by the routes. SNA centrality measures were used by Isaksen (2007) to explore aspects of the Roman transportation or communication systems in southern Spain and by Mizoguchi (2009) to identify a centralized hierarchy between social groups in the initial Kofun period in Japan.

Hart and Engelbrecht (2012) use Social Network Analysis to determine whether pottery collar decoration data best fit the evolution of the Iroquoian ethnic landscape. Another study of networks ceramic in the Late Hispanic US Southwest (Mills *et al.*, 2012) maps the flows of information, the transfer of ceramics and distribution practices.

Methods derived from SNA are used to examine temporal changes in the distribution and centralization of socio-political interactions of the Classic Maya (Munson & Macri, 2009).

Compared to these previous works, which use the SNA to interpret network related to archaeological findings, this work want to focus on the extraction and analysis of the network of those who make such findings, the archaeologists.

This paper aims to obtain a juncture between the management of the archaeological processes, the capture of knowledge flow and the analysis of human relationship, in order to obtain a detailed comprehension of archaeological processes through the analysis of human processes.

2. Research methodology and case study

Based on the general methodological approach and the continuous evolution of the different microcosms merging within the most general Cultural Heritage, there are evident criticalities in managing *in situ* archaeological investigation. In a nutshell the main problem lies in the gap existing between the technical archaeological investigation and the systematization of documents, data and information needed to make available outcomes and findings to other stakeholders and public at large. In this sense, the main solutions are addressed to provide technological tools for the data management, acquisition and elaboration, in order to support the data encoding in real time with the consequent distribution of information in a short time. In this aim, the upstream analysis of flows of information and players involved was able to identify the main criticalities of the process of archaeological investigation and to provide ideas for improvements and optimization.

This research is part of the DiCeT-Inmoto project¹⁰⁹ and arises from previous assumptions in the field of the archaeological research that consists of activities involving different methodological approaches. In addition, due to the complexity of the archaeological excavation it is possible to integrate the analyse to better incorporate any other enhancement processes and digitisation of the general cultural heritage.

The tools and methods previously described are the basis of the research methodology and support the implementation of the case study.

The innovation of the methodology consists in the application of methods widely known and applied in the literature within the manufacturing and business domains, on the archaeological domain in order to optimize processes, activities and routines carried out, to identify strengths and weaknesses of the existing network, and to support the improvement of the flow of information through the creation of a virtuous cycle of knowledge co-creation and sharing.

¹⁰⁹ Eligible for funding under Axis II of PON R&C 2007-2013 with 'Smart Cities and Communities and Social Innovation D.D. Prot. n.84/Ric. of 2 march 2012.

The methodology is organised on different phases of analysis: archaeological site lifecycle; processes analysis, and network analysis; the outputs of the each phase represent the inputs for the following one. In particular we interviewed the group of archaeologists, being part of A.R.Va s.r.l., a spin-off of the University of Salento, in order to collect data and information both on the activities and on the types of relations carried out among the different players involved on a single archaeological site. In this way we are able to recreate the logical patterns of operation of the archaeological site and to connect inputs and outputs to the different phases above mentioned.

The main objective of the methodology is to provide an integrated and networked approach able to overtake the limitations of fragmented views that tend to consider single perspective and neglecting parts working on reaching a common goal akin happen within the cultural heritage ecosystem. The Figure 2 summarises the phases of the methodology.

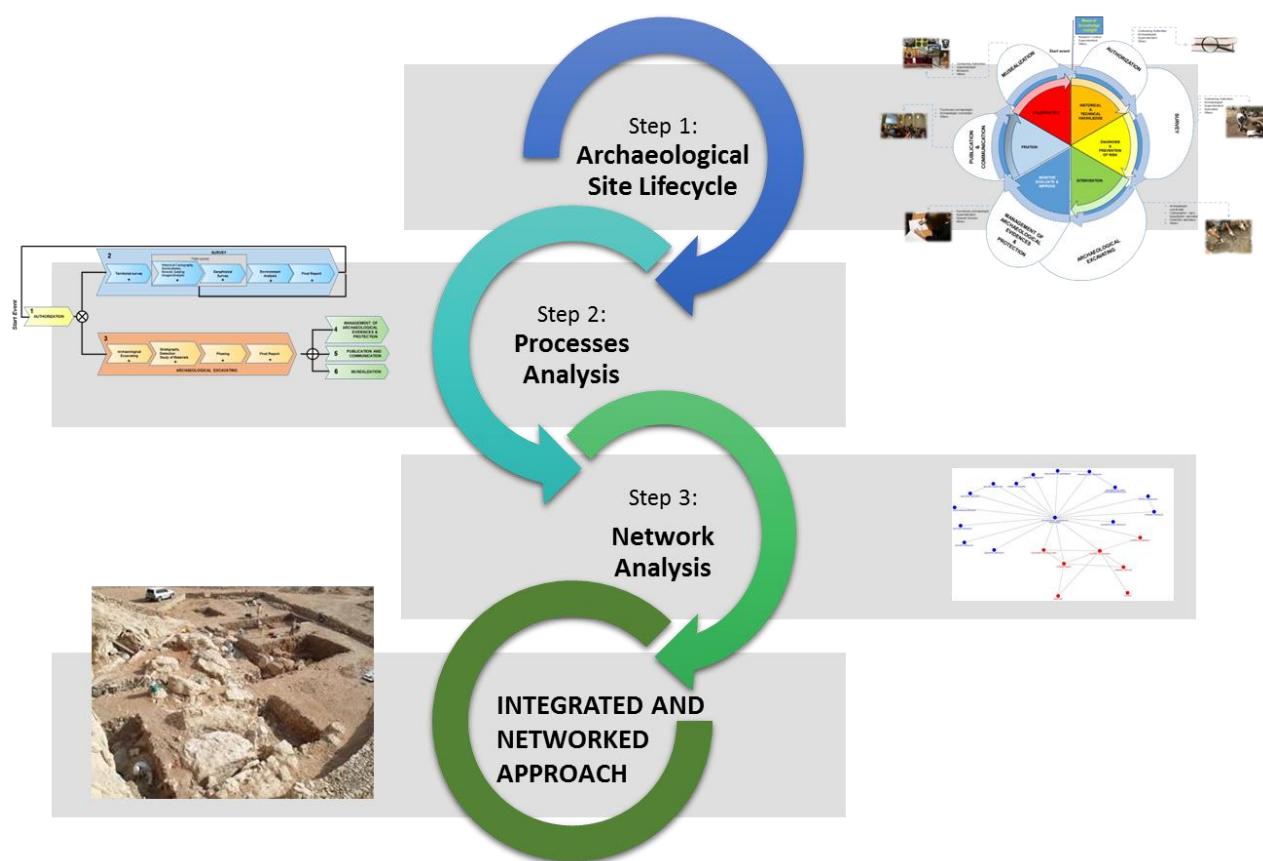


Figure 2. Phases and output of the methodological approach

The next sections describe each phase in order to facilitate the understanding and demonstrate the effectiveness of the proposed methodology.

Phase 1: Archaeological Site Lifecycle

The definition of the archaeological site lifecycle begun from the first round of interviews aimed to identify the “modus operandi” of the archaeologists on the field. During this stage has emerged that apart from the work on site exists a large amount of upstream activities linked at administrative procedures that are able to influence and address the following steps. This phase was a prerequisite for each following phase because aimed to give an order to the “chaos” due to the complexity of the work needed to be done and to the wide

numbers of players involved, also with a different background. The endeavour was addressed to provide a model of archaeological site lifecycle starting from the existing literature (Bradshaw & *et al.*, 2011) on the cultural heritage lifecycle models that provided a lot of insights but required some customization due to the variety of cases embraced within the cultural heritage context.

On the basis of these assumptions we considered as starting point the phases of the process of cultural heritage management elaborated in the IT@CHA project¹¹⁰, from which we worked on the adjustment required to build the archaeological lifecycle also related to the information collected during the interviews.

In more details, the phases of a CHM can be summarised as follows:

- Historical and technical knowledge: referred to the cognitive analysis of technical data and information through the literature review, desk and field analysis, etc.
- Diagnosis and prevention of risk: referred to in situ recognition aimed to identify the *living conditions* of cultural resources, and to the analysis of problems linked to structural and functional conditions;
- Intervention: referred to the activities needed to be carried out on the basis of the outputs of the previous two phases and the features of the resources (i.e. maintenance, restoration, excavation, etc.);
- Monitor, evaluate and improve: referred to monitor direct and indirect impacts to cultural heritage, evaluate cultural outcomes, adjust and improve systems, programmes and operational plans, etc.. This phase is continuously repeated along the whole lifecycle;
- Fruition: referred to make available the cultural heritage to public at large (i.e. through formal reporting processes) (Bradshaw *et al.*, 2011);
- Valorisation: referred to communicate openly with external communities and stakeholders (i.e. museums, cultural associations, research centres, and citizens, etc.) (Bradshaw *et al.*, 2011).

The following step was addressed to recognise the phases of the archaeological research lifecycle based on the interviews with the A.R.Va. s.r.l. team, from which we have created the correspondence between each phase of the CHM lifecycle and the phases of the archaeological excavation. In details the data collected reveals the presence of a lifecycle characterised from a start event that corresponds to a “need of knowledge or insight” coming from the interest to investigate of research centres, local authority, etc. Following the start event, we have identified the phases addressed below, that correspond to one or more phases of the general CHM lifecycle, even if not always there is a one-to-one correspondence (Figure 3):

- Authorization: corresponding in part to the “start event” and in part to the “technical knowledge reconnaissance” phases, because it includes the process of obtaining permits for the construction of archaeological investigations and can differ on the basis of the purpose of the investigation in: authorizations or concessions to the excavation/survey (usually expressed by research centres); and opinions expressed in the case of the preventive archaeology;
- Survey: corresponding both to the “historical and technical knowledge” acquisition carried out through desk research, and the “diagnosis and prevention of risk” phase carried out through not-invasive technical surveys, that are able to guarantee the acquisition of a huge amount of data on the contingent existence of an archaeological site;
- Archaeological excavating: corresponding to the “intervention” phase, is carried out in order to identify, analyse, provide documentary evidences and characterize all the elements of an archaeological site. In particular this phase aims to go back in time to the age of the site, and to understand its function and relations in a wide historical and territorial context;
- Management of archaeological evidences and protection: this phase can be partially linked to the “monitor, evaluate and improve” phase, because by one hand it is addressed to plan and realise protection measures both in the field of the administrative procedures and as regard to technical

¹¹⁰ <http://www.progettoitacha.it/>

activities (i.e. restoration work, conservation, etc.). By the other hand this phase is also dedicated to the management of data (documents and knowledge base) coming from the previous two phases and consequent phasing activity¹¹¹.

- Publication and communication: corresponding to the “fruition” phase and addressed to make available the results of the different phases through communication tools such as scientific publications and provision of informative (i.e. brochure, virtual reconstruction, web, etc.). This phase could not be linked to the material fruition of the site.
- Musealization: corresponds to the “valorisation” of the archaeological site, finds, and other outputs through strategies addressed to the public enjoyment that are often able to network these cultural resources and enable the community engagement in the context of territorial development.

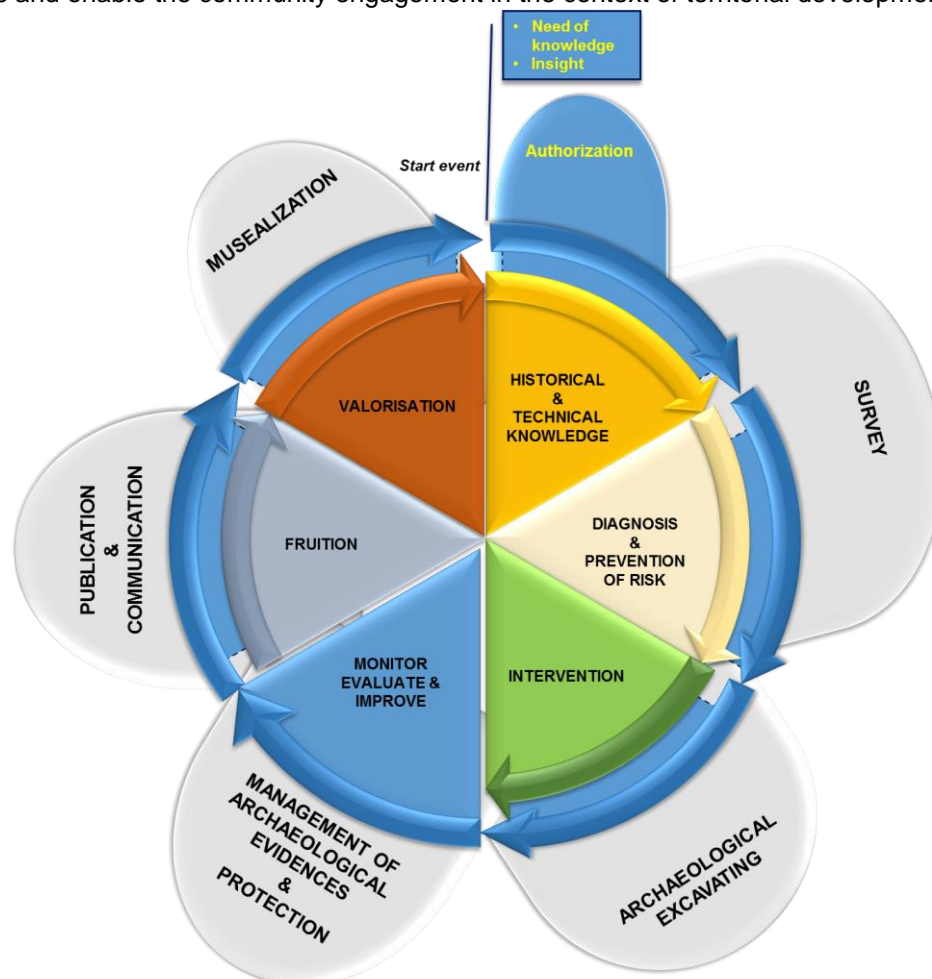


Figure 3: CHM lifecycle and Archaeological Site Lifecycle Correspondence

Phase 2: Processes Analysis

The second phase has been addressed to the process modelling based on the Archaeological Site Lifecycle. Through the application of the Business Process Management (BPM) approach we aimed to provide a snapshot of the current situation (as-is) by identifying processes, activities, data and information exchanged, and players involved in each phase.

¹¹¹ This phase consists in organizing and relating the data.

This phase has been articulated in two main sub-phases:

- Requirements analysis: carried out through a second round of face-to-face interviews to the team of archaeologists of A.R.V.a s.r.l. in order to define the requirements of excavation activities and to investigate the criticalities to be revised.
- Process Mapping: that allows a detailed representation of processes, activities, time and people involved in each phase.

The Figure 4 represents the logical flow of the processes carried out during each phase of the Archaeological Lifecycle. In particular the diagram shows the activities launched from the start event, underlining as after the authorization the process can follow the enumerate sequence from 1 to 6 or under particular conditions it can follow an alternative pattern from 1 to 6 without carrying out the phase 2. This can contribute to generate differences as regard to the legislative procedure, documentation, operations, and stakeholders needed to be involved.

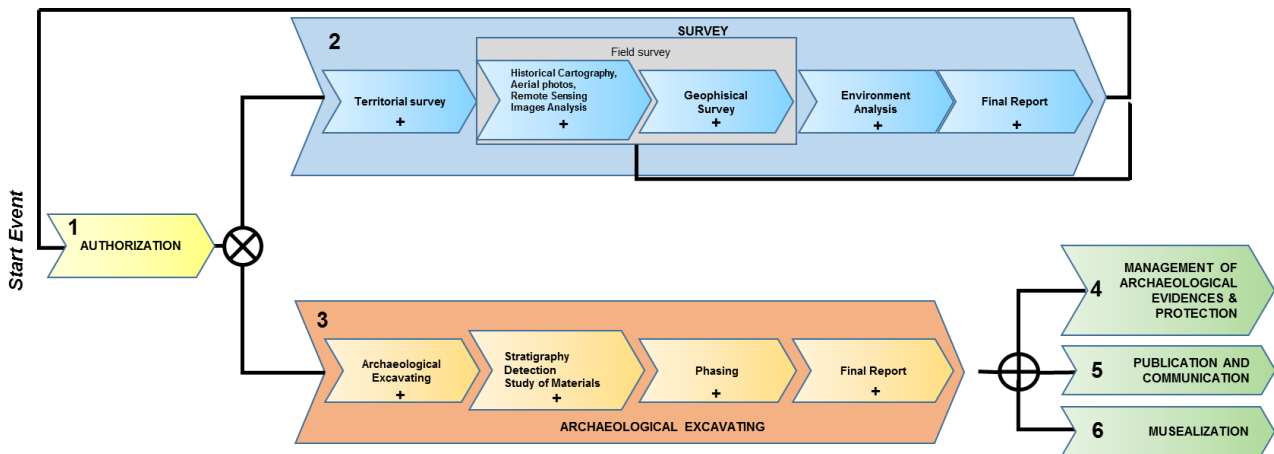


Figure 4: Archaeological Excavation Processes

Phase 3: Network Analysis

Social Network Analysis is a methodology for social relations analysis. The basic idea is that every individual or group of individuals (network actors) are interdependent rather than independent, are a social interacting unit rather than autonomous unit (Wasserman, 1994). They are able to manipulate and influence others around him, so as to be manipulated and influenced by them.

Therefore it is reductive to base the analysis of an actor only on parameters that characterize them as autonomous units.

Relational ties (linkages) between actors are channels for transfer or “flow” of resources (either material or nonmaterial). For this, theorists SNA deem important to look at the interactions between the network members such variables responsible for a precise behaviour and decision making.

Network models are focused on describe the structure of relationships between actors in order to see the impact that this structure has on the functioning of network and its influence on individual actors, in term of provide opportunities for or constraints.

Calculating the density of social networks, the number and relationships of clusters, the relationship type between actors, the centrality of key nodes, allows network analysts to explore the structure of resources flow.

The *network density* is one of the main descriptive statistics, often used as the primary indicator of the degree of network cohesion. This index allows to detect the participation and the involvement in the social ties construction and to evaluate the compactness of the network.

It is defined as the fraction of the maximum possible number of edges in the network that is actually present. (Newman, 2010). Numerically, the density is a value between 0 and 1: 0 when edges are not available, i.e. the network is empty, 1 when there are all edges possible, i.e. the network is complete.

In a low density network, actors have few contacts and sparse information/resources flow, while in a high density network, actors maintain links with a high number of people.

In SNA, *centrality measures* (degree centrality, closeness centrality, betweenness centrality (Freeman, 1979) allow for the identification of nodes that have a central position and therefore a better access to information/resources. Their position enhances opportunities to spread these information/resources.

To understand network structures, a successful strategy has pointed out the natural tendency of real-world networks to form *clusters*: groups of nodes densely connected among them, with sparser links to the rest of the network (Gentile *et al.*, 2014). The importance of these applications has led recently to the intense development of algorithms, aiming to solve automatically the detection of communities, or to check for the clusterability of the network (Fortunato, 2009). Especially for small networks, exist fine grain algorithms, in particular those involving metrics at the node/edge level that aim to a precise assignment of the single nodes to the various communities (Gentile *et al.*, 2014).

A perfect example of an algorithm feasible to be used straightforward for small networks is the Girvan-Newman (GN) method, based on the edge betweenness (Girvan & Newman, 2002).

In a social network, it is possible that the actors belonging to a particular group or cluster tend to focus only on their cluster activities and ignore what happens in the others. In terms of exchange of information between the different groups, this situation generates holes in the social structure, defined as “structural holes” (Burt, 1992).

In SNA, is called *brokers*, key actors that build a bridge between these groups and they are in a *brokerage position*. The broker is an actor that, holding a strategic position in the network structure, could provide access to diverse and heterogeneous knowledge and resources and enables or improves the resources flow between nodes otherwise unconnected (Burt, 1992). Its importance will be higher, the lower the number of players who can fill his position.

The lack of a position of brokerage involves the dissemination of information and knowledge only within each group of the network, but the groups remain isolated from each other and does not exist the opportunity to knowledge recombination.

In SNA, a relation between two kinds of different entities is named a two-mode interaction, represented by a two-mode affiliation matrix (A), whose elements (a_{ij}) indicate if an entity i is in relation whit the entity j . In particular, in this paper we have analysed the relationship between information flow and archaeologists.

A key hypothesis for network analysts is that, whenever two entities i and j participate to the same activity or share some information / resource x , this indicates the real or potential existence of a bond between them. Relations between actors are depicted as links between the corresponding nodes.

Conversion into two one-mode data sets is the most direct approach handling two-mode data (i.e. users-resource), and examine relations within each mode separately. This approach is appropriate in this study, because of the interest in focusing on just one of the modes, the N actors. We have created a data set of actor-actor ties, measuring the strength of the tie between each pair of users as proportional to the number of times they worked on the same activities (Corallo *et al.*, 2015).

As a starting point, a 1-mode matrix A is defined such that its elements $a_{ij} = 1$ if user i performs at least one activity (or share at least one information / resource) with person j . Using the “sums of cross product”, method of the tool Ucinet (Hanneman, 2002), we define the weights of the 1-mode matrix.

The use of these important techniques of SNA allows the analysis and revisiting the information and communication flows between the actors involved in all lifecycle phases of archaeological excavation, with consequent their improvement.

3. Preliminary results

From the first two phases of the research methodology applied to the case study we have provided the graphic representation of the Archaeological lifecycle with the insertion of the different players involved in each phase (Figure 5).

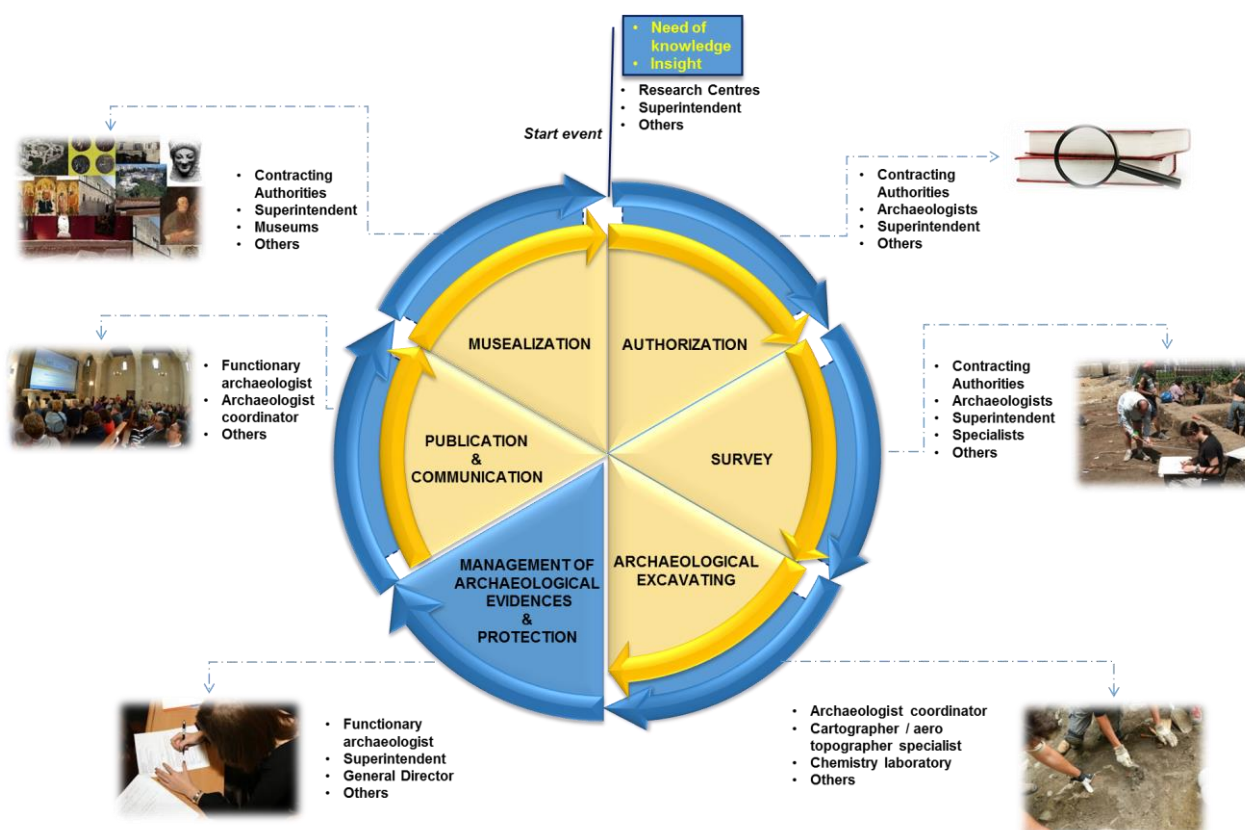


Figure 5: Archeological Lifecycle and players involved

The elaboration of the results of these two phases has revealed the existence of criticalities both in terms of standard procedures insufficiently integrated each other and in terms of valuable methods and tools for managing the whole lifecycle. In addition it has been underlined substantial differences in the requirements expressed by different stakeholders involved in each phase, such as institutional operators, specialists, etc., that should be addressed to integrate their contributions to the whole process. In this sense the analysis has shown the patterns for digitalising the processes undertaken the rescue and valorisation of the Cultural Heritage and the existence of a network of players that actively participate and influence the outcomes of the process.

Following these phases, from the interviews carried out during the third phase to the archaeologists involved in the excavation process and from the analysis of official documentation relating to this process, the presence of some key figures (actors of the process) was resulted. The Table 1 contains the list of these actors in order to appearance in the archaeological lifecycle and the description of their role.

Table 1. Excavation process actors

Actors	Description
SUPERINTENDENT	Exponent of the Superintendence that assesses the project and archaeological documentation
CONTRACTING AUTHORITY	Generally government departments, research

	institutions or large groups (in the case of works promoted by multinationals)
GENERAL DIRECTOR	Role ratifying the declaration of cultural interest
FUNCTIONARY ARCHAEOLOGIST	Officer of Superintendence with jurisdiction in the working/research area
SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY	Research institutions or researchers interested in the investigation
ARCHAEOLOGIST COORDINATOR / RESPONSIBLE	Single archaeologist or groups of archaeologists with specialization and / or PhD. They can also be research organizations
CARTOGRAPHER / AERO TOPOGRAPHER SPECIALIST	It can be archaeologist coordinator/responsible or archaeologist specialized in cartography / topography / aero topography
ARCHAEOLOGIST OPERATOR	It can be archaeologist coordinator/responsible or archaeologist specialized in manual excavation or archaeologist scout
STUDY FINDINGS SPECIALIST	It can be archaeologist coordinator/responsible or archaeologist specialized in materials analysis, for each class of materials
GEOPHYSIC SPECIALIST	It can be archaeologist coordinator/responsible or archaeologist specialized in geophysics
BOTANIST SPECIALIST	It can be archaeologist coordinator/responsible or archaeologist specialized in botany
CHEMIST SPECIALIZED	It can be archaeologist coordinator/responsible or archaeologist specialized in chemistry
GEOLOGIST SPECIALIST	It can be archaeologist coordinator/responsible or archaeologist specialized in geology
ZOOLOGIST SPECIALIST	It can be archaeologist coordinator/responsible or archaeologist specialized in zoology
ANTHROPOLOGIST SPECIALIST	It can be archaeologist coordinator/responsible or archaeologist specialized in anthropology
PHYSICIST SPECIALIST	It can be archaeologist coordinator/responsible or archaeologist specialized in physics
AREA OR SECTOR RESPONSIBLE	It can be archaeologist coordinator/responsible or archaeologist responsible of the area/sector
CHEMISTRY LABORATORY	Specialized laboratories for chemical analysis
PHYSICS LABORATORY	Specialized laboratories for physical analysis
GEOLOGY LABORATORY	Specialized laboratories for geological analysis
MUSEUMS	Institution that conserves artistic, cultural, historical, or scientific artefacts and other objects and makes them available for public viewing
CITIZENS	Individuals or communities, end users of archaeological results

The archaeological excavation process described in the previous section, shows that each of these actors carry out some activities, administrative and/or technical. Each activity produces some outputs that will be, of consequence, or administrative (i.e. administrative documentation), or technical (i.e. technical documentation, findings identified, test samples, etc.).

Based on the hypothesis that, whenever two entities share same activity output, may exists a real or potential bond between them.

Starting from the two-mode matrix, representing links between archaeologists and shared resources (i.e. activity output like documentation or findings) and using the “sums of cross product” method of the tool Ucinet, the one-mode (archaeologists - archaeologist) matrix was been obtained.

Using NodeXL¹¹², an add-in to the Microsoft Excel 2007 spreadsheet software, the archaeologists network based on the one-mode matrix were represented in Figure 6.

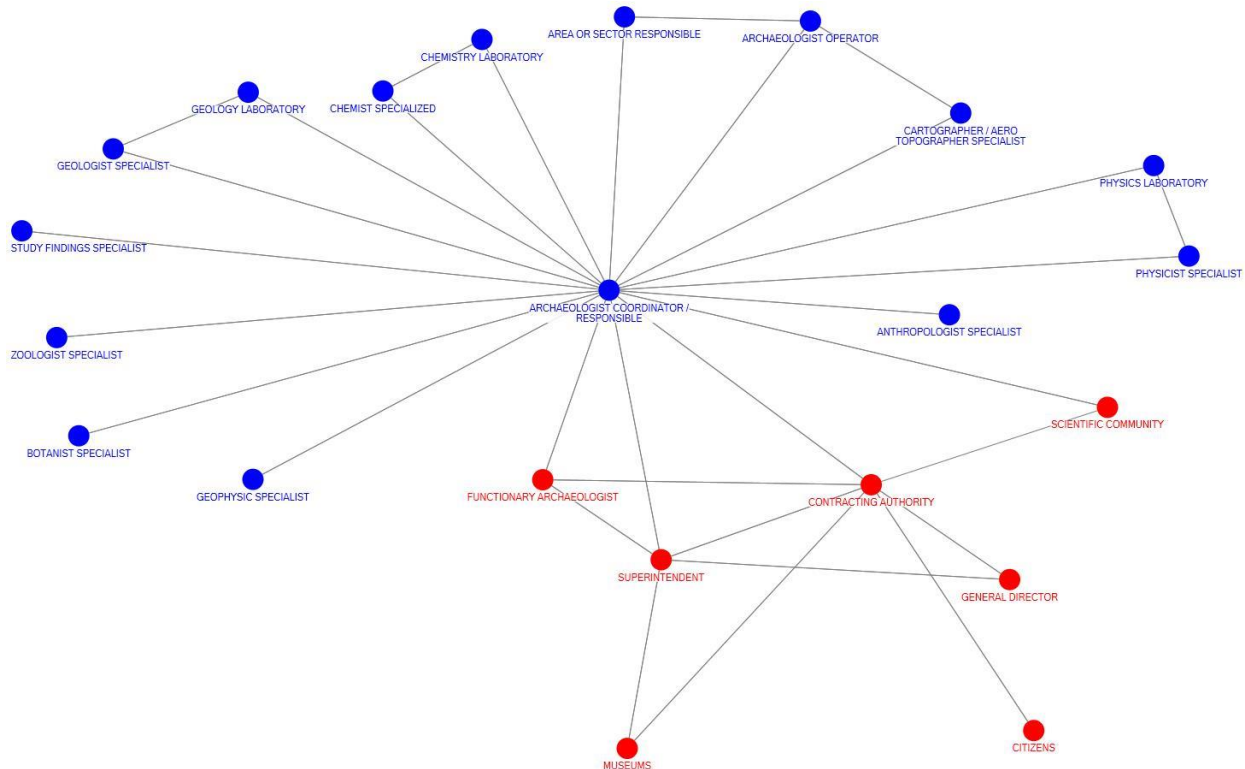


Figure 6. Archaeological Site Network. The nodes are coloured according to the cluster belonging.

The application of the Girvan-Newman (GN) method, permits to identify clusters within the network structure. The algorithm identifies two clusters represented through two colours, blue spheres and red spheres. Analysing the actors belonging to clusters, it is easy to interpret the presence of these two groups. The blue sphere indicates the technical actors involved in the excavation process, the archaeologists, while the red spheres indicate the actors involved in the administrative activities of the process.

In more detail, this last cluster also contains nodes (CITIZENS, MUSEUMS and SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY) that are not properly “administrative” but identifiable as “final users”. It is proposed nonetheless to let them in the administrative network to distinguish them from the technical actors.

The low network density detected (0,13) demonstrates that network contains a small number of nodes highly connected and a large number of nodes with few links. This is a sparse network that doesn’t permit a rich information/resources flow.

The reason for this is explained by the betweenness centrality (BC) calculation of the nodes. Actors with high BC are often found in the shortest paths that connect couples of other actors: they are gatekeepers. Identification of these people is very useful: these people should be contacted whenever it is required to facilitate internal communication, especially among people who have never done activities together. Notice that in this case the actor *archaeologist coordinator / responsible* is the actor with highest BC. All information, both technical and administrative cross him.

The analysis of the *brokerage position* also shows that this actor is a *broker*. This strategic position of the actor *archaeologist coordinator / responsible* allows him to have an overview of excavation process progress

¹¹² <http://nodexl.codeplex.com>

both from the technical and the administrative point of view. In addition he is the one to which other archaeologists refer; there are few contacts in the technical cluster.

His importance is remarkable also because it is the only one with a high value of brokerage. At the same time, its lack during the process may compromise the performance of the process as two clusters would be unconnected, interrupting the information flow.

A special mention deserve the final users of the of archaeological results, *citizens, museums and scientific community*. Beyond the only link between *scientific community* and *archaeologist coordinator / responsible*, these final users are completely cut off from technical network.

In our opinion, the presence of ties that connect end users with the technical cluster could give new life to the archaeological investigation, strengthening and improving the promotion activities.

The identification of the strengths and weaknesses of the existing network can optimize processes and activities carried out in the archaeological domain in order to support the improvement of the flow of information through the creation of a virtuous cycle of knowledge co-creation and sharing.

Conclusion

The main objective of this research was the analysis of flows of information, outputs, data, and relations among different entities converging within the archaeological environment with the aim to provide suggestions and insights from the improvements of the single part as elements of a most global ecosystem.

The communication and the integrated valorisation of the archaeological evidences have been underlined in order to create virtuous circle of knowledge sharing and co-creation by involving not only technicians and experts on the field but also citizens and general users as the main consumers of culture. In this aim we intended to provide an integrated and networked approach able to join single view into a comprehensive vision on the ways (including methods, tools, and actors) to manage complexity during a multidisciplinary archaeological investigation.

The attention to the methodological approach highlights the need to improve the upstream activities addressed to acquire and store data and information in order to guarantee the correct archaeological heritage management also supported by the information and communication technologies that can provide a number of advantages in terms of real time acquisition, storage, communication, publication and communication.

In particular, the reconstruction of the Archaeological Heritage Lifecycle has allowed to mark the logical pattern of operations followed during the archaeological investigation. This step was essential to introduce the process modelling through which we were able to define the current workflow and put the foundation for future improvements and processes reengineering. This leads to identify the set of methods and tools able by one hand to automate activities and digitize documentation and by the other hand to increase and optimize the communication among the actors identified through the Social Network Analysis.

Indeed the SNA was able to identify different roles and the weight of each actor within the network. This provides insights and guidelines for creating the right correlation between roles and responsibilities and giving suggestions on how the activities carried out during the process can benefit from the improvement of communication among the different actors.

In addition from the analysis emerges the current role of citizens that is only addressed to be a receiver of the whole process.

Future research will be addressed to define the *to-be* of the whole process based on the archaeological lifecycle identified. The reengineered process will be based on the new methodological assets identified with the present work and will be characterised by the introduction of technological tools enabling the automation of some phases (i.e. data acquisition, data extraction, visualization, etc.). In addition, the network analysis carried out in this work will be used to complete the optimization showing the added value of all actors during

the global lifecycle, underling the importance of the active citizens' participation and the community engagement in each phase identified.

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Changing Movie. Film Commissions as Drivers for Creative Cinema Industries. The Apulia Case

Palmi, Pamela

Department of Management and Economics, University of Salento
Lecce, Italy
pamela.palmi@unisalento.it

Caputo, Fabio

Department of Management and Economics, University of Salento
Lecce, Italy
fabio.caputo@unisalento.it

Turco, Mario

Department of Management and Economics, University of Salento
Lecce, Italy
fabio.caputo@unisalento.it

Abstract

The organizational change of Film Commissions in Italy –which flourished from acting as service agencies to driving Creative Cinema Industries –is the outcome of an ongoing evolution from a state-controlled industry to a new kind of industrial cooperation at a territorial level. This research examines the Apulia Case in depth, in order to prove both the increasingly leading role of FCs across the Apulia Region – thereby improving the system's competitiveness – and its positive results throughout the territory, measured by an analysis of audio-video production chain companies. Finally, this research demonstrates the strengthening of Community Engagement thanks to promotional and supporting tools (i.e. festivals, networks), which is essential for the creation of value.

Keywords: creative industries; film commission; organization; competitiveness; community engagement.

1. Context

It has been demonstrated that culture and creative industries act as a driver in implementing change processes aimed at consolidation and structural growth (Gilbert, 2012). Policies aimed at increasing competitiveness across the cultural system are grounded on two pillars: accurate economical policies and the creation of new economies for cultural enterprises (Viesti, 2005). Some of these economies encompass national policies, as is the case of decisions related to public funds supporting culture. However, a number of external economies have been developed at a territorial level: from the competitive enhancement of cities to improved links between enterprises and research; adding value to cultural and touristic resources, as well as improved accessibility to them. More than ever, in order to relaunch culture, Italy needs the activation of good locally-targeted policies (Santagata, 2010), which at the same time foster its community's engagement (Bowen *et al.*, 2010).

On the other hand, the territorial origins of a culture -- of goods and services associated with culture -- do not follow standard patterns but, after a random start, organize themselves around a system of agglomeration cultures (Scott 2005). Following this track, historical cities, districts, creativity production chains, together with the movie industry and technological innovations, gained a longtime legacy of

assembling knowledge and expertise (Santagata, 2010). The context conditions in which cultural enterprises operate constitute an essential factor of their competitiveness (Palmi, 2010).

In Literature, there is wide documentation on how external economies, generated from different contexts in which enterprise operate, may significantly increase their competitiveness, while diseconomies may decrease it (Mollica, 2005). This is happening through multiple factors: the presence of other enterprises and infrastructures, the quality of related services, the production factors available through the surrounding territory, and the quality of public institutions (Viesti, 2005). This is the case of creativity districts and production chains supported by Regional agencies. However, interactions between external economies-diseconomies and enterprise performances are spread across all territories. It is therefore assertable that local government institutions play a meta-organizational role in the strategic development of policies (Palmi, 2010), and it is appropriate to investigate on the organizations tools helping territories increase their competitiveness and their community engagement (Bowen *et al.*, 2010).

In the last years there has been a major change of Film Commissions (FCs) in Italy: they are turning from service agencies into drive for the cinema supply chain (Palmi & Salvemini, 2013). Such a change is the fruit of the ongoing evolution from a state-control industry to a new kind of industrial cooperation and solidarity. It is a matter of fact that on the one hand the state intervention policies to support cinema have been diminishing in the past few years with a significant decrease of government expenditure on culture, on the other hand some people have been organizing new forms of horizontal subsidiarity to support cultural activities in general and cinema industry in particular (Rushton 2008; Salvemini & Delmestri 2000).

In absence of any adequate policies of national intervention, Italy is witnessing the creation of new territorial developed economies which increase the competitiveness of the cultural system and attract investments on its territory (Cappetta *et al.*, 2010). We can also say that the role played by local authorities to promote developing strategies is that of meta-organizers and therefore we can investigate the organizational tools on which territories play in practical terms in order to increase their competitiveness (Palm, 2010).

Film Commissions are getting more and more important for the multimedia sector and for the feature film industry above all, as they have been set up very recently, shortly before a decade ago. FCs are traditionally considered as territorial attraction agencies that act by making the territorial potentialities operate systematically in order to locally attract cinema and audiovisual productions, and through them, to promote the territory as well. Therefore, on the one hand they aim at benefiting from the production economically, on the other hand they try to get the advantages tied to the territory image promotion, thanks to the ability of audiovisual products to function as tourist attraction factors. At the present time, however, these agencies are becoming also Cinema financial backers, thanks to national and international funds designed for productions, with indirect and sometimes direct enterprise risk taking. In this paper we examine in depth the case of Apulia Film Commission, because it is an illuminating case of Italian excellence at an international level (Palmi & Salvemini, 2013).

2. Purpose and hypotheses

This research is focused on the Apulian Cinema experience, and aims at demonstrating how the movie creative industry is increasingly playing a primary role thanks to the institution of the Apulia Film Commission, the Regional agency established with the main purpose of drawing movie and audio-visual productions in the Apulian territory.

This work is aimed at proving how essential the role of Apulia Film Commission is becoming, also in terms of increased competitiveness of the cultural system and how, thanks to its activities, the Apulian Creative Cinema Industries chain is fostering its presence, as well as its economic outcomes on the territory. The research starts from a general view of AFC from their creation to these days. Later on, the most innovative aspects will be introduced with regard to particular structures, coordination mechanisms, reputation and

relationships, autonomous functioning and alliances that strengthen the community engagement. The following working hypotheses, whose fundamental action in the formation of cultural processes this research aims to prove, can be schematically summarized.

H1) The role of Film Commission as a drivers for Creative Cinema Industries in the Apulian territory, thanks to a good reputation for the creation of shared value;

H2) The importance of the ability to plan adequate organizational models and coordination mechanisms, with regard to context specificity;

H3) The use of Film Funds and support tools (e.g. festivals, networks) for the creation of value, development and Community Engagement.

The methodology is the in-depth analysis of the Region case thanks to the empirical facts of the territorial contexts (Yin, 1994). The aim is to prove the enunciated hypotheses.

3. Design/ methodology/ approach

A focus on Apulia Film Commission, established in 2007, is of foremost importance because this institution has already been mentioned as a case of excellence and absolute novelty throughout the national and international scene (Palmi & Salvemini, 2013). Employed methodology is the in-depth case analysis (Yin, 1994), which seemed to be consistent with the exploratory nature of this research. For surveyed case, and through a semi-structured questionnaire, interviews were held to the top management (president and/or chief executive and/or management secretary) of the *Apulia Film Commission*. All the useful data were gathered in a summarizing chart (in Appendix) which allows to collect information on their main coordination mechanisms, resources, structures and processes: legal status, membership to institutions, presence of networks, structure data (Board of directors, members, appointments, number of partners), resources (financial resources, quotas, film fund, financing tranches) and every useful information aiming at representing the services' supply process.

In order to carry out this research, with regard to the survey on the establishment of the cinema production chain and the development of Creative Cinema Industries, the research team examined Apulia Film Commission's Production guide. It comprises of a database and, upon request through registration and a password, it is available on line. Updated daily, it includes 161 operators: 144 companies/firms and 17 professionals. Companies and professionals can be searched by name and geographic position (according to Apulian provinces: Bari, Lecce, Brindisi, Taranto, BAT-Barletta, Andria, Trani). The research team got its own account, registered as *Università del Salento*, and downloaded the list of existing companies, divided by sectors.

Subsequently, the team requested access to the local Chambers of Commerce in order to examine the balance sheets relevant to companies' analyses; these data will be presented shortly, they prove that over the last years, despite adverse economical conditions, audio-video Apulian companies kept their market positions, and sometimes their business grew thanks to the presence of AFC, which deserves to be praised for its role of attracting productions and therefore pushing employment across its territory, with significant outcomes, both direct and indirect, in the improvement of information and in creating relational capital, thanks to its good reputation at a national and international level.

As regards the creation of the data set and the so-called *company dashboard*, please see the relevant paragraph on Creative Cinema Industries.

4. FCs' evolution tendencies

From what has been described so far, we infer that the goals for which several institutions created FCs – support and improvement for local economy, tourist promotion, territorial marketing, cultural promotion – are all referable to fields in which Regions have been planning strategies, development destinations and

backgrounds for a long time, acting as meta-organizers in the territory through top-down actions that integrate with bottom-up boosts. Actually, these are subjects for which the Italian Constitution assigns Regions a central role, on the basis of reference leading principles and a suitable national coordinating authority. The latest regional laws show how there is an increasing awareness, and probably an actual will, to play a direct role in the FCs' creation or growth.¹¹³

In addition to regional centrality, a second remarkable aspect concerning the need of a common destination is the centrality of cultural policies. In the United States, where cinema has been a strong industrial and economic reality for many decades, FCs are organized as cross structures with steady connections inside the departments for culture, tourism and economic promotion. Conversely, in Italy FCs usually depend only on departments for culture. As cultural policies don't often benefit from the same economic available funds and attention enjoyed by other sectors, this can be a major hindrance. It is certainly true that without a strong coordination with the policies for the economic and tourist development of territories, the FCs' activities would be marginal or paralyzed; what is therefore urgent and desirable is the convergence of regional policies for culture, tourism and economy towards actions aimed at supporting the audiovisual media supply chain. Moreover, the outlook, knowledge and tools through which FCs must refer to audiovisual productions are those concerning production and cultural promotion. As far as all that is concerned, it is better to tell something about the efforts Regions are making to seek and adjust efficacious criteria and tools for the selective financing of cultural productions, in order to increase also the spin-offs and positive effects for the overall territorial system, in addition to the intrinsic cultural value of the project. For the same reason, Regions and their coordinating authority took on precise commitments for the creation and consolidation of the *Osservatori dello Spettacolo e della Cultura* (= Show Business and Culture Observatories) which are and will become more and more the fundamental tools to monitor and understand the social and economic importance of cultural investments, and are useful for FCs as well.

Therefore, if on the one hand the regional level is certainly the most suitable to regulate the FCs' activity and functions, on the other hand it is important to underline the coordination exigencies on a national level. The confrontation between State and Regions that may happen in the near future about the new system law for cinema and audiovisual media will be an important occasion to define FCs' role better, thus giving special emphasis and stimulus on their work in order to relaunch the government intervention in favour of cinema and audiovisual productions. Also, it would be important to define a minimum service package that FCs undertake to offer, identifying, at the same time, quality standards for promotional and informative tools in order to guarantee national and international productions competitive locations and qualified operators. Actually, the opportunity and need to promote their territory excellent talents urged numerous FCs to differentiate and expand their mission.

Another important tool to qualify the work of Regions and FCs is the study of the productions' direct and indirect economic impacts on the territory. According to a monitoring research of the ANICA- *Associazione Nazionale delle Industrie Cinematografiche* (= National Association of Cinema Industries)¹¹⁴, from 2003 to 2010 Regions allocated 116 million Euros in favour of cinema and audiovisual activities. In 4 years' time (2006-2009) financial resources quintupled. In 2009 the budget almost reached 30 million Euros (29.6), whose 40% is estimated to be in support of cinema. Recently, the more and more present intervention of Regions to financially support this sector has been playing also an important substitute role compared to the

¹¹³ Among the most remarkable legislative measures: law of Regione Autonoma Friuli-Venezia Giulia 6 novembre 2006, n. 21; law of Regione Liguria 3 maggio 2006, n. 10; law of Regione Autonoma Sardegna 20 settembre 2006, n. 15; law of Regione Lazio 28 aprile 2006, n. 4.

¹¹⁴ ANICA research project, *Mappatura degli strumenti di sostegno regionale al cinema*. The first presentation entitled *Evoluzione dei fondi regionali per il cinema e l'audiovisivo: vincoli ed opportunità* took place on the occasion of the *Mostra del Cinema* in Venice on 8th September 2010.

progressive cutbacks in national public resources.¹¹⁵ Actually, Film Funds are conceived of as spending accelerators in the territory and are set up for three kind of reasons: cultural, social and about the economic growth linked both with direct employment aspect – through the recruitment of local workers – and with the indirect one – thanks to the subsequent spin-offs for the supporting local activities and for the tourist sector (Di Cesare – Rech, 2007). So far, the only FC that has systematically measured its own performances as regards the expense spin-offs in the territory (direct spin-offs) has been the AFC: the average for the years 2007-2011 has been 6.1.¹¹⁶

The ongoing trend shows more and more that FCs play the role of administrator of regional funds supporting local cinema and audiovisual productions. The funds are used to promote creativity and talents living in the regional territory but also to generically attract *external* audiovisual production. Territorial marketing and support for creativity do not necessarily clash and are, however, two different themes which presuppose suitable strategies and specific criteria for the evaluation of projects and results. As regards the search for new talents and the enhancement of cultural heritage and identities, which are fields where you cannot measure, but indirectly, the competitive ability of territories, it is desirable that both the search and the sharing of the best practices should be set up in a short time. This promotion of the territory is realized also thanks to festivals, promotion and support tools for the creation of value, development and consent, which reflect positive effects in terms of direct spin-off of consumption in the territories. In every region where you can find the Italian FCs there are film festivals, sometimes more than one, that are supported and sponsored by FCs. In some cases, as in Apulia Regions, their FCs are directly in charge of the festivals' organization and management. The case of the Bif&st (Bari International Film and Festival), which is organized by the AFC, has got remarkable performances. In seven years' time (2009-2015) it has reached an audience of 73,000 people and succeeds in involving the whole city with remarkable direct and indirect expense spin-offs¹¹⁷. Finally, the Film Fund tool holds a prominent position. Between 2003 and 2013, 10 out of 16 FCs in Italy have got one and in some cases in addition to the national one there is also a Fund supporting international productions. It is the case of the AFC that created it in May 2012.

5. AFC: structures and processes

The FCs in Italy show a certain uniformity as far as structures are concerned, and converge with an easy and functional hierarchic model, with few hierarchic levels and few roles. The FCs that are internally larger are organized by projects. The organizational structure is composed of a part of the current, continuous and permanent "production" structured through functions, and of another temporary part. The project-structure seems to suit the sector, as there are several different projects: single non-repetitive activities aimed at achieving a goal in a certain period of time and carried out by using the combined effort of a resource pool (Tosi- Pilati, 2008). The projects are unique in nature; they can actually be similar but never the same because there is always something different: the goals, the realization times, the project team composition, the project leader, the users. In an organization that works by using projects individuals are assigned to one or more project teams, which are set up and stay until the end of the project. An interesting exception is the AFC that has got a divisional structure, in addition to some organizational aspects which, in general, are particularly interesting and it is better to highlight.

Born in 2004¹¹⁸ but operative since 2007, the AFC is a Foundation with five founder members: the Apulia Region, the cities of Bari, Brindisi and Lecce, and the Lecce Province, which became part of it after ending

¹¹⁵ The allocation of the *Fondo Unico per lo Spettacolo (FUS)* (= Sole Fund for the Show Business) in 2011, on the same level of the previous year's one, is equal to 90 million Euros per year, available as (internal and external) tax credit until 2013.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Fondazione Rosselli, *Il sostegno alla filiera audiovisiva in Puglia: per una analisi di impatto di Apulia Film Fund (2007-2010)* in www.fondazionerosselli.it.

¹¹⁷ See www.apuliafilmcommission.it.

¹¹⁸ By the Legge Regionale (= Regional Law) n. 6/2004.

the previous experience of the *Salento Film Fund*. The governance is based on four structures: (1) a Board of Directors, composed of the five founder members' representatives; (2) the Partners' Meeting that meet twice a year to make strategic decisions; (3) the Auditors' College, composed of three members; (4) the Director and his/her office staff. From the structural point of view, it has got an interesting divisional form with three cineport hubs, next to the supply chain's clusters of Bari, Lecce and Foggia. They gave up the function specialization criterion and adopted the geographical areas specialization criterion (Tosi & Pilati, 2008).

The structural advantages of the divisional macrostructure are: the possibility to identify a single person in charge for each province (geographical area) and the ease with which you can have different and suitable behaviours targeted at each productive or territorial reality. Limitations can be the increase of resources that carry out the same functions, thus increasing costs as well, the possible communication difficulties between the different departments, which tend to behave like autonomous firms. As regards the AFC, the typical negative effects of the divisional structure do not occur because the headquarters in Bari (the regional capital where there are also the FC's administrative headquarters) combine a series of centrally managed functions, such as administration, human resources management and the products and services departments.

At the present time, 5 people working in it have a permanent contract, and are helped by 35 collaborators.¹¹⁹ Among the goals every FC shares there are: (1) promoting the artistic, environmental and cultural heritage, together with the professional and technical talents present in the territory in order to attract national and international cinema and audiovisual productions; (2) providing assistance to get authorizations, permissions and contracts to shoot films in Apulia; (3) promoting coordination activities with other Italian and foreign FCs to favour cooperation forms, like co-productions in the film and audiovisual industry. For instance, the AFC lays emphasis on the collaboration with the countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea; moreover, in the AFC's statute there are the aims (4) to support the production and distribution of cinema and audiovisual works realized in the region, both through the creation of a Film Fund and through the promotion of the products made in Apulia during the most important national and international film festivals, but also to participate in the creation of resources and professionals in the sector.

The statute provides also (5) the possibility to produce directly: the first positive experiment of this kind was the realization of the feature film *La nave dolce* directed by Daniele Vicari in 2012¹²⁰ (Palmi & Salvemini, 2013).

The activities of the first part of its life, 2007-2015, aimed at promoting and diffuse the brand and the information concerning what the AFC was doing, through both the creation of a web portal and the opening of communication channels with the towns in the territory, and of the regional office for the European representation in Brussels; the creation of a database with the information about the best Apulian locations, the specialized technicians and Creative Cinema Industries available in the territory (realization of a production guide); the realization of a cinema-tourist guide book about Apulia; the participation in the main Italian and international film festivals (Venice, Berlin, Cannes) where the Apulian productions were promoted; the passage of the regulations to set up the Apulia Film Fund.

The AFC activated easy and clear processes, usually standardized and based on precise criteria in order to measure the quality of the productions to finance. The allocation of grants – aimed at supporting the production and post-production costs in order to attract direct and indirect investments in the audiovisual sector – has actually been one of its most remarkable activities. In the first part of the FC's life there was the definition of a series of specific requirements to get the grant: the 30% of the hired staff had to be living in Apulia and the sum spent on the Apulian territory had to be at least the equivalent of 150% of the grant. The financial resources for that fund figured up at something more than a million Euros for an overall financing of 22 film projects (5 for the first session with a contribution of 230,000 Euros and 17 for the second session).

¹¹⁹ They work mainly for the organization of Bari International Film Festival (Bif&st).

¹²⁰ Coproduced with Indigo Film, Rai Cinema and Skan- dal Production.

Among the other realized activities it is worth remembering the *Apulia Audiovisual Workshops*, that is seminar workshops with professors and students coming from all over Europe, and the *Progetto Memoria*, which supported short films and documentaries focused on places and characters of the regional history, the management of *Circuiti d'autore* (seasons of authorial films), and something else.

In pursuing this, AFC has been successfully connecting with several national and international networks, in order to strengthen its *Social Capital*. This expression has been sometimes used as a synonym of *civiness* (Helliwell & Putnam, 1993), of trust (Granovetter, 1985), and of “cultural rules not written in clear characters” (Fukuyama, 1995); however, overtime it has reached an ever widening meaning, thereby embracing diverse cultural, political, infrastructural and environmental dimensions. Social Capital is identified as a set of values, regulations and social relations allowing each individual to pursue collective behaviours, thus representing a kind of facilitator in transmitting knowledge. Therefore, AFC project capacities over its territory has been increasingly involving its surrounding community, allowing an intense development of relational capital and Community Engagement (Bowen *et. al.*, 2010).

From the focus on the AFC and as regards processes, we can deduce that the difficulty in standardizing is typical of the service supply process, commonly regarded as non-static, which highly varies depending on the situations. Moreover, the process is contextual: the service is enjoyed by the customer only where and when it is produced (just in time production). There is no chance to “substitute” the faulty service, as it can be done with products, when it is possible to keep the finished goods away for a while and to check their quality later, and if in case, to replace them. This kind of process makes control activities barely useful, except in the final stage: quality must be produced by the operators directly and their chiefs cannot prevent a “faulty” product from arriving at the user; this remark stresses the importance of the human resources that have been used. Another characteristic of this kind of processes is the customer’s participation in the supply process, thus affecting the result considerably. The customer does not perceive only the quality of the final supplied service but also the quality of the whole supply process (quality of the process and not only of the product). Finally, the role played by human resources is vitally important because the quality of a service highly depends on the supplier’s professionalism. Also from this point of view, the AFC enjoys a good reputation. A quality indicator can be the way employees and collaborators are hired: public notice with a selection based on professionalism and technical skills (Appendix).

6. Creative cinema industries in Apulia: evolution tendencies

It is now necessary to take a quick detour about the Apulian audio-video production chain. Apulian Creative Cinema Industries are quite small, so much so that they could be defined *pocket companies*. However, within the diverse and scattered creativity economy, recent studies have shown how the Apulian audio-video is the most developed and robust sector (Palmi, 2013). It also appears as particularly interesting within the Apulian creative district because of its balance between its *exploration* and *exploitation* activities, explained as respectively being the capacity of research and explore new creative opportunities, transfer and incorporate them into new creativeness within products and processes (March, 1991).

6.1 Scopes, methodological tools and results of the empirical enquiry

Taking into consideration the purpose of measuring creation and dissemination of Apulian cinema sector economic and social wealth, also and especially because of FC role as a development driver, the research team has conducted an empirical analysis on the economical/financial evaluations of resident companies operating in the relevant region.

Research themes are based on a specific methodology of deduction analyses, established on sample definition techniques, and of data gathering and processing, pursuing knowledge information purposes, already set in advance (Horrigan 1965; Brief & Lawson 1992).

The research period of time was focused between 2010-2013, while the survey technique used is the index balance analysis, which is considered an appropriate tool to monitor companies' capacity to create and distribute "economical-social value", suitable to ensure preservation of capital over time and an apt sharing of context (Foulke 1961; Nissim & Penman, 2001; Adamo *et al.* 2010; Caputo & Di Cagno 2008; Venturelli 2012; Dell'Atti & Turco 2015).

In particular, such analysis is divided into the following phases:

- a) identification of the universe to be surveyed and its segmentation into activity classes;
- b) definition of company samples, whose balance sheets must undergo a balance analysis;
- c) processing of aggregated balance sheets and of average balance sheets broken by company category;
- d) re-classification of average balance sheets according to financial criteria of assets and income statement's added value;
- e) identification of *dashboard parameters* to be calculated;
- f) research results broken by relevant company categories.

The total number of examined companies, as reported by AFC Production Guide (as described in paragraph 3), comprises of 161 units, which have been divided into three macro-categories according to each specific activity: sheer movie productions; service and supporting operations (authoring, graphics, recording, video and audio post production, cameras and shooting equipment, special effects, set construction, costumes and casting, other services; collateral services (catering, accommodation, transportation, security, other).

More in detail, gathered data show a strong presence in Puglia of production support companies, which account for 50% of the studied universe, while movie production companies account 30% of the entire production chain; the remaining 20% is referred to collateral companies (Figure 1).

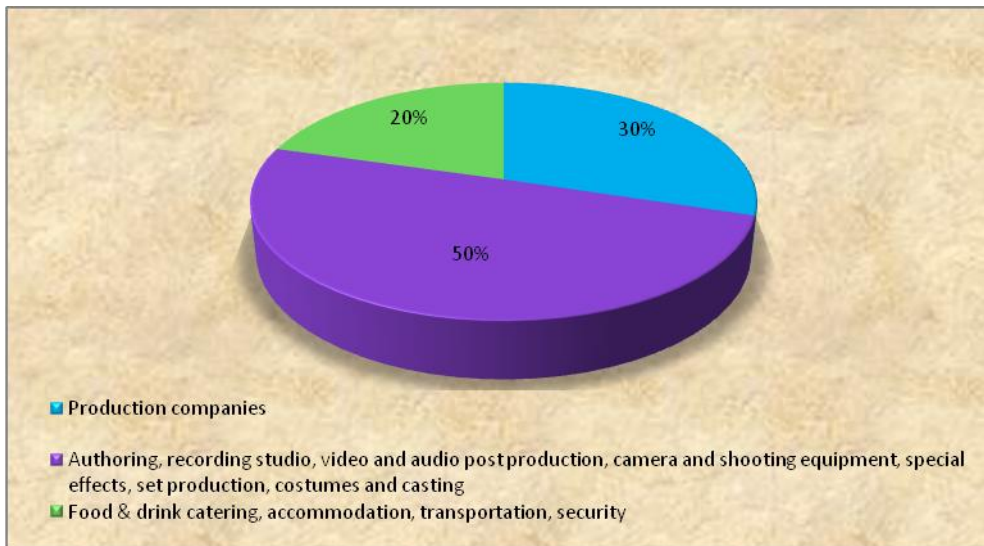


Figure 1. Total of companies' distribution, broken by category (%). (Source: AFC, Production Guide data, own processing)

It emerges a greater territorial concentration of movie companies across the Bari and Barletta-Andria-Trani provinces, where 55% of observed companies reside. On the other hand, Taranto and Brindisi show a lesser number of companies, 6% and 7% respectively (Figure 2).

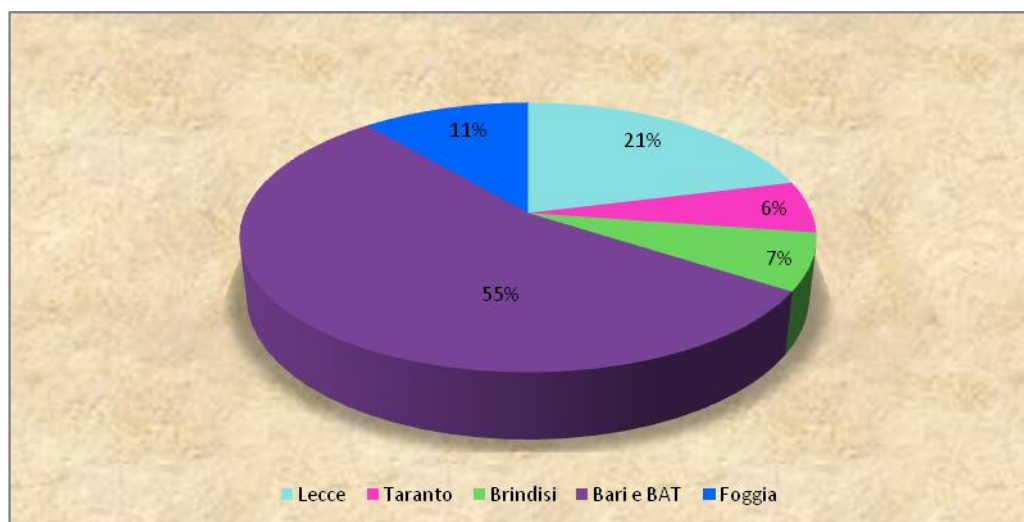


Figure 2. Total of companies' distribution, broken by Apulian Province (%). (Source: AFC, Production Guide data, own processing)

As regards companies' legal structure, the analysis has shown that most of examined companies operate as partnerships, while there is a limited number of them operating as individual enterprise, (Figure 3).

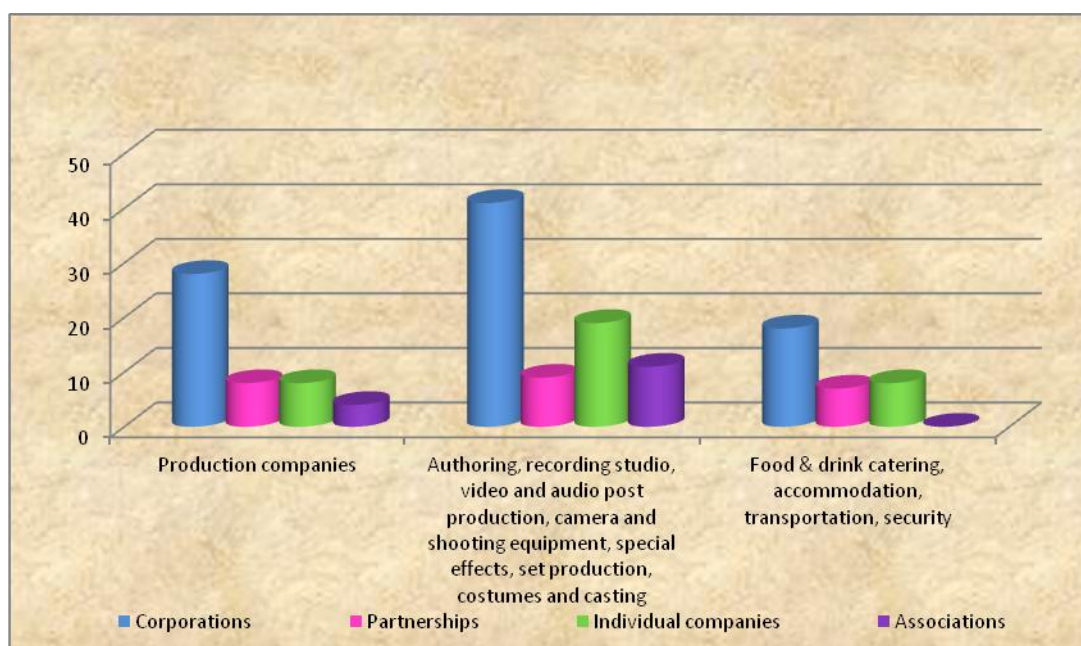


Figure 3. Total of companies' legal structure, broken by category. (Source: AFC, Production Guide data, own processing)

The preferred legal structure is the capital stock corporation, especially in the provinces of Bari-BAT, where there are 47 corporations over a total of 87. Associations are less common, as shown by the category analyses and by the province chart (Figure 4).

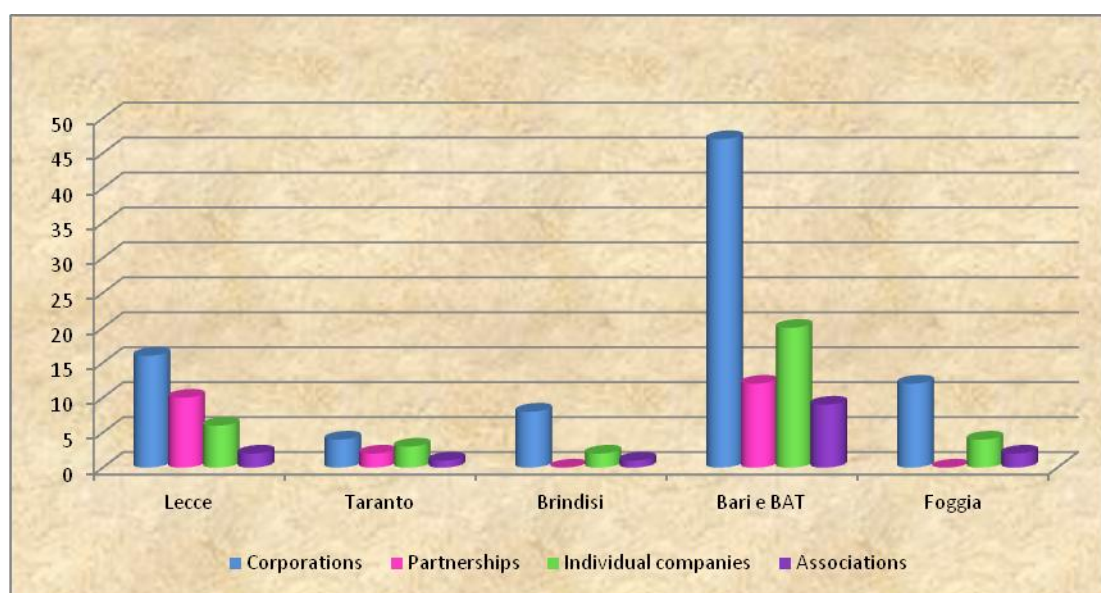


Figure 4. Total of companies' legal structure, broken by Apulian Province. (Source: AFC, Production Guide data, own processing)

The observed sample has been defined only in relation to capital stock corporations providing balance sheets, which in Italy are available for the public at the Enterprise Registry.

Taking this into consideration, the examined sample comprises of 44 companies. Among these, 41% are movie production companies, 39% are companies operating service and support activities (authoring, graphics, recording, video and audio post production, cameras and shooting equipment, special effects, set construction, costumes and casting) and 20% by companies involved in collateral activities and indirect productions (catering, accommodation, transportation and security) (Figure 5).

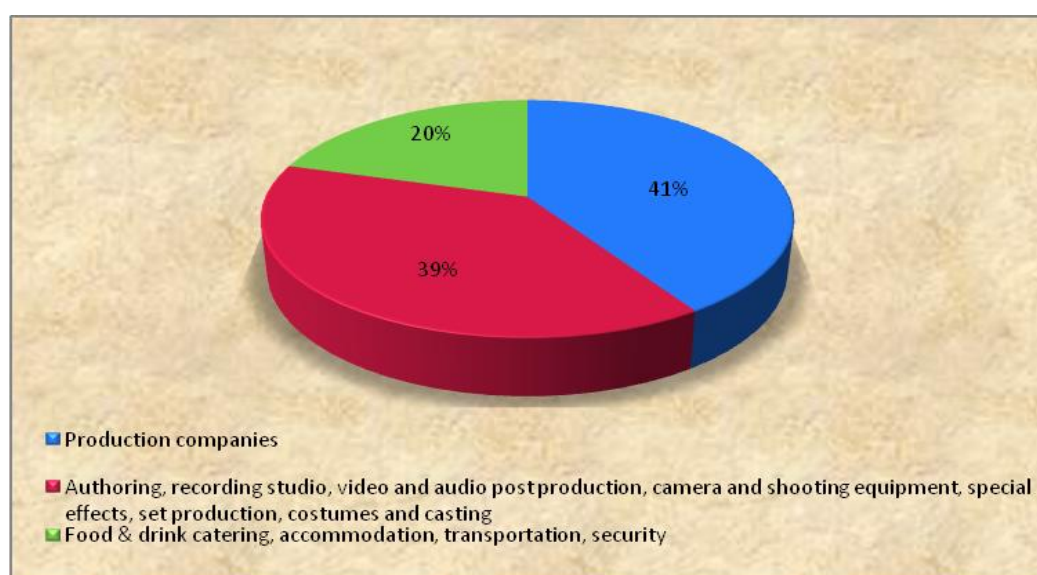


Figure 5. Distribution of survey's sample, broken by category (%). (Source: AFC, Production Guide data, own processing)

The sample's distribution by province shows and confirms the predominant presence of the Bari-BAT district, which entail around 68% of examined companies, while the province of Lecce accounts for 14%, followed by Foggia with 9% of total companies. Brindisi and Taranto, on the other hand, show 5% and 4% respectively. Following an operational plan, the index analysis has been conducted on a total of 138 balance sheets provided by C.C.I.A.A. (the local Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Crafts and Agriculture).

Their distribution, by year and category of operations, brings 27 balance sheets for the year 2010; 37 in 2011; 35 in 2012; 39 in 2013 (Figure 6).

In particular, across the examined years, most of observed balances refer to companies supporting production activities, while there is a small number of companies operating collateral activities.

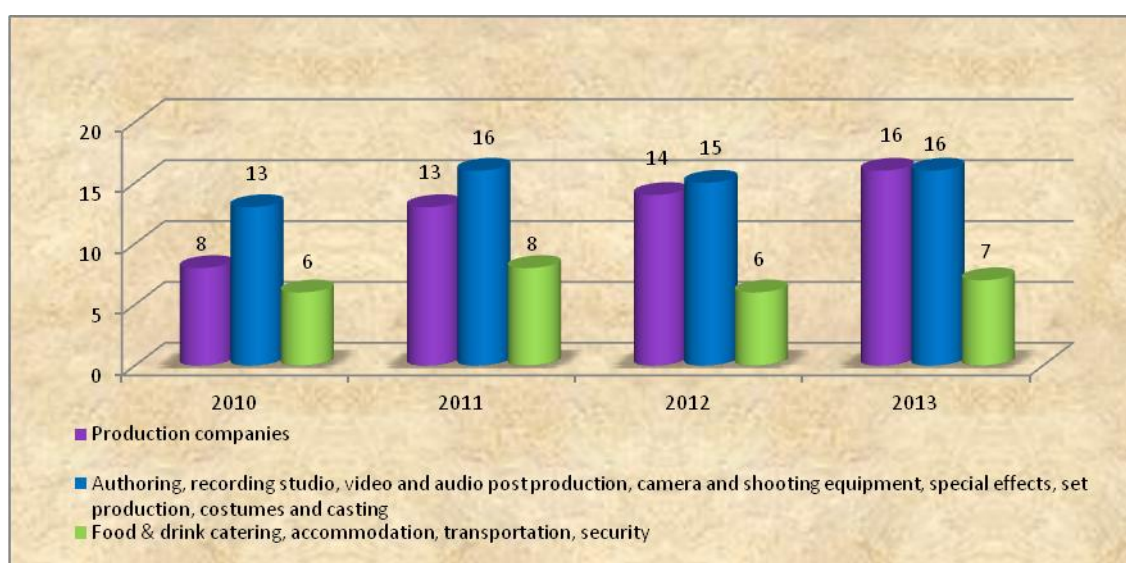


Figure 6. Distribution of balance sheets, examined by category and survey year. (Source: Official balance sheets data, own processing)

Liquidity values of examined balance sheets, aggregated by geographical areas and activity sector, have been gathered and processed in order to yield *average* liquidity balances, on which there has been a re-classification using the *financial criteria* configuration regarding their assets and the “added value” for their Income Statements (Chen & Lin 2003; Fridson & Alvarez 2011).

In particular, the re-classification of assets balance sheets according to financial criteria allows to analyze the pace at which investments generate returns in cash, representing the companies’ structural situation, as well as the composition of sources, in order to evaluate the exact correlation between financial sources and company investments.

With regard to the re-classification of the Income Statement, the valued added configuration has the advantage to show the wealth created by companies, the way it is distributed throughout diverse actors who took part to its accomplishment, and the way those actors have been compensated.

Subsequent economical-financial indexes, deemed suitable to respond to this survey’s request, are synthetized in Table 1.

Table 1. Balance Sheet Analysis Indexes

Financial Indexes
Index of self-sourced fixed assets = Net Assets / Fixed Assets
Index of global coverage of fixed assets = Net Assets + Consolidated liabilities/Fixed Assets
Primary liquidity index = Differed assets + Immediate assets / Current liabilities
Economical-Revenue Indexes
Evolution of turnover
Evolution of cost of labour
Impact index of labour factor on turnover = cost of labour/turnover*100
Impact index of labour factor on added value = cost of labour/ added value*100
R.O.E. = Net income/ Net Assets *100
R.O.I. = Operating profits (EBIT)/Total of investments*100

6.2 Financial analysis results

The first considered index in the evaluation of the assets/financial structure of observed companies is the *self sourced fixed assets* index (Net assets/Fixed assets), signifying the capital's capacity to cover fixed assets.

The result of this index, according to its value, takes a different meaning, and more in detail:

- > 1, the balance of assets is excellent, meaning the company is investing with its own sources both fixed assets and partially net assets;
- = 1, the balance of assets is good, meaning fixed assets are totally financed with own sources;
- < 1, the balance of assets needs attention, as fixed assets are also financed with medium-long term debts, or short term debts which may generate further financial unbalances. More in detail, in case the index is < 1, further conditions may be classified:
 - > 0,70, the situation is rather satisfactory;
 - between 0,50 and 0,70, further analysis and monitoring is needed;
 - between 0,33 and 0,50, a dangerous situation is ahead;
 - < 0,33, a heavily unbalanced situation is in place.

With reference to the performed analyses, the results of such index, determined for each activity category, are the following:

Table 2. Index of fixed assets self sourcing

	2010	2011	2012	2013
Production companies	0,97	1,24	1,30	0,40
Authoring, graphics, recording, video and audio post Production, cameras and shooting equipment, special effects, set construction, costumes and casting	1,62	1,69	1,72	1,71
Catering, accommodation, transportation and security	1,21	0,55	0,67	0,47

Source: AFC, Production Guide data, own processing



Figure 7. Index of fixed assets self-allocation. (Source: AFC, Production Guide data, own processing)

Analyzing the above evolutions, there is an adequate level of fixed assets coverage, using self sourced liquidities to support such investments. There were some critical situations in the last examined year, demanding a close monitoring of such fluctuating data, in order to preserve a balanced and functional financial structure.

Another financial index is the *Index of global coverage of fixed assets* = Net Assets + Consolidated liabilities/Fixed Assets, showing the capacity of own capital and of medium-long term debts to cover fixed assets.

As regards the above index typology, there are some threshold values to be observed in order to evaluate the company situation, and those are:

- > 1,50, meaning the situation is balanced and motivated by a good company solidity;
- > 1, the situation is excellent, because there is a correct and timely use of medium-long term financial sources;
- = 1, all fixed assets are financed by fixed capital;
- < 1, there is a financial unbalance in place, the size of which depends on the shifting fluctuation from standard value (1), because a part of fixed assets are also financed by short term debts.

More in detail, results show the following:

Table 3. Index of fixed assets global allocation

	2010	2011	2012	2013
Production companies	1,05	1,59	1,49	0,45
Authoring, graphics, recording, video and audio post production, cameras and shooting equipment, special effects, set construction, costumes and casting	1,81	1,87	1,92	1,85
Catering, accommodation, transportation and security	1,46	0,96	0,96	0,99

(Source: AFC, Production Guide data, own processing)

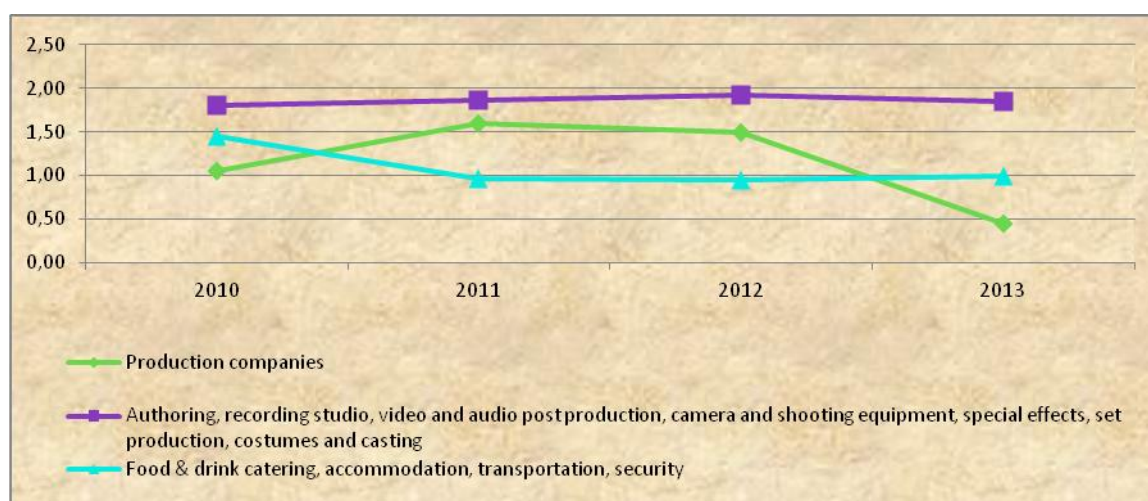


Figure 8. Index of fixed assets global allocation. (Source: AFC, Production Guide data, own processing)

Also in this case, it is possible to observe a positive index trend, confirming adequate financing policies of fixed capital. Critical figures are only relevant to the last year, where we can observe a reduction of the total financial coverage of fixed assets.

As regards assets' analysis, the state of short term liquidity has been measured through the Primary liquidity index = Differed assets + Immediate assets / Current liabilities, meaning the capacity for a company to face current liabilities through short term liquidity.

In this type of index, the following threshold values are to be considered in order to evaluate the company situation:

- > 1, the situation is exceptional;
- = 1, the situation is excellent;
- Value between 0,50 and 1, the situation is acceptable, but some short term liquidity problems may arise;
- Value between 0,33 and 0,50, the situation is slightly unbalanced, but not yet difficult;
- < 0,33, the company is undergoing a heavy unbalanced situation.

With reference to the above parameters, results show the following liquidity situation:

Table 4. Primary liquidity index

	2010	2011	2012	2013
Production companies	1,02	0,68	0,79	0,66
Authoring, graphics, recording, video and audio post production, cameras and shooting equipment, special effects, set construction, costumes and casting	1,87	1,91	2,02	2,22
Catering, accommodation, transportation and security	1,14	1,00	0,97	0,98

(Source: Official balance sheets, own processing)

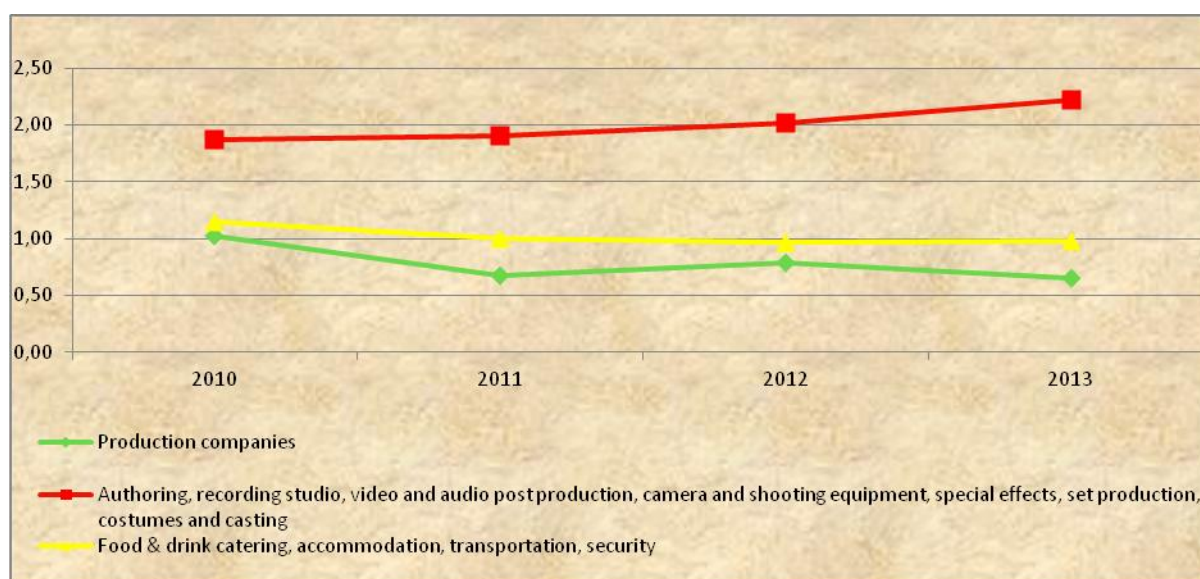


Figure 9. Liquidity index. (Source: Official balance sheets, own processing)

The trend of the above index allows useful reflections on the examined companies' capacity to adequately face short term operations by accessing diverse types of credit at convenient economical liquidity conditions. Some concern may arise with reference to production companies, where the average size, being smaller than 1, determines the need to follow and monitor implementation modalities of productive arrangements in relation to their financial profile, deriving from said arrangements.

6.3 Economic analysis results

Within such analysis, it has been initially evaluated the absolute aggregated turnover trend and the relevant cost of labour, as well as the impact of this latter factor over revenues and added value. Said indexes allow to suitably ponder on the impact that various entrepreneurial initiatives generate on value creation and on employment openings.

The choice of taking into consideration the added value, obtained by deducting external purchasing costs of production factors from production value (without considering costs related to the latter, that is labour factor, capital factor and technical factor), allows to conduct the analysis of wealth distribution processes gained through the examined enterprise's economical conduct.

Relevant results are hereby highlighted:

Table 5. Turnover Evolution

	2010	2011	2012	2013
Production companies	37.032,25	66.216,46	95.388,50	65.754,25
Authoring, graphics, recording, video and audio post production, cameras and shooting equipment, special effects, set construction, costumes and casting	1.409.531,15	1.215.367,75	1.150.945,27	1.067.656,94
Catering, accommodation, transportation and security	313.322,50	271.860,88	523.555,17	468.641,43

(Source: Official balance sheets, own processing)

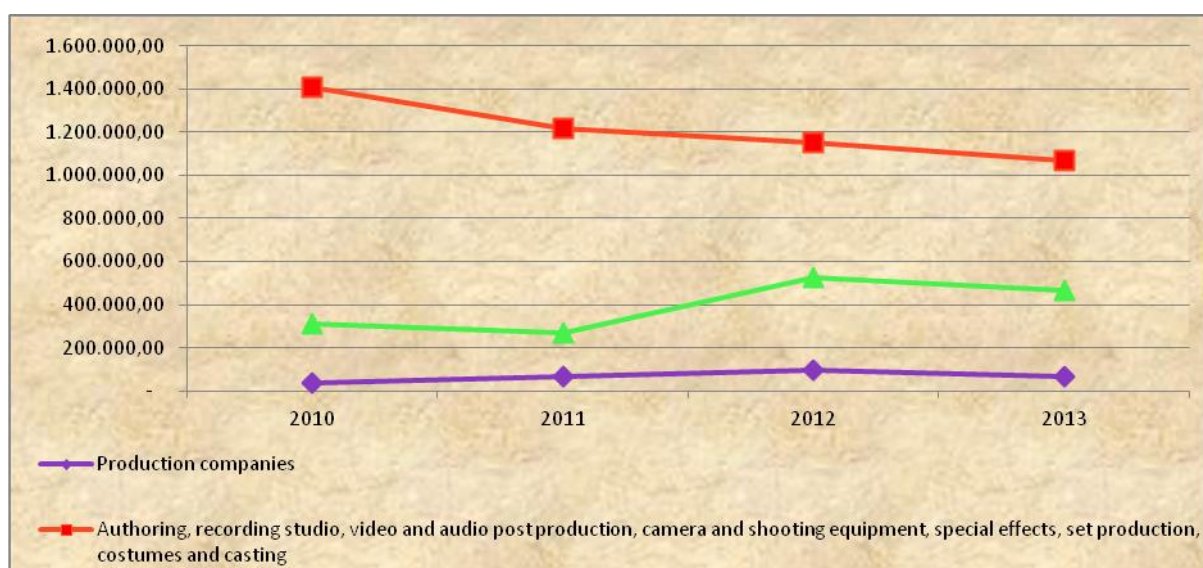


Figure 10. Turnover evolution. (Source: Official balance sheets, own processing)

Table 6. Labour Cost Evolution

	2010	2011	2012	2013
Production companies	4.512,63	8.348,62	24.809,63	12.813,63
Authoring, graphics, recording, video and audio post production, cameras and shooting equipment, special effects, set construction, costumes and casting	139.495,85	118.455,50	133.516,87	200.960,56
Catering, accommodation, transportation and security	89.098,17	57.739,88	26.632,83	6.745,57

(Source: Official balance sheets, own processing)

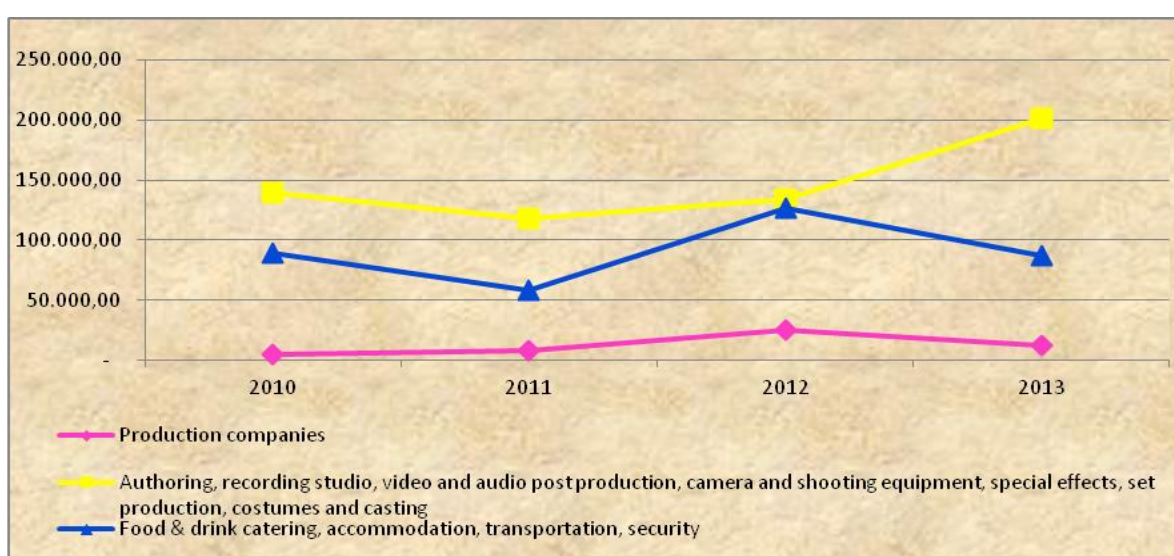


Figure 11. Labour Cost Evolution. (Source: Official balance sheets, own processing)

Table 7. Index of labour factor impact (%)

	2010	2011	2012	2013
Production companies	12,19	12,61	20,33	19,49
Authoring, graphics, recording, video and audio post production, cameras and shooting equipment, special effects, set construction, costumes and casting	9,90	9,75	11,60	18,82
Catering, accommodation, transportation and security	28,44	21,24	24,19	18,51

(Source: Official balance sheets, own processing)

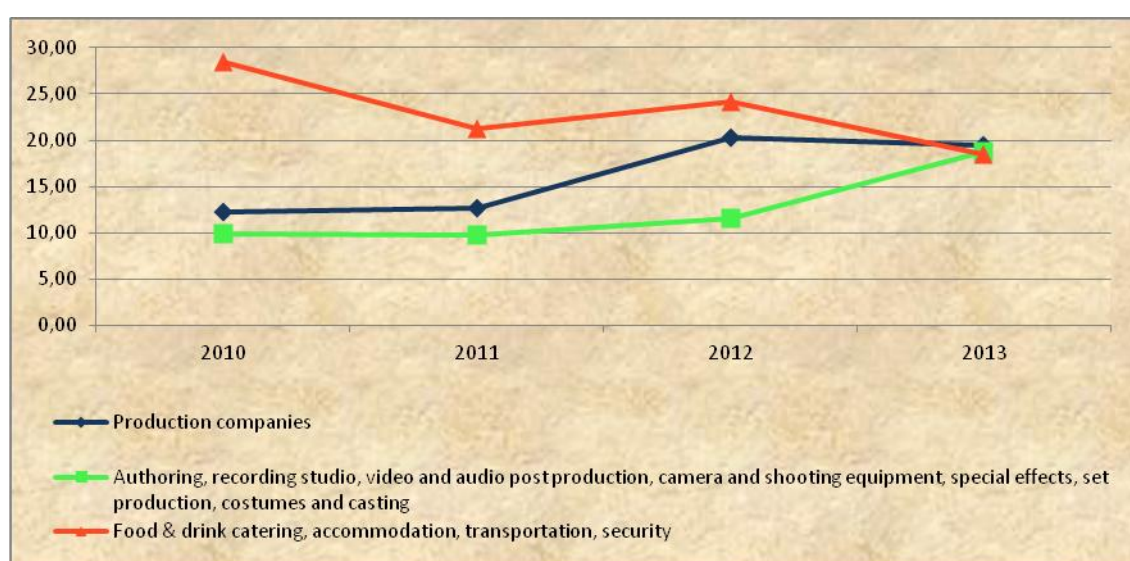


Figure 12. Index of labour factor impact. (Source: Official balance sheets, own processing)

Table 8. Impact index of labour factor on added value (%)

	2010	2011	2012	2013
Production companies	55,43	89,78	78,17	52,72
Authoring, graphics, recording, video and audio post production, cameras and shooting equipment, special effects, set construction, costumes and casting	35,35	27,99	38,74	51,43
Catering, accommodation, transportation and security	53,49	49,82	56,91	52,77

(Source: Official balance sheets, own processing)

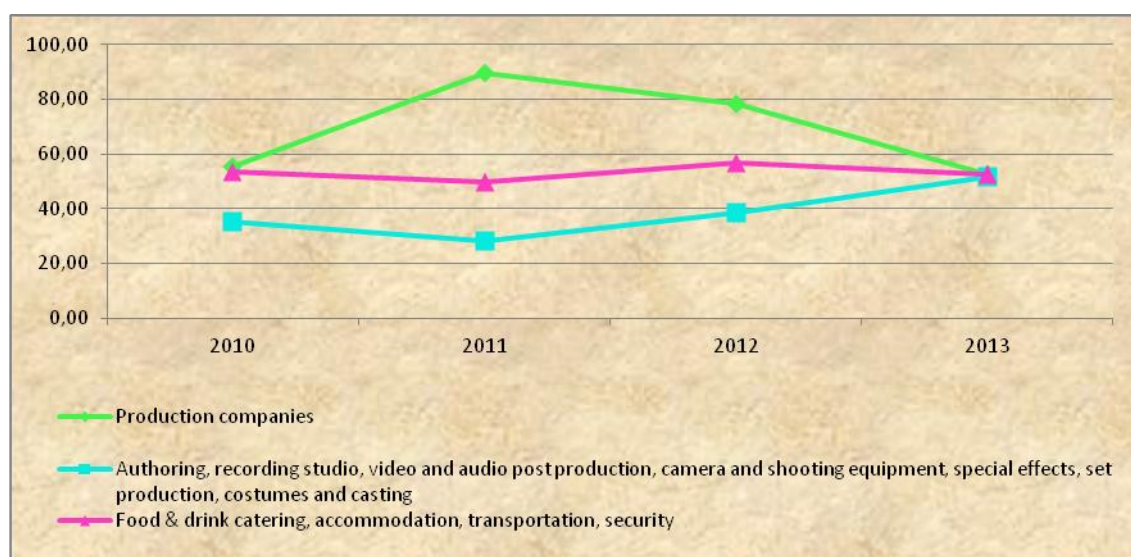


Figure 13. Impact index of labour factor on added value. (Source: Official balance sheets, own processing)

Based on the above charted aggregated data, it is clear how crucial is the importance of labour factor within the process of creating and distributing generated value. This circumstance reaches high peaks with reference to production companies' areas of interest. The observed quantitative dimension, and its evolution dynamics across the examined period of time, allow to positively appreciate outcomes generated by the creation of value seen from an employment standpoint. This is clearly confirmed by analyzing how the created wealth has been distributed, where the labour factor plays a fundamental role in this apportionment (table 8, Figure 13).

It is thus clear the importance of these latter data in order to steer Regional economical policies; this is all the more significant across the current scenario, evidenced by a progressive decrease of public funds aimed at easing entrepreneurial initiatives.

Upon conclusion of this economical survey, it is interesting to define revenue-generating indexes, and more in detail: first the *Return On Equity* (*R.O.E.* – $\text{Net Income} / \text{Net Assets} \times 100$), meaning the profitability capacity of invested capital, in terms of generated revenue, used in order to evaluate how convenient is to invest in a company.

In order to evaluate such index at best, together with the convenience to invest risk capital, it is appropriate to compare it with the profits generated by alternative, low risk investments, such as BOTs, CCTs (Italian Treasury Bonds), bank deposits, etc. A favourable dimension of the above mentioned index, besides the above quantification, is represented by risk profiles which distinguish the operations of any economic enterprise (the so-called *risk premium*); it is noteworthy that this latter element varies from sector to sector, based on relevant features.

In the examined case, the following outcomes have arisen:

Table 9. Return On Equity (ROE %)

	2010	2011	2012	2013
Production companies	-15,63	-13,77	-4,40	18,58
Authoring, graphics, recording, video and audio post production, cameras and shooting equipment, special effects, set construction, costumes and casting	4,03	9,11	3,70	2,01
Catering, accommodation, transportation and security	54,67	54,78	28,12	32,98

(Source: Official balance sheets, own processing)

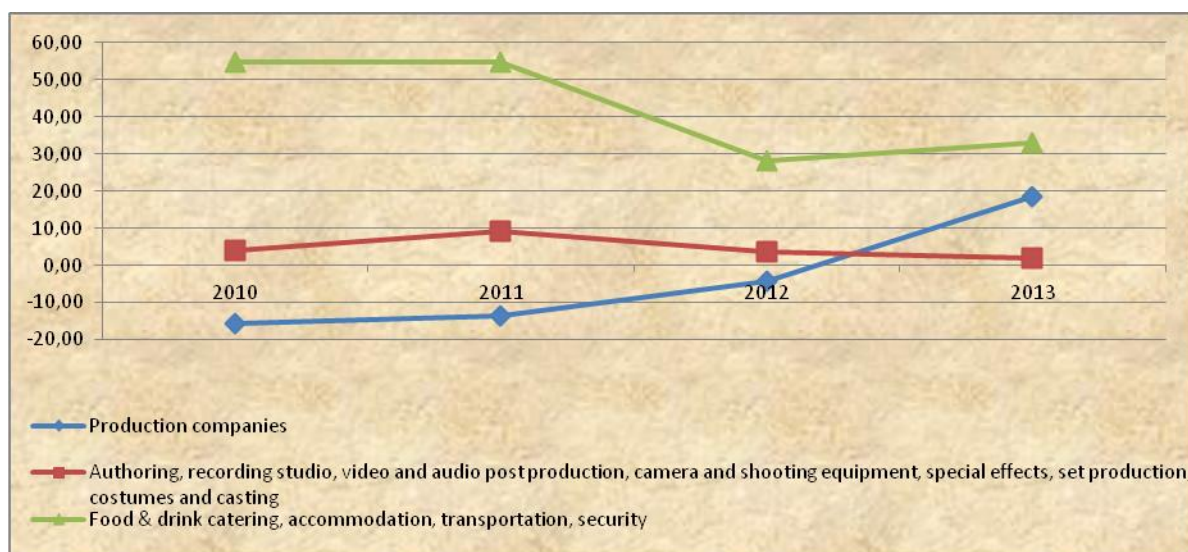


Figure 14. Return On Equity (ROE %). (Source: Official balance sheets, own processing)

Production companies were characterized by a negative trend over the 2010-2012 period of time, while later on there is a recovery from the preceding year's economic activity. The collateral companies' sector shows a positive, albeit reduced, profitability (with the exception of 2011 fiscal year). The revenue situation of these examined sectors requires a close monitoring of companies' trends, in order to check the company's functionality. On the other hand, a decisively positive trend may be observed in the collateral sectors (catering, accommodation, transportation and security), where it is possible to appreciate highly competitive value dynamics, expressing an adequate implementation of the technical-productive combination performed by examined companies.

Finally, there has been an evaluation of profitability values of the entire invested capital, through the *Return On Investment* ($R.O.I = \text{Operating profits (EBIT)} / \text{Total of investments} \times 100$), showing the ROI of ordinary operations (not including interests and taxes, and independently from results of extra-ordinary operations), compared with the total of operated investments.

In terms of company strategy, the ROI index is used by companies to compare their results with competitors, in order to better evaluate the performance of their ordinary operations, and thereby identify possible critical or favorable points.

The study of such index led to the following results:

Table 10. Return On Investment (R.O.I. %)

	2010	2011	2012	2013
Production companies	-2,97	-4,98	1,83	3,61
Authoring, graphics, recording, video and audio post production, cameras and shooting equipment, special effects, set construction, costumes and casting	4,16	9,17	2,67	3,14
Catering, accommodation, transportation and security	18,74	13,54	14,69	11,17

(Source: Official balance sheets, own processing)



Figure 15. Return On Investment (ROI %). (Source: Official balance sheets, own processing)

The above mentioned index confirms that production companies do not show adequate profits if compared with invested capital. This leads to the necessity to implement management policies aimed at strengthening companies' processes efficiency in order to create value. The same situation is to be seen across the supporting movie companies (authoring, graphics, recording, video and audio post production, cameras and shooting equipment, special effects, set construction, costumes and casting), where it appears necessary to monitor operational profiles of each activity, in order to optimize their economic management. On the other hand, data relevant to collateral services companies (catering, accommodation, transportation and security) show a positive trend.

As a final point, the study conducted so far on small *pocket industries* in the Apulian audio-video sector shows an essentially stable profile of the relevant production chain, with adequate employment rates, so as to confirm Apulia Film Commission's indirectly favourable impact on its territory. This has been achieved despite the unfavorable economical conditions, due to a national and international economic crisis, which characterized the analyzed years.

Conclusion

FCs traditionally play four main roles: promotion, assistance, training and enhancement of local professional figures (Salvemini, 2009). In Italy there has recently been an organizational change of FCs in line with the policies of government intervention in support of Cinema have been reduced, what is increasing are the forms of horizontal subsidiarity in support of the film industry (Rushton, 2008). In the absence of adequate policies of national intervention, there is the rise of new economies created at the regional level which increase the competitiveness of the cultural system and attract new investments in the territory. In this process, the role of FCs extends and, through the regional financing and the set-up of special Film Funds, they play a new leading role of drivers for the productions in a triad of actors composed of *State – FC and (private) Producers* (Palmi & Salvemini, 2013). All this is actually strengthening the role of FC, in supporting Creative Cinema Industries and creating community engagement (Bowen *et al.*, 2010).

Promotion is still the main activity involving territorial marketing (McIntosh *et al.*, 2002). In the most structured Commissions promotion becomes a real territory sale, where territory is packaged as a product that productions can exploit, and its characteristics are like the ones marketing mix requires (for example in Torino FC, BLS Südtirol, Friuli Venezia Giulia FC, AFC). It is carried out with tools that are now spread all over the world: participations in film festivals, direct marketing, familiarization trip organization for producers

and managers. The assistance role is Commissions' most specific activity realized when the territory use is optimized in all its components.

As for training, FC are increasingly working for it in different ways and they also deal with the retraining of audiovisual sector local professionals (with professional courses, seminars and workshops). Finally, one of FC' usual activities is the enhancement of local professional figures. In this case the ratio involves the development of groups of local professionals and service companies both as competition elements (so that productions do not have to take on further technicians belonging to other production centres) and as limitation element of leakage, that is the value share that productions could spend on the territory but goes to external productive factors. The enhancement of local professional figures is carried out through the production guide, and this research proved that every FC realized it. In addition to these traditional functions, there is now the financial backer one that is carried out through the Film Funds managed by FC, as it has been fully explained. This research proved both the increasing leading role of Film Commissions in Italy in order to improve the system competitiveness and their active contribution as a drive to strengthen the feature film supply chain.

In particular, the following working hypotheses listed in the introduction were accurately verified:

H 1) The role of Film Commissions as a driver for the cinema supply chain in a specific territory, thanks to a good reputation for the creation of shared value.

It was possible to notice how, after a decade since the start of their first experiences in Italy, AFC have now taken a prominent role for the development of the cinema supply chain thanks to the reputation they have been able to earn (Ebbers & Wijnberg, 2012). That has happened also to the AFC which, in 8 years' time since its creation, has been able to attract more than 227 productions: 90 theatrical, 20 Film tv, 45 short tv; 58 documentary, 14 others (see table 11).

It has also been proven that, despite the unfavorable economic conditions and thanks to AFC, over the last years Creative Cinema Industries have grown, increasing business with new productions drawn over the territory by FC. In this regard, a clear signal was the increasing of employees in the examined companies, a figure taken from AFC database (production guide).

Moreover, recent studies on the Puglia Creativa district showed a positive balance between *exploration* and *exploitation* activities (March, 1991), and the presence of *knowledge gatekeepers* (Lazaric *et al.*, 2008), in particular across the audio-video industry, mostly because of the very existence of Apulia Film Commission (Palmi, 2013).

H 2) The importance of the ability to plan adequate organizational models and coordination mechanisms, with regard to context specificity;

It was possible to prove the effectiveness of easy functional structures as project structures. As regards the AFC it was verified the usefulness of a divisional structure oriented around two "cineport" hubs focused on the productive supply chains' clusters of the three most important cities of Apulia Region (Bari, its capital, Lecce, in the Salento area and Foggia in the Capitanata area);

H3) The use of Film Funds and support tools (e.g. festivals, networks) for the creation of value, development and Community Engagement.

We analysed the prominence Film Funds achieved, above all in the regions that were not used to attracting productions. It is remarkable, for instance, that Roma and Lazio FCs do not have a Film Fund as they traditionally have well-known locations that are required also at the international level. Therefore, they do not need to attract productions through a financial support. However, this situation often compels productions, even the Roman ones, to ask for support elsewhere: they address to the FCs provided with financial support in addition to all the other kinds of support. We verified also the importance of film festivals in the territory aimed at creating value, development and approval. Moreover, it was briefly underlined the positive impact of Bari film festival called Bif&est, organized by the AFC.

We explained (in the Structures and Processes section) that AFC has been successfully connecting with several national and international networks, in order to strengthen its *Social Capital*. Social Capital is identified as a set of values, regulations and social relations allowing each individual to pursue collective behaviours, thus representing a kind of facilitator in transmitting knowledge. Therefore, AFC project capacities over its territory has been increasingly involving its surrounding community, allowing an intense development of relational capital and community engagement (Bowen *et. al.*, 2010).

Table 11

years	production	theatrical	tv film	short film	documentary	other
2007	10	4	1	2	3	-
2008	18	5	-	7	5	1
2009	36	13	2	5	15	1
2010	19	5	3	3	7	1
2011	22	8	2	2	9	1
2012	28	11	2	7	6	2
2013	47	23	3	8	8	5
2014	47	21	7	11	5	3

(Source: AFC, Production Guide data, own processing)

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Appendix - Apulia Film Commission

Operative start		2007
Legal status		Foundation
Membership in Institutions		Eufcn, Cineregio
Company structure	Board of Directors	yes
	Members	5
	Allowance	2
	Appointed assignments	Region President; Partners meeting: Board of Directors; Board of Directors: Director.
Financial resources		1.400.000
	Number of associates	26
	Quota	0,15/0,20 euro per inhabitant
	Balance sheet management	Online
Fund	Support Fund	Yes
	Fund typology	Grant
	Fund amount	2.550.000
	Tranche	2 funds per desk; 2 funds with 3 fixed terms
	% Local workers	
	Shooting days minimum number	
	% Investment in the territory	
Activities	% Film typologies	35% feature films; 34% docum.; 20% short films; 8% tv series; 4% other.
	Foreign productions	Yes
	Film festival	
	Collateral activities	Yes
	Cineport	Yes
	E.C. announcements of competition	Yes
Human resources	Permanent employees	5
	Collaborators	35
	Contracts	Cocopro
	Men	14
	Women	23
	Average age	35/45
	Kind of hiring	Public competition
Promotion and communication	Portal	Yes
	Newsletter	Yes
	Social network	Yes
	Press office	Yes
	Production guide	Yes

(Source: AFC, Production Guide data, own processing)

Art Management Infrastructure Project. Case Study on Promotion of Cultural Diversity through Student Exchange Program between Czech Republic and Serbia

Petricic, Sanja

Faculty for media and communication, Singidunum University

Belgrade, Serbia

sanjapetricic@fmk.edu.rs

Abstract

The objective of this research was to discuss the intercultural awareness and better understanding of different social and political environments through field work, focus group discussions and joined art project presentation between students from Czech Republic and Serbia through AMI (Art management infrastructure) project. This project provided the opportunity for students in the field of art management from both countries to share their knowledge and experience by developing intercultural student team for research work in the field of art management engaging and responding to new developments in arts, economics societies and education. The results of this research will enhance further discourse on the important issues on implementing theoretical research work in practical experience of arts administration and management infrastructure in both Serbian and Czech Republic cultural sectors. Conclusions are drawn both for problems and resolutions of building an intercultural student research team in the field of art management in promotion of cultural diversity through cultural external relations.

Keywords: art management; globalization; cultural diversity; intercultural teams; student exchange

Introduction

The cultural world of today has been changed significantly towards a bigger global network. Because of the growing awareness of multicultural society in all parts of the world, Hogoort (2000) argues that the most important task of contemporary art manager is to determine the importance of globalization to his or her own cultural organization. This idea could be used by management theorists and practitioners in finding some answers to how they can consider their own cultural organization in a global perspective.

According to Northouse (2010) globalization has been rapidly developing in the last ten years where people around the world became more interconnected through international trade, cultural exchange and use of worldwide telecommunication system. He further argues that globalization has increased the level of interdependence between nations in economic, social, technical and political aspects creating the need for better understanding of how cultural differences effect the quality of performance practice. As a result of this phenomena designing multinational organizations or managing organizations with culturally diverse employees became a major challenge (House & Javidan, 2004).

The position of art manager has evolved as well demanding new competencies in cross-cultural awareness and practice. In the framework of global discourse the art manager should develop in depth understating on the impact of globalization on their own cultural organization including areas such as continuity, artistic innovation, competitive advantage and practical reasons (Hogoort, 2000). In this case study, students of art management were able to formulate some critical issues on globalization of both Serbian and Czech culture through discussion groups, visiting local cultural institutions and interviewing some of the local artists. Their personal reflections and conclusions will be discussed throughout this paper.

1. The origins of AMI project development

AMI project was based on the idea of student exchange program between JAMU (Janacek Academy of performing arts in Brno, Czech Republic) and FMK (Faculty for media and communication in Belgrade, Serbia) providing the opportunity for students in the field of art management from both countries to share their knowledge and experience by developing intercultural student teams for research work in the field of art management, engaging and responding to new developments in arts, economics societies and education.

The collaboration between these two institutions was initiated three years ago at JAMU where students and professors from these two institutions developed a new platform for discussion on the professional profile and current position of the art manager in the 21st century.

The main topic of discussion was the *Cross cultural teaching methodology for art management courses* that included lectures and workshops for professors and graduate students in art management from Janacek Academy in Brno, Czech Republic, Academy of music and drama in Bratislava, Slovakia, Mikkeli University of Applied Science, Finland and Faculty for media and communication, Belgrade, Serbia.

Continuing the collaboration work in the field of art management by promoting cultural diversity through external relations, JAMU students from Czech Republic visited the Faculty for media and communication in Belgrade, Serbia in September 2015. The objective of the research within AMI project was to discuss the intercultural awareness and better understanding of different social and cultural environments through field work, discussions and joined art project presentation between JAMU students from Czech Republic and FMK students from Serbia.

The results of this research project will enhance further discourse on the important issues on implementing theoretical research work in practical experience of arts administration and management infrastructure in both Serbian and Czech Republic cultural sectors.

2. Methods for researching the promotion of cultural diversity through student exchange program between Czech Republic and Serbia

The acquired data presented in this case study were used from the qualitative research methods including the observation technique, debates, informal discussions, field notes and personal reflections. As the participants of AMI project, five students from JAMU, Czech Republic and five students from FMK, Serbia participated in the research that took place in the first week of September, 2015 in Belgrade. The topic of the research was the importance of globalization to their own cultural environment. In this paper, quotations from debates and informal discussions were used to illustrate the positive correlation between development of intercultural student team and deeper understanding of cultural diversity through cultural external relations by engaging and responding to new developments in arts, economics, societies and education in both countries.

According to Patton (2002) there are three different ways in approaching the qualitative interviewing process which include the informal conversation, general interview guide approach and standardized open-ended interview. In this research the open-ended interview approach has been used since all participants in debates and informal discussions were graduate level students of art management with professional experience that are deeply involved and affected by the issues that were discussed.

3. The thought process in the AMI project development

In the process of developing the platform for the cultural visits of JAMU students in Belgrade the following questions were proposed to be the central point of discussions: What position do these cultural institutions have on a cultural map of Belgrade and how are they supported by the city or state? If there is any kind of support, how are these institutions and their results evaluated?

Another issue that became important in many discussions that included cultural visits in Belgrade was the

common use of the word *globalization* but also how does that phenomena effect the work on intercultural level in the field of art management. What would be the obstacles of intercultural teams but also virtual teams and work in virtual environments? All these questions were posed throughout discussions and collaborative work within the AMI project.

Since the cultural visits included institutions such as Belgrade Philharmonic, National Theater, Terazija Theater, Mixer House and Dom omladine (Cultural center for Youth) JAMU students were provided an opportunity to hear different positions of these institutions on the cultural map of Belgrade as well as their innovative strategies in audience development and community outreach programs.

On the issue of budget development, they were introduced to different models of financial support, from the state support for National Theater to independent and self/sustainable financial model of Mixer House.

The key issues on finding connections between globalization and new development of cultural environment in local community throughout this project correspond to Hogoort's (2000) ideas of cultural impacts of globalization and increased level of nation's interdependence that was proposed by Northouse (2010).

4. Going Global: pre-project collaboration work

Exploring the question of the influence of globalization on organizational structure of local cultural sectors led on to further discussion on significant changes in the field of art management including the use of innovative tools for audience development, community outreach programs and intercultural collaboration with similar institutions from other countries.

One of the examples that managers from Belgrade Philharmonic shared with the students in this project was the idea of using Facebook, Twitter, Yutube and Instagram as part of social media network promoting their season program and attracting the new audience.

In terms of innovative strategies in audience development and community outreach programs it was interesting to discover that Belgrade Philharmonic and Brno Philharmonic had similar ideas on project developments. It was also interesting to discover similar theater production models between Brno City Theater in Czech Republic and Terazije Theater in Serbia where both of these institutions focus on the promotion of musical theatre.

These examples support the issue on the effects of globalization to local cultural environment providing some answers on how institutions such as Belgrade Philharmonic or Terazije Theater consider their own cultural organization in a global perspective.

5. Cultural Reality- Student case study within AMI project

In light of globalization and innovative tools for audience development and community outreach, students in the AMI project decided to create *Cultural Reality* page on Facebook where other students from JAMU, Czech Republic and FMK, Serbia, could have a chance to observe and participate in virtual discussions that were carried on after the visits to cultural institutions in Belgrade. Since the question on the obstacles of virtual teams and work in virtual environments was posed in the initial phase of AMI project development, the idea of *Cultural Reality* seemed like a natural response to this question as an experimental tool for further research. Topics for the *Cultural Reality* virtual page were chosen in the fields of cultural studies and art management therefor all the comments, photos, video clips and short narratives were part of the same discourse. All the narratives were written in both languages (Serbian and Czech) so that the members of the virtual audience could participate in virtual debates as well. Some of the reflections and conclusions of *Cultural Reality* were presented at the final presentation of the project to the local audience in Belgrade through short video documentary and live performance on stage. The *Cultural Reality* became the experimental platform in the AMI project to demonstrate the use of global tool such as Facebook social

network to engage the new audience in responding to developments in arts, economics, societies and education in both countries.

6. Reflections on intercultural effective communication

As the idea of *Cultural Reality* has been developing within the AMI project one of the students posed an interesting question during in the initial phase of their work:

Student 1: How much freedom do we have in creating our own platform for discussion? I feel like we need more freedom to create something on our own together with students from JAMU without formal terminology of art management and focused discussions on cultural diversity. Could we find a “space” of our own creation and innovation where we would develop a dialogue with our audience outside from this project searching for new roles of art managers in our society?

This question was one of the crucial points in AMI project development. From that point on the idea became very clear that students needed their own project space within the framework of AMI project that was based on promotion of cultural diversity through cultural external relations.

On the other hand creating a space for *Cultural Reality* within the broader context of the AMI project became a hard task for students to complete without having particular guidelines on the purpose, mission statement or justification for their work on the new concept. Observing the newly developed team going through struggle to find the common ground and understanding of their concept of *Cultural Reality* provided an insightful information on the process of building an intercultural team which was expressed by one of the participants in this team as following:

Student 2: I am getting lost with our new concept on creation of *Cultural Reality* because I don't have the clear idea on what is our purpose or statement that we want to get across to our audience. Why would someone from the audience be interested in following our story on Facebook? Why should we be interesting to someone who is not part of this project?

Along with the idea of losing motivation or interest in creating something new without a clear structure from the first stage of their creative work another participant in the team shared the anxiety and fear of failure as following:

Student 3: I worry that our work will not be of best quality because we don't have enough time or money to prepare it. We want to share something with the audience but there is not enough resources that we can use at this moment.

This was the moment when the process of intercultural awareness and development has started. Issues that were mentioned in the previous examples became problems and lack of motivation for some members of the team while presenting the challenge and motivation for other members of the same team. Not having a clear structure or mission statement at the beginning of their creative work motivated some students to be more spontaneous and free with their ideas as it was described in the following response from one of the students in the project.

Student 4: I see the concept of *Cultural Reality* as an open space where we are free to experiment to see what works and what doesn't without any judgments or negative reviews. We want to let the idea develop on its own and go *backwards* finding the structure from within. Writing our mission statement after our ideas evolve.

Another point of view that presented a difference in perception on the issues of time and money during the concept development for *Cultural Reality* platform was the following:

Student 5: Since there is only five days to come up with something creative and interesting for the audience I feel like we have to be very efficient with the time that we have. We should stay focused and try to be as clear as possible in our communication while exchanging thoughts and ideas for the project.

Student 6: I like the fact that we have no money while developing the idea of *Cultural Reality* because it makes me search for other possibilities focusing more on the content of our presentation.

Since many disagreements or misunderstandings started to appear in this phase of team development students who participated in AMI project started to lose their motivation for work. In order to motivate both JAMU and FMK students to continue working on *Cultural Reality* concept despite their different ways of thinking, the adapted version of the game *Six thinking hats* by De Bono (1993) was used. This game is designed to improve creative thinking, team collaboration and innovation. As Bilton (2010) points out this game coincides with De Bono's attempt to challenge stereotypes of roles that each member has within the team as well as the organizational habits and management strategies which in this case study proved to be a significant part of the intercultural team development.

According to De Bono (1993) critical thinking is described as the process in which one is able to analyze, explain and reconstruct his or her own thoughts and believes. Through this process one also evaluates the information that he or she receives. It includes problem solving, decision making, rational thinking, reasoning, intelligence, knowledge and experience.

Through the game *Six thinking hats* both JAMU and FMK students were searching for alternative solutions for the concept of *Cultural Reality* presentation that provided them with deeper understanding of intercultural awareness, exchange of opinions and cooperation among the team members.

During the end discussion of the game *Six thinking hats* students were able to find a new perspective on their work within the team and became very motivated to continue working on their final presentation for the audience. At that moment, by Tuckman's (1965) model of group development, the AMI intercultural team moved from so called *storming* stage of misunderstandings and disagreements to so called *norming* stage of team development where they started building group cohesiveness, developing consensus and clarifying roles.

7. The final phase of AMI project

As the student intercultural team of AMI project was developing their own *Cultural Reality* space and working on their final presentation for the audience more practical aspects of work were discussed during their visits to cultural organizations as well. These practical aspects included development of sustainable global art management vision geared towards basic management functions including production, marketing, organization, finance and cooperation.

Following this idea both JAMU and FMK students were asked to formulate artistic visions that will correspond to their global ambitions emphasizing on globalization of cultural and artistic processes through a series of practical exercises. As newly formed intercultural team students of AMI project were asked to propose a new model of the globalized cultural institution by analyzing the economic, social, cultural and technical conditions that will be needed in order to realize their global ambitions. Issues such as organization, finance and cooperation were brought up in debates. Students were exploring the possibilities of private and public funding of globalization, and what kinds of sponsorship would be interested in supporting bi-national (Serbian – Czech) or international cultural organizations.

By the end of the week students have developed their own globalized vision and mission statement that will be further developed in future collaborative work on art projects. The final presentation of the project was very well received by the local audience and the *Cultural Reality* page on Facebook was closed at the end of

the visit of JAMU students in Belgrade. It will be reopened in the second phase of AMI project that will take place in April, 2016 when FMK students go to JAMU in Brno, Czech Republic.

Conclusion

Research projects such as AMI could be very effective in stimulating development of intercultural student teams for research work in the field of art management by having the students engage and respond to new developments in arts, economics, societies and education. The collaboration between JAMU and FMK students in the AMI project has increased intercultural awareness and better understanding of different social and political environments.

Results of the AMI project had positive effects on the improvements in FMK course curriculum in the field of art management within the ongoing reaccreditation process and reforms in Serbian higher education. These changes could be made by implementing different aspects of highly successful models of the same type of courses at JAMU art management program that would improve the current course curriculum at FMK.

The results of this research will help significant research work that will enhance discourse on the important issues such as the problems of implementing theoretical research work in practical experience of arts administration and management infrastructure in both Serbian and Czech Republic cultural sectors. Also defining problems and resolutions of building an intercultural student research team in the field of art management.

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Industrial Heritage Exploitation: the Identity of a Territory as a Competitive Factor for a Systemic Development to Link the *Old* with the *New*

Pironti, Marco

University of Torino – IcxT L@b

Torino, Italy

pironti@di.unito.it

Pisano, Paola

University of Torino – IcxT L@b

Torino, Italy

pisano@di.unito.it

Natoli, Cristina

Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo

Torino, Italy

cristina.natoli@beniculturali.it

Abstract

The vitality and sustainability of a territory is achieved with the enhancement of its historical *roots* (historical-industrial foundations), but also and above all with the innovation of what is *new*. The real challenge for the economy of our territory is being able to link the *old* with the *new*, not a mere coexistence, but the former used as a lymph for the latter. This premise leads to the research question which is how the industrial patrimony can become a sort of fly-wheel for those individuals who need to generate/consolidate the outlook of their own business model.

These research hypotheses have been analyzed by means of a simulation model, based on computational agents, developed by the authors within the IcxT L@B. A proposition of an *itinerary* where it is possible to retrace the entrepreneurial history, locate the old establishments (narrating their entrepreneurial tradition) and highlight new (successful) firms.

Keywords: Industrial Heritage; network; textile industry; simulation.

1. The social system and sharing identity: a new role of the territory

The new transformations which are typical of the world's economy encourage social science scholars, managers and state administrators to test new observation perspectives that can interpret emerging logics on which lie, on the one hand, the company's competitive advantages and, on the other, the rivaled advantages of the territories.

The scientific interest in the industrial district model, a localized network of firms which cooperate together, has evolved towards three research fronts.

The first identifies the industrial district as a *self-organized* system, or rather a complex social and economic system resulting from a series of recursive interactions between its components and which is, at the same time, autonomous for what concerns the external environment (Biggiero, 1999). The second front suggests the application of analytical instruments that go from the firm's competence based theory to the industrial district model, conceived as a learning system and as a *deposit* of (latent) competence and tacit knowledge

(Belussi & Pilotti, 2002). The cognitive perspective (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995) adopted by this front of studies emphasizes on both the acquisition and the development of knowledge. Finally, a third and more recent approach applies the ecological theory (Hannah & Freeman, 1989) to the industrial district analysis (Lazzaretti & Storai, 1999).

The managerial literature is almost unanimous when representing a sort of synergic cycle, virtuous in some cases but vicious in others, between the development/decline of the firm and the development/decline of the territory, in a process where firms and territories co-evolve as they are, reciprocally, resources and competitiveness for each other (Valdani & Ancarani, 2000). Moreover, there is a wide acknowledged agreement that competitiveness sources, whether of the firms or of the territories, have progressively shifted from tangible factors to intangible factors connected with knowledge.

The core of knowledge for development purposes now represents a paradigm and human capital seems to be the main factor suitable to guarantee a long-lasting development for the society in which we live (Rullani 2004; Deiana 2007).

The importance of knowledge as a strategic productive factor for those firms looking for a technological and organizational change is better understood if we make use of a systemic model able to explore not only the dynamics from likely interactions between human capital and other resources inside the company, but also the access to outside sources from which the firm can attain in order to combine the internal learning system with the external knowledge and competence, from the very first phase of the human capital development process within the organization. A model that also requires the creation of long-lasting relationships with external knowledge organizations (universities, local communities, other educational organizations).

The development of knowledge also depends on the interaction between economic operators and the system in which they operate, thus obtaining a dimension of common assets belonging “to those who have shared a story, a life or work context , a cultural matrix which gives meaning to some things, but not others” (Rullani, 2009). In particular, the enhancement of knowledge in its different forms goes through the integration of contributions made by several individuals who belong to the local reference system. In fact, these learning processes produce the best results thanks to the exchange of knowledge made between different people and different firms.

Thus, a local economic development depends more and more on long-lasting interactions that involve a society and a territory, which results in supplying material and immaterial infrastructures , logistics hubs, and scientific knowledge.

The role that the territory can have in this circuit is that of *cognitive multiplier* which preserves the contextual knowledge generated by collective learning and favors a formal and informal exchange of knowledge, both codified and tacit.

A network model is, therefore, the model that can remove economic and institutional barriers and spread knowledge among the actors of the system.

This way every territory is redefined by being absorbed in a global chain logic. The global economy, along with the pervasive use of ICT, has shortened the distance between different places and inserted single territories in global chains which enhance their specialization and distinctive differences. This way every territory becomes a potential competitor of all the others, if it offers an imitable or replaceable competence or function. However, it can also be a potential complement if it specializes in distinctive functions and competences that can link it to other territories, in the co-production of values achieved by the same chain. Consequently, today the identity of every single place is starting to be defined as a condition of interdependence which, when consolidated, ends up modifying the distinctive traits of every territory. In the past, the inhabitants of a particular place felt like they belonged, whether they liked it or not, to a specific history and a territorial layout inherited from the past, and they accumulated experience, emotions and relationships which were mainly local. Today, along with these distinctive elements, each firm, person,

community has learned to hybridize their place experience with the experience made in global networks and in exchange fluxes with the outside world.

The territory becomes an unfinished system (Rullani, 2010), that is a system which is always trying to regenerate its identity in relation to external events that de-construct it, but that – for various reasons- does not have the will or the power to close the circle. Its feedbacks can never completely reconstruct the system or its identity, but leave space to experiment new and unexpected solutions, making room for creativity of both the individuals and the solutions.

The territory that becomes a specialized hub or anchorage of trans-territorial chains is bound to change its historical identity, to a greater or lesser extent, in order to meet the functional needs and opportunities offered by the inter-exchange with the chain and the other territories it connects. In this transformation, which changes business models and distinctive factors day by day, the identity of the territory stops being given (by nature or history) and becomes instead, at least in part, a choice of those individuals who live or work in the territory.

I am not a firm from Biella because my headquarter is in Biella, but I am such because I choose to be part of one of those territorial systems by sharing those features which are positive to me and I choose to become part of it because, being the territorial system in evolution, I can exploit the energy that moves this macro transformation to my advantage, and consider to change – in part – the quality of the territorial system I have joined.

Local systems work mainly on the advantages/disadvantages of the physical or geographical distance, which are not only related to transportation costs (at a close distance), but concern the costs and benefits of knowledge, competence and relationship clusters that materialize in a specific territorial context.

Thus, a union of the chain's generative and connective activities (cognitive networks, relational networks) and proximity economies can be achieved within the territory for all those things that are generated or decentralized outside the ownership borders of a single firm and move towards a territory's synergic economy.

From this perspective the territory has been effectively defined as a "complex, unique and hardly imitable relational space" (Rullani, 1999), which goes beyond the meaning of physical space and includes social and cultural connections. In our opinion, such a definition, when underlining uniqueness and hard imitability, makes us think about the pertinence of the territory's governing models that aim at elevated levels of general and abstract nature and that, to say it in Hayek's words, include a great "pretense of knowledge" (Hayek, 1989).

On the other hand, even firm models have shown several changes in the growing levels of vertical disintegration, labelled in various ways in literature – *extended* firms, *widespread* firms– all urging to indicate that activities carried out by the same organization at first are reallocated in distinct multi-territorialized entities (firms and others) but which were once territorially rooted.

2. Recovering territorial identity: the case from Biella

We cannot talk about sustainable development of a territory without first conducting a knowledge project on it, that is without a periodical analysis of the transformation processes, in order to understand internal changes and broad spectrum relationships (Comoli, 1996). To come up with a growth plan and a possible enhancement it is necessary to identify the territory's prerequisites using its identity elements which analyze the present on the basis of its historical background, so there can be a projection of mid and long term scenarios in harmony with specific vocations, without neglecting that "the investigation of knowledge is not only of scientific and cultural value, but also an economic repercussion that would be foolish to ignore" (Settis, 2005).

Thus, the project of knowledge takes on a central role and provides ideas both for the conservation of

valuable elements and for the planning of territory development and regeneration strategies, and also meets the awareness requirements of safeguarding the cultural heritage – in this specific case the industrial heritage – and provides a detailed background so that the values needed to identify present and future potentials can be acknowledged when planning encouraging actions and the economic-cultural support of the territory.

What is sustainable development? To say it in Claude Raffestin's words (2005) "it is the companies' ability to conserve or increase their autonomy in their relationship with material reality, and this can disappear, decrease or increase. Autonomy is the ability to make choices, and sustainable development is the ability to conserve the possibility of making choices." In other words, it is the essence of true development that combines economic growth with the greatest wellbeing for those who live in and make use of the territory. An economic growth that does not jeopardize progress conservation for future generations, but safeguards quality and quantity of their cultural and natural heritage.

The study of transformation processes and of the actors who have established them makes us compare the events, whether completed or still in progress, which have characterized the landscape defined by the European Landscape Convention as "an area of the territory, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors."¹²¹ Ironically, what emerges from these studies is that, besides the oldest characteristics whose consequences shaped the territory but, at the same time, remained indelible and integrated with each other, the cultural and social identification elements that stand out today, but are not yet completely assimilated, are the proto-industrial and industrial activities, testimonies of a working civilization that, since medieval corporations until today, have intertwined the history of Biella with that of the textile production, gaining extraordinary importance between the XIX and XX century.

In the middle of the XX century Biella's industrialization process was subject to machinery modernization and the spreading of complete cycle woolen factories which dominated the textile scenario until after the second world war. The industrial facilities triggered the beginning of other companies that improved the quality of the workers' employment and relational life and the agility of communications inside and outside the district, generating new architectures that substantially modified the original program, but did not blend with it. From multi-floor buildings patterned with a long sequence of nineteenth century homogeneous windows we went to new factory models that developed horizontally with shed depots that guaranteed the best lighting and made of reinforced concrete support structures with electrical power. These innovations revolutionized work perspectives and space management.

Biella's industrial heritage, which developed mainly along the vector, which is today called Strada della Lana (Wool Street), provides a multidisciplinary reading because it is both a cultural heritage and an economic engine historically connected with the manufacturing of wool. Starting from this awareness and in view of an enhancement that takes into account the cultural and socio-economic meaning of the place, the old textile factories could become subject of cultural tourism and economic renewal, thus introduce heterogeneous activities and multiple experiences, global productions or, even more generally, co-operations with today's excellences, and look for new economic models suitable for the current needs of the market.

The process of de-industrialization in progress in Italy as well as in the rest of Europe must be perceived as an opportunity and stimulus to identify alternative ways to economic progress, starting from those excellent cases which can be found on the territory. The acknowledgement of cultural roots is very strong in Biella's industrial heritage – in the broadest sense of the term (Ronchetta and Trisciuglio, 2008) - not only because it is one of the major industrial systems in Europe but also because, thanks to its recovery and relationship re-appropriation, its social identity and local territory have regained importance.

¹²¹ See Art. 1, comma a), *Convenzione Europea del Paesaggio (Landscape European Convention)*, Florence, 20 October 2000.

Biella's district has been one of the greatest wool industry centers at a global level since the 19th century, with special mention to the textile sector. Its history is made of men and families who embraced two thirds of the looms in the Savoy State: solid family groups with total dedication to their work, open to new technologies, market growth and advanced industrial patterns (Castronovo, 1964). This determined the beginning of the industrial aristocracy, a social class whose work was not restricted to the wool industry alone, but also included the financial and estate sectors, and investments made in other textile segments such as cotton.

From the early days of domestic production and direct selling, production automation and the concentration of all the various working phases in the same place within the factory at the beginning of the XIX century caused a downstream movement of the factories, whose number had increased so much that the territory was marked permanently. In the seventies of the XX century Biella's production system went from a *vertical* organization, where the entire production cycle occurred inside the same company, to a *horizontal* one. This generated factories with specialized skills in a single production phase which gave rise to a technological transformation and a growing centralization of product design and marketing.

Among the most significant family groups were the Vercellones, an educated bourgeoisie that died out after the Unity of Italy. They stood out for their early ability to technologically modernize their machines and for their attitude of having business relations outside their family environment. The pioneers of the mechanical upgrade and production enhancement were the Piacenza family, since the XVIII century they were at the peak of the local textile aristocracy. They diversified investments and imported expertise from London markets and from French and Belgian woolen mills bringing to Biella new taste, new fashions and new working techniques. They also dedicated themselves to "typical activities of a capitalism actively involved in the economic and civil progress of the Country" (Castronovo, 1964: 142) such as the creation of the railway line Santhià-Biella, the cooperation between industrialists, the introduction of power energy inside factories, and the technical training for the workers, which led to the opening of the Woolen-School in 1911. Today, the Piacenza brand is still present in the market with its historical background and high quality products, strong enough to overcome any economic crisis and able to supply an entrepreneurial model capable of updating itself.

The family in Biella who distinguished themselves in Piedmont for being the greatest entrepreneurial group were the Sella family. Manufacturers since the XVII century, they have given life to an industrial dynasty. Giovanni Antonio, belonging to the first family branch and being an army officer, predominated over his peers and achieved an industrial endowment which was one of the most remarkable in Piedmont. Pietro, belonging to the second family branch, contributed to mechanizing production which was enriched with the experience made during his trips abroad where he learned new ways of finding raw material and more advanced production systems and innovations which made him the emblem of the Industrial Revolution.

The symbol of the dynasty was the Italian Kingdom's Economic Prime Minister, Quintino Sella, who brought his family of manufacturing bourgeoisie to the highest degree by reorganizing production and promoting new road/railway infrastructures and training schools for factory workers. Starting from 1850 Giuseppe Venanzio, another member of the Sella family, renewed the industrial business by transferring to Biella the notions of chemical colors, trimming and dye-works from abroad. And in 1886, with Pietro Paolo, the Sellas joined the financial business and founded one of "the first banks aimed at encouraging a savings influx towards industrial investments": the Bank Gaudenzio Sella, today's Banca Sella. The woolen mill Maurizio Sella, which flourished on the banks of the Cervo river, ceased to work in 1965, but was reconverted with a new type of production, digital technology. In 1991 it became the premises of the Sella Onlus Foundation and in 2013 it was the home of SELLA LAB, an accelerator of ideas, a co-working space, a place where ideas could become enterprises. The entire building complex was subject to legal preservation under the Ministerial

Decree of 29 July 1988 and restoration was agreed upon with the Superintendence of the Architectural and Landscape Heritage.

After the Italian Unity, there was the beginning of a new generation of entrepreneurs in the Biella area, the working children, who reversed the equilibrium of the existing entrepreneurial class. These were the families: Rivetti, Lanzone, Reda, Lesna Tamellino, Tabaldo Togna, Garlanda, Botto, Bertotto, Giletti, Zegna, Bozzalla Pel, Ferrua – Agostinetti, Mosca, Somano, Trossi and Boglietti. Having learned the trade, these entrepreneurial workers took over the old companies or areas that had abandoned machineries and started their own business. Among many of them were the Rivettis, workers in the Sella factory, who started their first company in Vallemosso where they brought forward revolutionary ideas like the use of regenerated wools or the design of an extremely modern wool brushing machine. In 1930 they founded Gruppo Finanziario Tessile (Textile Financial Group) in Torino, where they made garments, reason for which they left the woolen mills in Biella.

Since 1910 Zegna's history has been on the upsurge, confirming them today one of the major international textile groups. Along with Ermenegildo Zegna was the beginning of the first woolen mill in Trivero, a historic venue specialized in high quality yarns, still working today. He committed himself to perfecting production, but also to conveying the wellbeing founded on his company onto the territory and its inhabitants. For this reason he had a congress hall, a library, a gym, a cinema/theatre and a swimming pool constructed, and a little later even a medical centre and a kindergarten. He also dedicated himself to the local environment and landscape by planting trees and building the *Panoramica Zegna* road, a 14 km route linking Trivero to the skiing station Bielmonte.

Among Vallemosso's small textile workers who knew how to transform their knowledge into enterprises were the Reda family, whose business started in a mill in the second half of the XIX century and ended up having representatives who distinguished themselves for production, planning and professional training. Today the *Lanificio Reda* (wool mill) holds the complete production chain that goes from wool to fabric, and has diversified its interest with the use of artistic sponsorships.

Both in the first and in the second expanding phase of the industrial markets, despite their individualism, family groups were able to find dialogue and cooperation grounds in delicate socio-political and economic transformation moments. There was a broad consensus and a general will in 1855 when the construction of the railway line Santhià-Biella was approved, a very important line that connected the infrastructural systems in the north of Italy; or when they supported the achievement of important trading road links like the line Biella-Mosso-Valsesia (Castronovo, 1964); when they sponsored workers' schools and kindergartens to help women workers; when they took part in the Associazione Italiana Laniera (Italian Wool Association) – whose vice-president was Felice Piacenza when it was first founded – and supported the birth of the Lega degli Industriali di Biella (Biella's Industrial League) which had among its highest exponents Corradino Sella, already president of the Associazione Italiana Laniera (Italian Wool Association) since 1897.

In the twentieth century Biella's woolen textile industry encountered great contrasts. An important moment of transformation was between the fifties and the sixties, when the equilibriums of the textile chain were revolutionized by fashion designers for whom exclusive fabrics were produced. Thus, producers lost their fame in behalf of the stylists, subordinating their textile companies to transformation ones. This phenomenon increased in the seventies with the spreading of prêt-à-porter which required a great deal of fabrics exclusively linked to a label, decreasing even further the trading exposure of textile suppliers. During the 1963-1967 recession there was a loss of 7000 jobs in the Biella area but, at the same time, this forced a restructuring of the companies. Great establishments were broken down into pieces and integrated into small companies with sectorial specializations, this condition made Italy competitive both in the fabric sector and in the fashion industry (Fontana & Gayot, 2004).

Biella's companies that survived the recession radically renewed themselves in order to find new development trends. The Zegna family faced the decrease in wool demand by looking for new fine material and high performance fabric: machine washable woolen sailing-wear in 1974, summer wool in 1985, elegant and light fabric able to withhold heat in 1993, and in 1998 elegant and resistant fabric for business men. Since the late Sixties they were able to diversify their business by opening up to new kinds of wear and by moving their factories around the world (Balestri, 1997).

Thus, what are the historical-cultural, material and immaterial values of this territory? Granted that all of the territory itself is a cultural heritage, to ensure that this does not emerge as a generic analysis, we have to break down reality into pieces and let the stratifications and relations that make its complexity come to light. For this reason, the answer is articulate and needs a multifocal look in which the historical knowledge is just the basis necessary to interpret transformation processes. From a social point of view, it is a value that traditions and attitudes in the textile industry have shaped many generations of people but, from a landscape point of view, it is also a value to have a dichotomic coexistence between nature, still primitive and uncontaminated, and the mighty industries. This duality, however, does not seem so mismatched as to make one of the two feel extraneous. Another value is the infrastructural system of waters and their productive use, as well as the archive of the companies and their machines no longer in use. Both the physical and immaterial signs of the investigated phenomena make up a system of assets on which we can establish the interpretation of the present landscape and on which we can lay projects for the territory and its coherent development.

Today, the current situation states that the result of the knowledge project was satisfactory throughout the past years, but we still haven't found the way to turn knowledge into a reality awareness which can trigger local development processes.

In the last ten years the deindustrialization process has created problems for the entire industrial district despite the presence on the territory of productive leaders from a consolidated market, who left a concrete sign of production cathedrals, complexes built side by side and that speak a language which is different from the one used in the rural-mountain type buildings found in small villages (Bonardi & Natoli, 2005). It is right from these places that we should start, from the architectural structure of the industrial landscape which is in fact the most evident and, despite its dichotomic look, it is the principal and most typical part of the territory, as well as the identity ingredient that marks both society and its cultural aspect.

For these topics Biella's industrial district has become part of the great international debate whose common theme is the deep change that the global industrial system is going through, which translates, especially in the old developments, into the abandonment and closure of productive areas, the evacuation of the territory around them, and the general loss of trust and innovation stimulus. These same subjects give rise to a new future challenge, that is trying to find in one's own roots the reasons, strengths and ideas to reconstruct a new productive landscape, transform inactivity containers into a potential chance of conversion by acknowledging the industrial heritage as a lever of identity, quality and competitiveness in support of the possible development.

3. The model based on Agent Based Simulation

Why do enterprises team up? There can be many reasons for this strategy, leading, in its widest extent, to the creation of joint-ventures, i.e.: a new economical subject formed by two or more enterprises with the goal of new projects, or of clusters and networks of enterprises. The leading cause for these phenomena is the optimization of the production, by resources and competences sharing. Agent based simulation is an effective paradigm for studying complex systems. It allows the creation of virtual societies, in which each agent can interact with others basing on certain rules. The agents are basic entities, endowed with the capacity of performing certain actions, and with certain variables defining their state. In the model presented

here, the agents are reactive, meaning that they simply react to the stimuli coming from the environment and from other agents, without elaborating their own strategies. When the model is formally built and implemented, it can be run by changing a parameter at a time, and emergence of a complex behaviour occurs.

Agent based Modelling is thus one of most interesting and advanced approaches for simulating a complex system: in a social context, the single parts and the whole are often very hard to describe in detail. Besides, there are agent-based formalisms which allow studying the emergence of social behaviour through the creation and study of models, known as artificial societies. Thanks to the ever increasing computational power, it has been possible to use such models to create software, based on intelligent agents, whose aggregate behaviour is complex and difficult to predict, and which can be used in open and distributed systems.

In Franklin and Graesser (1997) we read that: “An autonomous agent is a system situated within and a part of an environment that senses that environment and acts on it, over time, in pursuit of its own agenda and so as to effect what it senses in the future”.

Another very general, yet comprehensive definition is provided by Jennings (1996): “[...] the term [agent] is usually applied to describe self-contained programs which can control their own actions based on their perceptions of their operating environment”.

Agents have traditionally been categorized as one of the following types (Woolridge & Jennings, 1995):

- Reactive,
- Collaborative/Deliberative,
- Hybrid.

When designing any agent-based system, it is important to determine how sophisticated the agents' reasoning will be. Reactive agents simply retrieve pre-set behaviours similar to reflexes, without maintaining any internal state. On the other hand, deliberative agents behave more like they are thinking, by searching through a space of behaviours, maintaining internal state, and predicting the effect of actions. Although the line between reactive and deliberative agents can be somewhat blurry, an agent with no internal state is certainly reactive, and one that bases its actions on the predicted actions of other agents is deliberative.

The agents used in this paper are reactive, but organized in the form of a MAS (Multi Agent System), which can be thought of as a group of interacting agents working together or communicating among each other. To maximize the efficiency of the system, each agent must be able to reason about other agents' actions in addition to its own. A dynamic and unpredictable environment creates a need for an agent to employ flexible strategies. The more flexible the strategies however, the more difficult it becomes to predict what the other agents are going to do. For this reason, coordination mechanisms have been developed to help the agents interact when performing complex actions requiring teamwork. These mechanisms must ensure that the plans of individual agents do not conflict, while guiding the agents in pursuit of the system goals. Many simulation paradigms exist; agent-based simulation is probably the one that best captures the human factor behind decisions. This is because the model is not organized with explicit equations, but is made up of many different entities with their own behaviour. The macro results emerge naturally through the interaction of these micro behaviours and are often more than the algebraic sum of them. This is why this paradigm is optimal for the purposes of modelling complex systems and of capturing the human factor. The model presented in this paper strictly follows the agent based paradigm and employs reactive agents, as detailed in the following paragraph.

The model is built in Java, thus following the Object Oriented philosophy (Barclay & Savage, 2004) and has been engineered and built at the *ICxT L @B*, University of Turin (Pironti *et al.*, 2010). This is suitable for agent based modelling, since the individual agents can be seen as objects coming from a prototypal class, interacting among them basing on the internal rules (methods). While the reactive nature of the agents may

seem a limitation, it's indeed a way to keep track of the aggregate behaviour of a large number of entities acting in the same system at the same time. All the numerical parameters can be decided at the beginning of each simulation (e.g.: number of enterprises, and so on). Everything in the model is seen as an agent; thus we have three kinds of agents: Environment, Enterprises and Emissaries (E³). This is done since each of them, even the environment, is endowed with some actions to perform.

Environment

This is a meta-agent, representing the environment in which the proper agents act. It's considered an agent itself, since it can perform some actions on the others and on the heat. It features the following properties: a grid (X,Y), i.e.: a lattice in the form of a matrix, containing cells; a dispersion value, i.e.: a real number used to calculate the dissipated heat at each step; the heat threshold under which an enterprise ceases; a value defining the infrastructure level and quality; a threshold over which new enterprises are introduced; a function polling the average heat (of the whole grid). The environment affects the heat dispersion over the grid and, based on the parameter described above, allows new enterprises to join the world.

Enterprise

This is the most important and central type of agent in the model. Its behaviour is based on the reactive paradigm, i.e.: stimulus-reaction. The goal for these agents is that of surviving in the environment (i.e.: never go under the minimum allowed heat threshold). They are endowed with a heat level (energy) that will be consumed when performing actions. They feature a unique ID, a coordinate system (to track their position on the lattice), and a real number identifying the heat they own. The most important feature of the enterprise agent is a matrix identifying which competences (processes) it can dispose of. In the first row, each position of the vector identifies a specific competence, and is equal to 1, if disposed of, or to 0 if lacking. A second row is used to identify internal competences or outsourced ones (in that case, the ID of the lender is memorized). A third row is used to store a value to identify the owned competences developed after a phase of internal exploration, to distinguish them from those possessed from the beginning. Besides, an enterprise can be "settled", or "not settled", meaning that it joined the world, but is still looking for the best position on the territory through its emissary. The enterprise features a wired original behaviour: internally or externally explorative. This is the default behaviour, the one with which an enterprise is born, but it can be changed under certain circumstances. This means that an enterprise can be naturally oriented to internal explorative strategy (preferring to develop new processes internally), but can act the opposite way, if it considers it can be more convenient. Of course, the externally explorative enterprises have a different bias from internally explorative ones, when deciding what strategy to actually take.

Finally, the enterprise keeps track of its collaborators (i.e.: the list of enterprise with whom it is exchanging competencies and making synergies) and has a parameters defining the minimum number of competencies it expects to find, in order to form a joint. The main goal for each enterprise is that of acquiring competences, both through internal (e.g.: research and development) and external exploration (e.g.: forming new links with other enterprises). The enterprises are rewarded with heat based on the number of competences they possess (different, parameterized weights for internal or external ones), that is spread in the surrounding territory, thus slowly evaporating, and is used for internal and external exploration tasks.

Emissary

These are agents that strictly belong to the enterprises, and are to be seen as probes able to move on the territory and detect information about it. They are used in two different situation: 1) if the enterprise is not settled yet (just appeared on the territory) it's sent out to find the best place where to settle. 2) if the enterprise is settled and chooses to explore externally, an emissary is sent out to find the best possible partners

While moving, the emissary consumes a quantum of heat, that is directly dependant on the quality of

infrastructures of the environment.

In order to formally describe the model, a set of equations is described in the following.

The multi agent system at time T is defined as:

$$MAS_T = \langle \bar{E}, \bar{e}, \bar{\epsilon}, \overline{link} \rangle \quad (1)$$

Where \bar{E} represents the environment and is formed by a grid $n * m$, and a set \bar{k} :

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \bar{E} = \langle n * m, \bar{k} \rangle \\ n, m > 0 \end{array} \right. \quad (2)$$

Where the set \bar{k} defines the heat for each cell, \bar{e} is the set of enterprises with coordinates on the grid, and $\bar{\epsilon}$ is the set of the emissaries, also scattered on the grid:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \bar{k} = \langle k_{i,j} \rangle \\ \bar{e} = \langle e_{i',j'} \rangle \\ \bar{\epsilon} = \langle \epsilon_{i'',j''} \rangle \\ 0 < i, i', i'' \leq n \\ 0 < j, j', j'' \leq m \end{array} \right. \quad (3)$$

Each enterprise is composed by a vector \vec{c} , and an emissary (ϵ_e). The vector \vec{c} defines the owned competences, with a length L and competences C_l represented by a boolean variable (where 1 means that the l^{th} competence is owned, while 0 means that it's lacking):

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} e_{i,j} \ni \vec{c}, \epsilon_e \\ \vec{c} = (L, C_l) \\ 0 \leq l \leq L \\ C_l = \text{Boolean} \end{array} \right. \quad (4)$$

In $T = t > 0$, $k_{i,j}$ that's the heat of each cell on the grid, depends on the heat produced by the enterprises (K_e) and the dispersion effect (d). The heat of each enterprise is function of the competences it possesses and of the behavior it carried on in the last turns (b_e).

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{if } (b = \text{success}) \text{ then } C_l = 1 \\ \text{else } C_l = 0 \\ b \in \bar{b} \end{array} \right. \quad (5)$$

In particular, a certain behavior can be successful, meaning that at the end of a phase of internal or external exploration, a new competence (internal or outsourced, respectively) will be possessed. Otherwise, it's unsuccessful when, after some steps of research and development (internal exploration) or external market research to find a partner, nothing new is found, and thus the l^{th} competence remains zero.

At each time-step the set of links (connecting two enterprises together) is updated basing on the competences of the enterprises.

$$\begin{cases} \overline{\text{link}} = \langle \text{link}(e_{i,j}, e_{i',j'}) \rangle \\ \text{link}(e_{i,j}, e_{i',j'}) = f(\overrightarrow{c_{e_{i,j}}}, \overrightarrow{c_{e_{i',j'}}}) \end{cases} \quad (6)$$

Specifically, when an enterprise does external exploration, it looks for a good partner, i.e.: an enterprise with a number of competences to share.

4. An empirical inspection

Why does the competitive context identified as “Strada della Lana” (Wool Road) seem to have lost its competitive boost?

The diagram confrontation (figures 1 and 2) shows, despite the necessary reductions and simplified illustrations, the scenario's evolution in the last century. In fact, you can see a slow and progressive movement that goes from a chain economy to the emergence of specialized operators who have limited activities of collaboration and exchange. Few of them can link their market image and brand to the value of territorial identity.

Hence, the growing emphasis of the firm's supply models that – first the design, but also the brand (a generator of meaning and identity) and the distribution (a range of experience in which the consumer perceives the brand's value and identity) – outline and defer to the several dimensions that characterize a cultural experience.

These symbolic dimensions of consumers' experience are very important when managing operational and organizational processes in the textile industry, whose benefits have a very intensive role in the processes of construction, communication and development of the consumer's identity. Of course these are extremely intimate benefits for the individual and, thus, directly involved in the consumer's introspective dialogue. At the same time, they are also instantly social benefits and, thus, play a role of communication channels in dialogues with others. Being at the origin of innovation processes for fashion products, creative skills are fundamental to handle this critical relationship between firms and consumers. Therefore, their development and enhancement take on a major strategic value for the fashion industry's competitiveness, as well as for any industrial policy on this key component of products Made in Italy.

In a more and more aggressive competitive global context the choice of counting on the distinctive value of creativity is definitely not new. It has already been adopted by many leading Italian producers, who have made design and communication processes their central component. A little more uncertain is understanding how creativity can be a key competitive driver even for that –incredibly wide - part of the textile industry that cannot count on brands or on consolidated sales networks, or that acts as a service provider to support the leading industries of this sector. Especially more complex seems to be the task of outlining all the different types of competences, not just the strictly creative ones, involved in the stylist innovation process, but understanding how they are distributed along the chain and how they can be integrated in the development phase of new fashion ideas.

Thus, the ability of the textile system to consolidate a creativity based competitive ranking cannot overlook the wide distribution of skills needed to obtain an offer full of high creativity not only for the ultimate industry, but for all the stages of the chain, knowing that creativity is a kind of knowledge that requires a great deal of experience and that, in order to be enhanced, needs to be integrated with manufacturing practices and skills.

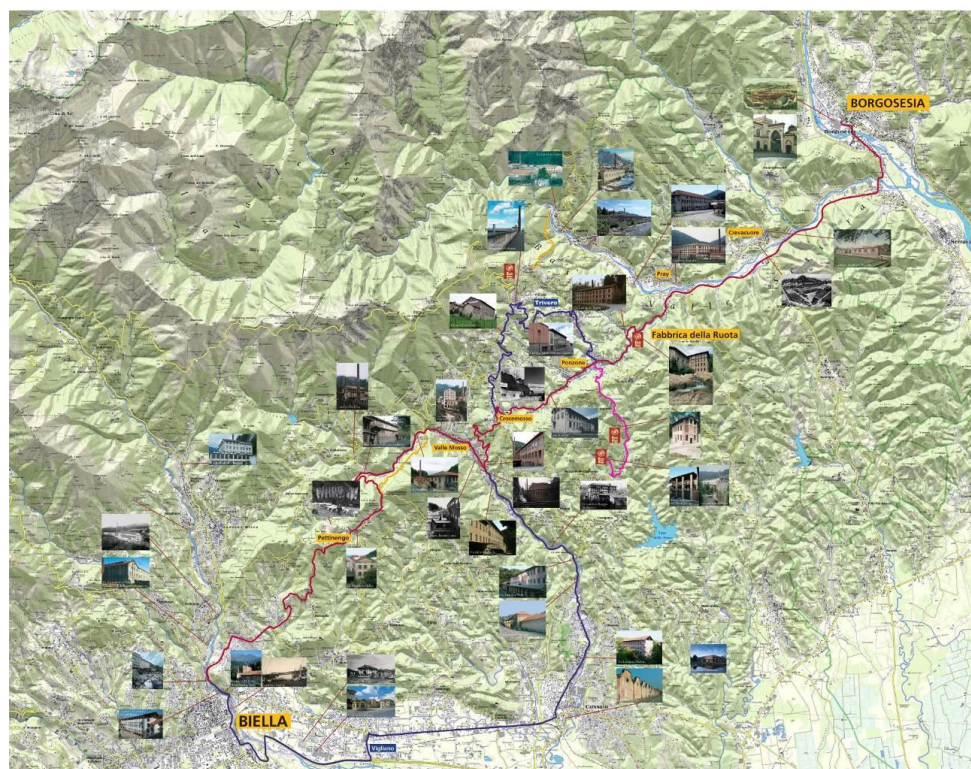


Figure 1. Biella's system in the first half of 1900, DOCBI- Centro Studi Biellesi (Biella's Center of Studies)



Figure 2. Biella's system *today* (b), Processing the data and information provided by DOCBI-Centro Studi Biellesi (Biella's Centre of Studies)

Therefore, the borders between the inside of the company and the relationships between companies and local institutions remain much more separate in a system based on independent companies. The application of the simulation model E³ to the illustrated case shows the evolution dynamics in the competitive context in two different historical moments (Figure 3).

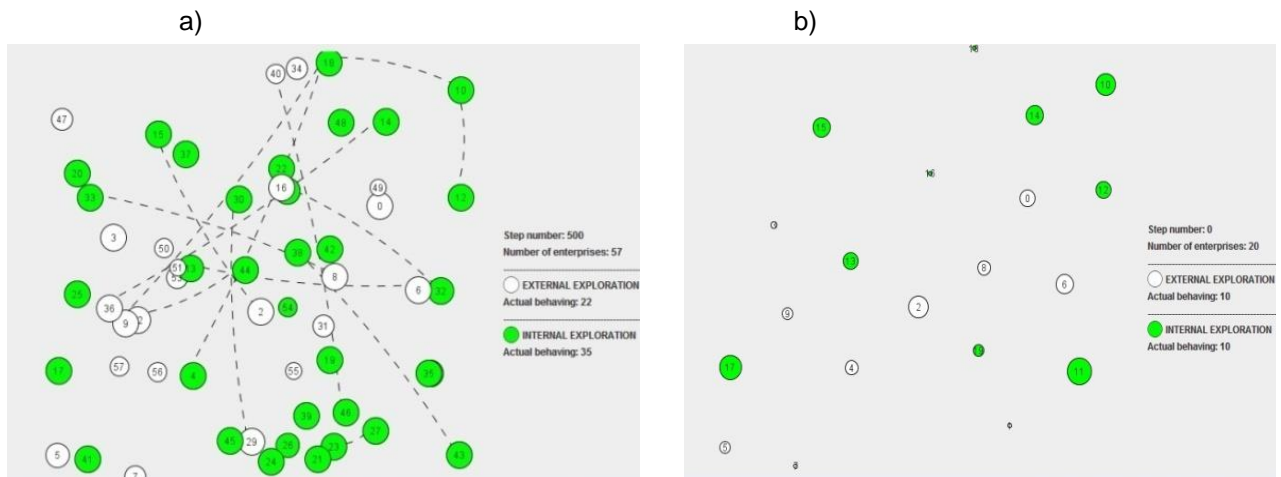


Figure 3. Output of the simulation model E3 in $T = t < t'$ applied to “Biella’s system” “in the first half of 1900” (a) to “today” (b). Source: Processing our agent model

When simulating a different inclination towards the exploration of an internal exploitation focus, you can note (see fig. 4) the effect on both contexts in terms of network density, innovation distribution rate, and the number and dimensions of links (nodi).

Figure 4 shows a panel of simulation indicators with various input fields and sliders. The indicators include:

- Maximum number of steps (0 no limits): 15
- Initial number of Enterprises (0 random): 10
- Initial heat for Enterprises: 20 (Mean: 5, Variance: 5)
- Number of competences: 10
- Competences possessed at startup for each enterprise: 6 (Mean: 2, Variance: 2)
- Threshold for new Enterprise to enter the market: 1 %
- Infrastructure quality: 1 (slider)
- Minimum heat threshold: 4
- Minimum percentage of competences to share for link creation: 1 %
- Emissary step cost: 5 % (slider)
- R&D internal exploration duration (steps): 3
- Internal exploration cost (per step): 1 % (slider)
- Environment control cycles: 5
- Threshold for infrastructure improvement: 0 n.a.
- Index for infrastructure improvement: 0 n.a.
- Heat dispersion index: 9 %
- Lattice dimension: 10 x 10
- Initial External Exploration cost: 15 % (slider)
- Propensity to External Exploration of new Enterprises (average n. of links): 0 . 2
- Number of initial Enterprises doing External Exploration: 5
- Propension to Internal Exploration for externally explorative Enterprises: 6 % (slider)
- Propension to Internal Exploration for internally explorative Enterprises: 4 % (slider)
- Value of internal competences: 1.1
- Value of external competences: 1.0

Figure 4. Panel of simulation indicators

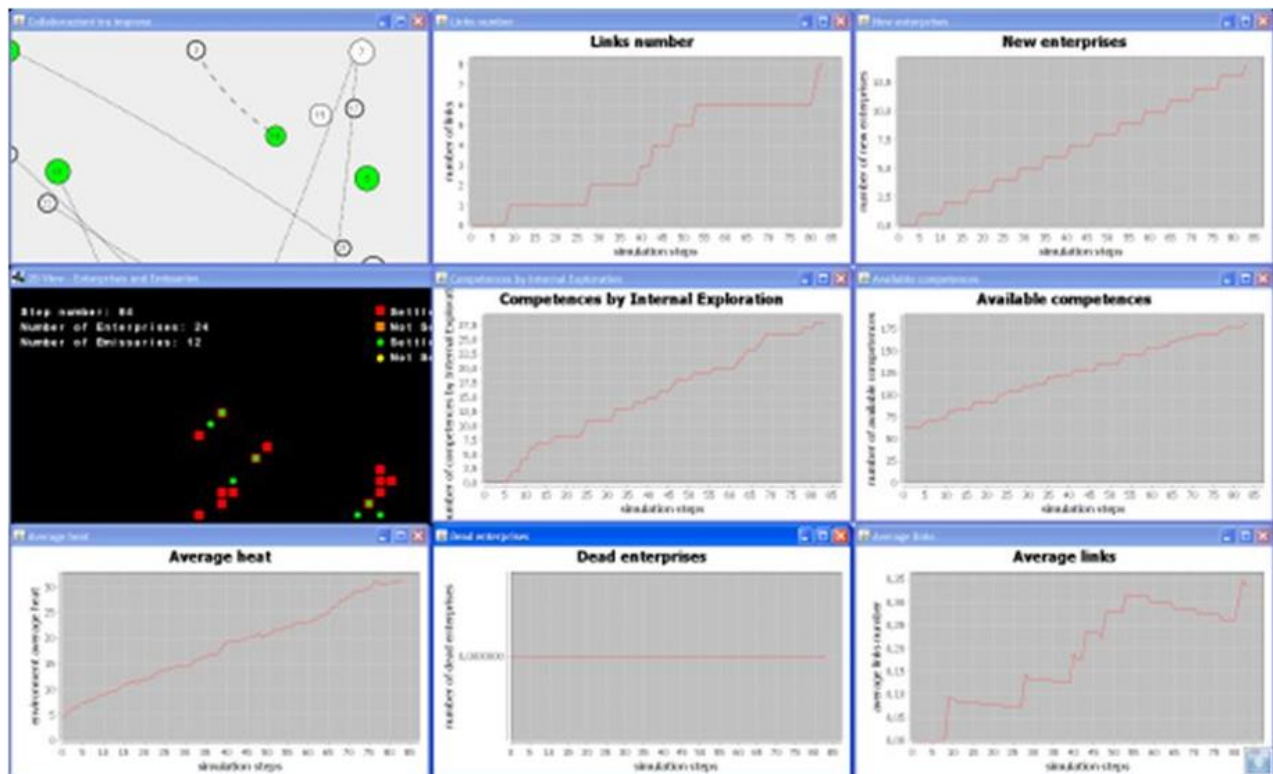


Figure 5. Output diagrams for the analysis of simulation results. Source: Processing our agent model

Conclusion

The vitality and sustainability of a territory requires the enhancement of its historical *roots* (historical-industrial sub-layer), but also and above all the innovation of what is *new* (new businesses, consolidated businesses with new innovation-based business models, business networks, and networks of profit and non-profit companies/institutions/organizations).

The real challenge for a territory's economy is the ability to integrate the *old* with the *new*, the former should be life for the latter, not just a simple coexistence- often forced and/or endured. In order to do this, all of the stake-holders must have the need and convenience to share this co-evolution journey.

Given these conditions, the research issue is based on how the industrial heritage can become a leverage for those subjects who must generate and consolidate their own eventual business model.

This research idea focuses on the definition of a *journey* hypothesis (for example Biella's territory) where the entrepreneurial history can be relived (for example the "Strada della Lana") by collocating the old industries (narrating their industrial traditions) and underlining their new (successful) enterprises.

The value proposition of the *industrial tourist* is connected to the *narration* of the industrial heritage and the *sharing* of new enterprises for business opportunities in terms of industrial, technological partnerships or as acquisition markets.

These research hypothesis have been analyzed using an agent simulation model developed by the authors at ICxT L@b. The evolution of the subjects that make up the network and their dynamics have been assessed with statistics and data mining¹²² instruments.

The model created, suitably parameterized, was applied to Biella's local system in order to analyze the main dynamics that enabled, at a first stage, to adapt to continuous competitive changes and, at a current stage, to gradually lose their competitive drive, except for a restricted number of companies consolidated on

¹²² The use of these instruments has enabled to compare the results of the model with those empirically observed.

national and international markets.

The application of model E³, created by the authors, to the evolution models that Biella adopted in the last century shows, in fact, how the different initial structure of the regional network and its evolution can affect the development of external economies (developed within the model through external exploration strategies) and competitive advantages based, in particular, on spreading and sharing innovative skills and knowledge.

In the first half of 1900, Biella was much more than a built up area of single companies, expert workers, capital assets and technology. It was a complex scheme of an inter-enterprise network of producers who tried to support both innovation and group growth, a solid network system that helped to spread innovation in a more effective way, a scenario in which companies tried to define their contractual relationships with external suppliers by creating strong connections based on consolidated partnerships in a sector that showed a greater and greater intensive capital and that took on the full responsibility for product design and innovation process.

A scenario that today sees the established relationships between large companies and small and middle sized subcontractors, and each of them contributes to providing technology and productive capacity, with a limited contribution to the coevolution innovation process but without creating stable and strategic connections.

As Renzo Piano says about the Italian cultural heritage and the need to revitalize it with actions by those actors who can be found in the current competitive arena, "we are dwarfs on giants' shoulders". The industrial heritage, as cultural heritage, especially the one connected with the manufacturing that in the past was a distinctive trait of the Italian firms' competitiveness in the global scenario, is our *giant* on whose shoulders are the *dwarfs* - the present economic, institutional and cultural operators - that, through actions of the *system* must try not to waste the enormous historical-industrial inheritance, but enhance it as a leverage of competitive advantage. A heritage consolidated through centuries of industrial history that no other economy in the world is able to *narrate* and that can become the motivation for relaunching new competitive models.

Several studies highlight the inadequacy of the traditional competitive view of the relationships between companies in favor of a market structure that, instead, sees companies ready to cooperate. Thus, cooperation describes a new competitive profile: from firm-to-firm competition to a network-to-network competition (Vicari, 1989).

Therefore, the authors' proposition goes towards a change of the firms' strategic attitude, aimed at overcoming what the geneticist Cavalli Sforza emblematically defined as the *Palio di Siena Syndrome*: the competitor's goal is losing so that the opponent loses too, instead of winning together.

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The Open Archive: Toward a Framework for the Design of Virtual Exhibition of Archival Contents Enabling an Effective Audience Engagement

Radice, Sara

Aspi - Archivio storico della psicologia italiana, Università degli studi di Milano-Bicocca

Milan, Italy

sara.radice@unimib.it

Abstract

The paper presents the research activities related to the online valorisation of the mind sciences archives funds collected within the ongoing project *Mind sciences in Milan and in the Milan area. Census and enhancement of the archives funds*, developed by the interdepartmental research centre Aspi - Archivio storico della psicologia italiana at Università degli studi di Milano-Bicocca. The overall aim is to investigate current tendencies for what concern the models adopted by cultural institutions for making accessible online and exhibiting digital archives funds. Moving from the theoretical framework, the paper presents a catalogue of best practices that have been considered for setting the guideline of the research, identifying diverse approaches to virtual exhibitions of digital archival contents, and suggesting a methodological framework conceived as the theoretical and practical prerequisite for the design and implementation of effective virtual exhibitions capable of responding to the emerging expectations of contemporary audiences.

Keywords: digital archive, virtual exhibition; audience engagement; public participation

Introduction

The paper aims at outlining the first findings of an ongoing research project, framed within the project “Mind sciences in Milan and in the Milan area. Census and enhancement of the archives funds” carried out by the interdepartmental research centre Aspi - Archivio storico della psicologia italiana, Università degli studi di Milano-Bicocca, and funded by Regione Lombardia (October 2014 - October 2015).

The identification, collection, preservation and promotion of documentary sources related to the history of nineteenth and twentieth century Italian science of mind –including psychiatry, psychology, psychoanalysis, neurology, psychology –is the permanent scientific project of the centre Aspi, in the firm belief that archival materials should be part of a widely accessible public heritage. A multidisciplinary team composed of archivists, historians of psychology, historians of science, designers, and computer scientists, takes care of the organization, conservation and online enhancement of the archives, and over the past ten years the centre Aspi recovered, digitized and made available online the original contributions of the most respected Italian scholars in the disciplinary domain of the sciences of mind in the ninth and twentieth centuries, and today is a national centre for the collection of all archives related to this field.

Overall, the research project *Mind sciences in Milan and in the Milan area* has the main objectives of realizing a census of the archive funds about the science of mind held by institutions, families and people in Milan and in the Milan area and to recover, catalog and digitize the photographic and video library of the archives of the Psychiatric Hospital of Mombello and of the Psychiatric Hospital Paolo Pini, preserved in the premises of the Provincia di Milano. This paper specifically addresses the project phase dedicated to the online valorization of the results achieved by the census through the publication on the web portal Aspi¹²³ of

¹²³ <http://www.aspi.unimib.it>.

critical apparatuses of historical and scientific contextualization, photo galleries and interactive visualizations. In fact, since May 2015, thanks to the renovation of the Aspi web platform for what concern the managing software for the archival collections, the content managing system for online publication, and the front-end graphics design, Internet users can access an heterogeneous digitized cultural heritage – which for example includes instruments collections, pictures, and books collections – along with critical apparatus, contextualization insights, and photo galleries. Thanks to the adoption of the free open-source software CollectiveAccess¹²⁴ developed for managing and publishing museum and archival collections, and of the knowledge management application Tykli¹²⁵ based on big data and semantic web technologies, the sections of the web portal dedicated to the archives and those dedicated to their historical and scientific contextualization are, in fact, better integrated, highlighting, in particular, the relationship between the protagonists of the history of science of the mind; scientific paths on the archival documents; the care and research centres; the history of psychology journals; and scientific instruments. The integration of all these types of content, correlated with the original archival documents, allow an easier experience of navigation, not only for scholar and experts of the disciplines' domain, but also for other general audiences passionate about the disciplines, which can easily access the available documentation about the history of the science of the mind. The main goal is to set the Aspi web portal as a virtual place where both scholars of the diverse disciplines that contribute to the sciences of the mind and the wide public will have access to the original archival document through an interface that offers diverse point of access to the contents according to the various profiles and interests of the public.

Within this context, the overall aim of the research addressed by the paper, is to investigate the state of the art as well as ongoing tendencies for what concern the models adopted by cultural institutions for making accessible and exhibiting online their archival digitized funds. The paper will identify diverse approaches of virtual exhibitions of digital archival contents, which have been considered for setting the guideline of the research, suggesting a methodological framework conceived as the theoretical prerequisite for the design and implementation of effective virtual exhibitions capable of responding to the emerging expectations of contemporary audiences. The research activities are related to the specificity of the context of the research centre Aspi, whose digital archives constitute a favourable testing ground for experimenting with novel models of online exhibition of archival materials.

1. Accessibility and use of digital archives

The need for appropriate and effective communication and dissemination tools, which can respond to different audience profiles expectations, is clearly expressed in literature and widely recognized by cultural professionals, and within this context, digital archives are increasingly considered a fertile field of experimentation of principle and practices of the design discipline for the valorization of cultural heritage.

The digitization of documents, in fact, only constitutes the first step towards a novel notion of the status of the archive itself that more and more is being described using terms like *open*, *virtual*, and *mobile*, as opposed to the terms *closed*, *physical*, and *fixed*, which in the common sense were traditionally associated to the notion of the archive. In this perspective, the nature itself of digitized documents may foster novel forms of use and interaction, which tend to respond to the emerging expectations of an audience very different from the past, consisting of specialists and scholars, as well as non-experts who want to be represented by the institution in participatory and direct ways. In fact, in recent years, novel forms of mediation enabled by digital technologies have changed people's expectations when dealing with heritage, and within this scenario, GLAMs are increasingly replacing linear models of knowledge transmission with "transactional models" (Hooper-Greenhill, 1995) in which the information is formulated, communicated and interpreted in a

¹²⁴ <http://www.collectiveaccess.org>.

¹²⁵ <http://tyk.li>.

circular process, allowing the public to switch from a passive to an active role. New technologies have, in fact, the potential to provide users with a set of digital instruments that can substantially change the relationship between the cultural assets and the users themselves, who become actively involved in the virtual experience of visit.

In this perspective, as GLAMs increasingly promote alternative ways of interpreting their collections, encouraging various interpretations that reflect visitors' perspectives, interpretation becomes an act of empowerment that reflects upon publicity the decisions behind selecting alternative context of meaning. This is particularly true in the digital era in which the potential discursive effects of interactive institutional databases enable users to engage with information in ways previously not possible, hence calling into question the current epistemological foundations of the existing documentary structures. Furthermore, the potential to move from a standardized linear narrative descriptive format and incorporate diverse media, visualizations, and simulations has major implications for the types of interpretive evidence collected, recorded, digitized, and created around archival collections, that might be revisited considering how diverse cultural and theoretical ideas, such as polysemic interpretive models, might be enhanced by the technological potentialities (Cameron, 2012: 225–226).

The main issues investigated in this paper, therefore, concern how novel languages and narrative structures that underly the design of virtual exhibitions, may support a more effective valorization of heterogeneous collections of complex assets (such as the Aspi collections are) that give form to an integrated system consisting of processes, materials, instruments, original documents, photographs, and their relationship, which together represent the multifaceted nature of the contemporary archive.

Recognized that the digitization of cultural heritage has the potential to overcome a static conservation of the physical artifacts, by means of dynamic usage models, it is to underly that the mere digitization of cultural assets is not sufficient to promote their use for research, educational and distance education projects, and creative reuse. Digitization is, in fact, only the prerequisite for the creation of new modalities of access to heritage, which in its digital nature may act as facilitator of connections between objects and objects, objects and users, as well as users and users. However, cultural institutions are often in the contradictory situation of having undertaken expensive campaigns of digitization and cataloguing of their assets, which remains, nevertheless, mostly inaccessible to the public. There are many examples of online archival information systems adopted by cultural institutions and other public or private entities with the aim of better valorize their archives. However—although achieving high standards of scientific research and using appropriate graphic representations of the structure of the archive, and making extensive use of high resolution images—many of these systems often reveal weaknesses for those audiences not already skilled in the archives domain, because of the lack of digital tools dedicated at the mediation of the raw archival content, through the publication of virtual exhibitions along with interpretive apparatuses, which are suitable also for a non-specialist audience.

Today, in the era of the “post-Internet museum” (Walsh, 2007: 31), digital technology is simultaneously a new art medium and a new way of interpreting and publicizing heritage, exactly like the photographic medium was when it appeared on the scene. However, despite the digitization of enormous quantity of artifacts of various types, the uses archives and GLAMs at large make of digital artifacts “still closely resemble printed catalogues and exhibition brochures with a few technological flourishes rather than a fundamental change in approach” (Walsh, 2007: 31). Virtual environments cannot just replicate the traditional communication and stylistic patterns, but needs to be designed through the use of new languages. In fact, where the space is virtually limitless issues concerning display and organizational strategies become more challenging than in the actual galleries where designers and curators have to deal with physical constraints. While there are several codified strategies and an extensive literature about the types and modes of physical exhibitions, and despite several projects in virtual environment have been carried out in recent

years, there is not yet a systemized methodology that can be applied to organizational strategies for what concerns digital collections. In fact, even though the adoption of digital technology in the design of cultural experiences have become emblematic of the emergence of novel communication models focused on democratizing the interpretation of cultural contents, often, even when digital media replace traditional ways of conveying meanings, the modalities by which visitors might engage with heritage remains essentially the same.

The effectiveness of the digital archive in engaging the public may be related to its potential of being *animated*, implying “[...] a user-centered approach to the construction of archives that builds a multiplicity of use-scenarios into the very architecture of the archive; breaks down partitions between collections and bricks-and-mortar institutions (through, for example, open application programming interfaces); engages real or potential user communities from the outset (in processing, tagging, and metadata development); and integrates curatorial and content-production tools into access portals” (Lunenfeld *et al*, 2012: 48).

Giving users the possibility to interact with data, as well as create their own content and upload it into the archives’ collections may increase public ownership and responsibility of the individual towards the cultural assets, while building virtual communities and user groups. At the same time, digital social engagement may help GLAMs achieving those goals they would never have the time, financial or staff resource to achieve on their own (Holley, 2010). The contribute to the cultural institution by the online community requires different types of interaction including correction and transcription tasks, contextualization, complementing collection, classification, co-curation, and crowdfunding (Oomen & Aroyo, 2011), depending on whether it is intended to pursue the quantity or quality of the contributions (Uribe & Serradell, 2012). Letting users to contribute to online collections, for example through folksonomic tagging or re-contextualizing items according their personal criteria, may disclose the public attitudes about the significance of particular artifact that could also be dissonant with the meaning attributed by the cultural institution that holds the collection, satisfying “[...] the need for new legitimizations in relation to social demands based on facilitated access, the desire for representation, the possibility to create new methods of forming memories” (Irace, 2013: 12).

In this direction, the European Commission and Directorate-General for the Information Society and Media states a list of recommendations concerning the digitization of European cultural heritage (European Commission & Directorate-General for the Information Society and Media, 2011: 4–7) in which a particular emphasis is given on the guarantee of cross-border access and re-use of public domain material digitized with public funding, and on the adoption of a European legal instrument for the management of orphan and out of distribution works. This kind of approach, which encourages online users to actively contribute, may also push cultural institutions to re-think conceptually and thematically the organization of their collections in a way that is responsive of audience’s expectations and attitudes. This does not mean that the archive authority will be undermined, as well as it does not imply an abdication of curatorial, educational or design responsibility. Rather, a user-centered approach implies presenting offerings that involve interaction and customized elements, incorporating both the perspective of archive’s core audiences—those groups who have a special understanding of the collections—and the perspective of other non-expert current and potential users.

These issues are regarded from the perspective of the design discipline, underpinning a more comprehensive notion of heritage valorization design oriented, in which the designer assumes the strategic role of mediator among the actors involved in the design process, and relying upon the main hypothesis that, although through diverse design approaches, users’ active engagement might enhance the experience of heritage while responding to the emerging expectations of contemporary audiences.

2. Users expectations and needs

Being sensitive to archives’ users, determining who they are and how they perceive the online experience of

visit, is therefore the first step for improving the quality of the cultural offer, focusing on the constituency of the new audiences of cultural institutions. In user-centered design, the system of *personas*—fictional characters created to represent the different kind of users inside a specific demographic segment that potentially can use a service or a product—is a useful tool for the evaluation of the user's desires and restrictions that may effectively be used to orient the decisions in a design process also within this context. In fact, understanding the user experience requires a holistic analysis that takes into account the “visitor's identity-related visit motivations” (Falk, 2009: 35) that are the reasons for which people decide to visit a cultural institution and which make sense of their experience.

Relying on the motivational profiles defined by diverse authors (Falk, Moussouri, & Coulson 1998; Sachatello-Sawyer *et al.* 2002; Arts Council England 2008; Falk 2009), which reflect visitors' individual needs and motivations according to their framework of knowledge, expectations, interests and concerns, for the purpose of this research the following *personas*, representing five audience constituencies, have been considered:

- The *professional*, who have very conscious reasons for visiting, like interest in the topic, or the desire to extend her/his professional or vocational interests in a specific subject matter;
- The *knowledge seeker*, who typically is a student in a field related to the topic and wishes to increase her/his knowledge;
- The *hobbyist*, who typically has higher levels of education and wishes to satisfy personal curiosity in discovering more about the topic;
- The *socializer*, who although not particularly interested in the topic, uses the visit as an opportunity to spend time together with someone whom they care, or to fulfill the expectations of family members or friends;
- The *occasional passer-by*, who although not interested in the topic, accesses the archival collection while performing online researches in other disciplinary domains for reason of study or work.

Identity motivations can help GLAMs understand audience's expectations, letting to important implication for the design of digital exhibitions that should incorporate a range of different, fulfilling the range of motivations for which people decide to visit the archive and using diverse interpretive apparatuses of cultural assets. An effective digital engagement strategy should, in fact, be aimed at bridging the gap between the cultural offer (assets) and the people who might be interested in this (audience profiles).

In developing a digital engagement strategy, GLAMs need to make a distinction between the audiences already digitally reached, and those audience profiles that are not yet part of the institution's online community. As most people with an Internet connection are either consciously or unconsciously a member of one or more online institutionalised or spontaneous communities, once defined the main groups that make up the audience consistency, it could be useful to verify how these groups might relate to online communities, inquiring what are the shared interests and values of the audience's groups. Thinking about the audience as a potential member of an online community might, in fact, help to develop meaningful targeted digital activities. For example, the use of biographical or historical thematic tours, as a point of access to the archival corpora and repository and then allow users to refine their research through subsequent searches focuses, has been identified as a useful way for providing the first level of information using a communication code suitable also for a non-specialistic audience.

The adoption of differentiated paths of access and navigation, according to the diverse targeted audience profiles, is thus increasingly a need to consider in the design of the use and accessibility of the digital archives. Adopting a user-centered approach to the design of online archival exhibitions, cultural institutions may, in fact, pursue different kinds of interactions between users and digital artifacts that may serve as reference collection, learning resources and collective memory easily available to all.

3. Study of cases

In order to outline the current tendencies and approaches for what concern the modalities and strategies used to exhibit online digital archival contents, a phase of the research has been dedicated to the selection and analysis of a sample of projects, which are relevant for the main research goal to define a methodological design framework for the implementation of virtual exhibitions of archival contents capable of effectively engaging audiences. This paper does not include the description and analysis of the selected projects because lying outside the specific purpose of the paper; below, the criteria adopted for the selection and analysis of cases are instead explained because considered of relevance for achieving the objective of the research.

4. Identified metaphors of representation

The selection of the cases to be investigated has been conducted through desk research identifying twenty relevant projects specifically dedicated at the online exhibition of archival assets, which have been categorized according to the prevailing metaphor of representation adopted to display contents. With reference to the description given by Nicks (2002: 359) of the main thematic structures commonly used in museums for arranging the exhibition's core idea, themes and sub-themes, five possible visual metaphors of representation for displaying cultural assets have been identified:

- *Physicalization* structure presents topics within a re-created physical or intellectual virtual environment that helps to provide context for enriched understanding and for facilitating the navigation among contents (e.g. The Gallery of Lost Art, Tate Gallery, 2013¹²⁶);
- *Catalog* structure addresses each topic independently within a single gallery or area of the virtual exhibition, using a similar order of presentation for facilitating comparative analysis. The order in which users access content may be random (e.g. Europeana 1914-1918¹²⁷);
- *Timeline* structure assumes that an ordered and controlled presentation is needed to ensure the comprehension of the relationships among contents. This model is common in historical and biographical exhibitions (e.g. East End Stories, Parrish Art Museum, 2012¹²⁸);
- *Map* structure allows users to explore the exhibition navigating through an interactive map which can be both physical (often with geolocalized contents) and intellectual, facilitating thematic comparison among the presented assets, which are often presented synchronically (e.g. Mapping the Republic of Letters, Humanities+Design at CESTA - Stanford University¹²⁹);
- *Serendipitous discovery* structure allows users to navigate through contents randomly, often starting from a search keyword, also without previously exactly knowing what they were searching (e.g. Serendip-o-matic, Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media - George Mason University¹³⁰).

5. The visual tool for the qualitative analysis of cases

Cases have been considered with a qualitative approach in order to highlight the macro design guidelines, and using a radar chart (Figure 1), displaying multivariate qualitative data in the form of a two-dimensional map. Twelve qualitative variables are represented on axes starting from the same center point; the length (1 to 4 points) of axes corresponds to the qualitative observation made for each considered criterion. These criteria of analysis have been identified thanks to the preliminary literature review and verified through the study of cases:

¹²⁶ <http://www.tate.org.uk/about/projects/gallery-lost-art>.

¹²⁷ <http://www.europeana1914-1918.eu>.

¹²⁸ <http://artists.parrishart.org/index.php/eastend/Chronology/Index>.

¹²⁹ <http://republicofletters.stanford.edu>.

¹³⁰ <http://serendip-o-matic.com>.

- Participatory tools: presence of tools enabling users' active participation (e.g. social tagging systems, comment boards, instant messaging);
- Personal tools: presence of tools dedicated at the creation and management of personal content (e.g. creation of personal galleries);
- Updatability: possibility for institutional staff of easily keep contents up to date;
- Information: presence of exhaustive interpretive apparatuses;
- Architecture: effectiveness of the information architecture and indexing of contents;
- Search: effectiveness of the tools dedicated to the search of specific archival contents;
- Collections display: effectiveness and usability of the front-end interface displaying the archival collections;
- Attractiveness and consistency: aesthetic attractiveness of the graphic interface; consistency throughout the web portal and in reference to the targeted audience;
- Language: consistency of the linguistic register in reference to the targeted audiences;
- Availability of sources: access to the original archival materials;
- Use of contents: the possibility of re-using the archival materials for personal projects (e.g. distance education, creative projects);
- Sharing tools: presence of tools dedicated to social sharing of contents (e.g. social media, other external institutional web platforms).

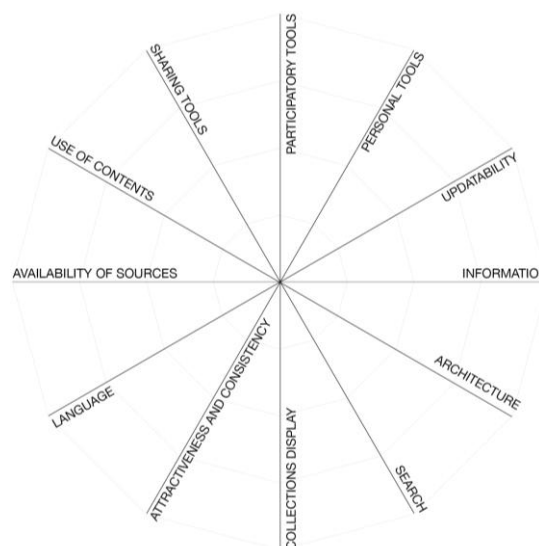


Figure 1. The radar chart used for the qualitative analysis of cases.

6. Toward a design framework for exhibiting archive materials online

Relying on the insights drawn upon the study of cases and literature review, this section of the paper presents a methodological design framework proposed with the aim of helping the design of the strategies and processes useful at engaging diverse audiences when dealing with the development of a virtual exhibition of archival contents.

6.1 Digital engagement strategy tendencies driving the design of virtual exhibitions

The definition of the specific institutional goals to be achieved and the intended visitor experiences need to be derived from the preliminary design phase in which the concept of the main theme of the exhibition is created, tested and refined. The virtual exhibition, in fact, may be part of a long-term strategic exhibition plan of the institution, part of a collection valorization project, or part of a strategic marketing plan to reach new

audiences and needs to be assessed in order to determine its feasibility. Moreover, the exhibition theme might be supportive of archive's mission and collection, relevant, and connective with other institutional programs. For all these reasons, the ability to creatively turn an institutional asset into content that resonates with the targeted audience might be one of the key characteristics of a successful digital engagement strategy. Connecting with new audiences and strengthening existing relationships for entering into a value exchange with the audience are key phases of a digital engagement strategy, which connects the institutional assets with the targeted audiences.

The analysis of cases allowed to distinguish diverse modalities of exploration of digital archives, corresponding to six specific approaches that have been identified as potential design drivers for the development of digital archival exhibitions.

As shown in Figure 2, the twelve axes of the radar chart used for the analysis of cases outline six main digital strategy tendencies, which can be alternative to each other or co-exist within the same project, as the prevalence of one approach does not exclude the presence of others:

- Community building: the main goal is to promote the interaction among users and between users and cultural institution thanks to integration with social networks platforms and other sharing tools;
- Interaction: the main goal is to promote the interaction between users and contents thanks to the presence of tools dedicated to the creation and managing of personal contents;
- Contents: the main goal is present well-structured contents, such as high-quality text and images, which are consistent with the role of the cultural institution;
- Search: the main goal is to facilitate scientific research among archival contents thanks to advanced search tools and effective tools for the visualization of results;
- Interface: the main goal is to engage users through an aesthetically attractive and coherent interface design and by using a language consistent with the targeted audiences;
- Accessibility: the main goal is to make accessible online as much as possible original archival documents.



Figure 2. Main digital engagement strategy tendencies that have been identified through the analysis of cases.

Once the digital engagement strategy has been defined, the organizational and semantics structure of the information, content, processes and functions of the project need to be integrated in the information architecture. It includes the analysis, selection and design of technical and cultural tools for organizing, cataloging, searching, browsing and presenting all the content, taking into account the design of the model of

interaction, the design of the operational flows and processes which users will perform, and the design of the front-end interface that presents data, content and interaction tools.

6.2 Design outcomes

In according to the digital strategy tendencies drawn upon the study of cases and described in the previous sections of this paragraph, six design outcomes have been identified and will serves as guide for the development of the design methodological framework. In fact, the diverse approaches to virtual exhibition, which mirror the specific institutional goals that the archive wants to achieve through the virtual exhibition, may originate diverse possible operative outcomes.

1. The *leaflet* model, in which only general information are presented, without access to the archival collections. This model is well suited for those audience profiles belonging to the target groups of *socializers*, *hobbyists* and *occasional passers-by*, who typically do not claim an active role during the experience of visit and are not interested in a deep study of the topic. Users are exposed to the proposed contents, acting as essentially passive spectator. Within this model, the prevailing institutional goal concerns users engagement through an attractive interface design and interpretive apparatuses consistent with the targeted audiences, exploiting the communicative and emotional nature that cultural collections may have.
2. The *content focused model*, which gives users the possibility to actively explore online the collections, and access the archival documents. This model is well suited for those audience profiles belonging to the target groups of the *professionals* and *knowledge seekers*, who want to deepen specific issues of the topic. Whithin this model, users are required to act as active participant during the visit, interacting with the proposed contents in order to deepening the exploration of the exhibition, according to their personal choiches and interests. The prevailing institutional goals concern the exhibition of scientific and structured contents to facilitate the scientific research among archival contents.
3. The *dialogic* model, in which the primary institutional goal is to stimulate the active participation of the audience, by promoting activities of social sharing of exhibited contents, as well as their creative reuse for artistic, scientific, or distance education projects. This model embraces diverse audience profiles including those belonging to the target groups of the *socializers* and *occasional passers-by*, as well as to *professionals*, *knowledge seekers* and *hobbyists*. In fact, although the main institutional goal is to promote interaction (users-users and users-contents), the presence of tools dedicated to the creation, managing, and sharing of personal contents, makes this model well suited also for those audience profiles interested in the use of cultural assets for personal purposes of diverse nature, rather than in taking active part in virtual social interactions with other users.

The presented design outcome, describe three main models of virtual exhibitions, which demand users to interact according diverse modalities, and to which may correspond one or more digital strategy that the archive aims to reach, in relation to the targeted audiences.

A virtual experience designed according to a user-centered approach should, in fact, define precise navigation tracks that guide users through the exploration of the virtual environment. This does not mean not allow user to freely discover contents that would result in a non-interactive experience, however, it means consider the diverse targeted audience groups, in order to develop the virtual experience accordingly to their framework of knowledge, expectations, interests, concerns, and emotions. This is explicitated in the design of an interactive virtual space that allows users to create an accurate mental map of the online environment to better navigate through the exhibited contents and in the development of the narrative structure of the virtual exhibition, through the adoption of a methaphor of representation of the cultural assets, which contribute to transform the virtual space into an emotional space.

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Academic Beginnings: Arts Management Training and Cultural Policy Studies

Redaelli, Eleonora

University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon, USA
redaelli@uoregon.edu

Abstract

Educational programs are an essential component in the field of arts management and cultural policy research: they serve to sustain the value and legitimacy of research, they establish the foundations of inquiry and they are necessary to the reproduction of knowledge producers in the field. Building on historical references that are primarily drawn from the United States and from United Kingdom, this paper tries to present some seminal moments for arts management and cultural policy research in academic context. What are the connections between arts management training programs and cultural policy studies? What are some cognate fields? How did the main journal and conferences were established? This paper addresses these questions and illustrates the diversities and the commonalities that traverse the field and its institutionalization in academic context.

Keywords: arts management training; cultural policy studies; academic history

Introduction

The field of arts management and cultural policy research occupies a transdisciplinary space that is yet to be understood. The argument of this paper is that in order to understand how the field works, it is important to trace its role in academia, in particular looking how and why it has been established. How and why did arts management emerge as an academic program? How and why did cultural policy studies develop? I will examine the development of arts management within higher education by looking at handbooks that framed the discipline in a comprehensive way. I will also consider few cognate fields that emerged in academia, more or less at the same time, and present similarities to arts management. Finally, I will analyse the formation of cultural policy studies looking at the conferences and journals that have developed its discourse, and highlighting cultural policy studies' connections with the social sciences and humanities.

1. Arts management training

1.1 Programs

Arts management in higher education emerged in the United States in the 1960s (Chong 2000, 2010; Dubois 2013). The first two post-graduate arts management programs were introduced at Yale and Florida State in 1966 (Peterson, 1986). As of 2014, the Association for Arts Administrator Educators (AAAE) counts more than 40 undergraduate and more than 60 graduate arts administration programs in its membership (AAAE, 2013). The majority of the members are American programs, but they include also few international programs. Besides the growing number of arts administration programs in higher education, there are also several programs offered by arts organizations. To cite two main examples: the Getty Leadership Institute at Claremont University and the DeVos Institute of Arts Management at the Kennedy Center.

The emergence of a complex environment at the beginning of the XX century, where arts organizations needed to be accountable to different kinds of patrons – from private donors to foundations and government

agencies – led to a bureaucratization of arts organizations. For many arts organizations, this bureaucratization resulted in a situation where they required technically-trained personnel able to produce documents required for purposes of accountability (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). The Performing Arts Problems and Prospects (1965), released by the Rockefeller Foundation, for instance, clearly states the need for technically trained staff (Peterson 1986; Reiss 1970). Several training programs were subsequently launched by professional organizations such as the American Symphony Orchestra League (ASOL) and the Business Committee for the Arts (Redaelli, 2012).

It is important to note what was happening in academia when the arts administration program developed. In the United States, the first programs in arts management were developed as master's degrees; it was only in the 1980s that undergraduate programs were introduced. This is worth noting because it happened in the context of big changes in American higher education. The post-World War II years were characterized by expansion, diversification, and professionalization of master's-level education (Conrad & Eagan 1990; Conrad, Haworth, & Millar 1993). In the early 1960s, the yearly output of master's degrees had risen to nearly three times the numbers awarded in the 1940s. The growth in numbers coincided with a growth in diversification that reflected the development of new fields and subfields. The majority of new fields were professional fields – given that a knowledge-based society created the need for advanced training in applied fields. By the 1970s, the master's degree, more than a way station on the road to a doctoral degree, had become an instrument for certifying students for careers in the public and private sectors. Comparatively, in Canada, York University introduced an MBA program in 1969 (Reiss, 1991) and saw the development of several arts administration programs in the 1980s (Poole, 2008). In 1983, the Canadian Association of Arts Administration Educators (CAAEE) was created following a meeting, sponsored by the Canadian Council at the Buff Centre, which had gathered 33 participants of institutions offering or intending to offer programs in arts administration.

In Europe, the first arts administration program was founded by John Pick, at City University in London, as a Department of Arts Policy and Management program, while the first university-level arts management courses were offered in the late-1960s by John Field, the director of the Arts Council of Great Britain. These courses were rooted in a tradition based on the humanities more than business classes. By the 1970s, however, a growing demand for better accountability of cultural institutions emerged in the United Kingdom (Selwood, 1997). An increased complexity of licensing, taxation, and company law led to the need for an administrator who could handle government funds in arts institutions (Pick & Anderton, 1996). Consequently, the Arts Council took a leading role in the training of this new professional figure for state-supported arts organizations. At the same time, local government developed training through the NALGO Correspondence Institute¹³¹, while Arts and Leisure officers took examinations administered by the Institute of Municipal Entertainment. In addition to these programs, arts management programs have been developed in French speaking countries and sub-states, mostly as part of business schools. In France and Québec, the Hautes Études Commerciales (HEC) Business Schools have been active in supporting the rise of arts management programs at the graduate level.

The increased interest in the management aspects of arts organizations in different countries is also linked to the rise of managerial thought during the scientific management era (Colbert, 2013). During Franklin Roosevelt's presidency, the United States was facing challenges brought on by the transition from entrepreneurial, manager-owner type firms to large scale, fully integrated corporations (Blackford, 2008). These challenges raised the need for a "national efficiency." Frederick Taylor's two main works, *Shop Management* (published in 1903) and *Principles of Scientific Management* (published in 1916), addressed

¹³¹ The NALGO Correspondence Institute was set up in 1920 to provide vocational courses for local government officers seeking promotion and this provision has been long established as part of the package of services offered to members. <http://web.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/complabstuds/confsem/Munro.htm>

issues of efficiency in the workplace. His scientific management proposed a system for the performance of tasks in a timely manner. In France, Henry Fayol was the first writer to advance a general theory of management, articulating six primary functions (i.e. planning, organizing, command, coordination, development, and control) and fourteen principles of management. His work *Administration Industrielle et Générale* was published in 1916 and became known as “a catechism for the chief’s executive education,” and led to the French approach to management practice and thinking (Wren & Bedeian, 2008).

The rise of management discourse translated into management and business approaches being adopted in the arts sector, as well arts education and academic literature. The Harvard Business School, for instance, created a Summer School Institute in Arts Administration and the Harvard Business Review published several articles dealing specifically with questions related to arts administration (Chong, 2000). In particular, Thomas J.C. Raymond and Stephen A. Greyser promoted the business of the arts and, together with Douglas Shwalbe, published *Cases in Arts Administration* (1975) and promoted classes in the Harvard MBA program. Greyser (1973) also published the now-seminal *Cultural Policy and Arts Administration*. In the early 1970s, Ichak Adizes, management professor at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), dedicated several articles of the *California Management Review* on the deficiencies in management of administering the arts.

In the United States and United Kingdom the emergence of arts management programs has been linked to the demand for better accountability of arts organizations. But management approaches to the arts sector translated also an interest for the management thought that developed only in the first decades of the XX century. Nevertheless, the first publication in arts management were for training purposes, so I will analyze the handbooks to understand how the field took shape.

1.2 Handbooks

Numerous books have been published that focus on one specific aspect of arts management – such as marketing or fundraising. However, to better understand the comprehensive way in which arts management training was conceived, I studied the handbooks that aim to present an overall understanding of the field. As with the creation of arts management programs, the United States has emerged as the leading country in the publication of comprehensive handbooks that organize the field’s existing body of knowledge – though primarily for training purposes. It should be noted, however, that the United Kingdom and Australia also published relevant work related to arts management.

The first attempt at providing arts managers with tips for their daily work was developed in the form of a newsletter. Alvin “Skip” Reiss has published the *Arts Management* newsletter since 1962, reporting tactics to support visual and performing arts. The newsletter – sponsored first by the New York State Council on the Arts and, since 1967, by the New York Board of Trade – was circulated free of charge to individuals and a variety of organizations. In 1970, the articles of the newsletter were organized into a collection called *Arts Management Handbook*.¹³² The handbook organized the newsletter’s articles around five main themes: Economic and sociology; arts organization and management; public relations in the arts; business and the arts; and the arts and the community. The handbook was rooted in a pragmatic philosophy and its purpose was to be a tool for professionals.

Similarly, the 1987 handbook, *Arts Administration and Management* by Harvey Shore, is based on scientific management theory and geared towards arts administrators and their staff. Shore’s guide aims to integrate managerial know-how with the needs and value of arts organizations. The primary concern of the handbook is professionalizing arts management. Shore organizes his handbook around the management functions introduced by Fayol (Wren & Bedeian, 2008) and highlights their relevance for the administration of arts

¹³² It includes selected material from the 64 issues published from 1962 to 1969 (Reiss, 1970)

organizations (Shore, 1987). In particular, Shore emphasizes the importance of human resources in the context of the labor-intensive enterprise of arts organizations – which is quite different from that of an automated factory.

In the same year that Shore published his handbook (1987), another handbook, *Fundamentals of Arts Management*, was published by the Arts Extension Service at the University of Massachusetts. The Arts Extension Service is a national service organization that, since 1973, has aimed to lead the arts management professional field through research, publication, and education. The handbook was written with the goal of educating the next generation of community arts leaders (Korza & Brown, 2007). Whereas Shore's guide did not have a long-lasting usage, *Fundamentals of Arts Management* is still one of the most used resources for training purposes. The emphasis of the handbook is on community and the role arts can play in it. Even though the basic principles of management are adopted and included in the handbook, aspects of the connections between arts and community are highlighted: community organizing; arts and economy; cultural advocacy; programming; and participation. *Fundamentals of Arts Management* is an edited book and its contributors are consultants who are active in community arts, such as Tom Borrup, Craig Dreeszen, and Maryo Gard.

Another seminal handbook, with a long-lasting influence on several generation of arts managers, is *Arts Management and the Arts* written by William Byrnes. Byrnes's textbook was published in 1993 and used an interdisciplinary approach that included management theory, economics, personnel management, marketing, and fundraising (Byrnes, 2003: xiii). The focus of the book is on providing guidance on the process of managing an arts organization. To this end, the book draws on a host of different disciplines – though the management function remains the backbone of the book. Today, *Arts Management and the Arts* is in its fourth edition and is used in arts management courses around the world – serving, once again, as an example of the United States' leadership in arts management training.

In the United Kingdom, a different approach was taken when organizing a comprehensive knowledge for arts managers. In 1979, John Pick published *Arts Administration*, and with it, he moved away from the management tradition and claimed that the arts administrator needs to know more about arts and cultural history – about past and current practices (with a particular consideration for successes and failures, and artists and their audiences). The argument followed that aspects of cultural history are much more relevant to an arts administrator than knowledge of management practice. At the same time, Pick suggested a holistic management as an efficient approach for administering arts organizations –, highlighting the need to have everybody in the organization involved and informed. Holistic management, in this context, includes communication skills, a readily understood organizational character of the organization, and organizational memory. Moreover, the Pick's emphasis on the importance of issues of cultural history asked for a study of the changes in cultural policies that impacted the practice of arts management.

Another important handbook, *Arts Management* (2010) by Derrick Chong, was first published in the United Kingdom in 2002. *Arts Management* addresses its titular topic as an emerging sub-discipline worthy of critical investigation. Chong's book is not a manual that illustrates management best-practices, but rather a presentation of the discussions animating arts and cultural organizations. Continuing the more humanistic tradition of British arts management education, as opposed to offering management tools, Chong's handbook introduces authors from several disciplines whose work shaped the understanding of institutional partners, relationships with stakeholders, and economic needs and impacts of the arts and cultural sector.

Finally, the Australian handbook, *Arts Management: A Practical Guide* (1996), by Jennifer Radbourne and Margaret Fraser, includes issues of cultural policy like the British approach suggested by Pick. However, Radbourne and Fraser's book also includes issues of national identity and global perspectives that did not emerge in any of the previous pedagogical approaches. Another significant difference between Radbourne and Fraser's contribution and that of others is their consideration of public relations, not just marketing, in

community relations – an approach that only previously emerged in Alvin Reiss' pioneering handbook.

Table 1 - Arts Management Handbooks

<i>Arts Management Handbook</i> by Alvin "Skip" Reiss	1970	United States
<i>Arts Administration</i> By John Pick	1979	United Kingdom
<i>Fundamentals of Arts Management</i> by Arts Extension Service at the University of Massachusetts	1987	United States
<i>Arts Administration and Management</i> by Harvey Shore	1987	United Kingdom
<i>Arts Management and the Arts</i> by William Byrnes	1993	United States
<i>Arts Management: A Practical Guide</i> by Jennifer Radbourne and Margaret Fraser	1996	Australia
<i>Arts Management</i> by Derrick Chong	2002	United Kingdom

I presented the handbooks following a logic that grouped them for their main approach. However, in table 1 I organized them in chronological order to show how there has been a steady increment of publication over the years. While the United Kingdom promotes a training based in the humanities, the United States continues the business legacy started at Harvard. Finally, the distinctive topics of the Australian handbook are the interest for national identity and global perspectives.

2. Cognate Fields

Considering the proliferation, in the United States, of high education arts management programs in the 1960s, it is interesting to observe that several fields are linked to arts management and developed educational traditions concurrently. In particular, nonprofit management, museum studies, historic preservation, and cultural studies deserve to be investigated in conjunction with arts management. The first university-based, generic nonprofit management programs dates back to the early 1980s in the United States (O'Neill & Fletcher, 1998). The emergence of these programs proceeded a significant growth in the nonprofit sector in the decades following the 1960s. By the late 1970s, nonprofit research centers, journals, professional magazines, and published books had all seen growth to warrant the development of university-based nonprofit programs. Many of the questions linked to the development of nonprofit management programs are similar to those raised around arts management programs: where should these programs be housed: public management or business schools? What makes these programs different from public administration and business? Considering that nonprofit management programs were developed almost two decades after arts management programs, some scholars wonder if they should be based on industry-based programs like arts management.

Museum studies and arts management share the same academic beginnings. The very first classes offered in higher education with an arts management focus were in the field of museums (Glaser, 1987). Paul Sachs, assistant director of the Fogg Museum at Harvard University, and John Cotton Dana, director and librarian at the Newark Museum in New Jersey, established the first model for museum training and museum education. The *museum studies* label became popular in Anglo-speaking countries in the 1970s, with the University of Leicester leading the field (Lorente, 2012). At the time, museum studies included the study of professional practice in the museum and the theory of museology. During those years, the museum studies curriculum was focused on professional standards and practical considerations. However, over the years, the field began paying closer attention to the more theoretical aspects of museology, such as issues of representations: what and who are represented in the museum and how? Today, attention is also given to

the bigger picture, with several museum programs leaning towards heritage studies – bringing together issues of historic preservation and environment that were only previously highlighted by the French *Nouvelle Museologie*. For this reason, the development of museum studies has been described as going from technical skills to critical museology.

The importance of contextual history and environment for professionals working in heritage involves different expertise depending on one's country of origins (Fitch, 1990). In the United States, the first classes in historic preservation began with architectural historians who were trained as architects (Woodcock, 1998). The University of Virginia established an historic preservation course in 1959 as part of an undergraduate degree in architectural history. Similarly, in 1963, Cornell offered a graduate seminar cross-listed in architecture and planning. The first complete program in historic preservation was offered by Columbia University under the direction of James Marston Fitch. In 1966 National Historic Preservation Act was introduced, establishing the qualifications of people working for the National Parks – an act which necessitated the development of more comprehensive heritage programs and courses. However, it was only in 1978 that the National Council for Preservation Education would be formed, mandated with developing curriculum and national standards in preservation education. This was followed, in 1982, by the publication of Fitch's *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World* – a seminal book that highlights the complexity of the preservation profession and suggests main areas for training.

Among the academic fields similar to arts management, the oldest development is the one in cultural studies. The approach of cultural studies has had least influence in the teaching of arts management – though it has highly impacted writings on cultural policy. Cultural studies emerged as an academic area of studies in the late 1950s, and crystalized in 1964 with the establishment of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham (Hall 1990; Hytten 1997). The center's founder, Richard Hoggart (1957), believed that it was important to connect methods from literary analysis to the study of everyday life and working-class culture. Raymond Williams, E. P. Thompson, and Stuart Hall are other leading figures whose common goal was to redefine the elitist conceptions of culture and education – which did not include the popular or media influence. Broadly conceived, cultural studies imply the study of culture transcending disciplinary boundaries and classification, and the search for a framework that counters Romantic humanism and its exclusions (Rutherford, 2005). That being said, it is hard to find an institutional history of the field. Given the anti-discipline approach, works dealing with the formation of cultural studies field are mainly focused on the description of the political strands and intellectual issues (Brantlinger, 1990). Several scholars, however, emphasize the importance of a specific set of social and political conditions in England as the vital ground for cultural studies. This explains why, for example, cultural studies did not develop in the United States with as much flare or gusto as arts management did (Gray 1996; Peters 1999).

Table 2 provides a prospectus of these cognate fields. The intersections with these areas are still numerous and sometimes the differences are blurrier than the overlaps. Nevertheless, curriculum requirements and professional identities are the elements that keep them very distinct.

Table 2. History of Cognate Fields

Nonprofit	The first university-based, generic nonprofit management programs dates back to the early 1980s in the United States. The emergence of these programs proceeded a significant growth in the nonprofit sector in the decades following the 1960s.
Museum studies	The very first classes offered in higher education with an arts management focus were in the field of museums. Paul Sachs, assistant director of the Fogg Museum at Harvard University, and John Cotton Dana, director and librarian at the Newark Museum in New Jersey, established the first model for museum training and museum education. The "museum studies" label became popular in Anglo-

	speaking countries in the 1970s, with the University of Leicester.
Historic preservation	In the United States, the first classes in historic preservation began with architectural historians who were trained as architects. The University of Virginia established an historic preservation course in 1959 as part of an undergraduate degree in architectural history. Similarly, in 1963, Cornell offered a graduate seminar cross-listed in architecture and planning.
Cultural studies	Cultural studies emerged as an academic area of studies in the late 1950s, and crystalized in 1964 with the establishment of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham.

3. Cultural policy studies

Cultural policy studies is an area of academic inquiry that was first defined and highlighted by Paul DiMaggio in 1983 (DiMaggio, 1983). DiMaggio noticed how little discussion there was on the role of government in the arts and claimed that studies were needed – especially considering the growing influence of government on matters of arts and culture since the late 1960s. DiMaggio claimed that a careful consideration of the relationship between government interventions and culture was important to evaluate the validity of government programs and assess the common problems facing cultural policymakers.¹³³ In this section, I will reconstruct the creation of cultural policy studies, paying close attention to the role played by conferences and journals and highlighting the two main tradition of research that have emerged over the years.

3.1 Conferences and journals

The development of cultural policy research as an academic field of study has been led by a few notable conferences and journals. In 1974, two sociologists formed an informal group of scholars to talk about the arts. This group grew into the Social Theory, Politics and the Arts (STPA) – an annual conference that attracts political scientists, economists, arts administrators, and arts educators. A decade later, a group of regular conference-goers begun a quarterly journal – today named *Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society* (JAMLS) – focused on issues of cultural policy in the United States and abroad (Lee, 2003; Wyszomirski, 2008). Today, STPA and JAMLS serve as catalysts for cultural policy scholars from all over the world.

In 1975, the Association of Arts Administrators Educators (AAAE) was founded to create a network among the arts administration programs, in the United States, that would meet annually to discuss developments in the field of arts administration. The AAAE has been developing guidelines for creating an arts administration program curriculum, and, more recently, has added cultural policy studies to the recommended competencies for the graduate curriculum. In the AAAE's early years, the *Performing Arts Journal* was associated with the organization; however, in the 1980s a disagreement between the association and the publisher led to dissolution of their collaboration. Today, the AAAE's annual conference aims to provide not only curriculum standards, but also criteria for the development of sound and thriving research and her membership has extended beyond the United States. A great number of the scholars building the field through the AAAE are also active within STPA.

Another group that has prompted research in arts management and cultural policy – but never really had much overlap with the participants of STPA and AAAE – is the Association for Cultural Economics International (ACEI). The ACEI was founded, informally, in 1979, and became a formalized international group in 1992. The ACEI attracts scholars and government officials from all over the world, and is associated to the *Journal of Cultural Economics*. The ACEI in conjunction with the Journal of Cultural Economics has

¹³³ The Library of Congress introduced the term cultural policy to its catalogue system in 1984.

spurred the study of economic aspects of cultural policy and are known for publishing cutting-edge studies. The continuous development of cultural policy studies has led to a greater need for more networks among international scholars. In 1999, the First International Conference on Cultural Policy (ICCPR) was held in Norway (ICCPR, 2014). A growing group of scholars participated in the following ICCPR biannual meetings around the world. The journal associated with the ICCPR conference is the *International Journal of Cultural Policy* – which started publishing in 1994 with a decidedly European focus, but rapidly became an international outlet for cultural policy research.

Finally, an influential journal for the field is *Cultural Trends*. Founded in 1989, it is not linked to a conference, nevertheless its impact is very prominent. It focuses on key trends within the arts and other related topics such as heritage and media. The main aim of the research published is to provide empirical evidence to cultural policy and the approaches displayed are multiple: collections of valuable data, critique of evidence used by policy practice, and examination of the soundness of measurements performance selected by government. Even though the journal follows the academic rigour of academic peer reviewing, the readership addressed is broad and, besides scholars, includes consultants, journalists, and government officials.

Conferences and journals are two important venues in the academic world for the definition of a discipline and for the circulation of its standards, ideas, and methods (Hyland, 2009). Arts management and cultural policy have established with STPA, AAAE, ACEI and ICCPR some important networks. JAMLS, The Journal of Cultural Economics, *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, and *Cultural Trends* are the founding and stable peer review journals that are producing the most important research. However, few other conferences and publications emerged in the last decades and I trust that they will soon help reinforce the field and the value of its research.

3.2 Social sciences and humanities

Cultural policy studies have developed as a multidisciplinary field (Pyykkonen, Simanien, & Sokka 2009; Scullion & García 2005). The field has drawn upon the social sciences for both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies, to articulate its social and economic role, its models of application, and its territorial difference. Additionally, the field of cultural policy studies has drawn from the humanities – using history and historiography to understand policy making in the past and influence its future development and implementation – and cultural studies – from which come the field's concern with signs, representations, identity(ies), and, indeed, definitions and experiences of culture and its role in society.

The cultural policy research emerging from the social sciences has mainly developed from political science, sociology, and economics. Studies based on political science focus on understanding the values of the arts for their countries and the purpose of a government's involvement in the arts sector. American scholars look into the democratic and diverse values brought by the arts and their public support (Cunningham 1992; Larson 1983; Lowry & Assembly 1984; Pankratz & Morris 1990). Australian scholars bring attention to the intricate relationship between media and cultural policies in the effort of promoting an Australian national identity (Cunningham, 1992). Beyond the study of unitary states' involvement in arts and culture, important comparative works in political science fueled the first research steps in cultural policy. In the early 1960s, Dorian's (1964) *Commitment to Culture* provided an overview of the involvement of governments in European countries that greatly helped to shape the conversation about the creation of the National Endowment for the Arts. The *Patron State. Government and the Arts in Europe, North America and Japan* (1987) and *Comparing Cultural Policy. A Study of United States and Japan* (1999) are continuing the conversation – trying to find models that can help states learn from each other.

Similarly, sociologists have provided foundational frameworks that have been crucial for the understanding of the cultural policy sector and that have facilitated the navigation of cultural policy issues. A comprehensive

overview of the different sociological frameworks is provided in the volume *How to Study Art Worlds* (2009) – which explains, among others, the work of Dickie, Becker, DiMaggio, and Bourdieu. Becker (1984) and Bourdieu (1993), in particular, offered important analyses of the art-world system and the field of cultural production. DiMaggio and Powell (1991) developed groundbreaking analyses of the similar structures organizations develop when a specific field takes shape. In particular, DiMaggio (1991) explains the emergence of an organizational field as the process affected by the development of specific professions. For example, DiMaggio describes the emergence of museums, between 1920 and 1940, as being the result of the professionalization of their staff. Moreover, DiMaggio offers important reflections on the development of cultural policy studies (DiMaggio, 1983, 2003), providing a framework for their importance.

Two important books by Throsby (2001) and Towse (2003) provide an overview of the topics involved in an economic approach to cultural policy – such as regulations, tax concessions, pricing, management, marketing, and copyrights. Government agencies have been particularly active producing quantitative research in order to gather cultural statistics. For example, in the United States, the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) has been monitoring public participation in the arts through nationwide surveys. In the United Kingdom, the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) released the first comprehensive economic diagnostics of the sector, *Mapping the Creative Industries*, in 1998, and continues to collect and release relevant statistics on the creative industries through the DCMS website. Besides government agencies, a number of non-government bodies – such as foundations, advocacy groups, and private consultancies – have been producing reports and gathering numeric data that illustrates the cultural landscape. Finally, UNESCO has also had a leading role in creating a framework that could provide countries with the means of collecting statistical data on arts and culture with some measure of consistency across jurisdictions. The most updated UNESCO framework was released in 2009, and took into consideration a range of economic, social, and technological variables and changes that had occurred over the preceding years.

If political science, sociology, urban planning, and economics represent the social science of cultural policy studies, the *Critical Cultural Policy Studies: A Reader* (Lewis & Miller, 2008) exemplifies the arts-humanities faction side of cultural policy studies (see also chapter 6). Lewis and Miller's reader collects a series of articles written by some of the major players in the field of cultural policy studies – particularly with respects to the humanities side of the field – and addresses the main issues of aesthetics and taste, art and culture, and policy and citizenship. Some British scholars highlight the inherent contradictions in the term cultural policy (Gray 2010; McGuigan 2003). McGuigan (2003), in particular, explains how the term “cultural policy” can be seen as problematic because it implies the regulation of something so complex as a “signifying system,” and alludes to “policing” culture as if it were something dangerous that needed to be controlled.

On the other hand, the book *Cultural Policy* (2002) provides a historiographical approach to cultural policy studies – intertwining the histories of cultural policymaking and its critical analysis. In particular, the section dedicated to cultural policy studies enhances a critical and engaged perspective of cultural studies research; it suggests engagements and links to institutions and social movements that make the critical aspects relevant to society. This echoes Bennett's (1992) question that wonders if cultural studies, as a whole, should move in the direction of cultural policy studies.

Conclusion

This paper showed how arts management emerged as academic program from a training needs, and how cultural policy studies developed later on, when the complexity of cultural policy required, on the one hand, a better understanding of the values of arts for society and, on the other hand, better alternatives for government intervention in culture and the arts. The development of arts management programs in higher education is linked to significant changes in civic society and government infrastructure. Additionally, changes in higher education, itself – such as the development of scientific management and the proliferation

of master's degree programs – had a significant influence on the structuring of the new educational offering arts management. The United States emerged as one of the predominant influences in the field of arts management education, while the United Kingdom developed several seminal works in cultural policy. The United States pioneered the first arts management programs and developed a robust set of textbooks. Strongly based on a management framework and pragmatic philosophical pedagogy, American arts management is very different from the critical approach of the United Kingdom that developed more closely around cultural policy and general debates in the field.

Interestingly, at the same time as arts management and cultural policy studies were emerging in the United States and United Kingdom, respectively, several different fields emerged in higher education that have strong links with arts management. For instance, museum studies and arts management share the same points of origin. However, museum studies and arts management quickly developed into separate streams because museum studies followed a more theoretical tradition – interested in issues of representation – whereas arts management focused on management skills. Conversely, the focus on management skills makes the nonprofit education curriculum similar to arts management – an interesting convergence considering that the nonprofit education curriculum was developed almost 20 years after the arts management curriculum. Likewise, historic preservation shares some issues of professionalization with arts management – though the two curricula developed differently. However, historic preservation is an important part of cultural policy even though it has not been included significantly in cultural policy research. Finally, cultural studies had a profound impact on arts management handbooks and cultural policy discourse in the United Kingdom and Australia – serving as the basis for the development of a critical approach to government intervention in issues of culture.

Cultural policy studies slowly emerged in the 1980s, producing a robust body of research drawing from political science, sociology, and economics. However, it is unclear how much this body of literature overlaps with arts management programs. Interestingly, the participants of the STPA and AAAE conferences are increasingly becoming the same – suggesting a growing overlap of the two traditions – at least in the United States.

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Entrepreneurship and Innovation: Lessons Learned from the Dutch *Leadership in Culture*-programme

Reeser, Pepijn

Kennisland

Amsterdam, The Netherlands

pr@kl.nl

Verhallen, Marjolein

Utrecht University School of Governance

Utrecht, The Netherlands

m.j.f.verhallen@uu.nl

Abstract

In 2012, Utrecht University and Kennisland, a social innovation think tank, were chosen by the Dutch government to execute a leadership program for the cultural field: Leadership in Culture (LinC). As of now, 100 participants have started. The authors, executives of the programme, analyse their observations on two levels: the cultural 'system' in the Netherlands and the personal level of participants. While LinC aims at innovation on a systematic level, most participants see the program as a means for personal growth. Two explanations are offered. Firstly, the cultural field in the Netherlands sees hardly any training and schooling, making LinC partially a crash course on organizational/management skills. Besides, participants seem to be so connected with the cultural system that they find it hard to look into major (systematic) changes. They prefer to become better at what they already know and do, instead of experimenting with radical change and innovation.

Keywords: entrepreneurship; learning program; innovation; the arts; the Netherlands

Introduction

Politics and the arts are, traditionally, separate institutional worlds in the Netherlands. This doctrine was established mid 19th century, when J.R. Thorbecke (1798-1872), author of the Dutch constitution, postulated that politics should not judge the arts (Pots, 2006). Governments fund museums, theaters, and libraries. But the government administration is not involved in the substantive contents of the expositions, plays, or novels. The separation of arts and politics is, thus, well established.

Or, is it? In the Netherlands, politicians increasingly desire value for money. The New Public Management (NPM) discourse of cultural planning and accountability for impact is increasingly visible in the arts. In 2011, when major budget cuts - almost 25% of the annual cultural subsidies - were announced, these budget cuts were not presented as a necessary but unfortunate means to balance the national budget. Instead, they were presented as a wake-up call for the arts, and went accompanied with the urge to become more self-sufficient and decrease their financial dependency.

In the policy letter to parliament *Meer dan kwaliteit, een nieuwe visie op cultuurbeleid*¹³⁴ (More than quality, a new vision on cultural policy), the contours of this new cultural policy were laid out. For instance, from 2013 on, musea applying for subsidy from the national government should at least earn 17.5% of their budget themselves. For the performing arts, this percentage was set at 21.5. Since 2011, protests and elections

¹³⁴ To be found online (dutch only): <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/beleidsnotas/2011/06/10/meer-dan-kwaliteit-een-nieuwe-visie-op-cultuurbeleid>

ensured slight alterations and adjustments, but the idea that the cultural field in the Netherlands should work towards a more entrepreneurial spirit was not contested.

To increase innovation and entrepreneurship in the arts, 3.2 million euros of the 200 million euros that the budget cuts were supposed to fetch, were invested in a national programme to stimulate entrepreneurship, the so called *Programma Ondernemerschap Cultuur*.¹³⁵ This national programme aims for a great deal at increasing the revenues of the arts. Hence, the programme includes e.g. training on fundraising and tax reforms to stimulate sponsoring and patronage. Besides financial stimulus, as part of the national *Programma Ondernemerschap Cultuur*, a call for a leadership programme for the arts was written out. The dutch ministry of education, science and culture asked for a programme for talented, promising managers of institutions who could grow to be tomorrow's cultural leaders. The main goal of this programme, according to the call: to train a new generation of managers and increase their competences in fields like entrepreneurship, vision development, personal effectiveness and practical skills, such as business skills and governance.

1. Leadership in culture: a space for reflection, growth and experiment

In 2013, this call was won by Kennisland and the Utrecht University School of Governance, in cooperation with HKU University of the Arts and Coaching in de Cultuur, an institute for coaching and training in the arts. Within their proposal, they endorsed the idea that leadership in the arts could be strengthened. For instance, the protests against the budget-cuts had proven ineffective and did not spur massive support - on the contrary, public opinion in general supported the idea that a change of attitude was needed. Furthermore, they believed the cultural field to be of enormous value for society and to have a great deal of potential, for instance when it came to improve the level of organisation and cooperation, constructing more convincing narratives and building communities to support their cause. Therefore, the winning proposal contained the following assumptions:

- 1) Cultural leaders should not simply be told what type leadership is needed, but should explore this question themselves. They should be stimulated to discover which knowledge and skills are important for them, and they should be able to set their own goals. What skills do they bring, how can they grow from there, what is needed to be a better cultural leader? What does entrepreneurship mean to them?
- 2) The programme should therefore first and foremost be a place for reflection. How do the arts in the Netherlands function, and why in that way? What spaces for change or experiment does this system offer? Which innovation might be stimulated or useful? Why do participants work the way they do, which assumptions do they carry?
- 3) To broaden the view of participants, who are in general already active for many years in the arts and more often than not lack experience in other fields, the programme chose to not only focus on connection within the arts but actively look into other fields, such as education, health care, tourism, sports. How do these sectors function, in what way is it different from the experience of the arts?
- 4) The programme should not just work towards individual growth, but also stimulate collective leadership in the arts. Therefore, we bring together participants from different backgrounds in the cultural field: e.g. different functions, disciplines, regions, ages, levels of experience and both artists and managers. The programme should stimulate encounter and should work towards a network of innovators in the arts.

On this fundament, a 14-month part-time learning programme called *Leadership in Culture* (LinC) was build. This programme consist of three components: 'Labs', 'Learning tracks' and a small part with Masterclasses and 'free space' that the participants can fill in themselves. These components are interconnected; participants are for instance challenged to apply lessons learned during the labs to the learning tracks.

¹³⁵ To be found online (dutch only): <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/kunst-en-cultuur/documenten/kamerstukken/2012/05/31/kamerbrief-over-programma-ondernemerschap-cultuur>

Labs

The thematic Labs are knowledge-intensive course meetings (2-4 days) where participants can acquire new knowledge, inspiration and insights on developments in leadership and the cultural sector. Participants are encouraged to explore the ways in which the information offered is valuable for their own work. We offer different types of assignments to achieve this; e.g. simulations, group debates, panel discussions and speakers.

LinC consists of 8 Labs in total. Throughout the programme, the focus shifts from personal leadership towards collective leadership, first within the own organisation, then in operating with other organisations and finally as a cultural network within society. In Lab 1, participants get a broad view of relevant societal and economic developments as well as changes within the cultural field. In Lab 2, participants draw a personal leadership profile and set goals: what do they want to learn and achieve in the programme? Lab 3 focusses on the context in which participants act and the way they interact with their environment. Now that participants know where they stand, we explore tools and methods for change, such as open and social innovation in Lab 4. To implement new ideas, partners are needed. How do partnerships actually work? Are the current partners also the desired ones? These questions are at stake in Lab 5. Lab 6 is about business planning and business models. No plan can succeed without a solid fundament. What should this look like, and what possibilities do new opportunities such as crowdfunding offer? In Lab 7, the focus shifts to the cultural field as a whole. How does it function, and what implications does this have for leadership in the field of culture? These questions are explored from the point of team-management. The final Lab, Lab 8, is about public leadership. It is now time to leave the safe environment of the learning programme. Participants draw up the balance, share their insights and take a position: how do they look at their progress, what type of leadership is needed within the cultural field and to what extent are they now capable to turn this into practice?

Learning tracks

While the Labs offer an environment for exchanging knowledge, working together and expanding vocabulary, in the *learning tracks* that run parallel with the labs, participants are asked to process their (new) ideas. The first learning track is about reflection. Participants continuously monitor themselves throughout the programme. We offer tools to do this, such as *intervision sessions* (group talks) and *360 degrees monitoring* (individual monitoring). Besides, we offer personal coaching. In order to graduate, the participants are required to write a personal reflection paper.

In the second learning track, the *Interventure*, participants form teams to work on a real case, brought forward by organisations from within and outside of the cultural field. In their *interventure* (the word is a contamination of *Intervene* and *adventure*), participants are encouraged to acquire new skills and to intervene actively in their case to generate results. They present their results in Lab 8.

The third learning track, Cultural Connections, is about connecting with other fields and with society as a whole. Here, participants get the opportunity to connect with one another and with professionals from within and out of the cultural field. Cultural Connections are meetings organised to build the LinC Network, to learn from each other and to explore connections with the wider society.

LinC in short

Since the start of the programme, in September 2013, 100 participants have started the programme. They all pledged to visit events and classes and study for a total amount of 710 hours in the 14 month period of the programme. For every participant, the costs are €20.000, of which 90% is covered by the ministry of education, science and culture and 10% by the participant or his/her organisation. Participants are mostly in their forties and work in small or medium sized cultural organisations or as independents. Women are slightly

overrepresented, as are the major Dutch cities in the west of the Netherlands where a great share of cultural institutions and production is located.

The number of applications has steadily risen; for the 40 participants that started in September 2015, 200 registrations entered. Due to this level of interest, LinC has proven successful in recruiting cultural leaders from different disciplines: it has welcomed participants with a background in the arts, creative industry, media organisations, archives, libraries, national heritage institutions and cultural funds. Although some participants have a background in fine arts, professionals from this scene seem the most difficult to reach. Educators, museum professionals, cultural marketers and performing arts professionals have proven to be above-average interested.

As of October 2015, 19 cultural leaders have graduated, one has quitted, 40 participants are working towards the final lab and another group of 40 has just started. Time to draw up the balance: how are participants manoeuvring through the programme, and what does that say about them and about the cultural field in the Netherlands? Is a change of mentality happening - and is it one towards entrepreneurship? What lessons are learned, both by participants and the organisation of the programme?

2. Observations: what happens in LinC?

Individual level: participants

Since the number of vacant places is significantly lower than the number of applications, participants are keen to be selected for the programme. Therefore, LinC is able to select a diverse group with a high level of experience, quality and potential. Unfortunately, not every selected candidate actually starts, some are discouraged by the level of time and commitment that is asked during the programme. During the admission interviews, the goals and philosophy of LinC as ascribed above are emphasized. Although candidates are aware of and endorse the ambition to work towards a movement of innovators in the arts, they tend to see LinC first and foremost as a means for personal growth.

More specifically, we notice an emphasis on learning new facts and knowledge. For the majority of participants, LinC is like *going back to school* after a period of growing through self-education. As we see it, this is related to a matter of confidence: participants want to make sure that they are doing things *right*. This focus on facts and the current state of affairs in management- and business theory, is often accompanied by inexperience and unease with reflection. Often, tasks and instructions are solely approached from an output-perspective (what to write/say/make) and not from a learning perspective (what are the ways to approach this assignment, what can I learn from this).

Possibly due to this starting-point, participants generally start with a high level of enthusiasm. The first labs, which are about mapping personal strengths, weaknesses and goals, are found interesting and stimulating. On this personal level of leadership, participants sincerely learn about themselves. They explore their personal qualities, strengths and weaknesses. According to their feedback, participants learn how to deal with complexity, are more able to create narratives that are both convincing and personal and gain confidence. We see participants prospering within the 'safe environment' of the learning programme, where they can debate, get personal attention and gain confidence about their skills, competences, abilities and methods. This as a valuable boost of individual leadership in the arts.

However, the goals of LinC are not limited to the individual level. Although we do believe personal and professional development in art and culture can bring new zeal to this field, we also share the ambition to work towards a network of professionals who work cooperate to strengthen the position of the arts. Unfortunately, when the programme switches perspective and starts to be more about working together and working towards output then about personal growth, difficulties arise. Therefore, we will now focus on the collective level: what happens when cultural professionals start to learn together?

Collective level: group dynamics

The cultural field in the Netherlands, as in most European countries, can be described as a broad and diverse patchwork. It consists of a great number of disciplines, types of organizations and individuals, and ranges from commercial companies to subsidizing funds. Arguably, the only thing that connects every part of the cultural field is the fact that they are either seen as part of it, or that they are subsidized from a cultural budget. Due to the nature of the field, most 'components' hardly ever meet, let alone work together. This is where LinC comes into play: to encourage high-level conversation about the cultural field and possibly new collaborations, we bring together a group that represents several disciplines and is as diverse as possible.

This starting-point ensures new encounters. From our experience, the cultural sector is too broad to be considered as unity. There are so many subcultures, conflicting interests and different vocabularies that it is hard to formulate a collective agenda or a joint starting-point. We notice it takes a lot of time and effort for participants to simply reach and understand each other. The differences between the participants are such that looking *beyond* the cultural field together, one of the goals that were set when designing the programme, is easier said than done.

When bringing together cultural professionals in a learning environment, safety is at stake. While working on individual growth, conflict rarely ensues. Group assignments are much more likely to stir confrontation. We notice that participants find it hard to get or give honest feedback and fall back rather on 'gossiping' than expressing their thoughts in an open setting. In our opinion, this is due to conflicting interests in their daily work, for instance between participants who work for an institution that is subsidized by a fund where another participant works. Participants rarely confront or correct each other directly in a group setting.

In general, working together is found hard. In the Interventures, where commissioners from outside the programme ask a group of participants to come up with solutions and new perspectives, most groups tend to spend a lot of time on group dynamics or tend to concentrate on doing what they already know. To really think and act out of the box is found hard. In certain assignments, such as labs where we work with a simulation, we notice that cooperation requires a great deal of effort: participants are generally not trained to take the perspective of others into account. When asked to work together towards a joint product, for instance a publication in which they express their views on cultural leadership, suspicion towards each other and a lack of collective leadership is displayed. We believe this is not simply due to the fact that these tasks are new and unfamiliar. In a way, what happens here can be seen as a metaphor of the cultural field in general: partnerships are mostly created around subsidy opportunities instead of shared ideas and ambitions. Many of the difficulties that participants run into when it comes to group dynamics and the efforts it takes to use them in a positive way, seem connected with the cultural system the participants are part of.

Collective level: the cultural system in the Netherlands

Participants in LinC and cultural professionals in the Netherlands in general are part of a cultural system that is characterized by dependency. This dependency manifests on many levels. There are for instance more people who want to work in the cultural field than (paid) jobs, and the number of productions seeking for funding is far greater than the available budget. These facts are not unique for the cultural field; in science, for instance, a similar pattern can be seen. In science, however, legitimization of the use of public money is much less at stake and the budgets for selected projects are generally considerably higher. The cultural field in the Netherlands has certain characteristics that might be seen in similar fields in other countries. These characteristics are as follows:

- Lack of personal training and coaching. We notice that organizations rarely have an educational budget for their employees. Many of the participants of LinC have to pay the 10% of the fee themselves, even if they work for a middle sized cultural institution. This is an indication that, in general, there is not much attention for personal and collective growth in the arts in the Netherlands.

- Cultural professionals in the Netherlands are often in fear of their position or career. An enemy is easily made and there are not many ways to make promotion. The labour market is characterized by congestion, hierarchy and a lack of mobility. These characteristics make it hard for an individual to express the need for learning, to claim space for experiment and to dare to fail.
- Competition is a key principle in the cultural field in the Netherlands. Possibly due to the scale of the sector and the level of dependency, this does not stimulate distinguishment, but leads to the avoidance of conflict.
- Within this system, cooperation does not easily arise. The main reason for new cooperation is an external impetus, e.g. financial stimulation.
- The creativity and artistry cultural professionals practise on stage, in expositions, plays, music or other artistic activities, is not found in the way their institutions are organised. Organisations in the cultural field are very classic, hierarchical and in a way 'machine like' designed and managed.

These general characteristics are obviously of influence when working towards entrepreneurship and a network of cultural leaders who are open to innovation. As we have seen above, most participants focus mainly on their personal growth and identify in such a level with the cultural system that they don't question it but rather seek for tools to reach a higher level within the current system. Starting from these observations, we have drawn conclusions on all three levels: what do cultural professionals need to improve their entrepreneurship and innovation?

How does LinC stimulate innovation and entrepreneurship?

On an individual level, the need of cultural professionals is mostly about confidence. To be able to question their own position, participants need to be assured that they have certain qualities - more than, for instance, we experience when training in the field of education or in more commercial organisations. We use two instruments to lay a fundament for development. First, we have learned to manage expectations better. From the start, we communicate that participants will be encouraged to exceed the personal level. Second, we put focus on coaching. Two coaching tracks are used to communicate about personal needs and to make clear on several occasions that development should exceed the personal level and is also about cooperation and the connection with society.

On a group level, the needs are mostly about connecting within a safe setting. To stimulate encounter and understanding, we have invented a 'buddy system' and have expanded the time for conversation about what is happening in group dynamics. We encourage talk about the different values the arts can have and that are present in the group: entertainment, education, therapy, creativity, *bildung* or communication, and sometimes just art for arts sake. Where do they meet? What connections are possible? We encourage cultural leaders to build a better story with greater impact, as a way out of the financial web, and we stimulate them to build and tell this story together, if possibly not only in the Netherlands, but on an international level.

On a systematic level, the needs are mostly about fitting in or breaking out. Participants show a tendency to follow and adapt instead of take initiative and set an agenda. Due to the characterization of the cultural field, as given above, this is more likely to happen on a collective level. LinC urges participants to seek collective stand and form a movement of cultural leaders who take matters into their own hands. To actively promote this, we support initiatives that derive from participants, such as a tool to switch jobs for a short period or a tool to lower the barrier to ask other professionals for help on a specific matter. And we make efforts ourselves to create a platform where cultural leaders can learn from each other, think out loud, formulate answers to urging questions together and invent and try out new possibilities for new cultural connections with each other and with social issues. Here, the lessons we have learned so far are that a community of cultural professionals needs to be both accessible both online and offline, that we should not focus on the people we lose but on the ones that are already slightly engaged, and that the network should offer

something valuable and unique, apart from connection with other professionals. To increase our impact, we look actively for best-practices and inspiring examples in other European countries.

3. Overview: what happens when the arts start learning?

When talking about our experiences with one learning programme in the Netherlands, we believe they are in fact relevant for the cultural field as a whole, and perhaps for the cultural field in other European countries as well. For a long time, innovation in the arts was mainly about *artistic* innovation. For many participants, that is still the first thing that comes to mind when discussing innovation. Historically, however, artistic innovation often went hand-in-hand with organisational or technical innovations: new musical instruments brought new possibilities for composers and musicians, new techniques such as cinema and photography had to earn their artistic merits. Today, we witness a digital revolution that is unmistakably influencing the way people enjoy the arts. Change is happening, and it is happening fast - sometimes faster than the cultural field can cope with.

Unsurprisingly, for many cultural professionals, changes are not just easily seen as chances. Their struggle is real. Not only are their audiences in transformation, at the same time their financiers prove unreliable - goals are as easily set as ditched and every politician wants to put his mark on cultural policy. Within this climate, ambitious cultural professionals turn to leadership programmes such as LinC looking for answers, only to find out that we don't provide them. We do, on the other hand, provide them with a space for contemplation, a space that is rarely found nowadays.

This learning space is about development. Truth is, most cultural professionals in the Netherlands hardly ever find the time to monitor development, be it their own or their institutions. When asked about their application, one candidate uttered to be longing for some rest - not exactly the fundament for a great learning experience, but a reality for many participants. Is it surprising then that they mainly focus on personal growth, and choose to lean back when collective action is sought?

What happens when the arts start learning about innovation and entrepreneurship, is in a way similar to what happens when new cultural policy is announced: cultural professionals start very enthusiastic, then slowly fall back to what they already did because the hype is over or they simply lack time and skills to implement.

For us, the biggest challenge is to prevent that from happening this time. How? We believe this will only work if they join forces and keep each other sharp.

Conclusion: how can we help the arts?

The situation has been drawn, and is it not an alluring one: cultural professionals in the Netherlands feel pressured to come up with answers, but discover there are no easy answers to their questions. Telling them they should be reconsidering some of their questions brings the old saying about giving a fish or teaching fishing to mind: undoubtedly correct, but not an answer to nagging hunger or, in this case, endangered institutions. Still, even though participants sometimes doubt it themselves, we believe cultural professionals should not be told to be more entrepreneurial or innovative, but should be given space to experience what it means to them. Are new business models such as crowdfunding really Columbus egg', or do they only work if one already has a broad base of support? Is being entrepreneurial about realising a situation in which no public funding is needed, or is it more about legitimacy? What innovation is fashionable, what is smart, what is urgent? In a word, learning about innovation and entrepreneurship in the cultural field in the Netherlands should be about empowerment, not about learning to fit in. The strength of the arts lays in visualising what we don't know yet - they should be more than able to find new forms for themselves.

After two years of training cultural professionals from all sorts of backgrounds, we have been both impressed by the potential, enthusiasm and growth we have seen and been astonished by the difficulties that arose around cooperation or expressing daring thoughts. These extremes can sometimes even be seen within one

person. In a way, these antipodes characterize the cultural field as a whole: successful initiatives, mostly major institutions with a big international appeal or newcomers, play in the same league as small initiatives that sometimes operate partly on an amateur base. Although the love for the arts that moves them all would suggest a common interest, this is in fact limited. These structures have grown and are not easily changed. We have seen how participants bring their background, being part of a field where dependency is a key principle, into the programme, where it is never absent. There, it limits cooperation and makes questioning the cultural system inconvenient. This makes working in a learning programme for cultural professionals different from training professionals in (most) other fields.

With these lessons in mind, we have drawn some conclusions. We have observed that cultural professionals initially see learning as a personal experience and make progress on a personal level. We have also noticed a tendency to avoid collision and conflict. And we have seen caution and hesitance to show collective leadership. Working on leadership in culture therefore means, more than we initially thought, work on maintenance. Participants Furthermore, to achieve collective results, a sense of belonging together is necessary. We have learned that this spirit cannot be taken for granted in the arts and needs to be actively stimulated.

To conclude, are the arts in The Netherlands more innovative and enterprising than two years ago, and if so, does LinC play a role in that development? As we have seen, innovation and entrepreneurship can be interpreted in many ways. According to our participants, they have grown as cultural leaders. Then again, we have reached only 100 professionals. What encourages us, is the fact that we see a growing ambition to make a difference among our participants. Some switch jobs, others initiate projects that would have been unthinkable without the learning programme. This is where the most important lessons we learned comes into play: creating change in a system such as the cultural field in the Netherlands takes time, starts with little steps and needs to be supported by a small but growing community. Luckily, we are only half way.

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La Co-Construction avec les Professionnels de la Culture: les Régions à la Recherche d'une Politique Durable

Santagati, Maria Elena

Institut d'Études Politiques de Grenoble
Grenoble, France

Abstract

Cette contribution entend dégager le processus par lequel certaines régions ont fait appel à la concertation avec les professionnels de la culture pour co-construire des politiques, dans deux pays européens où des processus de décentralisation en matière culturelle ont eu lieu, la France et l'Italie. L'analyse traite le cas de Rhône-Alpes, lors de l'expérience des *Rencontres* avec les professionnels de plusieurs domaines culturels à partir de 2004, et le cas du Piémont, avec l'élaboration des *standard museali* avec les professionnels des musées à partir de 2003.

Si l'objectif majeur de ces processus est lié à une volonté de légitimation de la Région à travers l'acquisition d'expertise et l'implication des professionnels, leurs effets secondaires sont également importants, notamment en ce qui concerne la formulation de politiques délibérées et la formation des acteurs culturels.

Nous estimons que la co-construction à travers la concertation se configure comme l'une des conditions (avec l'intersectorialité) nécessaires à la durabilité des politiques publiques pour la culture, conditions que le niveau régional serait en mesure d'assurer.

Keywords: décentralisation; Régions; politiques publiques; co-construction; durabilité

Introduction

Suite aux réformes de décentralisation, en France et en Italie les Régions ont dû construire leur positionnement dans la gouvernance territoriale de la culture, en conciliant leur intervention avec celle de l'État et des autres collectivités territoriales. Notre recherche se caractérise ainsi par la combinaison d'une approche *macro* et *micro*¹³⁶: la première concerne l'analyse de l'émergence des régions dans la décentralisation, en considérant la région comme échelle de gouvernement aussi en lien avec les implications du néo-régionalisme et de la gouvernance multi-niveaux. La seconde se concentre sur l'analyse des modalités de construction et d'élaboration de l'intervention culturelle des régions, en considérant la région comme institution en action dans la gouvernance de la culture, en s'appuyant aussi sur le néo-institutionnalisme.

En ce qui concerne les processus de décentralisation, en France les régions ont pu bénéficier de l'impulsion et de l'accompagnement d'un État fort au niveau politique et administratif, qui a procédé parallèlement à un processus de déconcentration, en jouant ainsi un rôle décisif pour l'émergence et le renforcement des régions dans le système d'acteurs des politiques culturelles. En effet, la décentralisation "en multipliant les occasions de collaboration ou de coopération entre les collectivités territoriales, a créé un espace d'apprentissage institutionnel où s'apprennent les règles du jeu de la coopération" (Pongy & Saez, 1994). La démarche des Conventions culturelles, les Fonds régionaux FRAC et FRAM, les volets culturels des Contrats de Plans État-Régions, les expérimentations avec les Protocoles de décentralisation culturelle (malgré leurs limites), et au niveau financier le Fonds de la dotation culturelle spéciale ainsi que la possibilité, à partir de 1982, de réaliser des dépenses de fonctionnement, ont créé les bases pour une légitimation et une professionnalisation des régions dans la gouvernance de la culture. Domaine dans lequel elles ont montré

¹³⁶ Sur ce point, le faible recours à l'analyse microscopique en science politique fait l'objet du travail de Sawicki (2000).

un volontarisme lié à la clause de compétence générale dont elles disposent, en raison d'une "volonté d'assumer un rôle dans le développement culturel territorial" (Saez, 2013).

À cette régionalisation *de facto*, en 2004 s'est ajouté un changement juridique, avec le transfert des compétences concernant l'Inventaire du patrimoine et l'enseignement artistique, mais cet appareillage juridique s'avère désormais inadapté et insuffisant face à l'avancée des régions. De plus, la pénurie des moyens financiers représente un autre facteur de limitation de l'intervention des régions. Le débat sur la répartition des compétences entre échelons est en effet encore vif en France, et la suppression de la clause de compétence générale pour les régions est par certains souhaitée, en faveur d'une compétence obligatoire dans le domaine culturel, tout en restant partagée avec l'État. Cela aussi face au risque de leur possible retrait dans une période de réduction des dépenses publiques.

En Italie, les régions ont pu bénéficier sans doute d'une régionalisation *de jure* en matière culturelle, avec l'attribution d'un pouvoir législatif spécifique et des compétences partagées et exclusives dans le domaine culturel. Cependant, elles n'ont pas pu s'appuyer sur un rôle d'accompagnement de l'État qui était, et est toujours, assez hésitant "entre centralisme inachevé et pressions fédéralistes" (Dal Pozzolo, 1999), et un Ministère avec une tradition très axée sur la protection du patrimoine et en mouvement perpétuel de réorganisation. Plusieurs facteurs ont eu un impact non négligeable sur le rôle des régions dans la gouvernance de la culture en Italie: l'échec de tout lieu de coordination prévu par l'État au niveau régional, des formes de coopération qui ont toujours manqué de méthodologie et de conditions opérationnelles, si ce n'est pour quelques accords dont l'efficacité est tout de même assez douteuse, une administration périphérique compétente en termes scientifiques mais sans une réelle interdépendance avec la collectivité régionale.

En effet, comme remarquaient déjà en 1994 Mireille Pongy et Guy Saez dans leur ouvrage pionnier *Politiques culturelles et régions en Europe*, la centralisation italienne se distingue de celle française sur ce point:

Alors que cette dernière repose sur une administration d'État puissant et reconnue qui assure la médiation entre les différents échelons territoriaux de la politique culturelle, l'administration italienne est faible dans le secteur culturel comme dans les autres. Encadrée par des gouvernements au turn-over élevé et des partis politiques puissants, elle n'assure pas la médiation entre les niveaux territoriaux de l'action publique (Pongy & Saez, 1999).

À tout cela, et à l'inadéquation de l'apparat juridique, s'ajoutent des criticités spécifiques aux politiques culturelles italiennes, liées notamment à l'exiguïté des ressources financières pour la culture et à l'incompétence de la plupart de la classe dirigeante (Giambrone, 2013).

Cette régionalisation *de jure* montre, d'un côté, l'inefficacité de l'approche de l'État dans le processus de décentralisation, mais d'un autre côté elle n'a pas empêché les régions d'avancer dans la gouvernance de la culture, même si on note une grande différenciation régionale. En effet, elles ont souvent montré une volonté et une initiative dans la recherche d'une collaboration avec l'État. Le principe constitutionnel de "leale collaborazione"¹³⁷ (collaboration loyale) nous amène à nous poser la question suivante: cette collaboration, avant d'être loyale, a-t-elle été *reale* (réelle) entre État et régions en matière culturelle? Et, de manière plus générale, le "vistoso vuoto"¹³⁸ (vide) dans la Constitution quant au règlement des modalités de coopération

¹³⁷ Le principe constitutionnel de *leale collaborazione* a été introduit avec la réforme du Titre V de 2001. Utilisé aussi au niveau européen, dans le système juridique italien il affirme que l'État et les régions doivent agir à travers des formes de collaboration en ce qui concerne les interventions dans les domaines de compétence partagée.

¹³⁸ "Il 'vistoso vuoto' di regolazione costituzionale delle modalità della cooperazione tra Stato e Regione (F.Merloni), oltre che riflettere il presumibile intento di allargare gli spazi di intervento per la giurisprudenza costituzionale che peraltro era già pervenuta a desumere dalle 'leale collaborazione' un dovere di reciproca informazione ed un obbligo di motivare ogni rifiuto di accedere ad una proposta

État-Région est désormais reconnu. Cependant, les régions ont réussi à mettre en place des solutions pour définir leur rôle dans le système d'acteurs de la gouvernance de la culture, mais pas toutes et pas toujours de la même manière.

La gouvernance de la culture se caractérise ainsi dans les deux pays comme un système polycentrique à forte composante étatique, mais où la coopération État-Région a acquis un poids tout à fait différent: en France c'est dans la coopération avec l'État que les régions ont acquis leur pouvoir et les moyens nécessaires pour se positionner à l'intérieur du système d'acteurs, alors qu'en Italie la faible coopération a poussé les régions à construire leurs propres modalités d'intervention, ne pouvant pas s'appuyer sur la dimension de réciprocité d'un régionalisme coopératif.

L'action des régions françaises en matière culturelle est marquée par des traits communs: une action caractérisée par une transversalité et l'articulation autour des compétences de bases, des services culturels compétents qui se sont structurés dans le temps, ainsi que des structures comme les agences régionales. Les régions mènent des activités de concertation et jouent un rôle d'animation dans le territoire et un rôle important en terme de solidarité, pouvant aussi expérimenter et innover au niveau de leurs politiques publiques. Le soutien majeur au spectacle vivant et l'importance accordée aux industries culturelles s'avèrent être aussi d'autres constantes, avec des variations régionales dans les autres domaines.

En ce qui concerne l'Italie, la situation est bien plus différenciée: d'abord pour la *question méridionale* et le grand écart entre les régions du nord et du sud de l'Italie, qui comporte également des différences sensibles en termes de ressources financières, les régions méridionales pouvant bénéficier de fonds européens dans le cadre de *l'objectif convergence*, les régions septentrionales disposant du soutien consistant du secteur privé, surtout des Fondations bancaires. Des solutions législatives diverses et variées ont été adoptées par les régions en matière culturelle, des démarches et des initiatives originales, entre autres *culture-driven*, ont été mises en œuvre par certaines régions, d'autres régions se limitant au contraire à poursuivre des objectifs uniquement administratifs. Une tentative de mise en réseau des ressources culturelles est assez fréquente, ainsi que des démarches pour la mise en valeur du patrimoine, selon leur compétence reconnue au niveau législatif. Par contre, l'intersectorialité n'est pas encore une pratique au cœur de l'action culturelle régionale, d'ailleurs elle ne l'est pas non plus au niveau national. Les compétences à l'intérieur des services culturels ne sont pas toujours acquises, et surtout pas à la hauteur des enjeux et des défis contemporains; d'où l'absence dans la plupart des cas d'un rôle de programmation et d'approche stratégique. Il en résulte un paysage assez varié avec des régions bien plus avancées dans le domaine culturel, qui ont émergées tout particulièrement dans les dernières années, comme le Piémont au nord, les Marches au centre et les Pouilles au sud du pays.

La prise en compte des principaux acteurs qui interviennent dans la gouvernance de la culture à l'échelle régionale, et avec qui la région établit une coopération intense et récurrente, contribue également à définir la spécificité de l'action de la Région et les enjeux de coopération qui en découlent. À partir des objectifs des trois principales catégories d'acteurs, *policy makers*, professionnels et public, John Holden identifie trois types de *cultural value*. La première catégorie serait plutôt concernée par des valeurs instrumentales, la deuxième par des valeurs intrinsèques et la troisième par des valeurs aussi bien institutionnelles qu'intrinsèques.¹³⁹ Cette articulation montre le *mismatch of value concerns*, c'est-à-dire que le décalage

d'intesa, parrebbe aprire la strada ad una differenziata molteplicità di soluzioni pattizie in uno scenario non troppo distante da quello offerto dal moltiplicarsi dei rapporti di vassallaggio" Chiarelli (2005).

¹³⁹ Définition de trois types de valeurs (Holden, 2006):

- "Instrumental values relate to the ancillary effects of culture, where culture is used to achieve a social or economic purpose. [...] This kind of value tends to be captured in 'output', 'outcome' and 'impact' studies [...]" (p.16);

- "Institutional value relates to the processes and techniques that organisations adopt in how they work to create value for the public. Institutional value is created (or destroyed) by how these organisations engage with their public; it flows from their working practices and attitudes, and is rooted in the ethos of public service" (p.17);

entre les trois types de valeurs de chaque catégorie permet de comprendre “where 'cultural system' is failing either to realise or to articulate value” (Holden, 2006). Le défi serait alors de créer un autre “alignment between culture, politics and the public” (Holden, 2006). La participation du public à la formulation des politiques, dans la double acception du public de la culture et des destinataires des politiques publiques, est en effet un enjeu autant crucial que délicat. D'ailleurs, de plus en plus la politique culturelle “is a closed conversation among experts. What culture need is a democratic mandate from the public [...]” (Holden, 2006).

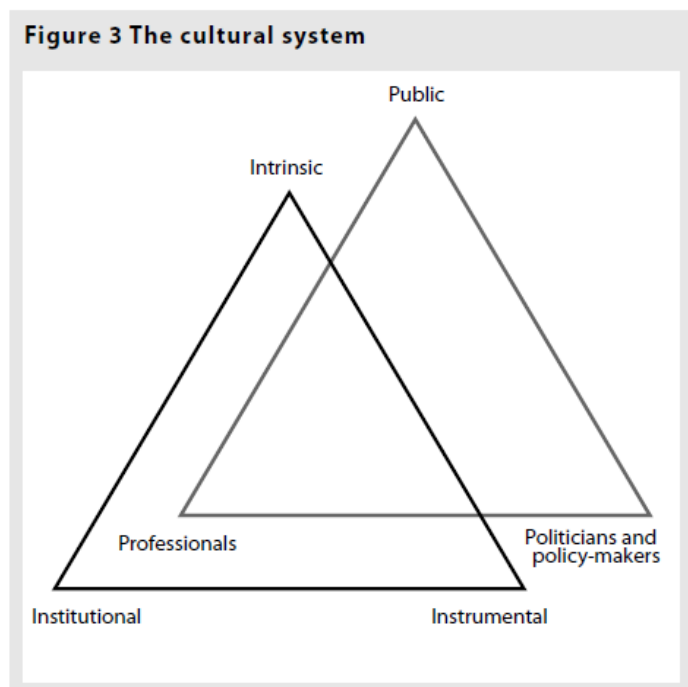


Figure 1. Le *mismatch of value concerns* à l'intérieur du système culturel (Holden, 2006)

Dans notre analyse, nous avons pris en compte deux régions, Rhône-Alpes en France et le Piémont en Italie, qui ont montré des démarches innovantes et efficaces en termes de concertation avec les professionnels de la culture, dans un objectif de co-construction des politiques.

1. La concertation, source de légitimité et d'expertise pour les régions

En Rhône-Alpes, la région crée un système de coopération et d'interdépendance très accrue notamment avec les services déconcentrés du Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, c'est-à-dire la DRAC – Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelles, les agences régionales et les professionnels, aussi par le biais de ces agences. Elle essaie ainsi de conjuguer des valeurs plus instrumentales avec celles esthétiques des professionnels, notamment à travers le travail d'animation et d'accompagnement demandé aux agences qui, avec leur répartition sectorielle, montrent une fonction en quelque sorte corporatiste, comme le confirme le statut associatif de la NACRe – Agence du spectacle vivant en Rhône-Alpes. La coopération constante avec la DRAC et sa logique d'excellence artistique pose la région dans la nécessité d'une négociation constante entre les différentes valeurs qui caractérisent ces deux acteurs. On pourrait affirmer que la Région Rhône-Alpes, lors de la coopération réalisée à l'intérieur du système d'acteurs, et grâce aussi à la concertation, accomplit un effort conséquent pour faire face au *mismatch of value concerns* mentionné auparavant.

Au Piémont, la position de la région est moins structurée en raison d'une coopération et d'une

- “Intrinsic values are the set of values that relate to the subjective experience of culture intellectually, emotionally and spiritually. [...] Because intrinsic values are experienced at the level of the individual they are difficult to articulate in terms of mass ‘outcomes’” (p.14).

interdépendance moins fortes par rapport à Rhône-Alpes. En tout cas, elle essaie également de conjuguer des valeurs plus instrumentales avec des valeurs intrinsèques, comme le prouve la tradition de coopération interinstitutionnelle réalisée lors des grands projets infra-structurels lancés dans les années 1990, ainsi que l'expérience de certaines démarches novatrices avec les professionnels et lors de projets de territoire. De plus, la spécificité de cette région par rapport à d'autres régions italiennes est celle d'avoir mobilisé la culture comme facteur identitaire dans un objectif de développement économique et touristique.

L'analyse des cas de Rhône-Alpes et du Piémont montre que l'intensité des relations de la collectivité régionale s'avère plus importante avec l'État et les professionnels, avec des degrés différents et un poids majeur dans le cas français. Si la relation avec l'État est ordinaire, puisque spécifique à l'échelle régionale par la présence des services déconcentrés, celle avec les autres collectivités territoriales s'avère sans doute plus discrétionnaire et très différenciée; il existe bien évidemment des relations de collaboration plus ou moins formalisées, mais ces relations n'ont pas un caractère régulier.

Les enjeux avec les professionnels de la culture sont dans les deux cas nombreux et cruciaux: les deux régions s'avèrent, avec une intensité différente mais certainement moins forte dans le cas italien, très engagées dans la coopération avec les acteurs culturels. Des activités de concertation, d'accompagnement, de repérage et de formation sont mises en place par la Région à destination des professionnels, en combinaison avec d'autres activités indirectes de structuration de l'offre artistique-culturelle et de la diffusion. Que ce soit pour une quête de légitimité ou pour maximiser l'efficacité et les potentialités de l'offre culturelle, les deux régions entretiennent une relation de plus en plus féconde avec les professionnels, qui sont dans certains cas eux-mêmes source d'expertise pour la Région. Pour poursuivre cela, elles font appel aussi à des structures comme les agences régionales en France, les observatoires, les fondations ou encore les cabinets de conseil en Italie, qui les aident à structurer et à pérenniser un dialogue constructif à travers des actions d'animation et d'accompagnement. Ces structures porteuses d'expertise constituent des acteurs tout à fait complémentaires à la région dans la formulation et la mise en œuvre des politiques, et aussi pour ce qui est de l'évaluation, quand elles sont impliquées dans des activités d'observation. C'est dans la coopération avec les professionnels que les régions déploient une capacité qui leur est propre et où elles font sans doute preuve d'innovations majeures.

Une collaboration à redéfinir avec l'État, une intense implication des professionnels, un repérage de l'émergent, ainsi que des questions liées à la nouvelle géographie des regroupements des régions et de l'action des métropoles, semblent caractériser les enjeux coopératifs de la région en matière culturelle.

2. Les *Rencontres* en Rhône-Alpes: la concertation pour la construction de la politique culturelle

En France, les régions ont dû faire face à une double nécessité sur le plan culturel: d'un côté, l'acquisition d'une légitimité politique en tant que nouveaux acteurs, et de l'autre côté, l'acquisition d'une légitimité d'intervention, les régions ne disposant pas de compétences obligatoires en la matière. À ce propos l'acquisition de l'expertise s'avère une condition essentielle.

Pour répondre à cette nécessité, Rhône-Alpes a mis en place une démarche efficace: la concertation avec les acteurs du domaine culturel en vue de formuler une politique délibérée, qui a entraîné, comme effets secondaires, la structuration et la pérennisation du dialogue avec les acteurs et leur formation. On pourrait en plus affirmer que la concertation a constitué également une évaluation *ex ante* du secteur culturel en région. Le processus de concertation s'est réalisé pendant des *Rencontres* organisées par la région avec la collaboration de l'Observatoire des Politiques Culturelles de Grenoble.

Pour expliquer la genèse de cette démarche, on reporte ici l'allocution de Jean-Jack Queyranne, Président de la Région Rhône-Alpes, à l'occasion de la journée de restitution des Rencontres pour l'art contemporain en Rhône-Alpes du jeudi 2 octobre 2006:

Depuis plus de deux ans, nous avons entrepris de *revisiter* nos politiques culturelles.

Notre méthode repose d'abord sur une intuition, qui se vérifie de jour en jour : dans un système de partenariats, publics et privés souvent complexe, l'exigence d'un chef de file s'impose pour veiller à la cohérence des interventions.

Le rôle de médiation politique des régions, suivant l'expression de René Rizzardo, s'affirme sous la forme d'un dialogue renouvelé avec l'État et les autres collectivités territoriales.

Elle vise ensuite un objectif: partir au plus près des besoins réels et des attentes des acteurs pour mieux utiliser les moyens existants ainsi que les mesures nouvelles qui correspondent à notre volonté de doubler notre effort budgétaire en faveur de la culture au cours de ce mandat d'ici 2010.

Elle se traduit enfin par une démarche: une concertation avec les professionnels de la culture, avec l'ensemble des collectivités publiques, avec les associations, dans une configuration qui permette à chaque fois d'aller au fond des choses; tout en favorisant l'expression de toutes les disciplines, des territoires, comme des sensibilités, et en s'intéressant aussi bien aux acteurs institutionnels, mais aussi aux acteurs émergents.

Les Rencontres deviennent ainsi, à travers la concertation, une phase de co-construction de la nouvelle politique culturelle. Elles se déroulent à partir de 2004, même s'il y en avait eu précédemment dans le domaine du cinéma et de l'audiovisuel, et concernent plusieurs secteurs:

- dans la période 2004-2009 avec une approche plutôt sectorielle: en 2005 le spectacle vivant, en 2006 l'art contemporain, en 2007 le livre et en 2008 le patrimoine;
- à partir de 2009-2010, l'approche devient plutôt transversale: le numérique, la culture et l'université et l'éducation populaire.

Tableau 1 Processus de concertation avec les professionnels en Rhône-Alpes

Besoins	Démarche	Effets primaires	Effets secondaires
Nécessité de légitimité politique →	→ CONCERTATION avec les acteurs et COLLABORATION avec l'OPC →	Acquisition de consensus à travers la délibération ↓	Formation des acteurs
Nécessité de légitimité d'intervention →		Élaboration de la nouvelle politique	Structuration du dialogue avec les acteurs
		↑ Acquisition d'expertise	Production d'une évaluation <i>ex-ante</i>

(Source: notre élaboration)

Nous prenons comme exemple les *Rencontres du spectacle vivant*, qui étaient ainsi structurées: plusieurs journées par an, des ateliers avec des groupes de travail, des contributions écrites individuelles et collectives, des auditions individuelles, des consultations collectives, une réunion intermédiaire avec des

animateurs de la région, l'élaboration des propositions comme conclusion et conception de la politique. Les groupes de travail se composaient de 35 personnes qualifiées et étaient animés par deux experts, leur constitution correspondant aux thématiques (ou même aux enjeux?) de la Région Rhône-Alpes dans chaque domaine retenu. Les 3 groupes de travail étaient ainsi repartis:

1. emploi-formation,
2. publics-territoires-partenariats,
3. création-production-diffusion.

La répartition des groupes reflète une approche transversale même à l'intérieur du champ *spectacle vivant*, avec un seul groupe (n.3) dédié aux thématiques propres à ce domaine. Cela révèle encore une fois la transversalité des enjeux de la région associés au domaine en question.

La même démarche s'est déroulée pour la concertation concernant l'art contemporain, avec les trois groupes de travail suivants:

1. économie de la production et de la diffusion;
2. réception de l'art contemporain, partenariats, territoires;
3. formations et professionnalisation des artistes.

Cette articulation confirme de nouveau les enjeux transversaux de la région. La région s'était également engagée à rencontrer les participants à la concertation chaque année et à dresser un bilan de l'expérience. Pour ce qui est du numérique, étant un domaine encore émergent et à explorer, l'organisation par groupes de travail avait été remplacée par la création d'un comité de pilotage, avec trois séminaires de réflexion et d'échange et un forum sous forme de plate-forme Internet.

La démarche de ces rencontres s'est avérée efficace, comme le montre sa reproduction dans plusieurs secteurs par la suite:

[...] leur succès en terme de public, la qualité et la sérénité des échanges comme des contributions orales ou écrites ont montré que les professionnels du spectacle vivant ont besoin de tels lieux de discussion sur leurs métiers et sur les politiques publiques qui les concernent. Ils constituent également la preuve que la région est désormais reconnue comme pleinement légitime pour organiser un tel débat, malgré la modestie de ses compétences obligatoires en matière culturelle (Rapport n°05.11.924, par Jean-Jack Queyranne, Soutien au spectacle vivant: une nouvelle politique de la création artistique, de l'emploi, des publics et du rayonnement).

Les conclusions de la concertation ont été ensuite utilisées pour la formulation de la nouvelle politique dans les domaines retenus. En effet, le Rapport n°05.11.924, avec lequel le Président Régional Jean-Jack Queyranne demande de délibérer les propositions de la nouvelle politique, reflète dans sa structure la même articulation que la démarche consultative en termes d'enjeux, d'axes stratégiques d'intervention et de mesures à mettre en place. En effet, son articulation est la suivante:

Encadré 1 Articulation de la politique culturelle de Rhône-Alpes suite à la concertation avec les professionnels

Enjeux	Axes d'intervention	Mesures
EMPLOI et FORMATION	A La mise en place d'un cadre structurant en faveur de l'emploi et de la formation	1. dès 2006, création d'un observatoire du spectacle en Rhône-Alpes 2. Un contrat d'objectif emploi-formation pour le spectacle vivant, le cinéma et l'audiovisuel 3. La participation des professionnels à la définition des besoins de formation continue
	B	1. les dispositifs d'insertion

	Un programme spécifique permettant d'accompagner des projets innovants en faveur de l'emploi et de la formation	2. les dispositifs de mutualisation 3. soutien à la formation permanente des artistes et des techniciens
PRODUCTION, CREATION et DIFFUSION	A Mesures structurantes en faveur des artistes, des lieux, des festivals	1. Réforme de l'aide aux collectifs artistiques: renforcement du soutien aux compagnies indépendantes - aide aux équipes de création hors convention - conventionnement - aides nouvelles en investissement - rééquilibrage du soutien en faveur des disciplines les plus fragiles institutionnellement
		2. contrat d'association entre les structures et les artistes et les compagnies indépendantes
		3. mesures en faveur des lieux - les Scènes régionales Rhône-Alpes: partage de leur outil et implication plus forte dans l'aide à la production - l'aide de la Région aux grandes institutions uniques en Région, aux Centres dramatiques nationaux, aux Centres chorégraphiques nationaux, aux Centres nationaux de création musicale et aux Scènes nationales
	B Mesures innovantes en faveur de la création et de la diffusion	1. Appel à projets spectacle vivant pour l'accueil de grands spectacles nationaux et internationaux et pour la diffusion des compagnies régionales 2. Soutien à l'émergence: le réseau des lieux, les tremplins et autres initiatives
ACTION CULTURELLE, MEDIATION, INNOVATION	A FIACRE Fonds pour l'innovation artistique et culturelle en Rhône-Alpes	
	B Carte M'Ra et publics prioritaires	
	C Rencontre annuelle des professionnels du spectacle vivant	

(Source: notre élaboration)

Outre l'élaboration de la nouvelle politique, la démarche de concertation a engendré plusieurs effets secondaires. En premier lieu, la co-construction de la politique a assuré un consensus au niveau politique, facilitant ainsi l'approbation par les élus des politiques délibérées:

C'est un formidable facilitateur dans la discussion politique parce que, quand ensuite on arrive au vote de ces politiques devant les élus, on peut leur garantir que ces politiques elles ont été réellement discutées avec les professionnels, et qu'elles correspondent à un besoin; donc il y a une dimension on va dire participative et une légitimité des mesures qui étaient proposées qui était très forte et du coup très souvent nos politiques ont été votées avec une grande majorité des élus de l'assemblée à l'exception du Front National, qui de toute façon s'oppose beaucoup à nos politiques culturelles. Il y a une forte adhésion

des professionnels et des élus à ces politiques qui ont été co-construites [...] (Entretien avec Isabelle Chardonner Rebillard, Directrice de la Culture, Région Rhône-Alpes).

En deuxième lieu, cette démarche de concertation a entraîné aussi des impacts en termes de formation des acteurs, puisqu'elle a constitué l'occasion de mener un débat avec eux et de les informer sur les spécificités de la gouvernance de la culture à l'échelle régionale à plusieurs niveaux: législatif, financier etc. En effet:

[...] on s'est aperçu en construisant ce cheminement que beaucoup d'acteurs du domaine culturel ne connaissaient pas bien la problématique des politiques culturelles, des politiques publiques, et donc ça a incontestablement servi à leur formation, à les éclairer sur le système coopératif français, les responsabilités des uns et des autres etc.

Ça a été un effet secondaire peut-être l'un des plus importants, d'élever finalement le niveau de réflexion, de conscience des acteurs pour leur permettre de bien se situer dans leur environnement politique-institutionnel (Entretien avec Jean Pierre Saez, Directeur, Observatoire des Politiques Culturelles de Grenoble).

Cette pratique a également servi pour la structuration et la pérennisation d'un dialogue de la Région avec les professionnels, permettant entre autre de comprendre les attentes de ces derniers par rapport à l'expertise que l'institution régionale devrait déployer en la matière.

En Rhône-Alpes, la concertation avec les professionnels de la culture s'est ainsi avérée un processus de co-construction de la politique et pour cela d'acquisition de légitimité, et en même temps aussi d'acquisition d'expertise. En effet, cette pratique de concertation constitue une des sources d'expertise de la région. On peut distinguer à ce propos trois sources différentes: celle interne, à travers le personnel de la Direction de la Culture; celle externe, par la collaboration avec l'État-DRAC et avec des structures, comme par exemple l'Observatoire des Politiques Culturelles; et enfin celle internalisée/externalisée, à travers les agences financées par la région (comme la Nacre, l'Arald et Rhône-Alpes Cinéma), ainsi que la constitution des comités d'experts et la concertation avec les professionnels. On pourrait alors affirmer que Rhône-Alpes a mis en place un processus de construction de l'expertise au fur et à mesure qu'elle formulait ses nouvelles politiques, notamment à partir de 2004, tout en reconnaissant la nécessité d'y associer des ressources financières et humaines:

Tableau 2. Processus de construction de l'expertise pour la nouvelle politique culturelle en Rhône-Alpes

Objectif	Instrument	Allocation des ressources		Résultat
		financières	humaines	
Élaboration de la nouvelle politique	Concertation avec les acteurs	Augmentation du budget pour la culture	Adaptation progressive de la Direction de la Culture	Mesures et actions d'intervention

(Source: notre élaboration)

Pour mettre en place la nouvelle politique, vis-à-vis des enjeux transversaux auxquels la région veut répondre, il était nécessaire qu'elle développe également une expertise plus transversale en matière artistique, ainsi qu'une coopération avec les autres Directions chargées de secteurs en lien avec le secteur culturel. Une forte volonté politique a été à l'origine de ce processus, soit pour la formation du personnel soit pour le développement d'une transversalité intra-organisationnelle.

3. La dimension participative dans l'élaboration des *standards museali* au Piémont

En Italie, par la longue tradition d'intervention de l'État en matière du patrimoine, les régions ont dû construire leur rôle en fonction des compétences qui leur étaient attribuées dans le domaine, notamment la gestion des musées et la valorisation du patrimoine. Pour ce qui est de la gestion des musées, les régions ont dû notamment légitimer leur intervention en déployant une expertise qui jusque là appartenait exclusivement à l'État. Pour atteindre cette légitimité, la Région Piémont a adopté une démarche très intéressante et novatrice concernant un aspect technique de la gestion des musées, c'est-à-dire la méthodologie de l'accréditation et l'élaboration de standards de qualité. Comme dans le cas de Rhône-Alpes, la Région a fait recours à la concertation avec les acteurs du domaine concerné, c'est-à-dire les musées, et elle a également sollicité la collaboration des structures d'expertise.

Nous allons considérer la démarche des *standard museali regionali*, c'est-à-dire le processus à travers lequel la Région Piémont a procédé à l'élaboration de standards pour la gestion des musées, et en même temps à la production d'expertise. Elle s'est traduite aussi par des activités de formation pour les professionnels des musées et par la publication de plusieurs documents utiles. Il s'agit encore une fois d'une innovation en termes de processus menée par la Région.

Tableau 3. Processus de concertation avec les professionnels des musées au Piémont

Besoins	Démarche	Effets primaires	Effets secondaires
Nécessité d'élaborer des standards "propres" →	→ CONCERTATION avec les acteurs et COLLABORATION avec des structures d'expertise	Acquisition de consensus à travers la participation des acteurs à la démarche ↓	Formation des acteurs
Nécessité de légitimité d'intervention dans la gestion des musées →	→	Élaboration des standards et de la méthodologie	Accompagnement des acteurs
		↑ Acquisition d'expertise	Diagnostic des exigences de formation des musées

Source: notre élaboration

La démarche trouve son origine dans le décret D.M. du 10 mai 2001, "Atto di indirizzo sui criteri tecnico scientifici e sugli standard di funzionamento e sviluppo dei musei (art. 150, comma 6, D.Lgs. n. 112/1998)", à travers lequel le Ministère fixe des critères de qualité pour les activités à transférer aux collectivités, suite notamment au d.lgs.112/1998, art.150 comma 6¹⁴⁰. Le Ministère avait créé à ce propos un groupe de travail composé par des représentants de: *Conferenza delle Regioni*, *ANCI-Associazione Nazionale Comuni Italiani*, *UPI-Unione Province Italiane*, *Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali*, *ICOM-International Council of Museums* et *ANMLI-Associazione Nazionale Musei Locali e Istituzionali*. L'Atto di indirizzo identifie huit dimensions d'application des standards: le statut juridique, la gestion financière, les structures du musée, le personnel, la sécurité, la gestion des collections, les rapports du musée avec le public et les rapports avec le territoire. Si l'État n'a pas fait un pas ultérieur pour l'application concrète de l'Atto di indirizzo, ce sont les régions, de par leur compétence en matière de gestion des musées, qui ont procédé en ce sens: certaines régions ont décidé de mettre en place un système d'accréditation avec l'élaboration de leurs propres

¹⁴⁰ Comma 6: "Con proprio decreto il Ministro per i beni culturali e ambientali definisce i criteri tecnico-scientifici e gli standard minimi da osservare nell'esercizio delle attività trasferite, in modo da garantire un adeguato livello di fruizione collettiva dei beni, la loro sicurezza e la prevenzione dei rischi. Con apposito protocollo tra il Ministro per i beni culturali e ambientali e l'ente locale cui è trasferita la gestione possono essere individuate ulteriori attività da trasferire".

standards dans les huit dimensions fixées par le Ministère, d'abord les régions Lombardie et Émilie-Romagne, ensuite Piémont, Vénétie, Campanie, Marches et Toscane.

La démarche mise en place par le Piémont est sans doute très novatrice et a été source d'inspiration aussi pour d'autres régions. L'intérêt du processus piémontais est lié non seulement aux contenus mêmes des standards, mais surtout à sa dimension participative et de concertation, à l'accompagnement, à la production des documents et à la formation pour les professionnels des musées, tout en faisant recours à des instruments comme des diagnostics, des enquêtes etc. La Région a fait appel à des structures extérieures pour mettre en place cette démarche et ainsi définir les standards, comme la *Fondazione Fitzcarraldo*, l'Observatoire Culturel du Piémont et l'Université Polytechnique de Turin. Une *cabina di regia* et un *comitato tecnico-scientifico* en collaboration avec ces structures ont également été constitués. La Région Piémont a en effet élaboré un Plan de travail pour la définition des *standards museali*, présenté lors de la publication du *Censimento dei musei e degli altri beni culturali aperti al pubblico con ingresso regolamentato*, réalisé par l'Observatoire Culturel du Piémont entre 2002 et 2003. Le plan prévoyait:

- a) la constitution de commissions pour la définition des standards;
- b) la comparaison des résultats obtenus avec les musées piémontais;
- c) la publication des documents contenant les standards, les instructions pour leur utilisation et des approfondissements.

En 2004 les Commissions pour la définition des standards se sont réunies, composées pour la plupart du personnel des musées et des surintendances. Le 3 décembre 2007 les *Standard di qualità per i musei piemontesi* ont été présentés, sauf le n.3 (personnel) et le n°1 (statut juridique). Après la publication, en 2008, une enquête auprès des musées a été lancée dans le but d'identifier les criticités, le besoin d'information et d'approfondissement, ainsi que les exigences de formation du personnel. Les résultats de l'enquête révèlent, entre autres, le besoin d'accompagnement et de formation du personnel. Les objectifs visés par la région étaient l'utilisation des standards, à partir de 2005, pour identifier les priorités dans l'attribution des subventions régionales et ensuite l'adoption des standards et l'approbation d'un *Atto di indirizzo* pour l'accréditation des musées piémontais.

On remarque une attention spéciale de la région en termes de processus, dans la phase d'élaboration des standards comme dans la phase d'application. Le standard acquiert un poids différent selon les différentes phases:

- 1) dans la phase d'expérimentation, le standard représente un critère pour l'allocation des financements et un point de repère pour le traitement des questions urgentes et pour la définition des priorités d'intervention à court terme;
- 2) dans la phase de maturité, suite à l'accréditation, le standard représente un outil pour les musées dans la programmation de leurs activités, aussi en termes d'objectifs de développement.

Encadré 2 Exemple des standards pour les musées pour les domaines 2, 7 et 8

Domaines	Standards
2. Gestion financière	1a. Gestione corrente
	1b. Gestione corrente per ecomusei, musei diffusi e network
	2. Progetti speciali
	3. Investimenti
7. Rapports avec le public	1. apertura al pubblico
	2. accesso
	3. accoglienza
	4. sussidi alla visita

	5. servizi educativi e didattici
	6. attività
	7. comunicazione e promozione
	8. servizi accessori
	9. analisi del pubblico
8. Rapports avec le territoire	1. attività di ricerca sul territorio
	2. organizzazione e diffusione della documentazione
	3. tutela indiretta
	4. valorizzazione integrata del territorio
	5. attività di gestione del territorio
	6. partecipazione a reti e sistemi di beni culturali
	7. partecipazione a progetti di sviluppo locale

(Source: notre élaboration)

Quant au bilan de la mise en place de cette démarche, il faudrait souligner le grand investissement de la part de la région, et le processus qu'il a entamé au niveau de la gestion des musées et de la professionnalisation:

È sicuramente un punto di svolta ammettere che nel lungo dibattito sulle forme e sugli assetti istituzionali da adottare nella valorizzazione di territori o di beni culturali, si sia dato poco risalto alle professionalità e alle capacità individuali. Ci si è concentrati sugli assetti istituzionali, quasi potessero funzionare in astratto, indipendentemente dagli individui, come se, all'interno delle organizzazioni, delle forme di gestione, delle modalità di valorizzazione, non ci stessero le persone con le loro capacità e le loro competenze; salvo scoprire che, una volta riformate le organizzazioni, non è così facile trovare le risorse umane adeguate e professionalizzate (Dal Pozzolo, 2007).

L'attività d'accompagnement dans la mise en place des standards en constitue ainsi un des points forts, surtout vis-à-vis de la demande du territoire: "Quello che il territorio chiede è dell'aiuto, non solo economico, è fornire delle indicazioni, dei suggerimenti di gestione, c'è questa necessità" (Entretien avec Laura Carli, Fonctionnaire, Service du Patrimoine, Région Piémont). À ce propos, la production de documents utiles et d'une méthodologie qui vise à garantir une application efficace et une mesurabilité des résultats acquière une grande importance. Cependant, des critiques émergent en ce qui concerne la phase d'application des standards au niveau régional, et donc à l'accréditation en soi, notamment à cause du fait d'avoir lié l'accréditation à la promulgation d'un *atto di indirizzo* et non pas à une loi régionale. L'absence d'une obligation par loi a ainsi limité la portée de l'extension des standards.

Comme pour le cas de Rhône-Alpes, cette démarche de concertation a constitué aussi une acquisition d'expertise pour la région, au niveau des aspects spécifiques liés à la gestion des musées ainsi qu'à la prise de conscience des besoins des professionnels. Elle s'est avérée ainsi une des sources d'expertise de la région, en combinaison aux autres sources: interne, à travers le personnel des services de l'administration régionale chargés des compétences culturelles; externe, par la collaboration avec l'État, notamment avec les Surintendances, et avec des structures (*Fondazione Fitzcarraldo, Politecnico di Torino* etc.); externalisée, avec l'Observatoire culturel du Piémont.

Conclusion

Les deux exemples traités, pour Rhône-Alpes et pour le Piémont, nous montrent deux processus

semblables pour plusieurs éléments. Même si l'objet de la démarche est différent, les modalités de mise en place s'avèrent convergentes: une concertation avec les acteurs et les professionnels d'un certain domaine, une collaboration avec des structures d'experts qui accompagnent la région dans la démarche, des effets primaires et secondaires importants, entre autre la formation et l'accompagnement des acteurs, et un consensus garant de leur acceptation par les bénéficiaires, qui deviennent ainsi des co-constructeurs. On constate une volonté de construction de l'expertise de la part de ces deux régions à travers une démarche participative, en ayant recours à la concertation, tout en cherchant un apport d'expertise externe pour nourrir leur expertise interne. D'où la constatation que l'objectif intrinsèque de l'intervention régionale dans ce domaine s'avère être la coopération, avec ses nombreuses implications en termes de co-construction de politiques et de processus avec les acteurs sectoriels et intersectoriels.

La coopération serait ainsi une exigence pour la programmation, notamment pour la formulation de politiques publiques à l'échelle régionale, à condition que la Région implique non seulement les acteurs institutionnels, mais aussi les acteurs du milieu culturel comme ceux d'autres secteurs, le public et les représentants du tiers secteur lié au domaine culturel. Pour les régions, les implications liées à la coopération sont nombreuses, comme la conception et la mise en place de dispositifs participatifs et consultatifs pour la co-construction des politiques. On constate une certaine convergence en ce sens au niveau régional, même si l'efficacité de ces dispositifs n'est pas encore acquise: on assiste en effet à des exemples réussis comme la démarche des *Rencontres* en Rhône-Alpes ou la constitution de la Conférence régionale consultative de la Culture en 2009 par le Conseil régional de Pays de la Loire, encore existante. Cependant on ne peut pas négliger une certaine rhétorique liée à la participation et aux formules consultatives, auxquelles les pouvoirs publics feraient souvent recours pour décrire des démarches qui, au fond, seraient des occasions pour rassembler simplement des acteurs sans mettre en place avec eux une vraie concertation. De son côté, aussi l'Union Européenne dans le document *Conclusions du Conseil sur la gouvernance participative du patrimoine culturel* (2014/C 463/01) exhorte pour une gouvernance participative au niveau du patrimoine culturel, et pour la participation des acteurs concernés à tous les stades du processus décisionnel.

L'autre élément déterminant au niveau régional réside dans l'intersectorialité. Par son positionnement dans le système d'acteurs et pour tous les enjeux déjà rappelés, la Région est porteuse d'une pertinence spécifique en ce sens. L'adoption d'une logique intersectorielle permettrait tout d'abord de formuler dès le début des politiques à composante culturelle, ou bien d'intégrer la culture dans d'autres politiques; les effets *spill over* en seraient renforcés et les possibilités de financement augmentées. On estime également que, dans l'avenir, la compétence "culture" attirerait de moins en moins l'attention des élus, étant donné qu'ils seraient chargés en même temps de compétences liées à des secteurs variés dans une logique de réduction des coûts politiques. Développer une plus grande intersectorialité assurerait ainsi à la culture d'être présente dans l'agenda, bien qu'au second plan, sans courir le risque d'une disparition progressive. De plus, l'actuelle réduction des dépenses publiques représente une menace pour le financement culturel, qui ne peut atteindre que difficilement le statut de priorité des dépenses régionales, encore moins suite au regroupement des régions.

Il s'agirait encore une fois d'un problème de légitimité, lié aussi au *mismatch of value concerns* entre *policy makers*, professionnels et public. En effet, "legitimacy is a precondition for securing a larger, and more secure, place of culture in our wider public life, and therefore in the priorities of democratically elected governments. Creating such legitimacy will depend on institutional innovation that engages the public in understanding and contributing to the creation of cultural value. Encouraging such innovation by the full range of institutions and practitioners should be the principal aim of any structural reform of arts funding and policy" (Holden, 2006: 56). On estime que sur cet effort de légitimation la région pourrait jouer un rôle très important, avec l'élaboration d'une *policy* qui serait le produit d'une scène de négociation étant ainsi porteuse

de légitimité; dans ce sens, la relation entre *policy* et *politics* ne devrait pas être remise en cause, puisque la première serait suffisamment ancrée et assurée au niveau institutionnel sans être menacée par le changement politique.

On suppose ainsi que la région pourrait garantir des politiques publiques durables pour la culture grâce aux deux facteurs de l'intersectorialité et de la coopération. En effet, de la co-construction des politiques par la concertation avec les professionnels de la culture et les autres acteurs publics et privés, dériveraient des politiques délibérées dotées de légitimité, pouvant ainsi assurer leur durabilité démocratique. Sur ce point les nouvelles technologies liées au web pourraient être utilisées comme support. La région aurait gagné un avantage et une légitimité en termes de coopération par rapport aux autres échelles: c'est en raison de la nécessité de légitimer leur intervention en matière culturelle que les régions se sont posées comme pivot du système d'acteurs en allant à la rencontre des acteurs, notamment des professionnels. On pourrait ajouter également que dans toutes leurs activités principales de mise en réseau et de mise en système les régions ont créé une interaction entre les acteurs; son rôle dans le système d'acteurs résiderait alors dans la gestion du système lui-même. En outre, de l'approche transversale, qui se traduirait dans l'intégration d'une dimension culturelle dans les autres secteurs, dériveraient des politiques intersectorielles qui pourraient compter sur une base plus large de sources de financement, pouvant ainsi assurer la durabilité économique des politiques publiques pour la culture.

En même temps, la région serait l'échelle où la culture pourrait gagner plus de légitimité en recherchant un équilibre entre les trois types de *cultural value* cités précédemment, grâce à une coopération à même d'assurer la prise en compte des valeurs propres aux différents acteurs.

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A Comparative Perspective on the Discourses of Privatization in the Arts and Heritage Field in Turkey*

Tonga Uriarte, Yeşim

IMT Institute for Advanced Studies Lucca
Lucca, Italy
yesim.tonga@imtlucca.it

Gürsu, M. Işıl

The British Institute at Ankara
Ankara, Turkey
igursu@biaatr.org

Abstract

Over the last decade, the arts and heritage field has been witnessing an incremental change in the traditional role of public bodies through decentralization tendencies and involvement of private actors. Despite similar transformation paths experienced in different countries, their reflections on the governmental discourse may vary even within the same country. From this perspective, the changing use of *privatization* within the Turkish context provides interesting case studies for such an investigation.

The aim of this paper, therefore, is to shed light on the public discourse on the arts and heritage field in Turkey with a focus on privatization. A comparative perspective will be provided by two cases: (i) debate on the State Theaters' future with the establishment of an Arts Council; and (ii) managerial restructurings (transfer of ticket offices from the State to private sector) at archaeological sites and state museums. Discussion on the case studies aims to form an insight to the public understanding of arts and heritage in Turkey.

Keywords: cultural policy; privatization; cultural heritage; performing arts management; Turkey

Introduction

Cultural heritage in its broadest sense includes “monuments, buildings, landscape, artefacts and objects, as well as cultural traditions, music, theatre and dialect; it can be aesthetically pleasing and it can be ugly, unsafe and unprepossessing; it can be tangible – as many of these things are- or intangible. It can also be old, and it can be new. It is something valued by society, by specific groups within society and by individuals” (Schofield, 2008: 19). Therefore it entails examples from contemporary art to archaeological findings, from theatres to museums.

Cultural heritage is created in the interpretation of material things and many of the scholars agree that heritage is no longer about the past but “draws on the power of the past to produce the present and shape the future”.¹⁴¹ The characteristics of heritage are not self-defined but are created in the interpretation of material things. In this regard, one cannot expect that heritage institutions will be free of the social, cultural, political and economical conditions surrounding them.

In a similar vein, they cannot escape to be the topic of political discourses under changing approaches.

* This is a short version of the original manuscript.

¹⁴¹ See Harrison & Rodney, 2008. *The politics of the past: conflict in the use of heritage in the modern world*. Labadi, Sophia, & Long, Colin. 2010. *Heritage and Globalisation* analyses heritage which is more increasingly packed and served as a global product and for a rather harsh critique on the (ab)use of history/past to serve the contemporary needs and the capitalistic motivations see Lowenthal, David. 1996. *Stewardship, sanctimony and selfishness – a heritage paradox*.

Public discourse on arts and heritage management is what state and public policy say about the ways in which cultural heritage is being (or should be) managed. This discourse is constructed from the laws and regulations related to cultural heritage and what decision makers actually say about it.

The politicians' and decision makers' statements which form the substantial amount of public discourse on arts and heritage management have produced interesting readings during the last decade in Turkey and this paper discusses two examples from the arts and heritage field in this context. The changing discourse about the concept of privatization in two different sub-categories of cultural heritage give us the opportunity and the challenge to dive into this multi-faceted official approach to arts and heritage which has to be taken into consideration under the light of changing political and cultural climate in Turkey.

The aim of this paper, therefore, is to shed light on the public discourse on the arts and heritage field in Turkey with a focus on privatization. In line with this aim, the following section overviews the relation between privatization and the arts and heritage field. Then, the evolution of the cultural policies in Turkey will be presented and a comparative perspective on the changing governmental discourse on privatization practices will be provided by two cases: (i) debate on the State Theaters' future with the establishment of an Arts Council; and (ii) managerial restructurings (transfer of ticket offices from the State to private sector) at archaeological sites and state museums. Finally, the conclusion aims to form an insight to the public understanding of arts and heritage in Turkey.

2. Privatization in the arts and heritage field

Arts and heritage field has been rising its prominence both economically and socially. Creative industries increased the visibility of economic impacts of the arts, while contribution to community development was praising its instrumentality. Nevertheless, the peculiarities of the field with the multifaceted value scheme obstruct to develop common understandings for definitions and measurement of its intrinsic and instrumental values in order to provide adequate basis for building the state's involvement. Accordingly, arts and heritage fall into a vulnerable position within the public policy, "on account of the fact that the claims made for them, especially those relating to their transformative power, are extremely hard to substantiate" (Belfiore & Bennett, 2010: 5).

On the other hand, it can be claimed that the impacts of neoliberal policies have been also prevailing the policy agenda in many countries. According to Harvey (2005), neoliberalism "holds that the social good will be maximized by maximizing the reach and frequency of market transactions, and it seeks to bring all human action into the domain of the market". Within this global framework, two novel premises emerged during the 1990s; "(1) to promote the free market project on a global scale and (2) to re-articulate the local with the global in social and political life" (Emrence, 2008: 51). Thus, arts and heritage field was also affected by these emerging trends from a governmental perspective. As the extension of the transition towards a full free-market system and adaptation of a neoliberal economic model in the cultural arena, many states have reformulated their cultural policies such as public spending cuts, opening central administration to the concept of enterprise, promoting privatization with various incentives and subsidies and, therefore, paving the way for the increased role of the private sector.

Privatization of public enterprises and services has become an issue in political agendas first in the UK, the US and partially in Europe. The introduction of institutions like International Monetary Fund or World Bank to the developing countries has made privatization a world wide political move. Former communist states have been the last ones which had a changed role in managing the traditionally state owned enterprises (Boorsma, 1998). This change in the ideology of the state is characterized by focusing on four new concepts for politics:

- decreasing the value of the state;
- abolishing government intervention;

- total privatization;
- management culture (Wu, 2003).

These conditions point out to a change in the presence of the state. Yet, the state still holds a considerable place as the policy maker and the controller of the activities.

In most of the cases, the reasons for having these elements inserted into the politics of a state are the budgetary reasons, efficiency and effectiveness issues and the reaction to the growth of the public sector. In line with the motives to introduce the concept of privatization into the different sectors of the public realm, there are different modes and outcomes of this introduction. These modes and outcomes take different forms in different fields of public enterprises and services. As an example, culture has traditionally been one of the responsibilities of the state; however, as a result of the changes in the ideologies of the states and different pressures arising due to a free market economy, there are many discussions related to the private intervention in the field of culture (Gürsu, 2010).

3. Evolution of cultural policy framework in Turkey

Similar to the transition to the free-market system and the neoliberal economic model in the USA and the UK during the 1980s and its consequences in the field of culture, the Turkish State has also formed new cultural policies that find their expression in cutting public spending, opening administration to enterprise culture, propagating privatization with various incentives and subsidies, and paving the way for state-private sector partnerships. In this sense, the wave of public fund reductions in the field of culture around the world has been washing the shores of Turkey since the 2000s coinciding with the current AKP (Justice and Development Party) government's coming to power.

AKP was elected with a great majority in the 2002 general elections and formed a single-party government. With this strong political stability, the new policy in 2000s, can be outlined in three fundamental aspects; "the first pertains to decentralisation strategies where decision-making, administration and implementation are transferred from the central to local, rendering the local as being central on the cultural scene; second comes the strategy where the public relinquishes its management tasks in favour of the private sector, especially in terms of the management of cultural infrastructures; and finally, the provision of generous tax subsidies to encourage private sector investments to take place in culture." (Aksoy & Enlil, 2011: 73).

On the other hand, it is of crucial importance to understand how the state's responsibility for the arts and heritage is constructed and perceived in the legislative rhetoric, which can be considered as the basis of the political organization. In the history of the Republic of Turkey, there have been 3 constitutions in action, which are the Constitutions of 1924, 1961 and 1982. Among these, the concept of 'art in the social state' appeared for the first time in the legislation of Turkey in Article 21, entitled *The Freedom of the Sciences and Arts*, of the 1961 Constitution. The said article assumes social state characteristics among the qualifications of the state (Erdoğan, 2008: 192). Subsequently, the freedom of the sciences and arts is also protected in the 1982 Constitution, which is currently in force, by Article 27 under the Section IX of *The Rights and Duties of Individuals*. According to this article, "everyone has the right to learn and teach, explain, spread and conduct research on the science and arts freely" (Gözler, 2010: 10). In light of this, it can be claimed that this article is related more to the right to freedom of thought and expression. Such conceptual confusions might be explained by the lack of well-established arts policies in the history of the governance of Turkey and well-developed, common definitions regarding both the freedom of arts and the role of the state in the arts field. Yet, what is important here is that participation in the sciences and arts in various forms is recognized and protected by the Constitution as an individual right.

On the other hand, the protection of the arts and artists is mentioned separately in the Constitution under Article 64, Section XII of *The Social and Economic Rights and Duties*; "The State protects artistic activities and artists. It takes the necessary measures to protect, evaluate and support artworks and artists, and to

foster the love of art” (Gözler, 2010).

To summarize, according to the legislation, the State is not only the main protector but also the main initiator of the arts in Turkey, as a developing country where the private/independent arts establishment is relatively weaker compared to that of developed countries. The State provides artistic public services, artistic education and supports private/independent arts institutions through various forms of subsidies. Another principal responsibility of the State can be mentioned as improving the accessibility of the arts for all citizens. This point can also be linked to Article 5 on *the Primary Aims and Duties of the State* in the Constitution. In this article, “to remove the political, economic and social obstacles that limit the basic rights and freedoms of individuals coming into conflict with the principles of the social state governed by the rule of law and justice, to provide the necessary conditions for development of material and spiritual existence of human” (Gözler, 2010) were assumed as being among the primary aims and duties of the state. Accordingly, the state should aim to increase accessibility of arts for all citizens in order to assure their freedom of the arts, and to provide adequate conditions for their spiritual and intellectual development.

Drawing insights from the evolution of the cultural policies along with the legislative structure since the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey, it can be concluded that the state support structure for the arts and heritage in Turkey has been built on a centralized model throughout the history. Nevertheless, with the rising impact of the neoliberal policies since 1980s, the decentralization tendencies have been increasing their prominence in the governmental structure, not only in arts and heritage but also in other fields. Particularly since 2000s, with the enduring position of the Justice and Development Party (AK Party - Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi in Turkish) as the government party, administrative reforms have been given more importance and gained speed with increasing privatization practices in the arts and heritage field.

4. Recent discussions in the arts policies in Turkey: privatization of the State Theatres

From 1923 until today, the institutional structure to handle artistic and cultural issues has been changed for 14 times in Turkey (Birkıye, 2012). Since its establishment in 1971, the Ministry of Culture has been the main central authority in charge of arts and culture field. However, there have also been some structural changes since that time, such as the merger between culture and tourism with the formation of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 2003.

This merger also indicates the orientation of cultural policies in Turkey. For instance, the dominance of tourism issues is evident under the aims and duties of the Ministry that are explained in the annual reports of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Besides, regarding the cultural issues, the preservation of cultural heritage is given more importance and, surprisingly, there is no specific mention of ‘the arts’ neither in mission and vision, nor under the section on authority, duties and responsibilities.

The organization of the Ministry is composed of 10 main service units, 6 advisory and audit units, and 3 auxiliary service units. The State Theatres General Directorate, the State Opera and Ballet General Directorate and the Directorate of Manuscripts Foundation of Turkey are also affiliated to the Ministry. Besides, there is the Central Directorate of Revolving Funds with legal personality, as an entity of the Ministry (DT, 2012).

Within this organizational structure, the existence of the State Theatres and the State Opera and Ballet are crucial for the arts scene of Turkey. These public institutions, as examples of direct state intervention tools with a central approach, generate a major share of the overall arts production of the country in their areas.

Regarding culture in general, the Ministry also allocates some tax incentives, reductions in insurance premiums of employees, immovables that are under its management, while offering reductions for water payments and energy subsidies for cultural investments and enterprises, according to eligibility. Apart from the cultural investments and enterprises, there are also some tax reduction incentives to endorse a

collaborative work model, such as Law 5228 on Promotion of Sponsorship in Culture that was designated in 2004.

At the beginning of 2000s, culture within the new AK Party vision was a vehicle that can be utilized to bring success to the State's neoliberal western-oriented economic policies. The AK Party government attempted to make a difference in the cultural policies with its result-oriented, pragmatic approach. Indeed, since the AK Party came to power the instrumentalization of culture has been shifting towards a new argumentation beyond ideological and national concerns (Ada & Ince, 2009).

A major reflection of this governmental mind shift on the arts field was in the performing arts field. Following some regulatory changes in the Istanbul City Municipal Theatre in April 2012, the Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan's statement in favor of privatization of the State Theatres (Karakuş, 2012), which is one of the largest and oldest public arts institutions in Turkey, expanded the scope of discussions and raised concerns about the future of theatre production in Turkey. These discussions, which have been going on since 2012 with some suspension periods, got more clear with the revealing of the draft law about the reform plans on the state support model for the arts by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. This draft law constitutes the establishment of the Art Institution of Turkey (TÜSAK), which undertakes the responsibility of all the governmental subsidies to be distributed on project basis, and the closure of the State Theatres and, the State Opera and Ballet (Ministry of Culture and Tourism 2014).

Nevertheless, the draft law on the establishment of TÜSAK was not positively welcomed by most of the performing arts professionals and the general public. The primary reason behind all these public reactions resides in the indispensability of the public arts institutions for the arts production in Turkey.¹⁴² Within this framework, one of the main striking points can be highlighted as the way in which such a fundamental change in the state support model for the arts was built within the governmental discourse. Because, despite the strong dependence of the overall theatre production on the State Theaters, public opposition and the weak infrastructure of private theatres in Turkey, policy makers introduced privatization as a viable option with a deliberate construction of a privatization discourse in its favor.

As suggested in the Draft Law, TÜSAK is a council-like entity of 11 members, appointed by the government, in charge of distribution of subsidies for the arts field. Even though the reform agenda is presented with a 'liberating' discourse, the selection of the TÜSAK members together with the lack of a sufficient transition process within the Draft Law would result in a more centrally driven, highly bureaucratic and complex dispersion of the current structure that would not provide an adequate basis to form a dynamic structure that is in charge of the majority of the state subsidies for the arts scene. On the other hand, "the proposed Art Institution which would decide on whom to fund, would be composed of government-appointed personnel, with no mechanism defined to evaluate the appropriateness of its decisions which, [...] would actually create a centralized and politically driven authority" (Aksoy & Seyben, 2014: 3).

Besides, the State's discourse has been developing around an alienating rhetoric based on the arts as not serving to the public realm. The arts have been accused of serving only to bourgeoisie of the society and not making any profits by governmental authorities. One of the potential reasons of such an attitude can be explained as the legitimization of the budget cuts in state subsidies for the arts in general. However, first of all, there is the lack of data to support these arguments. Besides, the aesthetic appreciation is related to the socio-economic conditions, thus position of the individual in the social hierarchy, as Bourdieu (1996) explains.

Thus, socio-economic profile of an individual is the major factor affecting his/her interest and participation in the arts. In the case of Turkey, considering the low GDP per capita, low educational profile, long working hours, insufficient social security and other social dependencies, the lack of interest in the arts can be

¹⁴² For instance, the State Theatres generate one third of the overall theatre production in Turkey (Tonga, 2014).

interpreted more as the lack of ability to appreciate and participate in the arts mainly in terms of socio-economic conditions. Therefore, in light of the responsibilities of the State that are defined in the Constitution and also explained above, the main responsible in the case of inaccessibility of the arts for the citizens is not the arts institutions, which are already struggling for survival, but the State itself.

The need for innovations in the public arts institutions, as well as the establishment of an autonomous arts council is recognized by many professionals working in the field. Furthermore, it is possible for both of the institutional structures, that are public arts institutions and an arts council, to cohabitate for the sake of the arts production in Turkey. Taking into account the dominance of the public arts institutions in the overall arts production and insufficient infrastructure of the private arts institutions (particularly out of big cities), the deliberate construction of a privatization discourse in its favor by the governmental authorities contradicts the contextual necessities. Thus, the translation of the term, privatization, into practice with a liberating discourse remains problematic since establishment of such an arts council like TÜSAK might hinder a geographically balanced distribution of artistic activities across the country (which is already behind developed countries) and turn into a governmental control and censorship mechanism over the private arts scene in case the autonomy and objectivity of decision making is not guaranteed. Furthermore, the statements of government officers are also signaling the change in the governmental mentality that recognizes state subsidy as a means to *buy* artistic services with preconditioned terms, instead of a requirement of the State's social responsibility.

5. Managerial restructurings at archaeological sites and state museums

Being a country blessed with the remains of various past civilizations, Turkey is rich in terms of cultural assets¹⁴³, which are traditionally owned, managed and conserved by the state itself. However, Turkey's inefficient and inadequate bureaucratic management of its cultural heritage coupled with chronic shortage of money resulted in a search for new models for the management of this valuable heritage. In line with this, the latest undertakings (since 2000) of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism indicate a willingness to involve the private sector in the management of public heritage institutions such as museums and archaeological sites. *Public-Private Partnerships* (PPP) is the term of reference preferred by the politicians and decision makers to describe such activities. The world of PPPs is one that has failed to agree on a common set of terms and definitions. For a large majority, including the Ministers of Turkey, PPPs are what each authority chooses to define as a PPP. Defined in one way or another, many different institutions seek to form such ventures since they have been interpreted as strategic tools for providing flexibility in the changing economic environments. Moreover, they are appraised as being creative and *courageous* attempts. The call for cooperation from the ministries does not go unanswered by the private sector and it results in specific concessions with different organizations that are willing to help out to *preserve* the heritage.

These new arrangements in the field of cultural heritage can be evaluated as a global phenomenon, which is the outcome of the financial pressures on the public sector and the need to find new institutional structures with a role for the private sector. Even though certain arrangements generate successful results and bring new opportunities for the development of Public-Private-Partnership in this field, many scholars believe that there are still crucial concerns about policies to be adopted.¹⁴⁴

Facilitated by the changes in the legal framework and pressured by specific needs, the Turkish government has formed some protocols enabling the private sector to take part in the cultural heritage field. Referred as

¹⁴³ There are 11.377 registered archaeological sites and 94.388 registered monuments, 78 ancient cities in Turkey; it is usually underlined however that Turkey has a long way to go about updating its registration of cultural heritage.

¹⁴⁴ See Linder, Stephen. 1999. *Coming to terms with Public-Private Partnerships: A Grammar of Multiple Meanings*; Wettenhall, Roger. 2003. *The Rhetoric and Reality of Public-Private Partnerships*; Kamaruddin, Nor Azlina Binti, Mohd Tusir Hj Mohd Nor Rosmah Mat Isa and Nor Liza Abdullah. 2011. *Value creation in public private partnership: effect of commercial and social entrepreneurship on performance*.

public-private partnerships by their creators, mostly to avoid the concept of privatization, these restructurings have had visible results at many museums and archaeological sites in Turkey. The way that they are constructed is through the insertion of a private sector party, usually for visitor services that can create financial return. PPPs are very much linked with privatization, or a form of privatization with a different scale of public or private nature.

Ticket Offices Project that will be discussed in this section is promoted as PPP underlining the socially responsible character and overshadowing the financial aspect. This project was designed and mostly implemented by the Central Directorate of Revolving Funds on behalf of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. This Directorate conducts the commercial activities of the Ministry, provides financial support to protect and improve the cultural entities and values, and raises funds for culture and tourism infrastructure investments and promotion activities. An additional task is to “let museums, archaeological sites, cultural centers, libraries and galleries to entrepreneurs for short term artistic and cultural activities.”¹⁴⁵

The tender for the *Modernization and Management of the Entrance Control Systems and the Operation of Ticket Offices of Archaeological Sites and Museums* took place in September, 2010. The project was created to design new control systems for the entrances of 47 museums and archaeological sites all around Turkey and included their operations for a 6-year period. The entrance revenues of these museums and sites correspond to 85% of the total ticket revenue generated in Turkey. The problems regarding the management of ticket offices at museums and sites, such as, the lack of modern entry systems with electronic turnstiles and security cameras, or collection of data on visitors and control of the ticket office employees were already on the agenda of the General Directorate for Revolving Funds Administration, the responsible body within the Ministry for the collection of entrance fees. Therefore, it was believed that revenues could be increased and with the collection of visitor data, services could be enhanced through the efficient and strict management of the private sector. In the press, several newspaper articles highlighted abuses by ticket-gate staff in the preceding period, with an implicitly positive stance toward the new system (Erbil, 2011).

The aim of this partnership, as it is stated in the press file of the project, is to provide the latest technological systems at the entrances of sites and museums, to promote MuseumCard more efficiently, to open new sales channels like web or mobile phones, to create CityCards for tourists, to enable sales with credit cards and foreign currencies at ticket offices and to record the visitor numbers. Out of its share, the preferred bidder was expected to make a projected investment of nearly 7,7 million Euros in the first six months in order to renovate 45 existing and to build 11 new ticket buildings and install 196 security cameras, 214 turnstiles, and 18 automatic ticket kiosks and employ 257 people for its new operations. The General directorate stated that their current employees would be relocated to other operations.

Four companies competed for the tender and they were evaluated based on two criteria; activity report and income report. The selection method was the same as the commercial centers project. Both reports were given 50 points in total and if the applicant was not able to score at least 25 points in the activities section, it would not be eligible for the second part, which considers the promised income and the ministry percentage. The activity report was composed of the proposed management model, software that would be used, entrance control systems, sales and marketing strategies, customer satisfaction analysis, partnerships with other institutions, product and service development offers, sales channels, security means, web site and work schedule. The contract also used revenue sharing logic: the contractor would pay the Ministry a guaranteed sum each year, plus a fixed percentage of additional income. The control over ticket prices, discount conditions, Museum Card prices, museum and archaeological site opening hours, and group ticket sales conditions would be retained by the Ministry.

Türsab/MTM joint venture was announced as the winner on 29 September 2010. Türsab, chose MTM

¹⁴⁵ Quoted from the web site of General Directorate of Revolving Funds
<http://www.kultur.gov.tr/dosim/EN/Genel/BelgeGoster.aspx?17A16AE30572D313AAF6AA849816B2EFBFE1A1EBF9849693>

(Information Software and Security Technology SA) as a partner due to its previous experience in providing information systems, entrance control systems, holographic printing, and surveillance software.

The estimated yield of the program was 1.57 billion TL (\$267 million per year) between 2011 and 2016. Türsab would retain an 11% share. Right after the start of the operations of the private initiative, there was a 24.5% increase in visitor numbers (Shoup et al., 2012). This sudden increase is explained by a better control of visitors and tickets, rather than from a large increase in real visitor numbers.

As a result, Tursab-MTM partnership, has started running the ticket offices at public museums and archaeological sites which generate 85% of the whole entrance revenues. In Turkey, there are 189 museums and 131 archaeological sites which have been arranged for visits, thus 320 units which have public access. 190 of them have an entrance fee. 47 out of 190 make 85% of the total revenue generated from ticket offices and these were the ones which had been subject to this public-private partnership project.

Overall, the Ministry seems content about the results of these partnership projects. However, there were some criticisms from the media (Acar, 2009). The State's provision of direct profits to selected private companies from activities generated through the cultural heritage of the country is the main source of criticism. The reason behind the sceptical approach to PPPs in the case of Turkey may be that so-called public-private partnerships often involve just government-private interactions, with government failing in any meaningful way to represent *the public*. The usual suspect refers to the government's frequent disregard of public views and the exclusion of the public from early and meaningful participation. This reflects an approach that can perhaps best be described as reliance on *Government-Private* rather than on 'Public-Private' Partnerships (Hayllar, 2010).

In line with this, many media reports concentrate on the word *privatization* rather than the official term *PPP*¹⁴⁶. Although this project is a very good example of Schuster's privatization category, there is a meticulous avoidance of the term by the decision makers to such an extent that Central Directorate of Revolving Funds spares remarkable space in their web-site's FAQ part regarding this clarification.

One of the questions listed in this part is *does the Ministry have any project to privatize the archaeological sites and museums?* The other questions regard the ways in which these new projects will be implemented with a particular emphasis on their *partnership* nature in the answers section. Going back to the crucial question of privatization, the answer is as follows: "Following our museum card project that was realized in 2008, some similar projects that would enable our museums to compete with their counterparts in developed countries have been started. Some media channels reported these two projects (explained in detail) as privatization. However, the first condition of privatization is to transfer the ownership from the public to private sector and none of these projects entail a transaction of this sort. They are realized on a profit share basis, within the time limits that have been announced previously and aim at the completion of the tasks listed in the contracts. [...] Additionally our ministry has no plans to foster privatization initiatives regarding our archaeological sites and museums."¹⁴⁷

Ultimately, the *Modernization and Management of the Entrance Control Systems and the Operation of Ticket Offices of Archaeological Sites and Museums* that came to life in 2010 has been a hot button issue in the national media. It has been reported that according to the officials, they are important steps to create a bond between cultural heritage and Turkish citizens who have not shown enough interest in visiting such sites.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Some examples include: Müze Girişleri Bir Bir Özelleşiyor (Museum Entrances are being privatized), available at <http://www.arkitera.com/haber/17691/muze-giseleri-bir-bir-ozellesiyor>
Özelleşme Sırası Müze Gişelerinde (Privatization Turn at the Museum Ticket Offices) available at : www.arkitera.com/haber/17691/muze-giseleri-bir-bir-ozellesiyor
Müze Gişeleri de Özelleşiyor (The Museum Ticket offices are also privatized) <http://www.akisgazetesi.com.tr/muze-giseleri-de-ozellesiyor-327026h.htm>

¹⁴⁷ Available in Turkish at: <http://dosim.kulturturizm.gov.tr/sikca-sorulan-sorular>

¹⁴⁸ For such a statement see the Minister's speech about the ticket offices project, available in Turkish at: <http://www.muzeder.org/haberler.asp?id=308>

While these restructurings seem to concentrate on *minor details* related to the administration of these institutions, the accumulated impression one gets from them is a potential change in the people's understanding of state ownership of cultural heritage. Additionally, the changing use of privatization discourse in comparison to the discussions related to the future of the state theatres is remarkable.

Conclusion

Privatization, reduced role of the government as a cultural investor and the increasing power of the market structure, all coming out of the neoliberal discourse, became more prominent in Turkey, particularly during 2000s. Particularly with the increasing power of the AK Party during the last decade, this mind shift was reflected on policies and practice more effectively. Nevertheless, the various reflections of privatization practices in arts and heritage field were presented through different governmental discourses.

Considering the reflections of the governmental reform agenda on the arts, particularly the theatre scene, the Draft Law on the establishment of an Art Institution in Turkey, TÜSAK, entail the closure of the biggest public arts institutions of Turkey, including the State Theatres. Despite the severe public reactions against such a fundamental change in the state support model for the arts and concerns about its potential damage to the artistic development in Turkey (Tonga, 2015), policy makers introduced privatization as a viable option for the State Theaters with a deliberate construction of a privatization discourse in its favor, while the translation of the term into practice remains problematic.

On the other hand, there is a rising interest to experiment new models in the management of museums and archaeological sites. Although these fall under the category of privatization, the term is avoided by being substituted with Public-Private Partnership (PPP), which has become a buzzword for decision makers lately. It is a seemingly innocuous term with an American style catchy abbreviation, but maybe more importantly, it is not as controversial as the term *privatization*. Thus it is preferred by those who are not willing to spark public debates on social issues. Its usage intends not to hurt the feelings of those who are immediately alarmed by the prospect of intervention of the private sector in public fields. The presence of the final word *partnership* softens the impact; it refers to collaboration, some kind of a gift-giving attitude without the obvious expectation of direct monetary returns on investment for the parties involved.

Additionally, both of the initiatives are justified on the grounds that Turkey should reach to the level of developed countries or Western standards in this field. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that on the one hand a cultural institution, State Theaters, is being criticized due to its Western roots, on the other hand Western standards seem to be the criteria for another similar initiative in the heritage sector.

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The City as a *Widespread Archive*: a Hidden Treasure

Torre, Gemma

IMT Institute for Advanced Studies

Lucca, Italy

gemma.torre@imtlucca.it

Abstract

A city could be defined as a *widespread archive* in which it is possible to find and discover everywhere a documentary fond of noteworthy historical relevance.

The aim of the work is to support the Public Administration acknowledging the potentiality of identifying and mapping a variable situation with several archival creators and conservation centres. These data are enabling to build a plan for management and preservation of cultural heritage in a territory.

The study explains how it is possible to discover new archives thanks to the application of census method, which deeply identifies not only producers but also the records production.

This will be demonstrated through a case study: the census of business archives performed in Genoa that has involved more than one hundred historical enterprises and cultural institutions.

Finally, it is proposed a digital framework where different archival sites are pinpointed with geographical localization and linked to their information sheets.

Keywords: archival census; archival network; local administration; business archives; cultural heritage policy

Introduction

The widespread existence of archives of different legal framework and preserved in several institutional repositories is often underestimated and therefore almost inaccessible by the community.¹⁴⁹

By studying, visiting or just living in a city it is possible, in some way, to identify a number of cultural institutions like archeological sites and museums that interact to create a common approach to exhibit their collections and activities to the citizenry.¹⁵⁰ Similarly, libraries often create a fruitful and manifold exchange inside a local library system.¹⁵¹

To locate the existing archives on a territory is less obvious and that should invite to reflect.

This difficulty is related to the awareness of the existence of archives everywhere, in each institution, body and families as a result of natural paper sedimentation for practical, administrative or legal reasons. However, it is difficult to accept the lack of a univocal key to open the memory door of a city.

The creation of an interactive and up-to-date list of historical archives of every city could be the solution to the cultural issue mentioned before.

In fact, the importance to have a list of cultural property is crucial because it is essential to be able to launch a program to protect and then enhance those assets. The Italian Central Institute for the Catalogue had designed a model sheet for each cultural property but it is very detailed; for this reason has made unfeasible the cataloguing of our huge heritage and has underestimated the urgency of an inventory (Settis, 2002).

The national archival situation is marked, as already highlighted by Professor Maria Guercio, by a

¹⁴⁹ For a detail overview about the dispersal of conservation centers in Italy, see Giuva (2014).

¹⁵⁰ It is possible to give several examples on territorial cultural nets in Italy. For archeological sites is interesting the project Archeomed available on <http://www.archeomedproject.eu/it> (retrieved 18 September 2015). For museum is useful the comparison of current networks completed in Cataldo (2014).

¹⁵¹ Similarly, there are many examples for libraries nets: the most important is the Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale <http://www.sbn.it/> (retrieved 18 September 2015) but for a deeply survey it could be useful to see Olivo (2010).

“pathological process of fragmentation and scattering of initiatives” (Guercio, 2008).

Are needed new ideas to face the lack of knowledge of historical archives and, in this point of view, it is here suggested a cooperation between the Public Administration and *Soprintendenze Archivistiche* with the aim to start fresh cultural activities for the community.

The availability of a huge amount of archival data for the Public Administration allows the creation of a structured and certified IT platform. In this prospective, the recording with shared standards gives archives a chance to become more interoperable. Moreover, the project could be uploaded on the web to become an interactive showcase or open up an intimate window onto this cultural field and the city's collective memory. This new network is a useful map for researchers to find an unknown document and for tourists to discover the presence of hidden treasures.

In this net a local administration serves as a cornerstone, which is a coordination point to simplify the access to archival documentation and their consultation. Furthermore, public offices devoted to cultural activities would be acquainted with the quantity of open archives in a district, so they could be able to launch collaborations for their periodic planning and to create agreement.

On the one hand, the aim of this article is to demonstrate how an archival census is a determining action in order to undertake such a project; on the other, to highlight the significance of archival inspections so as to create a new interactive, updated map of archives in a territory.

An example to easily understand the potentiality of this research could be a specific case study - explained in detail later on - that examines the positive impact of a business archives census on a city. In fact, entrepreneurial archives have peculiar characteristics such as being scattered and various, and likely to be considered interesting by different users. This typology of archives is related to the company which made them and the enterprises themselves are, in turn, closely linked with their geographical area.¹⁵²

Indeed, enterprises are rooted in a territory so the milieu in which they act influences deeply their features and organization. As a result, a company has economic growth and productivity among its objectives as well as the development of the social net in which it is based.

For instance, a convenient symbiosis between enterprises and community consists in the output of culture thanks to their own products and services. The fulfillment of this cooperation allows an ongoing improvement through awareness of their past.¹⁵³

Therefore, archival documentation is a social instrument that we use to learn about the historical identity of a territory where companies and institutions are established and carry out their activities.

Historical archives are common goods since they are connected with the framework in which the documentation has been produced. Unconditional access to records by a community represents the prerequisite to be able to learn about the history of a territory in a new way.

1. Archival survey methodology: the census

The archival census is a way to obtain some initial information on documentary fonds disseminated throughout a territory with the aim to protect and enhance cultural assets (Torre, 2015). The census is a research instrument that scientific community adopts to quantify specific typologies of bodies or archives that share the same area and location.¹⁵⁴ It is usually used for non-governmental archives because this typology of bodies is more difficult to identify compared with public ones, which necessarily exist because they are compulsory and generally accessible. In fact, thanks to a systematic survey, it is possible to locate archives

¹⁵² On the essential peculiarity of the business archives, see Committee on Business Archives of ICA (1983); Carucci & Messina (1998); Bonfiglio & Dosio (2003).

¹⁵³ A way to acquaint with cultural properties of Italian Companies is the National Association of business museums and archives: <http://www.museimpresa.com/> (retrieved 19 September 2015).

¹⁵⁴ On archival census see De Benedittis (1994); Grassi & Pozzi (2002).

and single documents, belonging to private individuals, which are of particularly important historical interest and consequently request their statement of Cultural Heritage.¹⁵⁵

In Italy for example, the feasibility study and the execution of such methodology are included by law within an amount of tasks pertaining to the *Soprintendenze Archivistiche*.¹⁵⁶ These local offices use the most important data from every archive recorded by a census in order to set up the activities on the archival heritage: i.e. physical restoration, restoration of its original order, writing inventories, moving collections to other repositories and assistance during disposal procedures.

Given the current limited financial and human resources of the governmental administration, it is important for stakeholders of a community to know the characteristics of this cultural tool. In fact, thanks to the cooperation of different social actors adopting this instrument, it is possible to reconstruct an overview of usually physically fragmented information and hand it over to the citizens.

The aim of the application of this methodology is to understand the real conditions of archival patrimony in order to pinpoint the fonds in which is required a restoration or inventory activity and consequently the mankind could be access to them.

Specifically, a census usually starts following a judicious planning of different work development stages. The archivist must consider the region examined, the timeframe involved and the operations needed to contact all archives' owners.

For any kind of census it is important to start with the analysis of the territory in its social, geographical, historical and economic aspects. After the collection of basic knowledge of the territory, it is necessary to study how to create a preliminary list of archives' owners that will be involved.

For each different census and territory it is possible to create a specific track but every platform usually combines the two following inputs:

- understanding the current situation from specific stakeholders - such as *Soprintendenze Archivistiche* or professional associations - and scientific publications;
- analyzing if sector associations - such as economical or historical ones - already made a register or a catalogue which could be helpful for the census.

Established a preliminary list, starts the design phase where it is necessary to tailor an instrumental document like a structured survey sheet in order to identify some fundamental aspects, for example: legal status, historical and institutional outline, archival holdings sorted in storages, contingent damages or lack of documents.

The third and fundamental aspect is to evaluate how to contact archives' owners, with a personal examination or by sending a preliminary questionnaire, and arranged the circumstances where establish the path for an advantageous cooperation.

The final step on the census development is the review of collected data in order to present the outcomes of the fieldwork in the best way.

Thanks to a meditate preparation, the archival methodology could give some achievable results like:

- confirming the existence of sets of records and consequently supplying an overall view of them;
- giving an appraisal of the archival holding, storages, preservation and setting the covering dates of fonds;
- verifying the presence of finding aids or guides;
- recording a report card with the main information on the owner and custodian of records;

¹⁵⁵ The particularly important historical interest is defined in accordance with the articles ten and thirteen of the Italian Code of Cultural and Landscape Heritage (D.Lgs. 42/2004).

¹⁵⁶ In accordance with what has been declared by the second section of the Italian Code 42/2004, articles eighteen and nineteen and furthermore the article three on the protection in which are mentioned the "direct activities, with an adequate knowledge, to point out cultural heritage objects".

- defining any access constraints to documentation.¹⁵⁷

One automatic result given by the putting into practice this survey methodology, extremely important for the growth of a spread archival conscience, is the creation of a sort of imaginary map with all preserved fonds.

This new scenario is the starting point in the awareness of the hidden infrastructure contained in each city or town, which is going to be defined a *widespread archive*.

2. The widespread archive

The expression *widespread archive* was chosen by the author while studying two hendiadys which are defined and have become popular relatively recently in Italy regarding museums and hotels. The provocative choice to define this archival idea between these clearly different concepts has been meditated on the basis of an analysis of their characteristics.

On the one hand, a historical archive is connected with museums through their common cultural activities; but on the other hand, this archival research is linked - such as hotels - with the issue of accessibility to places little known until now.

For these reasons, the creation of an archival network, as described in detail later on, has the goal of improving usability and generates a remarkable advantage for a multitude of stakeholders.

At the same time, it is important to remark that with this new net and always with the target of an improved accessibility, it is possible to create *archival poles*. Namely, these archival groping – as already announced during the 2009 Second Italian Conference of Archives – are noteworthy infrastructures created by fonds with a common subject or resources which could be gathered and archived.¹⁵⁸

Although the concept of *archival poles* could marginally collide with the scenario of a *widespread archive*, the possible coexistence of those two entities is due to the complexity of each territory. In fact, in a specific context where one entity cannot be performed, the other, being the only one, acquires a guiding role. Moreover, in some territories, the *widespread archive* is just an originator for the *archival pole* or in other situations the new scenario is made by several poles.

To demonstrate the advantages acquired by the reflection on this archival issue, the author proposes an analysis on the application of *widespread* term in order to define the new archival concept introduced in this article.

The widespread museum

The idea of *widespread museum* was invented by the Italian architect Alfredo Drugman on 1980 and then was officially adopted for the first time in the Marche regional law in 1998.¹⁵⁹

This concept was created to express the continuity between the cultural assets and the local territory. In this way it is highlighted the close relationship between the land and the museological features of the country itself (Quarchioni, 2011).

¹⁵⁷ For more detail on this, see Del Giudice (1999).

¹⁵⁸ During this conference was affirmed the importance and convenience to create an archival system; the final paper is available as document on http://www.conferenzanazionalearchivi.it/documenti/CNA2009_DocumentoGeneraleFinale.pdf (retrieved 19 September 2015).

¹⁵⁹ On Drugman, commonly know - also in the bibliography - with the Fredi nickname, and his idea it is possible see more information in his personal archive preserved in Milano, Biblioteca archeologica – biblioteca d'arte – centri di alti studi sulle arti visive – Centro di Alti Studi sulle Arti Visive di Milano CASVA; Quaderni di Didattica Museale (2011). On the adoption in Marche Region see: http://www.cultura.marche.it/Modules/ContentManagment/Uploaded/CMItemAttachments/RIV_MARCHE_N0.pdf; the cited law is n. 6/1998 *New rules for the protection and the enhancement of the cultural heritage of the Marche and for the organization of the widespread museum as a system*; its article two quoted: "in the Marche collections and museums of local institutions [...] constitute a widespread museum that can be organized like an unitary operating system [...] the target of the whole regional system is to guarantee at least the minimum levels of quality and quantity of equipment and services necessary for the ordinary protection and enhancement of the general cultural heritage"; Quarchioni (2011) available as document at <http://euto.org/members/attachments/The-Widespread-Museum-R-Quarchioni.doc> (retrieved 19 September 2015).

This framework is based on the multiplication of sites where are made cultural activities with the aim to enhance of cultural property that already exist around us (Quaderni di Didattica Museale, 2011). The museological experiences leave the shut academies or galleries buildings in order to become a one big open-air ecosystem. For Drugman a museum is like a laboratory able to involve crowds and to guarantee them spread accessibility (Drugman & Brenna, 2010).

The implementation of this net allows to give an active role to some manufacture, handcrafted and industrial sites or involves local communities in the creation of the contemporary culture.¹⁶⁰ To emphasized that, Daniele Jalla, current director of ICOM International Council of Museums in Italy, has defined the positive consequence of this approach in this way: “a citizen that, visiting other places, becomes at the same time a tourist to which the community should present, through a bright interpretation of the local heritage, the own history and the own identity”.¹⁶¹

The albergo diffuso

Another configuration in which is applied the term *widespread* related to a territory, is the special hotel-net lately developed in Europe. This typology of tourists' accommodation was born in Italy, in Carnia – a city in Friuli-Venezia Giulia Region - by the idea to reuse the empty houses which were restored after the 1976 disastrous earthquake.

An *albergo diffuso* - the translation of hospitality original models is inappropriate - is “an enterprise for hotel facilities located in a residential zone, sets up with many houses built near, with a single management that is able to give standard hotel services to guests (Dall'Ara, 2011)”. The definition of this hospitality model was clarified by Professor Giancarlo Dall'Ara and acknowledged for the first time by a Sardinia regional law in 1998¹⁶². Nowadays there are several examples about the application of this model and different Regions have promulgated their specific law.¹⁶³

This approach is a model of tourism and territorial development which is also environmental friendly and sustainable for the local growth.

The central idea between the format of widespread museums and that of hotels is the will to offer a service combined with the potentiality that already exists in a territory, without having to create a real structure which gathers every element in a single building (Dall'Ara & Marongiu, 2003).

This concept is precisely the core of what should be obtained with the *widespread archive* schema that would coordinate several archives thanks to a collaborative exchange of resources – human, economic and instrumental - and a digital infrastructure.

The spread of archives on a territory

The conservation of historical archives in Italy is a system defined as *conservative polycentrism*. In fact, the Italian institutional framework is based on two principles, as clearly explained by Professor Linda Giuva (Giuva, 2014). First of all, there is a unity of protection management subordinated to the State, through the Cultural Heritage Ministry, in accordance with article nine of the Italian Constitution. Then, there is a multiplicity of subjects that have the preservation and enhancement functions with the consequence, nevertheless, of a confusion situation without precise boundaries and with many overlappings (Giuva, 2014).

¹⁶⁰ This aspect was discussed during the geological workshop *Recupero e valorizzazione delle miniere dismesse: lo stato dell'arte in Italia*, Rimini September 2009 and its final paper is available as document at: <http://www.isprambiente.gov.it/contentfiles/00009100/9196-qas-3-ultimo-corretto.pdf> (retrieved 19 September 2015).

¹⁶¹ This quotation was given by Daniele Jalla during the 2013 ninth workshop of Italian Association on Ecclesiastical Museum AMEI, available at: <http://www.amei.biz/articoli/convegno-a-m-e-i-2013> (retrieved 19 September 2015).

¹⁶² Sardinia regional law number 27 was called *Disciplina delle strutture ricettive extra alberghiere*; available as document on <http://www.regione.sardegna.it/j/v/86?v=9&c=72&file=1998027> (retrieved 19 September 2015).

¹⁶³ For more information see the website of the specific national association: <http://www.alberghidiffusi.it/> and <http://www.albergodiffuso.com/> (retrieved 19 September 2015).

According to the Italian current regulation, the archival science gives a lot of importance to the creators of documentation. For this reason, the Italian conservation map was designed promoting retention of documentation in the same place and geographical area where it is produced.¹⁶⁴

So the current multiform situation of spread repositories tied with territorial context is the result of what was affirmed, already in 1928, by archival theorist Eugenio Casanova that “every archival fond should be preserved in the place where it is organically implemented (Casanova, 1928)”.

If the polycentrism has always been a peculiarity of the national archival organization since the second half of the twentieth century, it has been transformed into pluralism, as highlighted by Professor Giuva (Giuva 2014). In fact, as a consequence of the creation of Regions and the modify of fifth title of Italian Constitution, the historical arrangement has suffered a drastic change and provoked a substitution of the pyramidal structure in a pluralistic exchange among center and periphery (Giuva *et al.*, 2012). Such physiognomy caused a presence of different entities that preserved their documentation in autonomy but their cultural activity is less cognizable and verifiable compared to the traditional methodological criterion applied by State Archives.

Each body chooses their conservation strategy in accordance with their social and institutional relationship with their own memory.¹⁶⁵ In a historical period marked by accelerated and notable institutional changing, towns and their archives have a key role in providing traces of the past.¹⁶⁶

For the archivist Ilaria Pescini – currently responsible for the record management system with the Region of Tuscany - an archival heritage, acknowledged as a memory source by a social group, should be preserved following specific methods and in a space seen by everyone as a bearer of a strong sense of shared identity (Pescini, 2014).

Archives and memory, too, as previously mentioned, are strictly connected with their territory, in fact, as Pescini always stated, “archives are places where the set of past traces has been accumulated through materials of specific group’s history and contents of its lore. Thus, there is a one-to-one relationship: on the one hand the group nourishes collective memory and identifies it with a site; on the other, the place itself becomes foundation for the identity of the group (Pescini, 2014)”.

The will to create a common network - not necessarily managed by the same actor - known by the community, structured with the same standards, and applied to a social-geographic boundary could perfectly dress the definition of a *widespread archive*.

3. The creation of a widespread archive

The developing of an innovative project from the census to an infrastructure

Thanks to these forewords it is possible to perceive the presence of archives spread everywhere. Therefore, an analysis will follow of the required phases to achieve census data in order to originate a coordinated infrastructure.

The project that is suggested starts with a survey with territorial criteria and so independently on the sector classification of cultural assets owners. In Italy several archival identification programs are made based on the criterion of body typologies – i.e. publishing houses, fashion companies, architectural documentation or inquisitional ones – and usually this criterion is combined with a territorial boundary.¹⁶⁷ For instance,

¹⁶⁴ For more information about origins and development of archives administration network in Italy see: Giuva (2014); Pescini (2014); Trani (2014).

¹⁶⁵ About the Italian archival organization modified due to the institutional development see: Giuva (2014); Zanni Rosiello (2005).

¹⁶⁶ The theme of memory is strictly connected with archives. For some more information see: Pescini (2014); Giuva, Vitali, & Zanni Rosiello (2007); Schwarts & Cook (2002).

¹⁶⁷ To acquire same indications about several archival sectorial census that are completed see the projects available on website of *Soprintendenze Archivistiche* network <http://siusa.archivi.beniculturali.it/>; moreover the *Sistema Archivistico Nazionale* website <http://san.beniculturali.it/> is linked with many thematic portal. For other information on the specific cases mentioned, it is useful this resources: the publishing houses census was performed by Mondadori Foundation (<http://www.fondazionemondadori.it/>); the fashion

censuses on business archives are usually organized in accordance with this planning of specific bodies selected in a given area¹⁶⁸. Thanks to the census of business archives performed in a city – as explained more in detail later on – the potentiality of the exploitation of this methodology applied to a limited area, like an urban center, can be discovered.

The choice of a defined territory is crucial to be able to optimize the economic and human resources indispensable to perform a detailed and spread survey. Starting to create local cluster in the most little governmental territorial entity it will be possible see rather immediate progress which is addressed to obtain a national whole map, the final goal reached step by step.

Thus, a leading actor can be identified in the local Public Administration which is capable of managing every necessary task and stage starting from deep knowledge of its administrative zone. Public bodies could accept the challenge to be able to coordinate a project together with the local cultural institutions - such as *Soprintendenze Archivistiche*, Universities or the National Association of Archives – and reaching remarkable results in a short time, considering the restricted area examined.¹⁶⁹

This activity of cooperation and sharing of resources and projects is crucial to be able to achieve a detailed and spread analysis of the Cultural Heritage existent. The census and consequently the inventory work create automatic advantages for the territorial policy because represent a methodology that starts from a scientific research and then includes all social problems (Emiliani, 1974). The data collecting by an initial survey are useful to locate the archives needy to being preserved and restored, in a following moment there will be possible to increase their study in order to allow accessibility and enhancement by the mankind.

The second stage, after the initial survey, is the writing of technical sheets for every archive discovered with an estimate of costs and necessary archival activities – i.e. restoration, inventory, creating of new storages and digitalizing of documentation – and a definition of priorities, which represent a crucial step before the next phase about the IT platform realization. In fact, the census should not be an end in itself but creates the precondition for the designing a complex project, like the following suggested.

Examples and best practices

To understand the feasibility of such project, it is necessary to analyse the national archival network to recognize some difficulty in pinpointing every little archives that has proliferated and spread¹⁷⁰.

- The *Sistema Unificato delle Soprintendenze Archivistiche* SIUSA is a net with the aim to digitize the private or governmental archives which are supervised by the local Soprintendenze¹⁷¹. The project started by a previous net called *Anagrafe degli archivi Italiani* that was the first initiative in this field, born in 1990, but it was never really completed (AA.VV., 2000).
- The *Sistema Informativo degli Archivi di Stato* SIAS is a platform created thanks to the database obtained by the digitalization of the General Guide designed with the purpose to describe with coherent standards and manage the Cultural Heritage owned by State Archives.¹⁷²

companies are searchable on <http://www.moda.san.beniculturali.it/wordpress/>; the architectural archival network has a website <https://sites.google.com/site/aaaitalia2012/>; the work on inquisitional archives is reported on <http://siusaa.archivi.beniculturali.it/cgi-bin/pagina.pl?RicProgetto=inquisizione> (every web sites are retrieved 19 September 2015).

¹⁶⁸ It is possible to give several examples on business archives census in a specific area and a brief overview of researchers already carried out is reported in Torre (2015).

¹⁶⁹ The National Association of Archives is operative in many Regions, as explained in its official website <http://www.anai.org/> (retrieved 19 September 2015).

¹⁷⁰ Some example on international initiatives of Cultural Heritage nets which are useful to perform in a best way the *widespread archive* are *Michael* and *Europeana*, detailed on: <http://www.michael-culture.eu/>; <http://www.europeana.eu/portal/> (retrieved 20 September 2015).

¹⁷¹ For more information on the project see <http://siusaa.archivi.beniculturali.it/>; Bondielli (2001) available as document on http://siusaa.archivi.beniculturali.it/documenti/SIUSA_Genesi_e_sviluppi_di_un_progetto.pdf (retrieved 19 September 2015).

¹⁷² For more information on this project see <http://www.archivi-sias.it/> and the document edit by Pierluigi Feliciati and available as document on <http://www.regione.veneto.it/static/www/cultura/Feliciati.ppt> (retrieved 19 September 2015).

- The *Sistema Archivistico Nazionale SAN* is an example of a cultural network which creates positive synergies with its web portal that created a digital shop window for archives in the business or other fields.¹⁷³ This IT system is useful for archive managers to share their digital records and to educational and promotional purposes.
- *Archivitaliani* is an interesting project that represents a successful combination between a configuration coherent with national archival organization and a nice graphical interface, recently revised.¹⁷⁴ This portal has given noteworthy positive contributions on the archival situation in Italy: State Archives and some other bodies are clearly located in a map and the website is managed by a rich group of contributors involved in order to increase, share and continue update the archival information.

With these cases in mind, the author would like to suggest paying in particularly attention to some specific virtuous examples based on a delimited territory, which are reported here and are more linked with the new scenario proposed:

- Emilia Romagna archival pole *ParER*: it is a best practice of coordination in an extended territory but not every Region is able to design a fruitful network like this one.¹⁷⁵ It is one of the service managed by the *Istituto per i Beni Artistici Culturali e Naturali dell'Emilia-Romagna* IBACN and was born in 2009. In particular the pole works to conserve the digital records created by its Region and other public administrations.

The fecund milieu created in this Region is a precondition to the development of the next example.

- *Una città per gli archivi* in Bologna could be considered as the most relevant project to recognize the convenience and practicality of an archival net performed thanks to a census.¹⁷⁶

It is a complex project supported by many sponsors, in particular two bank foundations - *Fondazione del Monte of Bologna and Ravenna* and *Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio in Bologna* - with the collaboration of some institutions. Its mission is to improve the conservation, enhancement and full access to the most important archives linked with the contemporary history of Bologna. The huge project started in 2007 thanks to a committee of scientific consultancy and involved, until 2012, two hundred of archives – with 300.000 items of photographic and graphic materials, sound and audiovisual recordings in addition to paper documents – seventy archivists and 200.000 digital objects were catalogued.¹⁷⁷

The first decision was to standardize the description of archival fonds and documentary typologies, usually varying in contemporary archives, with the aim to be useful in reconstructing the historical events of the city. Consequently, a web portal, called *ArchIVI*, was developed, to enable users to access the described archives and the digital reproductions. Finally, their metadata could be exported towards numerous nets, like *Sistema Archivistico Nazionale*, *CulturaItalia* and *Europeana*.¹⁷⁸

The portal is designed like a medium able to be used by different users: researchers, historians, experts but also common citizens or simple tourists. For this purpose, was planned several intuitive modality for consultation and research with different level of complexity. Moreover, the website proposes some interesting virtual exhibitions and, currently, is managed by Bologna city Museum, which has created the *Genus Bononiae* project.

Significantly, in Bologna it is put into effect a dual and synergic approach in order to describe and preserve (Antonelli, 2012). The results of this work have given testimony of the importance of archives in

¹⁷³ <http://san.beniculturali.it/> (retrieved 19 September 2015).

¹⁷⁴ The project was born on June 2013, and recently restyled, as a self-financed work; for more information see <http://www.archivitaliani.it/> (retrieved 19 September 2015).

¹⁷⁵ <http://parer.ibr.regione.emilia-romagna.it/> (retrieved 19 September 2015).

¹⁷⁶ For more information see: <http://www.cittadegliarchivi.it/>; Armando Antonelli explained the history of the web portal available as document on <http://www.cittadegliarchivi.it/una-citta-per-gli-archivi-e-il-suo-portale-archivi> (retrieved 19 September 2015).

¹⁷⁷ The scientific committee was formed by Linda Giuva, Mariella Guercio, Guido Melis, Stefano Vitali e Isabella Zanni Rosiello.

¹⁷⁸ A detailed overview on Bologna project is reported on *Archivi & Computer* (2012) and in particular there are much interesting for this research the chapters signed by Armando Antonelli (pp. 7-35), Giuseppe Chili (pp. 68-84) and by the scientific committee (pp. 187-196).

a territory and their enhancement by different stakeholders, also private.

Furthermore, in the current national reality it is possible to pinpoint other little nets with the goal to coordinate different archives in a determinate area and therefore, they are defined *widespread archive*: i.e. Patriarchy Archive in Venice, Vajont Archive, Marche Region Archive and Historical Archive Viscosa in Rome.¹⁷⁹

A customized IT platform

In compliance with the best practices analyzed, the *widespread archive* represents an archival network that would take advantage of technology innovations to become an instrument exploited by many administrations as possible.

In fact, the here recommended IT platform is made of a starting structure that every local administration can customize in different ways. The strength of this project is that it offers to the local administration a framework that is practical and user-friendly but, at the same time, can be implemented and perfected with personal characteristics based on the own history, territory and contingent situations. For this reason, the format of *widespread archive* could be tailored in different way by a big metropolis and as well as a village.

The municipality is the leading actor chosen to put into practice this project because nowadays is in a particular situation in which should change its role making room for new protagonists and non-public resources.¹⁸⁰

A keystone between the strategies to transform a city in a smart community could be the pick to reinterpret the town by its cultural aspect, with the help and sharing of driving forces among different social operators¹⁸¹. Thanks to the engagement of many stakeholders and the transmit knowledge to multiple targets, the Public Administration could become a benchmark for the collectivity. Here is proposed an idea that could be accepted by the administration and thanks to a simple application will generate tourism in the city. In fact the archives, like cultural property, could be an instrument of tourism promotion, but it is important that they should maintain own mission.

The choice to give the memory key in the hand of the municipality is the consequence of the awareness of several differences in cultural and interests between cities and the difficulties to create a superstructure which covers more areas, how proved by the national examples explained above.

In detail, the project considers a recording of data that should be standardized and organized to be easily enjoyed by a heterogeneous audience of citizens and in order to give a coherent image of collective memory.

This open platform could be a daily tool used in administrative offices but at the same time it should be accessible by the community. Moreover, certified users could be able to update the structure and promote cultural activities performed with or thanks to the preserved archival documentation.¹⁸²

The core of this idea is the online sharing between users who have a remarkable benefit in the free reusability of dataset. Furthermore, the users signed up into the *widespread archive* could have a web reserved area in which it is possible to save their researches, the sheets retrieved and a space to note down their studies.

Thanks to this web portal, archival information for each conservation body and their cultural events are detailed and promoted with the aim to encourage other declarations of archives with particularly important

¹⁷⁹ For more information on these examples see: <http://www.archiviostoricodelpatriarcatodivenezia.it/diffuso/diffuso.html>; <http://www.fondazionevajont.org/>; <http://giornale.regione.marche.it/archivio/num198/artcom17.htm>; <http://www.archivioviscosa.org/> (retrieved 19 September 2015).

¹⁸⁰ These reflections on the new role of the municipalities emerged by the studies conducted in different municipalities during the project *Osservatorio Smart City*, promoted by the National Association of Municipalities ANCI, thanks to an interactive platform www.italiasmartcities.it (retrieved 19 September 2015).

¹⁸¹ For more information on the smart cities project see: www.italiasmartcities.it (retrieved 19 September 2015).

¹⁸² On an example of IT ontology for a network project and the criteria followed to plan a prototype, see: Chili (2012).

historical interest. By doing this, the number of archives where are conducted the census is going to increase continuously.

Additionally, the platform not will be a copy of the networks already realized while should begin from the acquired knowledge in order to create a new doorway, starting from the bottom, namely the most circumscribed territorial level.

Accordingly these characteristics, the main contribution of this work is for a community the learning about the notable cultural asset existent in a city and, for a local administration, the ability to create a periodic planning of Cultural Heritage policy which acknowledges and enhances historical archives.

Finally, the new vision of cultural property in a shared net could encourage a spread public enjoyment and determine the collective knowledge growth in a territory.

4. Case study: a widespread archive started form a business archival census

A practical example of a census that allows to discover historical documentation in a territory is its application for business archives. The adoption of this methodology, as a tool to start a research project to approach the complex discipline of business archive, still often little known, and come in contact with entrepreneurial world, has been unanimously defined for years (De Benedittis, 1994). In Italy, this idea was spread during the first discussion on entrepreneurial culture: the famous 1972 conference called *Tavola rotonda sugli archivi delle imprese industriali* (Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, 1973). During that event, even now a benchmark in the study of this discipline, an English archivist, Stuart Woolf, brought the witness of the Anglo-Saxon positive experience. He suggested to Italian colleagues to undertake the first cultural activities on business archives by the launch of a national census to mapping the current situation.¹⁸³

A business archive is a particular kind of archive, which could be defined as a private body with specific features for several aspects. Here below some of the main characteristics are summarized to contextualize the following case study.

- A peculiarity of corporate archives is their conservation; where each owner choses the most appropriate way. In fact, an entrepreneur devotes her/his time to optimize productive tasks and only marginally does s/he handle the records made during the development of her/his activities.
- The legal status of a company, which in Italy is regulated by the Civil Code, is crucial in order to understand the structure of a business archive. In fact, in the enterprises' repositories it is possible to find files of companies that have either ceased their operations, have been absorbed by others or have modified their name over the years.
- The activities performed by country's industrial and economic sectors are so varied that archivists find difficult the identification of common factors to retain and select industrial documentation. For this reason, there are only some general guidelines that provide records class descriptions and specifications for discard disposition.¹⁸⁴
- Frequently an entrepreneur is the creator and also custodian of her/his own documentation because normally only big companies can retain part of their archive in outsourcing.

It is therefore easy to understand how various business archives are a suitable example for the *widespread archive* concept.

The census in Genoa

Based on the previous introduction, it is going to be explained the fieldwork performed in Genoa between 2012 and 2014, where historical companies were involved to show their archival heritage, which represents

¹⁸³ For the following history on business archives see: Torre (2015).

¹⁸⁴ For more detail, see: Carucci (1984); Del Giudice (1999).

a business memory and a treasure of entrepreneurial knowledge (Torre, 2015).

The idea to choose Genoa, the Liguria Capital, as target of the survey was born observing the entrepreneurial culture diffusion after some of the first important activities for Italian industrial archives, achieved exactly in Genoa.¹⁸⁵ Indeed, the project has been concentrated on development of entrepreneurial culture in Liguria and on business people's perception of this knowledge.¹⁸⁶

The preliminary analysis was focused on companies established before 1950 and still operative. The research aim was to investigate data available in the local Chamber of Commerce to guarantee a list of bodies that represents a delimited but complex reality. This institution gave a list of centennial companies that had been drawn up by *Unioncamere* for the 150th Anniversary celebrations of the Unification of Italy in 2011.¹⁸⁷ This research approach had the methodological limit to examine only companies that are recognized by the Chamber of Commerce with an *historical status*. Then, for the reason to complete the database, archives of ceased companies were searched, which are retained by cultural institutions of the same territory.

The cited research regards about an hundred of enterprises and, as a fundamental element, each archive was personally inspected by the archivist. The commitment to directly examine each company was set as a consequence to observe in first person the conservation status and the arrangement of archives. This approach also became of primary importance to begin a collaborative relationship with entrepreneurs. Thus, the archivist analysed businessman's interests to work in concurrence, to increase the value of company archives and the knowledge of their cultural potentialities on the territory.

The first step of a census, before to schedule a meeting with each archive owner, was the preparation of a survey sheet. The following one, used for Genoa census, was designed in accordance with other studies for similar projects (Torre, 2015):

<p>ENTERPRISE DATA</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Name company and legal status 2. Establishment year 3. Activity 4. Productive sector 5. Headquarter 6. Other offices/facilities 7. Historical outline 8. Notable prizes 	<p>ARCHIVE DATA</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 9. Archival history and declaration of Cultural Heritage 10. Conservation place 11. State of conservation 12. State of arrangement 13. Instrument of records management 14. Finding aids of historical archive <p><i>note: to mark covering dates and archival holdings</i></p> <p>I. DOCUMENTARY SECTION</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 15. Corporate books 16. Administrative documentation 17. Archive of human resources 18. Accounting and fiscal documentation <p>II. TECHNICAL SECTION</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 19. Technical archive <p>III. PHOTOGRAPHIC SECTION</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 20. Photographic archive <p>IV. OTHER</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 21. Library / newspapers collection 22. Archival fonds 23. Limit to access 	<p>CENSUS DATA</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 24. Notes 25. Data of survey
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Figure 1. Structured survey sheet performed for Genoa census.

¹⁸⁵ For more detail, see: Lombardo (2004); Borghi, Fabbrici (1986); Archivio Storico Amt (1985).

¹⁸⁶ For more detail, see: Doria (1987); De Maestri, Tolaini (2011).

¹⁸⁷ The 2011 register of Italian historical Companies is available on <http://www.unioncamere.gov.it/P48A0C0S738/Le-radici-del-futuro.htm> (retrieved 19 September 2015).

The prearrangement of a good survey sheet is the trump card during the initial interview with the entrepreneur that, for the archivist, usually coincides with the visit to the company and the archive. The filling of the entire amount of foreseen survey sheets, allowed the archivist to come true an imaginary map of the archival heritage of the Genoa territory.

The strategy to manage a tailored survey sheet, personal inspections and the planning of the various project phases drove to achieve the participation of more than 90% of companies involved, how it is showed by the following chart.

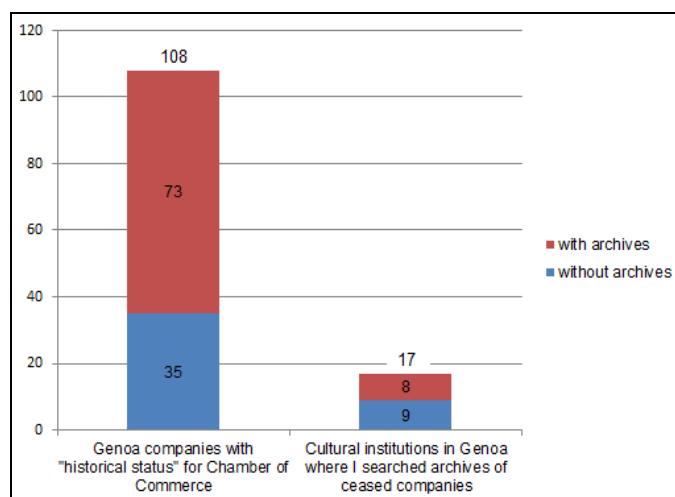


Figure 2. Chart with statistic data on Genoa census.

The described work allowed understanding a multitude of archives, until that time unknown, often with small dimension because belonged to craftsmanship sector but extremely important to learn and study the local history.

Results of Genoa project

Genoa city centre has a territory of more than 240 km² and an amount of approximately 600.000 citizens.¹⁸⁸ This huge area is covered by little archives scattered, both in private and governmental bodies, and the peculiar characteristics of morphology and infrastructure has forced a particular and detailed fieldwork.

In the Ligurian city, some discovered fonds belonging to historical companies have been conscientiously stored, while others were used for several purposes, such as to refine the current commercial strategy or for marketing and advertisement campaigns. Moreover, it was unveiled an incredible treasure made of hidden links which brought an immediate and visible improvement in the awareness of the archives value.

Thanks to new business archives catalogued together in a coordinated project with specific archival standards, the city could be now defined a *widespread archive*, where stand out the importance to keep the discussion focused on this cultural topic and to involve the citizen in the information sharing.

It was verified that the participation at the census project had also two indirect consequences which are positive both for the archive owners and the community. The first is to establish the historical importance of discovered bodies for its territory; the second is that all the investigated archives are automatically part of the cultural circuit of the town, and are therefore involved in several useful projects.¹⁸⁹

These amazing effects are without direct costs for the custodians or repercussion on their activity but are of incredible value for the community. The archive manager, without waste time and spend the capital budget,

¹⁸⁸ Data updated on 2011 fifteenth General Census of Population and Houses available on www.istat.it (retrieved 9 September 2015).

¹⁸⁹ An example of a particular project that are involved the historical companies is the creation of Old Shops circuit as explained in Manara (2014).

has an occasion to share and open to the community the access to internal resources for a reciprocal cultural growth.

Finally, the Genoa research has pointed up the Italian profusion of cultural centres dedicated to promote business archives. Especially, Genoa has shown the desire to improve its awareness on this topic and have the conditions to diffuse the knowledge of archives thanks to the activities of several important historical companies well known on the territory.

In order to kept the citizenry focused on the business archives topics, were organized several events by the Chamber of Commerce, *Soprintendenza Archivistica* and archival community.¹⁹⁰ Following this renewed conscience for cultural properties, some enterprises requested to certify their archives of particularly important historical interest, while other enterprises received some awards for their longevous activity.¹⁹¹

Considering the cultural positive impulse already gave to the community, the next step should include a network consolidation and the creation of an open platform in order to maximize the users' accessibility and the best exploitation of information.

Conclusion

The research has presented the concept of mapping and linking the archives spread through a territory and the benefits of this work for a community, a city.

The potentialities of an archival census work allow public bodies and the scientific community to face not only with brand new fonds but also with new actors involved in the cultural growth of the territory. The direct result besides to a database creation is to avoid the risk that some information gets lost and also the immediate availability of the *ready to use* archives.

Therefore, the first milestone should consist in a calling, by the local administration with the support and cooperation of other cultural institution, for specific survey project which could implement the certified platform of *widespread archive* with their high quality amount of data. The creation of a unitary system with shared standards and archival know-how could make oneself a coordination centre in the disorientated archival geography.

Furthermore, the potentiality of this IT platform is the possibility to increase thanks to the easily exploitation of available institutional linked open data.¹⁹² The developing of the *widespread archive* concept with this recent research field for the archival science could be an interesting added value for the project.

The implication of public bodies or highly-recognized institutions in the census - such as *Soprintendenze Archivistiche*, established associations, or direct the Ministry of Cultural Heritage - is important not only for the obvious contribution in terms of image and notoriety but also for a subsequent step.

In fact, for each local territory, the most important and well recognized institution is the municipality. This entity should be spurred to invest in such initiative which brings in medium term, huge cultural benefits within its boundaries but also a potential sparkling environment for economic purposes. Hence, these circumstances can create positive synergies between different stakeholders, without any trace of concurrence, but with the aim to create a continuous growth during a long term project as the *widespread archive* is.

These long term projects should be supported by a structured platform, like Bologna project quoted or similar, where it is possible to create an official tool tailored for each city or community through which the

¹⁹⁰ For example, on April 2015 were organized in Genoa – at the local Chamber of Commerce - a presentation about the data obtained by the census and in which are invited every Company involved and, furthermore, there will be arranged a workshop on business archives in November at the local State Archive.

¹⁹¹ A group of Genoa companies with more long-running was awarded on 8 June 2011 in Rome and then every Genoese historical enterprise was rewarded during two occasions at the local Chamber of Commerce: 2 July 2012 and 24 April 2015.

¹⁹² An example of best practice of governance thanks to the application of open data is the Lazio Region project and more details are available on: <https://dati.lazio.it/it> (retrieved 20 September 2015).

citizenry could be informed and interact about local interests.

This sharing of knowledge and information brings to increase the understanding of a territory for public enjoyment and social development not only in the present but mainly for future generations.

As can be seen, the treasure discovered thanks to this research corresponds in historical archives that represent a precious element for the Cultural Heritage development in a city.

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The Quality of Stakeholder Engagement in the Theatre Sector: Possible Approaches

Venturelli, Andrea

University of Salento,
Lecce, Italy
andrea.venturelli@unisalento.it

Di Cagno, Pierluca

University of Salento,
Lecce, Italy
pierluca.dicagno@unisalento.it

Fasiello, Roberta

University of Salento,
Lecce, Italy
roberta.fasiello@unisalento.it

D'Agostinis, Bianca

University of Salento,
Lecce, Italy
bianca.dagostinis@unisalento.it

Abstract

Stakeholder engagement can support decision-making in institutions responsible for cultural promotion, thereby making social reporting more effective.

The self-referential approach seen in the social reporting of many cultural institutions contrasts with the effectiveness of the engagement of an organisation in Puglia, Italy, which naturally conducts bidirectional dialogue with its internal and external stakeholders. By means of an inductive approach, this study examines the experience of the Teatro Pubblico Pugliese, an institution that has been operating in the field of the performing arts since 1997 and has taken a leading role in Italian theatre networks.

Presenting a qualitative-interpretative analysis of the case study, the paper will demonstrate how participatory dialogue with stakeholders can be effective even in the absence of a formal reporting tool such as the social report, which often has no strategic value but merely serves to disseminate information.

Keywords: stakeholder engagement; social accounting; sustainability reporting; dialogic accounting; theatre networks.

Introduction

This study pertains to a now consolidated literature that considers the social responsibility of enterprises, first on a strategic level and then in terms of external communication, to be a value relevance factor (Freeman 1984; Carroll 1991; Porter & Van der Linde 1995; Porter & Kramer 2006).

In accordance with company management's new strategic orientation, based on a relational vision (Perrini & Tencati, 2008), Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) assigns great importance to the qualitative level of the interactions that a private or public company establishes with its stakeholders in accordance with a

bidirectional approach.

In the European model of social responsibility proposed by the EU, CSR is “[...] a concept whereby companies integrate social and environmental concerns in their business operations and in their interaction with their stakeholders on a voluntary basis”. In this sense, CSR is seen as a crucial strategic orientation for company management. The basic idea is that management’s long-term survival is dependent on a dual capability: on the one hand it must be able to attract, by virtue of the products and services it supplies, the best resources that will guarantee the continuity and development of its activities; on the other hand, it must meet the expectations of the various stakeholders in a consistent and conscious manner, constructing and reinforcing relations of mutual trust and support.

In addition, the literature is practically unanimous in arguing that the tools of dialogic accounting need to be more effective in public administrations and non-profit organisations than for-profit enterprises, since in the latter the presence of investors as a category of primary stakeholders often conditions their social accounting strategies and models (Dainelli *et al.*, 2013).

In an attempt to respond to this need, this study intends to pursue a dual objective: on the one hand to carefully examine the process of stakeholder engagement of certain theatres operating in Italy, and on the other hand to analyse in concrete terms the case of a theatre network that has succeeded in launching innovative forms of communicative interaction with its stakeholders via the internet.

The case in question is that of the Teatro Pubblico Pugliese (hereinafter TPP), a non-profit consortium that operates in the sector of the distribution of theatre shows and now plays an important role in national theatre circuits. It has also begun the process of breaking into the European and international context, partly by linking the regional system of Puglia with that of other regions by intense participation in inter-institutional dialogue and constant cooperation with the relevant professional associations.

This paper looks first at the international debate on stakeholder relations and sustainability reporting, before analysing the tools of stakeholder engagement, showing that such tools do not always effectively support the reporting processes of cultural institutions.

The study continues with an analysis of the selected case, a theatre network which itself operates in a network of stakeholders, describing the specific features that have marked the process of strategic repositioning towards social responsibility. Fundamental to this process has been stakeholder engagement, which itself has experienced a number of different phases of development and today might be able to effectively support the customisation of a sustainability report.

1. Literature review

This study does not intend to specifically analyse the various theories of CSR, for which the reader is referred to a more systematic review of the literature (Garriga & Melè 2004; Chirieleison 2002; Fasiello, 2012: 16). It does however belong to a line of studies of stakeholder relations (Perrini & Tencati, 2008), according to which *the company* takes on an extended meaning that involves the entire stakeholder network in an innovative web of relations in which the company in the narrow sense is only one of the possible actors.

From this standpoint, the traditional industrial paradigm (Porter, 1980), the resource-based view (Barney, 1986), the relational approach considering only linkages with business partners (Dyer & Sigh, 1998) and the socio-institutional approach (Bruni & Zamagni, 2004) are all integrated in a broader vision that sees stakeholder relationships as strategic resources that are fundamental for company success.

In this sense, social responsibility cannot be reduced to utilitarian relationships (Bowie, 1999), but entails a need to take account of and engage with demands even from actors who are apparently of little importance, in the belief that every relationship is important (Donaldson & Preston, 1995). Indeed, any relationship can become salient (Mitchell *et al.*, 1997), depending on the time and the topic being tackled (Post *et al.* 2002a,

2002b). We are dealing here with a sort of wide-ranging social contract (Donaldson & Dunfee, 1999), in which the company's obligations as a member of the community extend beyond traditional boundaries in accordance with an open, network-based perspective.

The strategic approach to company management based on relational CSR implies and requires innovation: innovation in order to make the value proposition attractive for stakeholders and innovation in creating and consolidating the stakeholder relationship: innovation, therefore, not only of the hardware/technological type, but also and especially on the software/managerial organisational level (Sperling, 2006). Indeed, there is a need for new forms of stakeholder engagement (Giaccari *et al.*, 2014), oriented to participatory integration and cooperation (Koblas, 2007), in order to enhance the intangible assets of knowledge (Adamo *et al.*, 2010) and trust (Vicari, 1995) underlying the sustainability of the entire set of relations and the company as a whole.

These tools contribute to the creation of a step-by-step process of advancement that some authors, supporters of stakeholder theory, have sought to summarise in three fundamental phases:

4. stakeholder mapping – i.e. identification by the company of the stakeholders, assigning a priority to them (the distinction between primary and secondary) (Clarkson 1998; Waddock 2002);
5. stakeholder management – i.e. taking account of stakeholder expectations by means of management activities aimed at reconciling the different interests expressed (O'Dwyer, 2005);
6. stakeholder engagement – i.e. strategic management of the relationship with direct stakeholders by means of their participation in the decision-making process and company governance (Hinna, 2002; Monteduro 2006).

The different level of use of tools for communication/interaction with stakeholders can help determine the correct positioning of a company with respect to the three steps set out above.

In this sense, Computer-Mediated Communication represents a system that can make a big contribution to the third step, that of stakeholder engagement and dialogic accounting by making use of online interaction, i.e. the tools of web 1.0 and above all web 2.0, particularly social media and social networks (Sibilio Parri & Mainetti, 2014). The latter offer interesting perspectives for tackling three fundamental challenges (Unerman & Bennett, 2004) and thereby achieving full stakeholder engagement:

8. identifying and reaching a broad range of interlocutors,
9. reaching general agreement on their expectations, starting from a heterogeneous and potentially conflicting set of viewpoints,
10. establishing an interactive and dialogic relationship with them.

Stakeholder engagement is facilitated by the use of different types of tools, from the traditional telephone contact to e-mail and online feedback forms, with which stakeholders can make suggestions and criticisms concerning reports.

However, a greater contribution to the cooperation between company and stakeholders may come from the construction of a system based on web 2.0, which offers a large number of tools. Those that can enable or support (more or less directly) dialogue and interaction between company and stakeholders include: blogs (websites on which managers, CEOs and employees can post comments, indicate events, formulate proposals and read stakeholders' comments); wikis (used to create collaborative websites and thus tools that a company can adopt "for co-creating knowledge for the company") (Candea & Candea, 2009); social networks (e.g. Facebook, LinkedIn and Twitter, used by companies to build or maintain relations with their stakeholders); forums (online discussion sites monitored by companies with the aim of learning what stakeholders think and providing official responses to the questions presented); video sharing and viewing platforms (e.g. YouTube); photograph sharing and viewing platforms (e.g. Flickr, Instagram); Apps (applications designed to be used on mobile devices that enable user access and interaction with company websites).

These tools allow users to share ideas and continuously exchange information. They facilitate cooperation in the generation of content and help build a model of company management that is democratic, transparent and participatory.

It should be pointed out however that according to an authoritative opinion (Elkington, 2001), the spread of social media is also one of the possible causes of the *death* of sustainability reports “as a strategic communications vehicle” (Wheeler & Elkington, 2001). Indeed, it has been argued that if the real value of social media lies in engagement, what purpose can there be to writing reports that are “unread, unchallenged and therefore simply invisible?” (Cramer & Townsend, 2013). In order to prevent sustainability reports from being considered “irrelevant dinosaurs of a pre-social media age” (SMI-Wizzness, 2013) they need to be transformed into “living documents” (Cramer & Townsend, 2013), and in this evolutionary process, the support of the world wide web can prove to be crucial.

Linked to this line of studies therefore is the idea that the online availability of a sustainability report can provide support to stakeholders in terms of accessibility and dissemination of information; involvement and dialogue with the company and other stakeholders; and, thanks to web technologies, customisation of the report on the basis of the interests of the various users (ACCA 2001; Isenmann & Lenz 2002; Scott & Jackson 2002; Adams & Frost 2004; Isenmann *et al.* 2007).

The main trends in sustainability reports disseminated via the web arise from the shift:

- from a report model that is the fruit of a “managerial closed shop procedure” to one characterised by an “almost public effort of engaging and involving stakeholders”;
- from a “one-size-fits-all” report to customised reports for different types of stakeholder;
- from a “monologue” report to one based on a dialogue with stakeholders (Isenmann *et al.*, 2007).

The customisation of sustainability reports (adapting them to the knowledge needs of individual stakeholders or groups of them) and the shift from a *one-way* communication model to one founded on dialogue between company and stakeholders (two-way communication) together constitute objectives that can be pursued effectively and economically with the support of the internet and its associated technologies and services (Isenmann & Lenz 2001; Brosowsky & Lenz 2004).

Moreover, regarding the use of the internet for socio-environmental or sustainability reporting, three main lines of enquiry may be discerned in the literature (Tarquinio & Rossi, 2014):

4. the first has investigated the technical and structural aspects of websites and their potential for corporate environmental and sustainability reporting (Wheeler & Elkington 2001; Shepherd *et al.*, 2001; Isenmann & Lenz 2001, 2002; Isenmann *et al.* 2007);
5. the second has focused on how companies have used the internet for sustainability reporting (Jones *et al.* 1999; Mitchell *et al.* 1997; Scott & Jackson 2002; Patten & Crampton 2004; Herzig & Godemann 2010);
6. the third has concentrated on the users of reports available online and on the relevance of the internet for stakeholder engagement and dialogue (Kent & Taylor 1998; Kent *et al.* 2003; Rowbottom & Lymer 2009; Lundquist 2012).

These studies confirm that the most significant contribution of web technologies, with reference to online reports, is their capacity to facilitate dialogue and interaction with stakeholders. However, whereas such interaction is of little relevance to the compilation of *financial reports*, which are only made available online when they are finished (Asbaugh *et al.* 1999), with *sustainability reports* the relationship with stakeholders constitutes an essential element of the report itself. This is argued by national and international guidelines and standards (AccountAbility 1999, 2008, 2011; GRI 2013; GBS 2013; IIIRC 2013), as well as by the international literature on accountability (Cheney & Christensen 2001; Unerman & Bennet 2004; O'Dwyer 2005; Greenwood & Kamoche 2013).

It should be pointed however that although the support for stakeholder interaction offered by web-based tools (e.g. web chats, blogs, social networks, etc.) can be important, such tools cannot completely replace traditional forms of stakeholder engagement, nor can they (by themselves) create or destroy relationships (Kent & Taylor 2008).

The adoption of these tools can certainly help facilitate the company-stakeholder dialogue, and thereby support the drawing up of reports and the gathering of feedback on them once published.

In this sense, in order to better meet the needs of stakeholders, another possibility is to customise the reports, which, thanks to the support of web tools and technologies, can be tailor-made to suit the user.

In addition, the literature of which this study is a part includes studies dealing with “decoupling strategy” (Meyer & Rowan 1991), i.e. the tendency of some organisations to formalise CSR measures such as socio-environmental certification, reporting systems and ethical codes, superficially complying with international standards, without however showing much concrete commitment in terms of the measures’ actual substance. The discrepancy between declared and actual practices is seen in a multitude of companies which – despite the claims made in their sustainability reports – do not in reality interact with their stakeholders by means of effective involvement practices.

In the light of the above considerations, the case study is expected to exhibit elements of interest due to the absence – despite the extensive use of web-based tools for conducting dialogues with its stakeholders – of any formalisation of CSR measures (e.g. sustainability reporting, or any other type of social reporting process). The level of interest of the case study appears even greater if considered in relation to what has emerged from the investigation of the effectiveness of stakeholder engagement measures conducted in many other theatres operating in Italy.

2. Methodology

This paper belongs to the literature on CSR accountability (Caputo & Venturelli 2013) and uses the field case study approach (Yin, 1994), based on qualitative research methods. In accordance with a descriptive-inductive model, it seeks to explore and learn by analysing cases of companies that highlight innovative features to be interpreted with reference to a theoretical debate that in this case belongs to the line of studies of CSR in small and medium-sized enterprises.

The earliest case studies were undertaken in Anglo-Saxon contexts but in recent years they have also been conducted in Italy (Silvestrelli 1986; Ferraris Franceschi 1993), where the application of this method has had a significant impact in both the teaching and scientific fields (Turrini, 2002).

Among the advantages of this method are those cited by Yin (1994), who defines a case study as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly defined and in which multiple sources of data are used” (Yin, 1994: 3). In addition, the qualitative approach makes it possible to describe, explain and understand the dynamics and evolution of entrepreneurial situations (Del Baldo, 2009).

Indeed, the theme tackled here belongs to the extensive body of studies of Corporate Social Responsibility, characterised by numerous investigatory perspectives whose primary interest may be strategy, governance or operations, as well as accountability, reporting and stakeholder engagement.

Specifically, regarding the theme of Corporate Social Responsibility “The fieldwork approach facilitates the involvement of the researchers in the actual [...] organizational practices of social and sustainability reporting” (Adams, 2002). It investigates, from within the company, aspects of an internal nature (organisational structure, processes, aptitudes, perceptions, dimensions, sector, age) and an external nature (economic, political and cultural context), which “[...] as well as influencing the nature and breadth of corporate social accounting also affects the relative systems of governance [...]” (Del Baldo, 2009: 78).

The case study in question is therefore important in terms of both the economic sector it belongs to and its national context.

There is no doubt that with respect to other countries both inside and outside the Eurozone, Italy is somewhat behind in developing an approach to sustainability, not just in terms of corporate culture, but also with reference to legislation. By way of example we may cite the theme of companies' *disclosure of non-financial and diversity information*, now regulated by EU directives 78/660/EEC and 83/349/EEC. In the last few years, some Member States have introduced various provisions in their legislation that are more wide-ranging, stricter or more binding than the EU rules regulating information on "environment, social and governance" (ESG) and sustainability disclosure. These include Denmark, Finland, France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Spain and Sweden.¹⁹³

The production and distribution of theatre shows is a field that is clearly characterised by the presence of companies with a primarily social and cultural purpose. In Italy however, this sector in particular produces very little in the way of social or sustainability reporting. This is due not so much to cultural attitudes as it is to the limited availability of resources on the part of theatrical institutions, almost all of which belong to the public sector.

The case of the TPP company belongs very much to this context and the analysis uses a descriptive-interpretative approach that seeks to highlight some of the main activities that the network has initiated since deciding to strategically position itself in the social sense, specifically focusing on participatory dialogue and engagement with its stakeholders.

Before describing the method of analysis applied to the case of TPP, it should be pointed out that paragraph 3) of the paper presents a preliminary qualitative assessment of the stakeholder engagement process in 34 theatrical institutions.

The limited number of companies selected is due to the fact that the aim of the study is not to guarantee a level of statistical representativeness regarding the theme of stakeholder engagement, but rather to highlight elements of interest linked to the tools of social accounting in the theatrical sector in order to conduct a better analysis of the TPP theatre network, presented in detail in paragraph 4).

The selected companies include the 15 most important theatre circuits operating in Italy (Napolitano, 2007), as well as the 14 Italian operatic and symphonic foundations, selected because in the context of theatre in Italy they clearly represent companies of undisputed importance, in terms of both their size and degree of managerial complexity. Also considered were 5 theatrical institutions selected from research engine results after combining the key word *teatro* (theatre) with the words *bilancio sociale/bilancio di missione/report di sostenibilità* (social report/mission report/sustainability report).

In order to assess the quality of the process of stakeholder engagement an analysis was conducted on two levels:

- documentary – i.e. analysis of the content of the information on stakeholders and social media present in company reports,
- website – i.e. analysis of the relative sections and content present on the company sites.

Paragraph 4), dedicated to the analysis of the case study, follows a descriptive-interpretative approach in order to describe aspects of interest that help validate the research hypotheses set out below.

The analysis involved first identifying areas of relevance (general management, administrative management, communication and marketing) and three company interlocutors, i.e. the Chairperson of the Board of Directors, the general manager and the head of Promotion and Image Services.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted on the basis of a questionnaire, supported by an analysis of specific documentation provided by TPP.

¹⁹³ See IRDCEC, Documento 28, Informazioni di sostenibilità nella comunicazione obbligatoria d'impresa - Obblighi, criticità e prospettive della proposta di direttiva di riforma europea del settore. December 2013.

One-to-one interviews were conducted with each of the above-mentioned company figures in July and August 2015.

Access to a large amount of information acquired as a result of the interviews, direct observation, consultation of the specific documentation obtained from company headquarters and consultation of the company website ensured respect for the principles of interaction and triangulation of sources.

Further discussion of the evidence arising from the qualitative analysis took place in September 2015, at a meeting during which useful suggestions were made regarding the future direction of the current research. Specifically this concerned the need to establish a development path aiming at the creation of *customised* sustainability reports.

The salient content of this report and the relative details were the object of an initial meeting of the research team and the TPP management.

The research hypotheses on which the qualitative analysis is based are the following:

Hypothesis 1 – by means of a qualitative-interpretative analysis of the case study, the paper will demonstrate how participatory dialogue with stakeholders can be effective even in the absence of a voluntary reporting tool such as the social report, which often has no strategic value but merely serves to disseminate information.

Hypothesis 2 – by means of a qualitative-interpretative analysis of the case study, the paper will demonstrate that social media can help improve the quality of the process of stakeholder engagement.

3. Stakeholder engagement in the theatre sector

The issue of the quality of the stakeholder engagement process is known to be closely related to the theme of social or sustainability reporting (Manetti, 2011).

The subject of the case studies was the process of interaction with the stakeholders and, more specifically, the quality of disclosure and web content on the subject.

In particular, through the analysis of reports and/or websites, attention was focused on the following aspects:

- use of online Social Reporting;
- identification (and possible prioritization) of stakeholders and the institution's explanation of how the different categories of stakeholders (influential, relevant and close) are identified;
- type of relationship established with each stakeholder category (e.g. one-directional and informative, consultative, two-way dialogue, partnership through focus groups, etc.);
- indication of the established or presumed needs and expectations of each category;
- policy of stakeholder engagement (via web, questionnaires, focus groups, etc.);
- what issues/critical issues have emerged, what subsequent decisions have been made, and what has been done to bring about improvements;
- what kind of role is assigned to social media;
- what tools and content the website offers regarding interaction with stakeholders.

Table 1 presents a summary of the main findings from the analysis of the case studies.

Table 1. Stakeholder engagement in theatres

Theatre networks	social report online	2014	combined report	experience	stakeholder identification	stakeholder prioritization	stakeholder identification mode	interaction approach	stakeholder needs	type of engagement	topic feedback	role of social media	social network	web site content
Fondaz.Circuito Teatrale del Piemonte													X	link social, contacts
Arteven (Veneto)													X	link social, contacts
Ente Regionale Teatrale (Friuli Venezia Giulia)													X	link social, contacts
Associazione Teatrale Emilia Romagna														contacts
Fondaz.Toscana Spettacolo													X	link social, contacts
Associazione Marchigiana Attività Teatrali	X			2	X			X	X	X	X	promotion and communication	X	link social, contacts
Associazione Teatrale fra i Comuni del Lazio													X	link social, contacts
Associazione Teatrale Abruzzese e Molisana														no web site
Circuito Teatrale Regionale Campano														contacts
Consorzio Teatro Campania														no web site
Teatro Pubblico Pugliese													X	link social, contacts
Associazione Basilicata Spettacolo														no web site
Teatri Calabresi Associati														no web site
Circuito Teatro Regione Sicilia														contacts
Centro Diffusione Attività Culturali (Sardegna)													X	link social, contacts
Lyrics theatre														
Fondaz.Lirico Sinfonica Petruzzelli e Teatri di Bari														contacts
Fondaz.Teatro Comunale di Bologna													X	link social, info
Fondaz.Teatro lirico di Cagliari													X	link social, medialab_project, info
Fondaz.Teatro Maggio Musicale Fiorentino													X	link social, contacts
Fondaz.Teatro Carlo Felice di Genova													X	link social, contacts
Fondaz.Teatro alla Scala di Milano													X	link social
Fondaz.Teatro di San Carlo in Napoli													X	link social, info, contacts, courtesy
Fondaz.Teatro Massimo di Palermo													X	link social, info
Fondaz.Teatro dell'Opera di Roma													X	link social, contacts
Fondaz.Accademia Nazionale di S.Cecilia di Rc	X		X	3	X	X			X		X	promotion and communication	X	link social, contacts
Fondaz.Teatro Regio di Torino													X	link social, call center
Fondaz.Teatro Lirico Giuseppe Verdi di Trieste													X	link social, contacts
Fondaz.Teatro La Fenice di Venezia													X	link social, contacts
Fondaz.Arena di Verona	X			1	X							promotion and communication	X	link social, contacts
Other theatres														
Fondaz.Pergolesi Spontini	X	X		9	X							acceptance	X	link social, contacts
Teatro Elfo Puccini	X			1	X							promotion and communication	X	link social, info
Compagnia Teatro dell'Argine	X			1	X	X							X	link social, contacts
Teatro Tascabile di Bergamo	X	X		3	X	X							X	link social, contacts

The main problems to emerge regard:

1. the online report - only 20% of institutions (7 in number) publish a social report in the online version¹⁹⁴; these include one theatre network and two opera foundations. Only the Accademia di Santa Cecilia draws up a report in a "combined" version, or in other words includes social disclosure as part of the financial statements. Only two institutions have published a social report for the year 2014; these include the Fondazione Pergolesi Spontini which, although it has been producing reports for nine years, in no way stands out from the other cases examined.
2. stakeholders - all seven institutions identified their stakeholders in their reports, often distinguishing between those who are internal and those who are external. Only three assign levels of priority. There is practically no information regarding the procedures for identification, the type of interaction, critical issues that have emerged and policies of stakeholder engagement. Only the Associazione Marchigiana Attività Teatrali highlights a level of two-way interaction between company and stakeholders.
3. [...] In order to initiate and foster gradually increasing stakeholder involvement and participation in the preparation of the social report, the Coordination Group devised and shared a short evaluation questionnaire designed as a tool to respond to the recommendations in the AA 1000 SES guidelines. The questionnaire, preceded by a cover letter explaining the aims pursued, was administered to a representative sample of social actors who had relevant professional or personal dealings with AMAT in 2012. In all, 115 individuals received this document, including 111 mayors, councillors, executives and officials from 64 municipalities and four provinces. Analysis was made of responses received from local authority officials, 55% of which were public servants and managers in the culture or entertainment sector of the member authorities (27% of the total) and from other staff (18%). The questionnaire, which is made up of 7 closed and 2 open questions, was designed to obtain a more accurate view of how the authority and its activities in the Marche are perceived. The 2012 season of productions was deemed excellent, as was the information provided about activities carried out by the authority, while the management of relations between local authorities and AMAT, and the work in relation to the needs of the territory were rated more than satisfactory. The majority of respondents believe, or have concrete evidence, that the investment made by their organization in theatre activities has a social and economic impact on the region, and among the most frequent suggestions are: exclusive billboards for small theatres in the hinterland (it should be remembered that these local administrators make up only a part of the whole range of stakeholders); the development of the Scuola Platea® project and of training initiatives; support for local initiatives; the activation, for dealings with the local authorities, of management support areas [...] (source: Social Report 2013 – AMAT).
4. Website and related tools - none of the 34 theatres assign social media a supporting role in the stakeholder engagement process; social media are used primarily for promotional purposes. The tools and content in the sites facilitate communication (via social links, information, etc.) with stakeholders rather than stakeholder involvement. Four of the institutions do not even have their own website.

It emerges clearly that interaction with stakeholders is mostly limited to one-way, non-strategic

¹⁹⁴ The evidence relates solely to social reports available in the online version, or in other words on the websites of the theatre institutions involved in the study.

communication and that therefore – except in one case – it is not a form of stakeholder engagement. The failure to recognize social media as a means of ensuring stakeholder engagement, along with the use of these media solely for communication and promotion, is evidence of how some theatres restrict themselves to a stakeholder-management-only approach.

Based on the findings, it was possible to draw up a hypothetical classification of the case studies by comparing the level of interaction with stakeholders with the level of importance that social media play in this process.

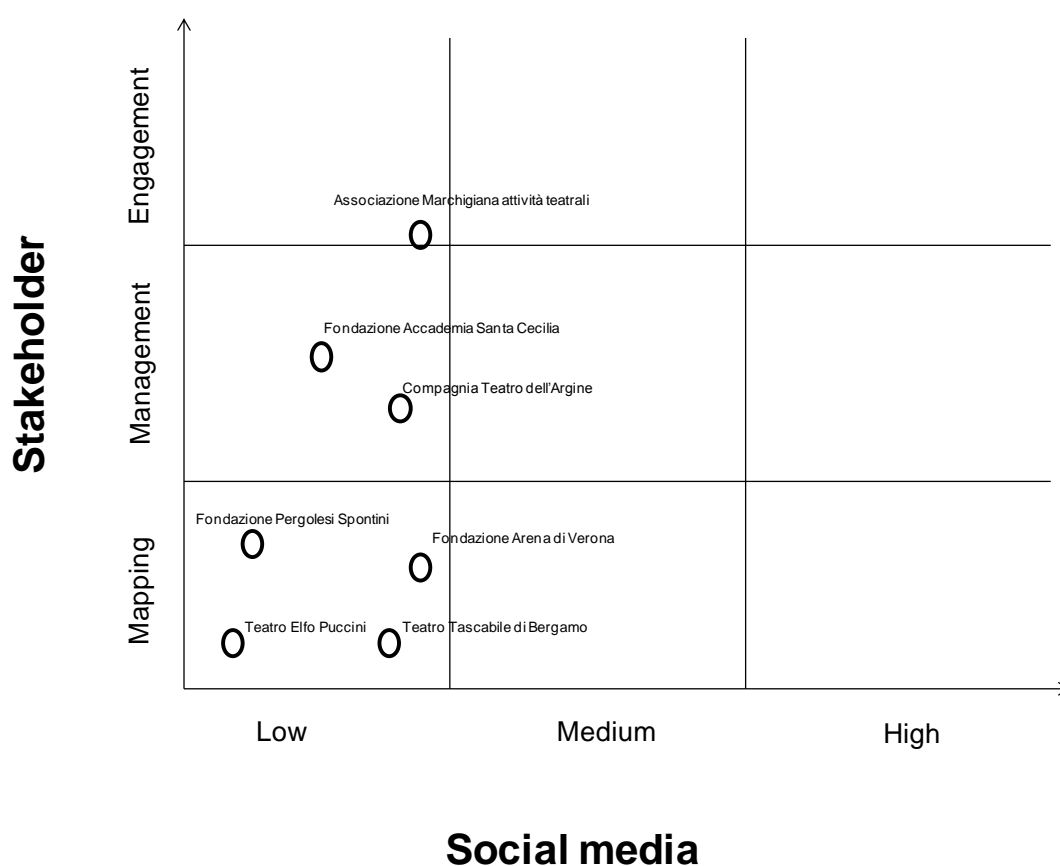


Figure 1. Stakeholder engagement and the role of social media in theatres

4. The presentation of the business case

The implementation of regional policies for the performing arts in Puglia is the responsibility of Teatro Pubblico Pugliese, a public consortium created in 1979 to plan theatre activities which has progressively expanded its reach through all the performing arts (Venturelli, 2012).

After a difficult period during the 1990s (from 1990 to 1997 the consortium was in receivership), political change in 1998 led to the introduction of a regional foundation and the reorganization of the sector, as a consequence of which TPP's role was redefined (Palmi, 2010). In the late 1990s, TPP decided to focus exclusively on those parts of the region with theatres, and gradually evolved into a project owner. This transformation was the result of legislative innovation that proceeded in stages starting in 2004 when Regional Law n° 6 was approved: this was a significant step forward in terms of official support for the performing arts in that it went beyond the previous policy of assistance-only. It involved a new emphasis on the education of the public, the protection of regional cultural production, the implementation of forms of experimentation in the language of theatre, support for technological innovation, the renovation of performing

arts venues, and the drawing up of plans to establish the “Observatory of Entertainment”, the Apulia Film Commission, the Regional Register, and so on.

A year earlier, in 2003, as the result of a framework programme agreement between the Ministry of Cultural Heritage, the Puglia Regional Government and TPP, the *Historic Theatres Network* project had been launched to reclaim and renovate 12 abandoned historic theatres. Between 2003 and 2005, TPP was responsible for running a major European project devoted to the study of the labour market in the performing arts sector, which highlighted both the difficulties for professionals working in the field – together with the widespread phenomenon of the underground economy – and the serious problems faced by local authorities in the management of local theatres. There was a clear need for new forms of management capable of reviving the performing arts, especially in theatres, and this was addressed in 2008 with the launch of the *Inhabited Theatres* project.

In the second half of 2006, Puglia introduced the new *Temporary programme in the field of the performing arts for the 2007/2009 period*, which implements the general provisions of Law 6 of 2004 in two fundamental areas: achieving greater balance with regard to production across the region; and overcoming the problem of the fragmentation of supply and demand in the field of the performing arts. In April 2007 new regulations established a Regional Performing Arts Register in order to facilitate the distribution of regional funding and promote a system of entertainment organized around different production and distribution hubs: agencies and public regional support programmes, highly attractive events, permanent institutions for experimentation, associative and venue networks, and chains of services.

Today TPP is a multifunctional structure that has expanded its mission and its operational domain to include planning and promotion in all the performing arts by acquiring from the Regional Government the management of the main activities: from November 2010 it was entrusted with running *Puglia Sound*, a project dedicated to the music industry; a year earlier it had launched *Dansystem*, a network of dance organisations, and in 2008 was behind the “Inhabited Theatres” project that, to date, has brought 13 buildings back into use. As indicated in TPP’s official mission statement, “the great innovation of the 2009/2010 season was the start of strategic initiatives using FESR funds to establish the performing arts as an exemplary productive sector in Puglia capable of driving both tourism and cultural and economic development”.

In addition to plays, children’s theatre and dance at a national, regional and international level, and training activities for the general public, there have been major events that have proved popular with tourists and also initiatives for the reorganisation and development of the regional system of performing arts. TPP has thus expanded and diversified its field of operations and has become pivotal to the governance system of the cultural and creative industries (Palmi, 2013). It has evolved as a multifunctional structure in terms not only of the sectors but also of the activities in which it is involved: as well as its original role planning the theatre season and organising public training courses, the TPP – now directly responsible for managing FESR funds – implements policies at a regional level, takes on the role of *fixer* for young companies in Puglia at a time when access to national funding is systematically blocked, and manages projects of international cooperation, cross-cultural innovation between sectors and traditional enterprises.

4.1. The network of theatres within the wider network of relationships

The process of TPP interaction with its stakeholders is highly complex given that the theatres available for staging performances are public property or, more exactly, belong to member local authorities.

The modalities of cooperation identify a network that is vertical and bureaucratic (Consortium agreement and, by convention, on specific initiatives), centred and characterized by low connectivity. The collaborations are in fact, dyadic, in that they exist only between the TPP and each partner and not between the various members of the network (Imperiale, 2012).

The consortium, as mentioned above, puts its services at the disposal of local authorities, which have a triple role as partner, customer and supplier, each with its own network of internal and external relationships. As a result, it is difficult not only to manage the interaction with the wide range of stakeholders who have dealings with TPP but also to accurately identify those categories of stakeholder that the network intends to engage. From the meetings held with TPP management, it emerged that there is strong recognition of the importance of the consortium's mission and, consequently, of the social role it intends to play in the Puglia region in sectors, such as theatre and dance, where there is serious fragmentation.

Examination of the responses given during the interviews with the three TPP members reveals not only that stakeholders are clearly identified and prioritised, through mapping, but also the ways in which the different categories of stakeholder are identified.

The categories of stakeholder included in the analysis of the mapping process are the following:

- influential – those able to influence, either in the present or the future, the decisional processes of TPP;
- strategic – those with a key role in strategic business choices;
- close – those with whom TPP has established lasting relationships.

Mapping of the stakeholders led on to the identification of the following categories of stakeholder, which are classified according to a scale of priority.

Table 2. Stakeholder mapping

Stakeholder mapping			
Internal		External	
Category	Stakeholders	Category	Stakeholders
Local entities (shareholder)	Municipalities	Audience	Kids
	Provinces		Students
	Puglia		Adults
Human resources	Managers	Associations	AGIS
	Office workers		ANART
	Consultants		ANCT
		Partners	Puglia Promozione Apulia Film Commission Pino Pascali Museum
		Suppliers	Theater companies Communication agencies IT services Cities
		Institutions	MIBAC "Osservatorio dello spettacolo"

Among the internal stakeholders, the role played by the local authorities is particularly worth noting as their contribution to management activities is not only financial but also organizational, and they are to some extent involved in the planning.

As regards external players, an absolutely key role is that of the public, a primary stakeholder to whom TPP devotes the utmost attention by carrying out a series of analyses including customer satisfaction surveys at the end of performances and other less frequent activities such as specific public profiling projects.

In view of the imminent production of a social report, TPP has recently identified and classified the relevant questions associated with the abovementioned stakeholders, in line with the first steps of the process of

stakeholder engagement suggested in the AA1000SES guidelines, applying the principle of materiality suggested in the GRI-G4 guidelines.

In order to identify the material topics, TPP is carrying out the following activities:

- preliminary identification of topics it deems to be important (internal analysis) and examination of topics considered important by similar organisations in the field of live performing arts (external analysis),
- an internal survey that, using as a basis an extended list of topics deemed to be of potential interest, is enabling top management to select issues it considers of primary interest according to the criterion of critical impact in the medium to long term.

4.2. Stakeholder management in TPP through the ICE – Innovation, Culture and Creativity for a New Economy project

Two-way dialogue with stakeholders was introduced by TPP not only through the use of social media, as it will be illustrated more clearly in Section 4.3, but also on the ICE project set up by the AASTER consortium (and funded by the Puglia Regional Government) with the support of Teatro Pubblico Pugliese itself.

The ICE - Innovation, Culture and Creativity for a New Economy, European Territorial Cooperation Programme “Greece-Italy 2007 – 2013” project, launched in June 2014, has three main aims:

1. to obtain a clear picture of the current situation by trying to ascertain the level of development of the creative and cultural industries and the network of “attractive” events by identifying key aspects and problems;
2. to establish to what extent creativity and culture and the policies providing support to them have succeeded in driving economic and more general social development in Puglia;
3. to formulate proposals to consolidate creativity and culture, to facilitate the coordination of events and creative “supply chains”, and finally to promote relations with companies in other sectors.

In order to achieve these aims, TPP has introduced a process involving various phases of listening to different stakeholders; a number of investigative tools (qualitative and quantitative - interviews, questionnaires, etc.) have been used. These listening activities have included:

- 60 interviews with individuals responsible for regional policies, who have a privileged overview of the territory, large-scale attractive events, businesses and cultural associations, industry, craft guilds and tourism;
- 6 focus groups including 4 devoted to specific cultural areas (dance, theatre, music and cinema) and 2 cross-sector groups focusing on design/craftsmanship and tourism;
- 5 workshops in the various provinces (Brindisi, Lecce, Taranto, Foggia and Bari-BAT), held between January and March 2015, in which 250 individuals from cultural and non-cultural sectors participated.

At the same time, TPP began a quantitative analysis using a questionnaire that was distributed either online or as a hard copy to those working in the cultural sector and to event organisers.

The research and follow-up action will conclude shortly with the production of a research report and the creation of an intervention plan. The report will be presented at a seminar reserved for certain stakeholders and at a public congress. It will consist of a schematic summary of the abundant data to emerge, in particular from the 5 workshops in the region's provinces. The workshops serve as a link between the listening phase and the planning/creation of the network, the aim being to avoid the risk – which always exists – of a disconnection between the listening and the research and subsequent action. They can be thought of as a bridge that links the two phases, research and action, or as a connection between the listening phase and the final, planning phase.

The results obtained from the 5 workshops will form the basis of discussions and of a Plan of Action that TPP will share with the Puglia Regional Government and other regional bodies. The brief will be to propose

changes and innovations, particularly in the live performing arts sector, in policies affecting it and in its relationship with the creative industries and the way they are now administered.

4.3. The role of social media in the process of interaction with stakeholders

One of the aims of this paper is to demonstrate through a qualitative analysis of a specific organization that social media play a highly important role in the process of stakeholder engagement. That is not to say that social media can be considered a replacement for other, equally important and more traditional tools such as telephone contact, email, and online feedback forms (which enable stakeholders to put forward suggestions or make criticisms of the reports).

Moreover, it must be pointed out that the analysis starts out with a palpable deficiency, in that it is an attempt to examine a process of stakeholder engagement where there is no social report. This does not, however, render any less interesting the results that emerge from the analysis of the case study, which – as mentioned in Section 2) – led to the development of a new attitude to social accounting and the intention to produce a “customised” report in which social networks play a crucial role.

The process of the “empowerment” of social media in TPP since 2004 has been incremental.

Table 3. Milestones in TPP’s social media approach

Year	Tool	Notes
2004	web site 1.0	The first online TPP site. Small promotional campaign with stickers and advertisements). Static site with a simple structure to inform public about scheduled performing arts events. Weekly newsletter (programmed in html) with a calendar of events
2008	web site 2.0	New portal with banners and a dynamic, navigable calendar, extras, and photo & video galleries. Launch campaign with advertisements in regional and local daily newspapers and on the web. New portal with banners and a dynamic, navigable calendar, extras, and photo & video galleries.
2008	YouTube	
2009	Facebook	TPP is on Facebook (the first page gained 5000 friends in one year, the second 2500). TPP posts provide information exclusively about events scheduled in member theatres and about partners’ activities. First live blogging from the Culture/Tourism/Territory Forum organised by TPP at the Svevo Castle in Bari: from a computer, a group of journalism students from Bari monitor the forum and act as a link between participants and the online audience. For the Spring Rights project, the first photos of the participating flashmobs in Bari are posted on the site.
2010	Tanpage	TPP fanpage set up
2013	Twitter	
2014-2015	Social media strategy	Social media activities stepped up with the support of a strategy team managed by a communications agency and a social media editing unit. Data for June 2010 - September 2014: > 9.000 likes Data for September 2015: > 16.000 likes
Sept. 2015	Instagram	

It is worth pointing out here that the topics forming the basis of the interaction between TPP and the stakeholders are of different types and mainly relate to TPP’s services.

The stakeholders involved in the dialogue were predominantly audiences.

A development plan drawn up in October 2014 provided for the analysis of TPP’s communication via social networks; progress on this is to be monitored after 12 months and discussed with senior management. At that point the management of TPP will be able to examine the results of the social media listening process and combine the resulting data with that obtained from the workshops in the various provinces described in Section 4.2.

Below are listed some of the points and objectives mentioned in the part of the strategic plan dealing with interaction with the stakeholders.

1. Facebook

[...]

C. Audience contributions are lacking

Problem

At the present time, one of the most effective ways to incentivise users to take decisions regarding their purchasing habits is through the comments other users (i.e. their peers) make about a particular product or service. The TripAdvisor model, for example, has heavily influenced the capability of a brand to communicate persuasively using only its own strengths, in line with the logic that it is reputation which determines the success or failure of a hotel, restaurant, product or service.

It is our belief that an organisation like Teatro Pubblico Pugliese will never be able to fully exploit social media until audiences' voices carry at least as much weight as that of the institution itself.

Solution

The first step, which should be taken immediately and communicated to everyone both internally and externally, is *to transform TPP's social platforms from simple top-down information providers into customer-assistance tools offering prompt answers to current and potential customers' enquiries about services, concessions and logistics*. TPP's social channels should thus become an extension of telephone and box office information services, which will involve working together with those responsible for communications in the various individual theatres. *This will ensure that users are more motivated to access the Facebook page (and follow tweets on Twitter) in order to obtain information, and to share comments, reactions and feelings. The platforms also make it possible to manage negative comments in such a way as to prevent criticisms or bad reviews damaging the reputation of TPP and its members in parts of the internet that cannot be monitored and where prompt replies cannot be given.* In addition, it is vital to provide users with as many opportunities as possible to describe their experiences as TPP customers; their "stories" need to be collected – if necessary, with the help of local communications staff – in order to create (in the long term) a sense of belonging and of community in those who attend TPP's many events and live performances.

[...]

2. Twitter

[...]

A. Lack of interaction

Problem

The platform is currently used only to recycle content produced on Facebook. Interaction, in the shape of retweeting, replying and favouriting, is totally lacking. This state of affairs is not satisfactory. *Twitter is a place for meeting, discussing and sharing; it offers another precious opportunity to develop useful relationships with users who are hungry for knowledge and skilled at networking.*

Solution

We recommend deactivating the automatic mode and *introducing the human element as well as an editorial strategy, partly based on that used for Facebook and partly dealing with events and up-to-date news. We also suggest adopting a pro-active approach that allows constant, ongoing dialogue with users.* Twitter can and must become another reference point for those looking for information and clarification. Through the use of strategic hashtags, Twitter also makes it possible to cement interest in given topics.

[...]

3. YouTube

[...]

A. Untidiness

Problem

YouTube is not only a video-sharing platform but also an important search engine, second only to Google. It therefore needs to be managed and organized as efficiently as possible in order to obtain optimum results. TPP currently uses YouTube as a sort of digital archive into which videos of performances and events are uploaded in an apparently arbitrary manner.

Solution

YouTube allows users to group videos together in organised lists of preference according to theme (theatre, dance, concerts, etc.) or type (events, advertising, etc.). *Our recommendation is to exploit these possibilities in order to create an index and direct users towards specific topics.*

[...]

4. Other social networks

[...]

Considering the large amount of work that will be necessary on existing platforms, and considering the need to create as many loyalty mechanisms for TPP as possible, *we believe that the best approach is to concentrate on optimising communication via the channels that have already been activated (Facebook, Twitter and YouTube), rather than overexpanding and overdiversifying.*

In twelve months time, in a “debriefing” session, we will evaluate the extent to which the objectives have been achieved and the potential of the organisational framework to cope with the increased workload required by the opening of further social media channels.

The decision to concentrate social networking in three channels – Facebook, Twitter and Youtube – is a deliberate strategic choice aimed at exploiting the excellent opportunities offered by web communication to reach stakeholders quickly without the fragmentation that using too many channels would entail. There is also a very clear insistence on paying attention to the stakeholder audience, which is the key protagonist in the process of enhancing the organisation’s reputation.

From the interviews carried out and from the documents consulted, it also emerged that since October 2014 engagement activity has been monitored every three months: reports are drawn up and analysed and interpreted by TPP management with the assistance of a web marketing agency that also provides support in the management of the content of the website.

Points to emerge from these analyses include the way in which the process of stakeholder engagement is not yet wholly established and the lack within that process of a series of elements that an attentive observer might deem essential to its efficacy.

The main points to emerge from the fieldwork were:

- the topics focused on in the dialogues are mostly related to TPP's services and little attempt is made to adopt a CSR approach;
- the most engaged stakeholder is the public;
- engagement activities are not supported by a process of non-financial reporting.

The conclusion to be drawn from this is that the stakeholder engagement process still needs to be improved, for example by producing a first social-type report based on the results of the dialogue with the stakeholders, the contents of which would be made more usable by the adoption of a CSR 2.0-type approach.

Conclusion

The qualitative analysis of the organisation that was the subject of this study focused on the theme of stakeholder engagement, which is interesting not only because of its current popularity in the international debate on social accounting but also on account of its importance in the theatre sector, which has a high social impact.

The research hypotheses formulated in Section 2 provided a starting point for the description of a series of analyses of the different levels of interaction that a theatre can establish with its stakeholders.

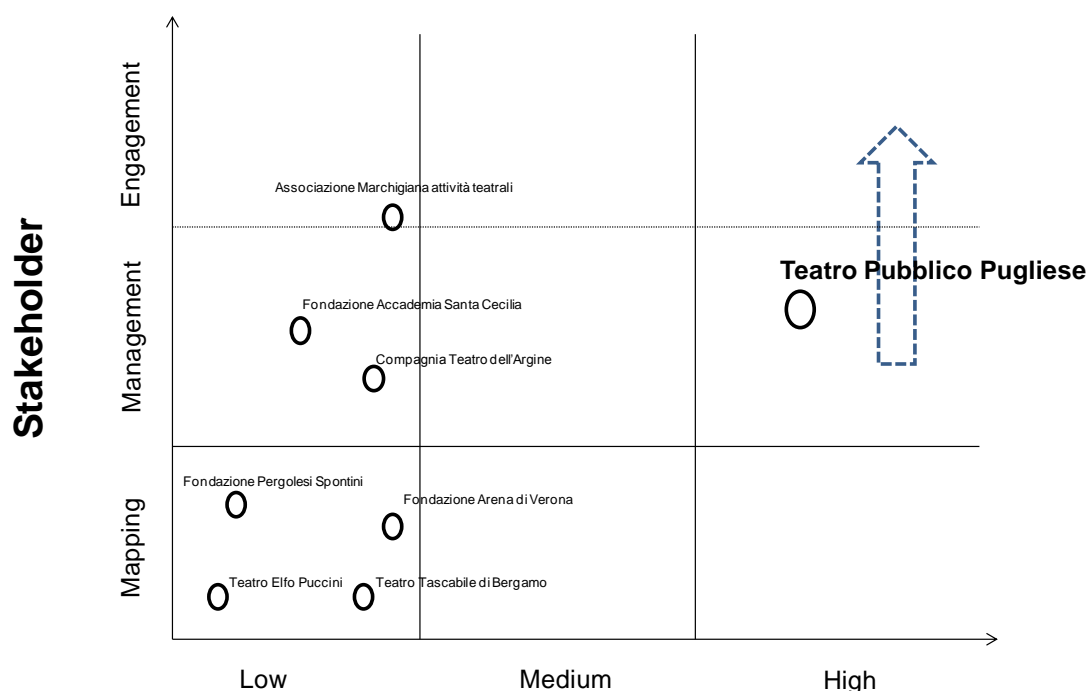
As far as verifying Research Hypothesis 1 is concerned, it emerged fairly clearly that social-type reporting is not always associated with an efficient stakeholder engagement process. The lack of engagement emerged from a rather theoretical kind of analysis of the level of information reported and the contents uploaded onto websites; no qualitative-type analysis of the 34 cases examined was carried out.

As regards the verifying of Research Hypothesis 2, the qualitative analysis carried out highlighted the way in which social media are crucial to starting the process of engagement with TPP stakeholders, a process that in TPP is currently more closely bound up with governance than with accountability.

From the comparison with other theatre organisations in Section 3, it would appear that social media do make a significant contribution to TPP's interaction with its stakeholders; this interaction, however, still seems to be more an attempt to respond to the expectations of the stakeholders (stakeholder management) than a means of encouraging their participation in the decision-making process (stakeholder engagement).

The results obtained in the study partly conflict with those from a previous empirical research (Tarquinio & Rossi, 2014), which concluded that social media are not particularly useful in the process of sustainability reporting. It would appear, then, that one-size-fits-all reports may need to make way for customised versions. The adoption of social media tools can certainly contribute to improving company-stakeholder dialogue and thus be of use both in the drawing up of the reports and in obtaining feedback once those reports are published.

In order to respond better to the needs of stakeholders, it may therefore be that the way forward lies in the customisation of reports, which, thanks to the support available in the shape of web tools and technology, can be tailored to the user.



Social media

Figure 2. Stakeholder engagement and the role of social media in TPP

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Made to Measure? Cultural Policy and Cultural Education in Croatia.

Vidović, Dea

Kultura Nova Foundation

Zagreb, Croatia

dea.vidovic@kulturanova.hr

Žuvela, Ana

Institute for Development and International Relations

Zagreb / Dubrovnik, Croatia

azuvela@irmo.hr

Abstract

Cultural education field in Croatia is defined by outdated (by profile) and insufficient (by frequency) educational programmes that shape the contours of cultural production and outreach. Concurrently, informal education that is emerging from the cultural sector, supersedes the notion of cultural education as an area exclusively reserved for educational policies and elite. The paper presents the results of a research about informal cultural education in Croatia. The research undertakes the methodological approach that combines qualitative with quantitative aspects of cultural policy analysis. The paper looks into contextual and conceptual rationales in cultural sector's design of educational programmes tracking the points and levels of convergence between cultural and educational policies. The aim of this paper is to investigate both the strengths and weaknesses of cultural policy development in application to education and to assert the importance of arts and cultural education for sustainable development of cultural sector.

Keywords: arts; culture; education; informal; cultural policy

Introduction

Transformations of the cultural sector have had a great impact on the processes of professionalization of all actors that shape and constitute the arts and culture scene. Profound changes in the context of public and private accountability, along with the imperative of efficiency and utility, have posed significant challenges to conventional approaches to making, implementing and developing cultural policy as well as customary operational norms in arts and culture.

Tacit and explicit knowledge on cultural policy, management and functioning of the arts and culture became essential for all those engaged in the cultural field. Accordingly, cultural education - education in/on or education for culture, adopts the focal position in providing solutions to increasing and ever-emerging needs for greater capacity building and development of competencies required for contemporary cultural cycles, from survival to fulfillment. Introduction and investigation of issues pertinent to cultural development and acquiring knowledge on new concepts, insights and proficiencies of contemporary artistic and cultural practices are types of educational training ought to be had by workers in arts and culture. Prevailing educational programmes in arts and culture are not directed towards providing wider comprehension of the constitutive parts that shape cultural field and their interrelations (from the position of an independent artist to local, national and supra national bodies), underlining principles and driving influences and dynamics of the development of the cultural field (from political power to media and private sector intermediaries). Given the scope and profile of the demands of the contemporary world, cultural education should provide coherent

foundation and incentive for contextually reflexive workers in arts and culture that have high levels of awareness of both daily pragmatics on the one hand, and knowledge on perpetual interpretations and stratifications of values of culture on the other.

Gaining diverse knowledge and systematic understanding of all areas of culture relevant for artistic production and operational work in cultural sector, or with cultural sector, come to be of crucial importance. Moreover, diversified or differential knowledge and skills are becoming a standard of survival in multi-layered cultural field. Knowledge obtained through formal education must be renewed in frequent intervals in order to affirm learning as a fundamental tool for establishing continuity and balance between gained knowledge and obtaining of new competences. Issue arising from this proposition is the question on the source of knowledge and its adaptability to diversification and differentiation – the established rule of education is that those who learn must adapt to the standardized formats and contents of educational programmes, not the other way around (Voesgen, 2005: 146). This prolongs the status quo of inadequacy in cultural education, especially in regards to the balancing act between theory and practice in which both theory and practice become mutually productive whilst keeping the tension alive that no single side dominates. As Voesgen remarks, “in traditional academic courses of study it was common that practice was used as an illustration or decoration and that the effects on teaching were peripheral. On the other hand, in cultural management the risk is that practice forces the reflexive and analytical aspects into a niche. When practice becomes the central standard for what is important and what should be taught, a course of study degenerates into a transferal of rules that apply to daily life. Practice is a seductress, because it responds to the doubts, thoughts and reflection of the academic world with a 'just do it' attitude”. (Voesgen, 2005: 149).

Voesgen's understanding of the skill of learning can be transposed from cultural management to the wider field of cultural, cultural policy and artistic research and education. Cultural policy, as an autonomous discipline has been progressively developing since the 1980s (Frenander & Jönsson, 2007). Embodying national cultural values, rationales and principles, along with the symbolic identity of the social entity, cultural policy is the multifaceted, equivocal and complex sibling in the family of public policies. In accordance with the scope of cultural policy and, now diminishing, focus on common and public good, cultural policy can have deep and serious impacts not only on cultural, but wider societal life. Along those lines, cultural workers and artists must be made aware and knowledgeable of those public policy, in this case cultural policy, measures that have a direct effect on their occupational, aspirational and regular, daily livelihood which leads to and responds, to an extent, to the question raised by Roberto Bedoya¹⁹⁵ (2005) concerning cultural policy and its set-up: who is privileged or marginalized in policy discourse - the artist, the curator, the arts administrator, the foundation programme officer, the scholar, the researcher, civil society activists, creative industries interests or educators in arts and culture? How does each of these actors perceive, define, create and evaluate arts and culture differently?

Corina Şuteu (2005) stated that cultural education accentuates the need for cultural workers and artists to be educated in a whole array of theories, techniques, practical skills and artistry but also for bringing them closer to the ethical code that will provide orientation guidance in making professional choices and decisions whilst keeping vigilant of the changes in culture and associated value system in diverse societies. Debating the skills and knowledge needed for work in cultural fields of the globalized world, Colin Mercer (2011) observed that, in the age of digital creative economy, the skills spectrum is extremely wide and long starting from basic levels of understanding and cognition to competences indispensable for efficient positioning in competitive, open global environment, no longer divided by national and linguistic borders. Mercer went on to propose an immediate evaluation process of the entire colossal spectrum of required capacities with emphasis on hybrid professional skills that facilitate and ease organizations and individuals into cultural

¹⁹⁵ Roberto Bedoya's paper *Deliberative Cultural Policy Practices* is available on http://theatreforum.in/static/upload/docs/Deliberative_cultural_Policy_Practices.pdf (19/09/2015).

environment in fulfilling their creative work and securing financial resources.

Global and European trends in socio-economic developments have imposed instrumentality as a criterion for valorizing cultural and creative sector by which cultural work and its output is valued through measurable performance assessments and justifications for public funding. Entire artistic cultural and creative work becomes justifiable as means to either economic and/or social ends as those lines of work are deemed ineffective, or non-functional unless it provides impressive increases in employment opportunities, commercial revenues (e.g. blockbuster cultural events, creative enterprises, commercial exploitation of public cultural goods and services, big sponsorship contracts etc.) or direct causal relation to crime prevention, community health benefits, social cohesion and inclusion, overcoming of cultural and social divides etc. At the same time, key resources for attaining knowledge and acquiring new occupational abilities are being reduced by marginalization of educational and cultural policies. This inconsistency in treatment and expectation ratios illustrates the dominant principle of our times – capital gains for small investments.

Mentioned issues have been systematically affecting the educational and cultural sector in Croatia as a consequence of changes on European and global developments but also as a side effect of a prolonged period of transition that his country has been going through for the last 25 years. Educational programmes for culture are traditional, obsolete and inadequate or market-driven with no middle grounds for education in critical artistic practices, arts management, contemporary arts theory and analytical cultural policy. This indicates a growing disproportion between actual educational needs and challenges cultural sector meets and availability and content of cultural education programmes. The role of culture and education thus becomes overwrought between being public service of public good on one side and commercial offering driven by market logic on the other. This situation calls for deeper reflection on *raisons d'être*, meanings and focus of cultural and educational sector with the emphasis on interlinks, i.e. education for culture or cultural education that sustains and adequately contributes to the development of the cultural sector. Aware of these facts, in the 2014-2017 Strategic Plan, Kultura Nova Foundation highlighted the necessity of cultural workers' professional development through life-long learning, especially non-formal educational training. In 2014, Foundation undertook a research project covering this topic in order to get the relevant information on the topic and contribute to the improvement of cultural education field in Croatia.

1. Methodological approach

A vast number of research materials, studies, books, articles documents and report is available on arts education, there is extensive analytical work done on the canons of formal arts education supplemented with comparative research on the relation between cultural policy and arts education. The roles of local, national and above-national governmental, non-governmental and private organizations have been allocated and thoroughly studied both in the register of arts education and education as a method of audience and cultural participation development.

However, research on education, training and knowledge improvement for people professionally engaged in the arts and culture sectors is scarce, especially in the Croatian context. Hence, here research presented, though it refers to it, moves away from investigation of educational policy provision for arts education from the early ages, encompassing analysis of primary and secondary education curricula for arts and culture. Rather, this research directly targets those forms and levels of education that are embedded in the cultural fields, and regulated and instigated by cultural policy provisions. The research concentrates on detecting and subsequently mapping of the choices and possibilities organized and conducted by the cultural sector (cultural institutions, arts organization and non-governmental cultural organizations) for acquiring additional skills, knowledge and capacities for cultural sector (artists and cultural operators) and cultural audience. The research maps those educational opportunities and choices that are freely accessible or do not charge any type of tuition fee.

Research methodology is constructed according to the patterns of cultural policy research and cultural analysis that imply methodological pluralism, “drawing freely on methods as and when appropriate to the analytical problem under investigation” (McGuigan, 2010: 3). Cultural analysis is typically, what Jim McGuigan calls, “parasitic” on a wide range of discipline as it offends against “a disciplinary methodism whereby correctly prescribed technique is reified over and above the subject matter of the enquiry” (McGuigan, 2010: 3). Therefore, the research is conducted with full acceptance and awareness of the critique, limitations, and insufficient academic *seriousness* of the cultural analysis. The aim of the conducted research was to obtain necessary information and ensure argumentative basis for the development of cultural education in Croatia.

In its aggregated form, research methodology included: review of relevant literature (establishing theoretical framework of the research); collection and analysis of the secondary data sources (previous researches, studies, papers and articles, analysis of the official policy documents, statistics, reports etc.); creating and conducting an on-line survey to the selected number of samples. Research samples were selected in line with the operational core of the Kultura Nova Foundation that was founded by the Republic of Croatia to provide expert and financial support to the civil society organizations in arts and culture. Apart from civil society organizations in arts and culture (non-governmental cultural organizations and arts organizations) that are registered in the Kultura Nova Foundation’s database of grant applicants, research sample included public cultural institutions, funded and owned both by state and/or local governments. The criteria for local cultural institutions that the city owns three or more than three cultural institutions was met by eleven Croatian cities.

Survey questionnaire was comprised of forty-one questions covering three main areas: educational levels of both full time employees and external associates, education for the public/audience, general questions. Survey was sent by electronic mail to targeted 344 organizations (155 non-governmental cultural organizations, 138 public cultural institutions, and 51 arts organizations). The response was received by 120 organizations (73 non-governmental cultural organizations, 30 public cultural institutions, and 17 arts organizations).

Conceptualizing and conducting research was demanding due to the wide scope and fluidity of the cultural sector that stretches beyond obvious definitional framework and sector segmentation. Moreover, apart from definitional and intrinsic elusiveness, one of the great challenges in the research was chronic negligence of cultural statistics in Croatia or any type of organized data collection and analysis, which resulted in a repeated survey cycle. As there were no similar research undertaken in Croatia in the past few decades, this research started from the very beginning, building on available sources and empirical results from cultural policy research that were not primarily or directly addressing the topic of education in culture but offer a better insight into the context of the research environment. Education for, education in culture, cultural education, was investigated in a capacity of sustainability, stability, competitiveness, experimentation, participation and cooperation factor for cultural development.

2. Policy: arts-culture-education

Out of all public policies and systems, arts education and cultural policies can be excerpted as main structural resources that support and sustain artistic production from the creation to presentation – while arts education provides the foundations of knowledge and skill necessary for creative work and expression, cultural policy proposes normative opportunities for cultural and artistic work to find its place in the respective social framework. Arts and cultural education has an important role in critical reflection of the society, instigating and enabling cognitive processes in the whole spectrum of ways in which art can mirror society (Thorsby, 2010). Therefore, it would be plausible to assume that arts education is a constitutive part of cultural policy conceptualization as cultural policy should be largely based on arts education and should

facilitate its outputs and to extent build on its outcomes. If we take the assumption that praxis of arts and culture in is the central, starting point of cultural policy as true, then it would be correct to state that quality, effectiveness and adequacy of cultural policy evolves from and is interdependent with the quality of arts and cultural education. Hence, surplus of problems in cultural sector clearly indicates deficits in arts and cultural education (Žuvela, 2008). Yet, arts and cultural education rests on the margins of the priorities agendas in both educational and cultural policies.

Comparative analysis of countries profiles at Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe¹⁹⁶ shows that the correlation between arts education and cultural policies varies in different countries. Generally, it is divided into a) countries¹⁹⁷ in which arts education is in the remit of educational policies and under the authority of Ministries of Education and b) countries¹⁹⁸ in which arts education is negotiated and regulated through inter-ministerial cooperation and partnerships. In Croatia, arts education falls under the authority of Ministry of Science, Education and Sports and is regulated by Law on Arts Education. The Law on Arts Education regulates arts education activities in public institutions¹⁹⁹ - music, dance, fine arts and other schools that administer arts education programmes according to the propositions of this legislative act. Arts education infrastructure in Croatia is territorially centralized in Zagreb and few of the other major cities²⁰⁰. Since 1945, only two arts schools have been built/restored, one in Varaždin and one in Dubrovnik while the building of Music Academy Zagreb represents the only capital investment in arts education infrastructure in the past 25 years. Although arts education in Croatia has a long tradition and is legally made accessible to all under equal conditions, it has gone under changes during the past two decades mostly caused by issues in lack of understanding and recognition for the value arts bring into the processes of education (Cvjetičanin & Katunarić, 1998). Since 1995, number of educational units for arts and culture has been shrinking in the official curriculum down to the point that, today in Croatia, children get more hours in religious or physical education than music or visual arts which supports the claim of arts and cultural being treated as educational luxury, not necessity (Thorsby, 2010). Additionally, in spite of the increase of art academies as a consequence of the Bologna process, educational programmes in cultural management, critical arts practices, contemporary cultural theory and cultural policy are still lacking (Primorac, Obuljen, & Švob-Đokić, 2014). Hence, individuals seeking educations in these categories are inclined to finding suitable options abroad.

Though cooperation and partnership between education and cultural decision-making authorities should be a norm, in Croatia it is more an exception than a rule. One of the examples of such exceptions is cooperative agreement made in 2011 between Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Science, Education and Sports establishing two undergraduate university courses – contemporary dance and ballet pedagogy. Agreement included partnership with University of Zagreb and Academy of Dramatic Arts in Zagreb (Primorac, Obuljen, & Švob-Đokić, 2014). In the higher education system, there is only one registered study programme covering cultural management at the private School for Business and Management “Baltazar Adam Krčelić” from Zaprešić, while few other, also private educational organizations offer courses in cultural management and marketing.²⁰¹

Cultural policy in Croatia is focused on the institutional frame of arts and culture, which implies that the position of cultural institutions is privileged in cultural policy's scope, and structure from organizational status

¹⁹⁶ Available on: <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/> (17/09/2015).

¹⁹⁷ Albania, Croatia, Estonia, Ireland, Lichtenstein, Lithuania, Macedonia, Romania, etc.

¹⁹⁸ Austria, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, France, Italy, Monaco, Netherlands, Poland, United Kingdom, etc.

¹⁹⁹ According to the data from the Statistical Annual of Republic of Croatia for 2012, in 2010 and 2011 15.148 pupils attended 89 primary ballet and arts schools in which 1803 teachers hold classes. During the same years, the data record 48 high arts schools, 5220 pupils and 1706 professors. The number of arts schools has not oscillated in the last five years.

²⁰⁰ Split, Rijeka and Osijek.

²⁰¹ One of the examples is the "Marketing management in Cultural Institutions" workshop that is implemented by the Community College Addenda in Istria.

(including the employment arrangements for workers in cultural institutions) to established allocations of public budgets and appointment of management boards and directors. What is highly visible in Croatia is the institutionalization as describes it “nurturing arts organizations, preventing existing organization from failing, encouraging small organizations to become larger and large organization to seek immortality” (DiMaggio, 2000: 56). Cultural institutions in Croatia have been encouraged to sustain their public mandate and political relevance corresponding to the historical periods of their origin which are ideologically and by overall social, political and economic system diametrically opposed to current times. Institutional centralism and insufficient functional differentiation, featured in huge disproportions in public authorities support and budget designation to institutional, non-institutional and private cultural sector, is the cardinal dispute of Croatian cultural policy as it directly affects financing of culture and cultural production. Cultural policy inertia, coupled with fixation on institutional and representative cultural formats has led to peripheral understanding and consequent positioning of discursive cultural education, both for cultural operators and cultural audience.

Although the design of the Croatian cultural system does not recognize arts and cultural education as a foundation and predictor of cultural and social development, during the past 15 years, the educational perimeter has broadened and penetrated cultural sector. This has created new opportunities for the development of unconventional pedagogical methods. Despite the limitations of the cultural system, cultural organizations have started to address growing demands and needs for further education in cultural sector and have mobilized available resources to provide a number of non-formal educational programmes that contribute to the building of professional capacities in the sector as well as to increase in cultural participation. Implementation of the cultural education programmes could not be possible without budgetary support from either state or local public budgets, though there are no specialized grant schemes for educational programmes in arts and culture apart from the general Public Call issued by the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports that covers all educational areas, including small percentages of arts and culture.

The local and regional governments play an important role in Croatian educational, and especially, cultural policies. According to the Law on Local and Regional Self-Government, cities cover, within the scope of their activities, all affairs that meet the citizens’ needs that include, among others, upbringing, education and culture. Counties also carry out within the scope of their activities affairs that pertain to, among others, education and the planning and development of educational, health, social and cultural institutions. Cities in Croatia play a vital role in the creation of local cultural policies considering the fact that the representative bodies of cities are also, in accordance with law regulations, the founders and owners of public cultural institutions and the cities’ budgets are the main sources of public funds for the financing of the overall local cultural sector. Culture receives an average of 6.18% of the cities’ budgets, while the amount on the national level is considerably smaller and the 0.49% that was extracted for culture in 2015 does not even reach 1% of the overall state budget.

Nevertheless, the role of the regional and local self-government is, in the context of public policies adoption, more executive in the sense of appropriation of the decisions made at the subnational levels with national regulations. Laws on culture and education in the Republic of Croatia are passed by the Croatian Parliament that prescribes regulations at the suggestion of executive national government bodies. Culture and education in Croatia are divided into two separate national government bodies – Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Science, Education and Sport. In this sense, all the decision making processes are centralized and subject to systematic changes in accordance with the political governments’ changes. As Vjeran Katunarić points out, “even in cases in which legislation supports decentralization and autonomy, counter-tendencies of ‘structural centralism’ take over old hierarchy of the cultural policy system mainly through cultural councils (arm’s length body) and similar bodies, or through new technocratic doctrine of the Network society. This way the ‘true democratic manners of bottom up decentralization’ are obstructed.” (Katunarić, 2003: 2).

Decentralization and participation in the decision making process, if it exists, is programmed from above with rare examples that were successfully carried out bottom-up²⁰² and have, in this manner, become benchmarks of Croatian public, in this case, cultural policy.

There are two levels of (de)centralization of culture in Croatia that influence artistic and cultural education. The first level is the territorial centralization that describes the situation in which the main part of artistic and cultural education is concentrated in the capital of Zagreb. Zagreb is the cultural center of Croatia concerning the artistic and cultural scene in general, and especially when we are talking about the creative industries sector. Some other cities play an important role in the Croatian cultural life, such as Rijeka and Split, but the majority of artists and cultural operators live in Zagreb considering the existence of the necessary cultural infrastructure. The City of Zagreb is in charge of 38 cultural institutions, 14 cultural centers, and is the owner of the Vatroslav Lisinski Concert Hall and the Zagreb Philharmonic Orchestra, and the co-owner of the Croatian National Theater with 49% (the other 51% is owned by the state). 2.324 persons are employed in the public cultural institutions of the City of Zagreb or 0.3% of the overall number of citizens of Zagreb. The spending of the City of Zagreb budget gave 5.95% to the cultural sector in 2014, and the amount of the budget for culture per capita is 512 HRK. In comparison, Rijeka extracts 10.5% of the overall budget for culture, Split 10%, Dubrovnik 20%. The majority of educational institutions and organizations are located in Zagreb.

The second tier of (de)centralization of the Croatian cultural system is defined through *institutional centralism*, which signifies the position and role that cultural institutions have in the remit of cultural policy - from the organizational status, labour rights of institutional cultural operators to the privileged budgetary treatment. Institutional centralism is validated by the centralized cultural governance in which the non-institutional actors are provided with advisory roles only, not to mention that the active position of community representatives in decision-making on public cultural resources and production is not even anticipated. The possibility of, as Croatian sociologist Vjeran Katunarić denominates it, "new public culture", grows from a "working concept of culture that really 'decentralizes' the old cultural meanings and functions, ceasing with exclusive links between culture and political power, culture and administration, culture and expert power, and, eventually, culture and business that is interested only in converting cultural goods into commercial markets (mass culture) by fostering the populist notion of 'the sovereignty of consumption' (McGuigan, 1997), with no public standards for culture in sight" (Katunarić, 2007:401). "New public culture", forebodes the possibility of reformative changes in cultural sphere based on reflection and adaptation of the meanings and purpose of culture not only in present, but in future times too.

3. Revitalizing arts&culture through education

As already stated, possibilities for higher education in some areas of arts and culture like arts management, cultural policy, contemporary arts practices, interdisciplinary arts programmes, etc. are rare, if any at all. For this reason, many of Croatian artists and cultural workers obtain their education internationally, but with very limited resources of support for financing their education abroad.

There have been several attempts to overcome the educational gap in arts and culture - one of the examples is the educational programme *Organizational Development and Strategic Planning in Cultural Institutions in the City of Zagreb* organized by the City of Zagreb in the process of devising city's strategy of cultural development from 2004 to 2006. In the similar thematic scope, Croatian Ministry of Culture collaborated with DeVos Institute of Arts Management from Washington, USA in enabling twenty Croatian cultural

²⁰² We find POGON - Zagreb Center for Independent Culture and Youth (co-founded by the City of Zagreb and the Operation City Association Alliance in 2008) and Kultura Nova Foundation (founded based on the Law on Kultura Nova Foundation that was passed by the Croatian Parliament in 2011) among the positive examples of founding of new public institutions as a result of many years of advocacy done by NGOs in culture.

professionals to obtain further learning and experience through the educational programme covering artistic planning, programmatic marketing, strategic planning, board development and fundraising.²⁰³ Initiation of this collaboration corresponds to the *Programme of the Government of the Republic of Croatia, 2011 - 2015*²⁰⁴ in which the issue of cultural education was posed as one of the key topic in formulating expected strategic document on national cultural development.

Deficiencies in the cultural and arts education for arts and culture sector have been tackled by the sector itself through contriving of self-organized educational programmes intended for employees and associates. Research results show that thematic area of these educational programmes can be divided into general education (covers the development of organizational, administrative and financial capacities of the organization) and specialized education (covers the development of artistic capacities of the organization). Data received from the survey indicates that public cultural institutions invest the greater percentage in education for employees and associates. Around 50% of non-governmental cultural organizations and arts organizations implement in education for employees and associates.

Table 1. Investment in education for employees and associates

	YES (%)	NO (%)
NGOs	55%	43%
ARTISTIC ASSOCIATIONS	53%	47%
PUBLIC CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS	73%	27%

Figures on ratio of covering education fees for employees and associates show that 77% of public cultural institutions covered education expenses, followed by 55% held by non-governmental cultural organizations. Almost equal number of NGOs and arts organizations covers costs of further professional education.

Table 2. Covering education fees for employees and associates

	YES (%)	NO (%)
NGOs	55%	45%
ARTISTIC ASSOCIATIONS	56%	44%
PUBLIC CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS	77%	23%

In the area of investment in education for employees and associates through the self-organized educational programmes, data received from the survey also indicates that non-governmental cultural organizations and arts organizations have a greater share in creating and implementing educational programmes for their employees and associates. When comparing the information on the educational programmes devised by the cultural institutions, it becomes evident that most institutions do not create and implement educational programmes for their employees and associates while the difference in these ratios is lesser in comparing arts organizations and NGO's within their category.

Further on, cultural workers employed at NGOs have more general education programmes targeted towards administrative, financial and organizational stability and development (for example, accounting for non-profit organizations, project management, public relations, cultural management, volunteer management, EU

²⁰³ More information about the Program is available on <http://devoscroatia.org/> (18/09/2015).

²⁰⁴ The Document is available on <https://vlada.gov.hr/UserDocsImages/Program%20Vlade%202011-2015.pdf> (18/09/2015).

funding, fundraising, project writing and planning, organizational and financial management, human resources management, audience development etc.). Specialized education encompasses a wide domain of diverse contemporary artistic disciplines, methods and formats that are not represented in the formal education curricula (for example, hybrid audio-visual art, new media, media culture, live sound production, arts and urbanism, art in public space, arts and activism, etc.).

Table 3. Realization of educational programmes for employees and associates

	YES (%)	NO (%)
NGOs	58%	42%
ARTISTIC ASSOCIATIONS	67%	33%
PUBLIC CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS	23%	77%

Arts organizations utilize general education programmes for developing the knowledge on arts management, sales and marketing, socially responsible management, strategic planning, writing project proposals etc. while their field of specialized education is also very diverse like the one of NGOs.

Educational programmes created and implemented by cultural institutions follows their binding legal status, hence the general education in institutions includes specific programmes on public tenders and competitions, legislation for public institutions, accounting for public institutions, marketing, EU funding and cultural management. Areas of specific education also correlate to the legal provision on cultural institutions hence includes education for archive materials, protection of cultural goods, restoration and conservation, cinematography etc., basically for areas of professional development that are prescribed by laws. In difference to non-governmental associations and arts organizations, cultural institutions have budget options for professional development embedded in the annual budgets of the institutions. Furthermore, by collective agreement made between the syndicates of cultural workers and national government, cultural institutions' employees have an option of taking a shorter paid leave of absence for maximum duration of 5 days per year or up to a whole year of unpaid leave of absence for purposes of further education and/or development of professional expertise.

Comparative analysis of the thematic areas covered by the educational programmes of all surveyed organizations (public cultural institutions, NGOs and arts organizations) indicates that the general education rests on the similar interest basis for all organizations, which can be partly explicated with steady decreases in available public funding for culture. The differences in the areas of specialized education primarily reflect the legal structure of respective cultural institutions as well as niche contemporary arts interests of non-governmental cultural organizations and arts organizations. Obtained information affirms progressive adaptability of the civil society sector in culture to the shifting cultural environment. Using wide-ranging general educational programmes, CSOs employees gain added professional value while by specialized educational programmes CSOs fill the gaps of the formal educational system. Insight into areas of education in cultural institutions reiterates institutional listlessness, i.e. fulfilling the requirements proposed by the legislative framework.

4. A new framework for building participation in the arts&culture

Cultural audience, i.e. access to culture and cultural participation are present worldwide as key themes in the professional and public discourse on cultural development. In order to set up and explain the development of culture in contemporary world cultural policy is using the issues such as the culture of availability, the ways of artistic immediate and long-range approach to environment, the role of audience in the production of cultural

and artistic practices, public participation criteria, etc. Of course, trying to find the evidence for an adequate argument that could answer these questions, we must take into account the fast changes happening in the society and all five stages of culture cycles (creation, production, dissemination, exhibition / reception / transmission and consumption/participation). System of cultural stratification is increasingly characterized by eradication of elitist cultural audience, i.e. cultural connoisseurs and increasing number of cultural omnivores. The term “cultural omnivore”, coined by American sociologist Peterson (1992), defined audience which represented people of higher social status who participate, contrary to elite taste, in various artistic and cultural forms and genres, from opera and high arts to punk and sitcom (Baumann 2011; Bell & Oakley 2015). However, the concept of cultural omnivores is still being linked to the population of developed countries and represents the shift from snobbish exclusion to emerging values of tolerance. (Warde, Wright, & Gayo – Cal, 2007).

The increasing popularity of digital media and its complex impact on society, as well as rapid proliferation of cultural and creative industries, have changed the position of culture in our everyday life – it is not any more part of the leisure time than integral part of life. As Italian professor of cultural economics Pier Luigi Sacco²⁰⁵ stressed, culture became a platform for mass participation in creation of creative contents thanks to semi-professional tools that are available to anyone. The meaning of cultural participation no longer signifies the practice of counting number of tickets sold and range of the audience profiling and stratification. The contemporary notion of cultural participation is not a static numeric concept but a dynamic process through which the audience actively participates in artistic creation. Citizens today are looking for more direct influence on the decision-making processes in the management of public resources in culture - voting in political elections every four years is not a sufficient mechanism for affirmation of democratic cultural rights of citizens. The audience is no longer satisfied by the offered cultural content. Citizens are much more active and demanding, they participate in creation of arts and culture through various methods, such as public consultation, systematic education and cooperation with the operators of the cultural sector, participatory management, etc. Therefore, in the context of audience development and cultural participation, the cultural policy faces significant structural and reform challenges. Influenced by globalization and creative industries the cultural participation becomes cultural consumption, i.e. indicator for various forms of the functional purposes of arts and culture. Consequently, the new type of boundaries are yet to be overcome in the field of cultural rights and access to culture, from the right to creativity which would not be measured by commercial criteria to the right to resources, such as space, knowledge, etc. – “If you don't have access, you are the object of culture rather than the subject of culture.” (O'Toole 2006 in UNESCO, 2012:10). Access to culture and cultural participation can not be reduced to issues of supply and demand, so the programmes for audience development become crucial for creating demand and interest for arts and culture. Since the gap between the representation of cultural policy and its reasons of existence, and real changes in the cultural and social field is wider than ever, the growing importance of cultural education is placed in the core of planning and functioning of cultural field. The education allows for the relationship between supply and demand not to be reduced to satisfaction of audience's needs, but for it to incite the process of transferring knowledge and development of cognitive skills for understanding and distinguishing the artistic and cultural practices. Thus the education in culture is closely linked to the sustainability of the cultural sector, especially cultural organizations.

Expenditure on culture in the Republic of Croatia over the last 25 years has not reached the levels of the 1980s. It can be explained by structural problems of the Croatian economy, as well as greater availability of cultural goods and services due to information and communication tools. Data of Croatian Bureau of Statistics show that the personal consumption for *Recreation and culture* in 2011 amounted to 5.3% of

²⁰⁵ Report from the lecture *Future of culture is mass-participation in creation of creative content* which held by professor Pier Luigi Sacco is available on: <http://www.min-kulture.hr/novost/default.aspx?id=9696> (19/09/2015).

overall household spending, while an overview of the years indicates a continued decline in personal consumption of culture. Other data on access to culture, and the participation of citizens in cultural life is almost nonexistent. Public cultural institutions, as well as the civil or profit sector, rarely engage in the research and analysis of the audience, primarily because they do not have financial resources for researching. The data on participation primarily can be read from the number of tickets sold, since “many stakeholders analyze their available data (for example on the entrance to the museums, theatres and such) that they collect on a regular basis due to their obligations towards the Croatian Bureau of Statistics and similar.” (IRMO, 2015: 40). The level of political relevance of access to culture as a concept does not appear anywhere explicitly even though the analysis of the available political programmes shows that access to culture is implicitly recognized as a fundamental democratic principle of cultural policy. During the last 15 years, it has not been possible to detect the differences in the approach of national authorities to the term access to culture and this highlights the problem of the current system in culture, its internal inefficiencies and lack of reforms in culture. In the context of reforms undertaken in the past fifteen years, we can observe the role of civil society organizations in culture as key actors in the area of access to culture due to their advocacy for introduction and promotion of the principles of equality, solidarity and free participation in cultural policy (IRMO, 2014: 11).

Croatian cultural policy does not deal explicitly with audience development or access to culture, but it is focused on the financing and maintenance of the public needs in culture. Although the Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Culture for the period 2014-2016 as its first strategic objective sets strengthening participation in the overall cultural life and promotion of cultural production, distribution and participation, in the table of outcomes of the development of infrastructure and participation in the cultural life highlights “the stable investment support to cultural institutions at the local level” (Ministry of Culture, 2011:12). This approach to cultural policy is based on the previous socialist system and it uses traditional instruments in the promotion of the term of access to culture and cultural participation - through the provision of infrastructure maintenance of public cultural institutions and subsidizing of cultural production in order to secure lower price of cultural services and goods but omitting the clear strategy on communicating the subsidized cultural content with the public. Such approach to culture has a direct impact on cultural education, so the Ministry of Culture's Strategic Plan sporadically highlights the development of educational programmes as tools for the improvement of capacity building of cultural organizations as well as for the development of active participation of individuals and groups in the cultural life.²⁰⁶

Despite the fact that cultural education is not explicitly asserted in the strategic plan of the Croatian Ministry of Culture, educational practices are defined as one of the priorities in four out of eight Cultural Councils²⁰⁷ list of criteria (Cultural Council for Music and Performing arts, Cultural Council for Visual Arts, Cultural Council for Cultural Amateurism, Cultural Council of Innovative Artistic and Cultural Practices), as various educational formats (seminars, workshops, courses, etc.). The Council for Innovative Artistic and Cultural Practices stands out as the only Cultural Council that explicitly mentions innovation and improvement of audience development methods in order to develop relationships with the public and citizens participation in the creative process. Considering that the civil society organizations are predominant producers of innovative artistic and culture practices, the fact that the Council for Innovative Artistic and Cultural Practices supports audience development can be directly correlated with the role of the civil sector in culture in Croatia and the policy advancement that has been happening as a result of its committed advocacy work and

²⁰⁶ The specific goal pertaining to the development of independent (non-institutional) scene states support to “educational and mediation programmes/projects, seminars, workshops, lectures, debates and so on” (Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, 2011:15).

²⁰⁷ Cultural councils for specific areas of arts and culture creation have been founded within the Ministry of Culture in 2001 based on the Law on Cultural Councils. Their task is to suggest goals of cultural policies and the measures for their implementation and to suggest programmes to be financially supported from the state budget.

cooperation with the international and intersectoral partners.

Table 4. Investment in educational programmes for public

	YES (%)	NO (%)
NGOs	79%	21%
ARTISTIC ASSOCIATIONS	65%	35%
PUBLIC CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS	67%	33%

Despite the fact that the concept of access to culture is not deeply developed in the framework of cultural policy, there is some financial support for the implementation of various educational programmes in culture for different groups of citizens. According to the data collected during this research, all groups of respondents (public cultural institutions, non-governmental cultural organizations and arts organizations) organize a variety of cultural educational programmes for public. The vast majority of respondents (74 %) develops and implements cultural educational programmes for the public, which implies a positive trend in relation between cultural operators and audience. According to the organizational status of respondents, the highest percentage of cultural educational programs for the public belongs to non-governmental sector. The obtained data suggests that the most of educational programmes for the public which are available free of charge is secured by non-governmental cultural organizations (81%), followed by arts organizations (64%) and public cultural institutions (50%).

Table 5. Percentage of educational programmes for public which are available free of charge

	YES (%)	NO (%)
NGOs	81%	19%
ARTISTIC ASSOCIATIONS	64%	36%
PUBLIC CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS	50%	50%

The problem of cultural participation and access to culture in Croatia is caused by the lack of cooperation and coordination between the fields of culture and education. By ensuring greater presence of culture in the education system, participation in cultural activities can increase. The necessity of education of existing and new audiences is illustrated by an example of intergovernmental cooperation between the Republic of France and the Croatian Ministry of Culture that started in 2000 through implementation of the educational programme *The seminar Malraux - Developing a relationship with the audience in the performing arts in the French and Croatian practice*.²⁰⁸ The audience development was also represented in the intensive educational programme organized in 2012 by the Croatian Institute for Movement and Dance in collaboration with the British Council. The workshop dealt with the challenges that faced organizations during the process of attracting and establishing relations with the audience.²⁰⁹ Probably in response to the identified problems in the field of education in culture, which detects *the Croatian Government Programme for the mandate 2011 - 2015*, the Ministry of Culture in cooperation with the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports in 2013 initiated the project *Backpack (full) of culture* in the register of education for youth. This project was conceived as an “additional support programme for curricula in kindergartens, primary and secondary

²⁰⁸ The seminar was held four times in Croatia - first time it accentuated financing, legislation and protection of film heritage, the second edition was held with the topic of relations between museums and tourism and youth, the third one dealt with festivals i.e. marketing and organization, partnership and the influence festivals have on the local community, while the fourth one dealt with questions of audience relations development in the performing arts based on Croatian and French practices. More information is available on: <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=11352> (19/09/2015).

²⁰⁹ More information is available on: <http://www.plesnicentar.info/hr/edukacija/15-radionice/odrzane-radionice/349-razvoj-publike-dvodnevna-radionica-za-predstavnike-umjetnickih-organizacija> (19/09/2015).

schools, related to arts and culture, and conducted by artists - writers, visual and performing artists, musicians and dance artists".²¹⁰ The project was inspired by the European examples of similar programmes. Finally, it is necessary to mention initiatives and plan of the local cultural development resulting from the processes of candidacy of Croatian cities for the European Capital of Culture in 2020.²¹¹ In line with the competition requirements, competing cities had to, among other things, explain the contribution to long-term strategy of local cultural development of their bid, along with audience development and outreach. As a positive effect of the competition, nine Croatian cities now have in place a strategy of local cultural development that had not been (in some cities not even considered) enacted before the candidacy process. Like this, European interests and priorities of cultural development (such as education and knowledge transfer, audience development, etc.) have been explicitly introduced in Croatian strategies on local cultural development. Although the competition is still in progress,²¹² regardless of its final result, the project of the European Capital of Culture caused the adoption of strategic plans which are, in the absence of a clearly articulated cultural policy at both national and local levels, becoming key documents that set the long-term objectives and guidelines of the cultural development. Therefore, the strategy of cultural development of Croatian cities can be very useful in order to encourage the provision of educational opportunities for cultural operators and artists, and for the cultural education of audience.

Concluding reflections

Education and culture are so fundamentally intertwined that cultural and educational policies should be, to a degree, synonymous. Formal and informal educational processes have a vital role in generating and shaping cultural values, cultural experiences and stimulating cultural activities from the earliest age to professional levels (Thorsby, 2010). Partnerships between educational and cultural institutions and organizations have a long standing tradition in a large number of European countries, but real effects and autonomy of such partnerships varies from one country to another and is determined by the provisions of public policies (UNESCO, 2006). Although creativity is ranked high on the priorities agenda of public policies across Europe, deficiency of committed support to the crucial role arts and culture education have in fostering and nurturing creativity is palpable while examples of synergies between education and culture in Croatia are sporadic. The effects of arts and cultural education on individual development and fulfillment of creative and innovative potentials has been recognized by European member states and is promoted in European Parliament's, European Commission's and Council of Europe's documents which position synergies between culture and education as priorities of European cultural development. The concentration of available arts and cultural education is the highest at the early age and then diminishes throughout the life presuming that once the modest seeds of arts education are planted, they will grow into full form of cultural consumers, i.e. cultural audiences (Bamford, 2007).

European Agenda for Culture (2010) asserts that the establishment of synergy between cultural and education depends on the strength of arts and cultural education as well as acknowledgment of the right to life-long learning in arts and culture. As a consequence, one of the main recommendations is fostering partnerships between cultural and educational organizations and institutions. Cultural sector practices offer innumerable opportunities for education, equally in formal, non-formal and informal variety. For that reason, policy document *Building Synergies between education and culture*²¹³ accentuates the need to overcome the

²¹⁰ More information about the project is available on <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=9877> (18/09/2015).

²¹¹ More information is available on: <http://www.min-kulture.hr/default.aspx?id=9390> (19/09/2015).

²¹² Four cities (Dubrovnik, Osijek, Pula and Rijeka) advanced to the second round of the competition, out of which one of the four cities shall be elected the European Capital of Culture 2020 in February 2016.

²¹³ Policy document is produced by Culture Action Europe1, Access to Culture2 i The European Civil Society Platform on Lifelong Learning (EUCIS-LLL) and it is available on: http://www.ne-mo.org/fileadmin/Dateien/public/statements_and_news/building_synergies.pdf (19/09/2015).

divide between cultural, educational strategies and public policies on European level with the aim of generating transversal skills that can be used for better employment, citizen engagement and individual satisfaction. Cultural engagement is underlined as beneficial for the community development as it strengthens civil engagement and active European citizenship based on affirmation of cultural diversities.

In the past few decades, creativity has been spilled over the global arena as a resource of endless potentialities, infiltrating public policies and discourse on contemporary economic discourse yet education as a *resource of all human resources* is marginalized in the register of arts and culture. Juxtaposing this situation to the civilizational reality of unpredictable present and insecure future, prefix of *priority* topped onto arts and cultural education can be understood as either declarative or manipulative.

Culture and education in Croatia are two areas of peripheral political and public interest, which is sustained with the levels of state budget's expenditure on these two domains. Both educational and cultural sectors are squeezed between reluctant state authorities that they depend on and market forces that offer somewhat dubious prospects for the levels of quality, accessibility and stability of both sectors. Faced with frequently and misleading labeling of culture and education as *spenders of the public budget*, public discourse on culture and education is very quiet and modest in providing strong arguments that affirm the value of culture and education as common goods rather than just as prospective market-driven services. Deep divides that define the cultural sector in Croatia on institutional and non-institutional culture are mirrored in segregation of the cultural audience and levels of accessibility to cultural activities. Many expectations are placed before the cultural sector – from overcoming social exclusion and inequality to raising cultural and creative competencies needed for the accomplishment of individual, social and economic benefit.

Last decade in the Croatian cultural sector has been marked by attempts to establish educational programmes for cultural sector, especially in the area of cultural management of cultural institutions. Former Croatian Minister of Culture, Andrea Zlatar comprised the situation: "corpus of theoretical knowledge required for managing cultural institutions encompasses field of theory of management and organizational science, sociology of culture, cultural policy and economy of culture all of which are areas that have not been included in the educational curricula or are dispersed through various university courses. Methodology, though, presupposes a model of continuous education, diverse learning methods (workshops, debates, consultations, study trips), and learning from experience and group trainings / in short, learning starts with doing. During the whole process, in three timely segments (at the beginning, in the middle and at the end), important place is given to evaluation mechanisms and auto-evaluation, which facilitate identification of the distinctive problems in functioning of each institution, and subsequently on its positioning in cultural and socio-political environment." (Zlatar, 2008: 14-15).

In Croatian political discourse on culture, real topics of cultural sector's viability (continuous access to new knowledge and learning, professional development and training, access to culture and cultural participation) are insufficiently, if at all, discussed, presented, analyzed and advocated. Hence, on the levels of cultural policy, the issue of cultural education must become explicit and affirmative of its positive tendencies for cultural development as evident from the findings of the research presented in this paper.

Research results show that cultural sector has been developing educational resources and capacities on its own, not due to but despite cultural policy incentives. By doing so, Croatian cultural sector has been adapting to the positive trends in European cultural development. Research thus indicates that there are preconditions for growth of cultural education programmes as well as organizational potentials for their implementation. Also underlined in the research is the need for statistical and analytical work in and on cultural sector in Croatia in order to perpetually question and improve cultural policy rationale and structure. By ensuring continuous support for development of cultural education platform with subsequent positive effects on levels of cultural participation and access to culture, Croatian cultural field stands a chance to attain stakeholders competent to assert existing and encourage new governance models in culture, or

cultural system in which equality will not only be a fine word and utopian idea but a standard trait of new public culture.

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City as a Site of Culture Display and a Place of Space Economy

Yuan, Vivian

Graduate Institute of Creative Industries, Shih Chien University, Taipei, Taiwan

Cultural Research Centre of Shenzhen Special Economic Zone, Shenzhen, China

vivianyy369@gmail.com

Abstract

With the non-organizational tendency of capitalist mode of production in the globalization era, the studies in humanities and social science have been universally experiencing a *Space Turn* (or geography turn). Meanwhile, the traditional industrial structure is continuously permeated by the arisen cultural economy, which made the economy of the post-industrial times more and more display a trait of culture, or an 'entertainment trait' in an extensive meaning. When these two tendencies mingled together, there appeared a new logic of space construction.

Taking Tokyo, the World City, as a case study, this paper is trying to analyze its main technical approaches in contemporary cultural landscape construction and its ecosystem of urban cultural landscapes, with the qualitative methodology of textual analysis and field research from the perspective of political economy and sociology of space. With this analysis, thus I proposed a new metaphor - *city as a site of culture display* to challenge and modify Lewis Mumford's famous metaphor - *city is the container of culture*.

Keywords: city; culture display; space economy; Tokyo

Introduction

Lewis Mumford, the great American social philosopher, has given a famous metaphor: "the city acts as a magnet and a container" in his book *The City in History*, published in 1961. In this double metaphor, 'magnet' means the spiritual aggregation in the city while *container* refers to the material boundary of the city construction. Combining these two images of the city, Lewis extended this double metaphor into the broadly well-known remark: "The city is the container of culture." We thus conclude that *container* is a keyword in Lewis's urban theory. And gradually it has been accepted as a basic framework for city research in a long period of time. But today while applying this container metaphor in the urban research, we need to be aware of the changing historical and social context around Lewis's book *The City in History*. 'Magnet and Container', the double metaphor, is a classical dualistic thinking, which has been extensively challenged in recently reflective humanistic and social researches with a new transformation under the mode of global capitalist production. In this new production mode often generalized as *globalization* and *late capitalism* (Jameson, 1991), with the currency, production capital, and goods freely flowing across national boundaries, the former highly-organized capitalist production became more and more *non-organized* (Lash & Urry, 1994). Zygmunt Bauman (2000) created the concept of *Liquid Modernity* to describe the new ideology embodied in this new production mode, which should be taken as a very important development in post-modernity theories. Against this background, our cognition about the most competitive model city in this global age should be deepened beyond the Lewis's *container* concept and new conceptions of urban development practice and theory are necessary. This paper will take Tokyo, the most renowned world city of Asia, as a case, by applying the methodology of political economic analysis in space production, to investigate how the systematic technical approaches are integrated with *culture* to improve global competition power of the most attractive cities in this 'non-organized' capitalist production age.

1. Tokyo: the city as a site of cultural display and the space economy

In her *The Warhol Economy: How Fashion, Art, and Music Drive New York City*, Elizabeth Currid (2008) discusses the successful experience of New York in cultural economy developing, which benefited much from the mature social network construction, the creative class's interaction in night clubs, the Star's word-of-mouth marketing of cultural products, etc. Although the experience of New York is inspiring and precious, it's not easy to be applied to other cities. The prosperity of New York's cultural economy is relying much on the identity of New York as the world financial heart and as the core city in culture exportation of the United States. The creative network of New York is formed historically under the special political and economic background. Its cultural economy centered on the cultural content production, taking advantage of its globally-accepted language, and its prosperity exactly embodied the cultural preeminence of a cultural empire.

Compared with New York, the Asian world city, Tokyo, has explored a different mode in culture economy development, whose strategy is focusing on the conscious construction of urban cultural spectacle and space. In the urban space reconstruction and urban development of Tokyo in the last decade, 'culture' has been widely used as a weapon and significant capital for urban competition.

The urban space has never been carried with so many cultural symbols and implications before and the connotation of culture has never been represented as so superficial, visual, and spatial as nowadays. The ubiquitous cultural goods, symbols, and milieu turn the public spaces and sites of city into the display sites of culture with various technical approaches. And the visualization, aestheticization, and culturalization of space not only put on more charisma to the city as the destination of tourism, but also create a special mode for developing culture economy from special space construction in this global capitalism age. This mode is very different from New York's and is not hard to copy, but it is in Tokyo, the complicated and charming world city, that the culture space mode had been displayed most adequately and systematically. A discussion of four major approaches toward revitalizing the city with culture in the following section will help us map out a clear route to such a mode.

2. The four representative technical approaches in cultural space production

Approach 1. Urban regeneration: the cultural display in commercial spectacles

Case study: Roppongi Hills

The construction of Roppongi Hills is a classical urban regeneration project of Tokyo. The book entitled *Tokyo: the Future Map of Capital Circle*, publicizes Roppongi Hills' developing plan, advocating that its purpose was to establish a mixed type of urban space, which consists of offices, residences, tourist destinations, and leisure sites. After the project was finished, Roppongi Hills has been seen as a great model of urban regeneration by the world mainstream media.

Roppongi district is located in the centre of Tokyo. Besides the military facilities, where American armies were stationed after the Second World War, the Roppongi neighborhood was crowded with American embassy and 40 other countries' embassies and 10 international schools. So gradually a lot of shops and restaurants opened their business there, which turned the Roppongi into a prosperous district full of bars and nightclubs. But since 1980, the public security of Roppongi district has been increasingly degenerating and some of its traffic intersections have corrupted into a main activity venue of gangsters.

The president of Mori Building Co., Ltd Minoru Mori made a proposal in 1998 to revitalize Tokyo, for the purpose of enhancing Tokyo's competitiveness among international cities. The distinctiveness of the proposal was to suggest vertical direction of urban development in place of prevailing horizontal extension of space expanding in the reconstruction of Tokyo urban space. Its aim was to leave more room for green areas and residences in the city and then more people could live in the center of city and shorten their commuting time from the suburb residences to downtown offices.

Roppongi Hills was thus re-named as Artelligent city, combining the two key words of Art and Intelligent, which clearly positioned its image and identity as “a city mixed with art and intelligence”. The developer Mori Building declared in its developing guide that this urban reconstruction was aimed at “a perfect urban space blended with art and entertainment”. As a “giant comprehensive culture city”, it’s not only a shopping mall, but also the newest culture center of Tokyo, where people could freely and conveniently plunge themselves into culture, art, music, and movies.

In order to fulfill this grand object, the developer has established special cultural sites, like Mori Art Museum, Membership Library, Roppongi Hills Arena, etc. Based on these, it also invited many renowned designers and artists to design street furniture or public artworks with unique taste, which were placed in the public space around Roppongi Hills neighborhood to further increase its competitiveness with likely commercial real estate projects. Among those art works, the most well-known piece is its representative cultural landmark – a giant steel sculpture of spider, *Maman*, created by a very famous French artists Louise Bourgeois. The replica versions of this art piece are also collected by several top-ranking museums and galleries, including the Bilbao Guggenheim Museum of Spain, the Tate Gallery of Modern Art of Britain, Jardin des Tuileries in Paris, State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg of Russia, Leeum Samsung Museum of Art in Seoul, Korea, and The National Gallery of Canada. As these copy pieces are also put at their gates, *Maman* further symbolizes the top-ranking identity of Tokyo as a culture capital. The developer was very wise to take advantage of the symbolic meaning of the spider sculpture to implicitly identify Mori Art Museum in Roppongi Hills as the high-class gallery in the world. And meanwhile, the whole project also successfully materialized Roppongi Hills’s original self-position as the world famous culture-driven regeneration project.

Besides the above-mentioned cultural facilities of gallery, library, art works, and street furniture, Roppongi Hills is also highly praised with its creative green space and courtyard design. For example, on the roof garden of the Roppongi complex building, there are rice fields and vegetable beds; in the Roppongi cherry blossom park, there are giant robot recreation facilities; and its famous Maori courtyard is copied from the garden design in Maori Domain ruins, with striking features of classical Japanese gardens.

Since it was opened in 2003, Roppongi Hills has been the very popular destination for international tourists, of whom most focused their attention on the elaborate design of cultural landscapes in such a huge commercial complex building. And actually it is these cultural facilities and cultural landscapes that have established the Roppongi Hills as a model in “urban reconstruction with culture”.

In the recent years, such kind of commercial culture complex projects has become a mainstream in urban regeneration and reconstruction around the world. The developers adequately exploit the cultural space to enhance corporation’s brand value and the real estate price, but the local people who used to live around had to move away due to the sharp rise of rents.

Approach 2: Under the name of Master: the constructed culture spectacle

Case Study: Daikanyama T-site

With the recent years’ emphasis on creative economy, the design department was more and more seen as an independent industry rather than an accessory service to manufacture industries. Various kinds of design, like fashion design, industrial design, graphic design, and architectural design play more and more important roles in contemporary urban lives. From the perspective of a city, the architectural design is the first impression to a tourist and is closely related to urban planning, economic development, and representation of city civilization. So a unique architecture landmark designed by celebrated star architects is the best way to promote a city and at the same time itself will also become the hot destination for contemporary tourists as a fashionable culture spectacle. When this landmark construction trend is combined with culture, it’s easy to see cultural spectacles or cultural parks established in the city as a kind of technical means in urban space construction.

The Daikanyama T-site is a cultural park centered on Tsutaya Books, which is a very special architecture formed by three two-floor buildings connected with corridors in the air. This architecture is designed as the main part of Tsutaya visual identity system by international renowned Japanese architect master Kenyahara. Kenyahara's design has always been with the traditional culture taste and local visual elements. In this case, he uses the first letter T of Tsutaya as the basic element to intertexture and format the external wall of the three buildings, consistent with his design concept in the usage of traditional hand-knitted image, which makes the modern architecture embody a strong taste of traditional culture. Added with the function of the architecture as a bookstore, the whole site was then in a true sense of a representative cultural spectacle. Actually, the Tsutaya bookstore in Daikanyama T-site has been selected as one of the 20 most beautiful bookstores in the world by an American media. Around the famous book store and its representative main architecture, this cultural park also accommodates many other elaborated leisure places, like coffee bars, western-style restaurants, boutiques, and even a dog garden and a huge iron sculpture of dog as the symbolic gate of the park, making this cultural spectacle full of distinctive leisure and creative milieu.

Different from many other creative districts pushed by government or urban planning, the Daikanyama T-site did not intentionally emphasize its identity as a cultural park, but practically created a relaxed, comfortable and elegant environment to illustrate the core values of Tsutaya bookstore brand, which lie in the *motto*: "Giving you the sense of home". So it is easy to understand that Daikanyama T-site is not an image project financed by the government, it should be the business runner's technical approach in developing cultural space economy.

Obviously, when most of the entity bookstores around the world have been in the struggle for existence under the strong impacts of e-commerce and e-book, how can Japanese Tsutaya bookstore afford the cost of such great cultural spectacle? From the perspective of profit making, we can easily find that the business model in selling books, cups of coffee, or dresses cannot make the balance of financial revenue and expenditure in such an expensive golden district of Tokyo. In addition, given the fact that the main building designed as piece of artwork is only a two-floor structure, the operator of the cultural park has no possibility in making great money with rents.

To explain the logic of space economy in this case, we should have more knowledge about Tsutaya's business. Tsutaya Books was established in Osaka in 1983. Its major business has been selling books and renting DVDs or CDs. With last 30 years' development, Tsutaya has opened 1400 branch stores all around Japan and owned huge amount of memberships. T-card, the original membership card used for renting DVDs or CDs has also evolved into a credit card with skillfully designed financial function. As a financial card, T-card has extensive cooperations with 67,031²¹⁴ shops all over Japan. Using T-card to pay the bill in these shops could accumulate points—T-Point. When the points amount to a certain number, they can be used as real money to consume again in these cooperated shops. Up to now, about a third of the Japanese people keeps T-cards and frequently uses T-points in their daily life.

But it is not the whole story about T-card business model. Tsutaya Books is operated by Culture Convenience Club, Co., LTD (CCC), which is also exploring the data-base marketing business with the huge data accumulated from T-card owners' usage. The big-data department of the group company analyzes the consuming behaviors of T-card owners with these data and then, with the analysis results, it could supply the cooperating shops with paid service of consuming information and give them corresponding advice to help the shops improve their sale strategy. With 67,031 shops in collaboration, CCC's data-base marketing business could be seen as a very huge part in the whole business of the group company.

So if the main business of Tsutaya Books is from its data-base marketing, then is it necessary to construct the cultural spectacle of Daikanyama T-site? I think the answer should be yes. In CCC official website, they

²¹⁴ From CCC official network: <http://www.ccc.co.jp/cn/showcase/index.html?cat=plat>

define themselves as “The Cultural Infrastructure Company,” and position their business domain as “lifestyle navigator.” So the cultural spectacle constructed in urban space is the real site to illustrate their corporation’s concept, philosophy, and image. From the marketing perspective, the cultural spectacle itself is the best advertisement for the corporation’s brand. Added with the cultural capital of Kenyahara and the elaborated space design, Daikanyama T-site has become a very popular destination for cultural tourists, and moreover, a great symbol for Tsutaya Books brand.

Approach 3: The industrial sites: the visitability and consumability of “the historical scene”

Case study: Kanda manseibashi station

Since 1980, there has gradually appeared a new trend in global sightseeing industry, which can be labeled as “the Cultural Heritage Fever.” According to statistics, the tourists for cultural heritage have arisen 100% from 1970 to 1991 in Europe (Richards, 1996). The explosive growth in the cultural heritage tourists inspired great interests in scholars to do many relevant studies. Samuel once described the contemporary society as “an expansive historical culture” (Samuel, 1994), while the “history” walked out of the limited domain as a research object for elite researchers, unprecedentedly becoming a kind of mass activity. And when the heritage fever is united with the issue of urban regeneration, there appears a distinctive urban spectacle—the revitalized historical heritages.

Among these revitalized historical heritages, the industrial heritages possess more of the ambiguity nature. The so-called industrial historical heritages refer to those historical architectures or sites once used for industrial production. With the development of globalization, those heavy-pollution and high resource consuming manufacture industries have been moved out to the developing countries, which could allow lower costs in human resources and land rents. During this shifting process, the industrial sites and architectures lost their original functions, and then gradually became hollowing-out or obsolescent. Those abandoned industrial sites are usually located in the central district of a city in the industrial age for their production or transportation function and their space construction often held some special forms or styles to fulfill those specific functions, which reflect the features of the times. Hence under the background of heritage fever and urban regeneration, these obsolete industrial heritages suddenly acquired some kind of precious values as “historical relics” or “cultural heritage.” Accordingly, how to properly develop and revitalize these spaces is more like a representation of a city’s soft power in exploiting symbolic capital.

The Kanda manseibashi station of Tokyo was first put to use in 1912 and then had been abandoned for many years. It was one of the most historic railway stations in Japan and once as prosperous as present Ginza. But after experiencing the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923 and being abandoned in 1943 for the sharp decline of passengers, it had been obsolescent for about 5 years. From 1948 to 2006, it was operated as a Transport Museum for about 60 years. Then in 2013, with the Kanda regional revitalization projects, it was reconstructed as a complex commercial space - “mAAch ecute”. The design work was finished by MIKAN Architecture Studio and successfully won “Best 100” title given by “Good Design Award”, which added it with more value of visibility to cultural tourists.

The original red brick external wall of the station viaduct arch has been preserved and the internal space of the archway was turned into commercial and leisure space, in which the business are including creative groceries, vintage daily use goods, small pieces of finely designed wooden furniture and of course, coffee bar. Along the north of this long tube shaped historic architecture is the Kanda River of Tokyo. When you sit by the window of the coffee bar, the clear and pleasant water area is exactly in your vision, which is very rare and precious in the center of a city. Normally, you can hardly resist the desire to sit down and order something to drink for enjoying the relaxed scenery.

Even though the internal space has been changed into a commercial consuming space, it did not give up its former identities as historical rubbish. To the contrary, the project operator was particularly good at taking

advantage of its historical identity as a kind of valuable cultural capital. Inside the cylinder space, apart from commercial space, there still kept a small library district for displaying the miniature of the historic scene of Manseibashi station. When tourists or customers are observing the historic streets, buildings, people, and station with the miniature, they are right standing inside revitalized present Manseibashi station. The time and space crisscross experience triggered by the cultural display is exactly an important technique developed by experiencing economy.

There are several other evidences to prove the emphasis on cultural space design as a technique catering to tourists' nostalgia psychology. Apart from the miniature of historical street in the internal commercial space, the real historic stairs inside the Manseibashi station closed nearly for 70 years has been opened again to tourists with its repaired original condition. On the south of the mAAch is a small-sized public square, even in which stand several displaying facilities. On these independently standing facilities, there are inlaid historic pictures and literature to explain the history of changes of Manseibashi station. The familiar displaying technique largely used in museums and galleries, right now has went out of the roofed room and extended itself into the outside street of the city, implying that under the cultural heritage fever, the whole city is actively regenerating itself as a huge displaying site for culture.

Approach 4: the fluid of cultural display in city: the extension of Museums

Case study: Art Golden Triangle

Museums are the classical sites for cultural display in traditional meaning. The initial origin of them was the cabinet of curiosities privately owned by emperors and aristocrats, which were usually used to show the superiority of their identity and status. After the 19th century, the public museum began to emerge. But the function of museum in the 19th century had been seen as the display of an empire's power and civilization in some scholars' research (Dicks, 2003).

For the reason of close relation between museum and nation's symbolical power, in a long time, the national museums had been sponsored by national finance, which means traditionally this kind of culture space was not necessarily productive in economy. But in nowadays, when democracy and multicultural identification gradually became common sense, the museums are confronted with more and more pressure of serving for market. With the budget from national finance cut down year by year, the operators of museums have to seriously consider how to make money from market to supplement the operation costs.

In order to enlarge the space value, it would be a logical choice to try best to attract more people to enter into the museum gates. Specifically speaking, there are generally three approaches. First, it is to plan a "blockbuster" exhibition to cause a sensation, and then there will always be a queue at the ticket office; second, it is to set up restaurants, coffee bars, souvenir shops, and even experiencing space in museums and galleries to make the original pure display space diversified, then to attract more consumption in these traditional cultural sites; third, it is somewhat of a reverse operation, which is to set up museum exhibition in non-traditional display space, for example, in shopping mall or office buildings or even outside space. The supervisor of London Museum even suggested "to extend the exhibition out to London railway station, offices, schools and Royal Opera House—the problem is only on how audacious you are" (Dicks, 2003).

In the world city Tokyo, museums have already become a very significant part of the city's culture display ecology. The world famous *Art Golden Triangle* in downtown Tokyo consists of The National Art Center, Suntory Museum of Art in Tokyo Midtown and Mori Art Museum in Roppongi Hills. The *Art Golden Triangle* art sites are very close to each other. They not only promote the artistic atmosphere of the district but also become the desired destination for global cultural tourists.

Mitsubishi Art Museum created and operated by Mitsubishi Corporation, 21_21 Design Sight designed by Issey Miyake around Tokyo Midtown and The Tokyo University Museum in KITTE shopping mall, etc--all of these museums mixed in the commercial space rightly illustrate the mutual beneficial relationships between

culture display and commerce.

Added with the public artworks exhibited in the public areas, such as in Tokyo Midtown, in Roppongi Hills, in Marunouchi Street, the whole city has turned itself as a huge site for cultural display.

Conclusion

In the era of globalization, the re-division of labor for capitalist production within the whole world made the city no more a closed container as Lewis Mumford defined at time of the first half of 20th century. The fluidity of global production and consumption made the former boundary of a 'container' unconsciously smashed. On the one hand, this situation led to a homogenization phenomenon in modern city development, while on the other it encouraged *culture* to *evolve* as an important capital to distinguish and revitalize a city in the global competition.

This paper amply and specifically analyzed four major approaches of tapping economic values from urban cultural space by applying four corresponding case studies in world city Tokyo. With the analysis as evidence, it proposed a new metaphor of city—"city as a site of culture display", to generalize current urban planning trends, which are strongly featured by a series of technical approaches in developing cultural space economy.

However, as Henry Lefebvre points out in his groundbreaking research on space, the shift from the production in space to the production of space is stimulated from the natural growth of the productivity and from the knowledge's direct involvement into the material production (Lefebvre, 1979). In nowadays' highly developed city, there is no space that does not reflect the social relationship behind it. As Lefebvre says, the space is not only supported by the social relationship, but also developed on the process of producing social relations and being produced by social relations (Lefebvre, 1979). Lefebvre's critical thoughts provide us another perspective to observe these technical economic exploiting from urban cultural space. In this process, there must be emerging wholly new social relationships, social interactions, social contradictions and social subjects.

All of these topics are very crucial in the transforming urban planning and cultural policies. Nonetheless, for the limit of length, this paper may not have the ability to analyze each case from this critical perspective adequately. The indiscernible relations between global flourishing cultural tourism and urban space and signs economies deserve more specific and systematic observation, which I think, would be left to further research in the new future.

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Professional Utopianism and Administrative Naiveté. Uncertainty and Archaeology in the Shipwrecks of Pisa (1998-20??)

Zan, Luca

University of Bologna, Department of Management,
Bologna, Italy
luca.zan@unibo.it

Shoup, Daniel David

Independent Scholar
Oakland, CA 94610 USA
daniel.shoup@gmail.com

Abstract

Between 1998 and 2000 archaeologists discovered nine well-preserved Roman shipwrecks at San Rossore, Pisa, 500m from the leaning tower. Shortly afterward a grand vision for a *museum with three vertices* was articulated: a public excavation area plus a conservation laboratory and museum of Mediterranean navigation, to be constructed in a underused 16th century barracks nearby. But despite urgent conservation needs, neither the public excavation nor the laboratory opened until 2005, while the museum remained unfinished in 2015. Irregular and unpredictable budgets caused organizational chaos, while the inclusion of the project in the City of Pisa's urban redevelopment efforts added complexity and delays. Moreover, the grand vision of three interconnected institutions became an obstacle in itself: in the absence of an administrative culture that was able to bring projects *down to earth*, the universalist and utopian tendencies of professional discourse fostered a tendency to choose the *best* project over the most feasible one, adding cost, risk, and uncertainty to an already challenging project. Based on extensive archival research, our paper reconstructs the 15-year history of the project and explores the emergent management issues at this unique site, including the role of professional optimism, bureaucratic myopia, urban planning, and uncertainty.

Keywords: salvage archaeology; heritage management; Pisa; professionals; managing uncertainty

Introduction

This paper examines the organizational dynamics that emerged from the discovery of a group of well-preserved Roman shipwrecks in Pisa, Italy. In December 1998, archaeologists discovered the first of 16 shipwrecks during construction of a new directional center by the Italian State Railways at San Rossore, 1 km north of the center of Pisa. Known as the *Navi di Pisa (ships of Pisa)*, the shipwrecks are globally important finds, but also highly fragile, required costly conservation interventions and access to extensive technical expertise. The excavation, conservation, and museification of the finds have now stretched over 17 years and represent an extremely complex example of organizational activity.

The discovery and its outcomes present numerous elements of interest for management scholars. It represents yet another example of the extension of economic and managerial discourse into other empirical contexts, in this case that of archaeology (and cultural heritage more generally). The field has been rarely examined in management research to date compared to sectors such as health care or education, but raises intriguing issues given the role played by strongly value-driven professional organizations that behave as "clans" (to quote Ouchi). This case in particular highlights how uncertainty is managed (and in some cases,

increased) by the behavior of professionals, allowing us to explore issues of professional utopianism, bureaucratic myopia, professional naiveté, and uncertainty (both that inherent to archaeology, and that produced by the institutional setting of the project). As often happens in unusual contexts dominated by professional logics, the management scholar is called to 'listen' to a dialogue among organizational logics that are quite distinct from those found in non-professional businesses or organizations.

Such situations also constitute ideal opportunities to apply phenomenon-driven approaches. Our sympathy for such an approach, affirmed by a decade of substantive interest in the cultural heritage sector, is not simply due to the fact that interest in arts, archaeology, or heritage by management scholars is so infrequent that much of our research is relatively *pioneering* (von Krogh *et al.*, 2012). Rather, our approach contains the idea that understanding professional processes and dynamics cannot be easily structured *a priori*, and requires an approach to research that is open, loosely-structured, and sympathetic to the logics, values, and professional discourses of *the natives*. In short, it has an ethnographic flavor, in which interesting research questions tend to emerge during field research, or even after its completion (Zan, 2013). We are frankly bored of totally predictable responses from journal referees that offer the banal critique that the paper contains mere "description" (as if reconstructing the meaning of events and complex processes was unnecessary and should be discounted), or exhibit the "so what" syndrome. Understanding, describing, and analyzing a situation is sufficiently *conceptual* for us, given our curiosity and care about the empirical situation being examined, quite apart from the possibility of wider generalizations and implications.

Finding results that are more of a contribution to the profession in question – beyond being important theoretical contributions for management scholars – often accompanies an action-research agenda (Pfeffer, 2009). In parallel we share a desire for civic engagement, rather than working toward the sole end of speeding up our career results within an isolated and totally self-referential academic community, where selecting research topics is strongly characterized by cynicism (publishing papers rapidly, in mainstream journals, without any substantive interest or involvement in any particular issue).

The paper is structured as follows. In section 1 we provide a rapid overview of our approach to research in the heritage sector, introducing essential elements for the non-expert reader such as the distinction between research (or 'on-purpose') archaeology, as opposed to rescue archaeology. In section 2 we proceed to an in-depth reconstruction of events at San Rossore from 1998 to the present through the identification of four distinct phases in our longitudinal analysis. In section 3 we attempt to analyze the case in terms of the relationship between professional utopianism, the myopia of Italian public administration in general, and the implications of this naive interaction for professionals. Conclusions follow.

1. Management research and archaeology: preliminary notes

As is often the case in phenomenon-driven research, our approach is to some extent eclectic. It is articulated through use diverse lenses that are useful for understanding the specificity of the phenomenon under investigation (Pettigrew, 1985). With respect to management debates in general, we are close to the literature on *strategy as process* (from Normann, 1977, onward), strategic change (Mintzberg 1978, 1994; Quinn 1980; Pettigrew 1987), and to research on elements of internal consistency in action and in processes of organizational becoming (with attention to processes but also to the notion of *fit* in itself: Venkatraman & Camillus 1984; Garlichs 2011).

Our perspective is non-positivist, open to interactions among subjects in which sense-making processes are crucial (Weick, 1976, 1977). We are sympathetic to a contextualist approach (March, 1978), and consider the literature on decision-making processes a crucial element for understanding organizational dynamics. Distinct from many management scholars, we pay close attention to accounting and management accounting processes, using a both processual and critical lens (Hopwood, 1987). Since we focus on arts and heritage, we must also take the literature on New Public Management seriously into account, given the

central role of public administration in this sector (at least in the large majority of the world that lies outside the Anglo-American common law tradition: Hood 1991, 1995; Gruening 2001).²¹⁵

Over the years, we have developed a specific approach to cultural organizations that could be defined as the *ethnography of administrations*. We try to reconstruct the tension between professional discourse (archaeology, history, curatorship, musicology etc., depending on the kind of arts organization) and the attention to client orientation and to resources that has emerged in the last 30 years at the international level as one of the fundamental aspects of NPM (Lusiani & Zan 2011; Hood & Dixon 2015). In each specific case, the trade-off among these three, partially conflictual, dimensions typically emerges as a dialog between the dimensions of effectiveness (professional and consumer-oriented) and efficiency. At a distance from the dominant legal or cultural economics perspectives, we are interested in the micro aspects of the heritage sector through a double lens: that of professional discourse and that of public sector change, in which professional organizations are embedded in most countries outside of the United States. With this in mind, this paper is the result of our field research, based on a series of interviews with staff at the Archaeological Superintendence of Tuscany (*Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana* or SBAT) during 2011-2014, and on a systematic reading of the historical archives of the Superintendence.²¹⁶

To assist in understanding the series of events analyzed in this paper, the reader should understand the important distinction made within the sector between different types of archaeological excavations and discoveries, which interest us for their organizational and administrative implications) (see Zan *et al.*, 2015 for a deeper discussion). On the one hand there is research, or “on purpose” research, where a specific organization develops an excavation or survey program in which the nature of the finds can confirm or disprove preselected hypotheses. Such projects are typically conducted by universities, foundations, or research institutes, who create a program and identify available resources. A successful project will lead to the discovery of artifacts or other types of archaeological information. This is the classic method of archaeological research, associated in the popular imagination with Indiana Jones and other orientalist adventurers.

However, in recent decades most global archaeology is *salvage archaeology*: excavation is conducted incidental to other projects such as housing developments, bridges, subways, dams, or other infrastructure. Here, archaeological surveys or excavations are conducted to verify that the proposed activity will not destroy important archaeological materials (the so-called “preventive archaeology”²¹⁷), or are initiated during a project, when archaeological deposits are found *during* construction and must be recovered before their destruction (“rescue archaeology”). Depending on the relevant laws and regulations, different actors conduct excavations: archaeologists in particular, but working for public agencies, construction companies, or private firms (predominantly the latter two in Anglo-American contexts such as the USA, UK, or Australia).

Salvage archaeology is particularly interesting, and not only for its huge and growing quantitative significance (perhaps 90% of all archaeological discoveries worldwide; a multi-billion dollar industry in the USA, UK, and France). From a qualitative view, the study of salvage archaeology is of interest due to the emergence of a direct conflict between time, resources, and the logic of site protection, and the construction of infrastructure related to economic development. It is perhaps unsurprising, therefore, that it is a highly regulated activity, and regulated in very different ways in different countries.

²¹⁵ Note that we are not particularly seduced by ‘current’ references to the literature, given the vagaries of fashion in the management field.

²¹⁶ We would like to thank the Superintendence for extensive access to the data archive, and Dr. Andrea Camilli for several in-depth interviews.

²¹⁷ A term borrowed from “preventive medicine” (Demoule, 2012), preventive archaeology requires archaeological evaluation prior to approval of development projects (Bozóki-Ernyeny, 2007). The semantic ambiguity between preventive, rescue, and salvage archaeology is notable: there is no one term in English that encompasses the full variety of possible interventions. Rather, the different terms reflect the peculiarities of local (national) administration and regulation.

Above all, it is the degree of uncertainty that distinguishes the two types of excavation. In an “on purpose” excavation the degree of uncertainty is high, in that it is unknown whether you will find what you are looking for; but at least you are looking for something specific on the base of previous studies and hypotheses. In preventive archaeology (or in rescue archaeology, as soon as a find emerges), there is no hypothesis to prove, nor do you know what it is you are looking for: the excavation attempts to understand “if” an archaeological deposit exists, and whether it deserves to be protected or recovered. In such cases uncertainty is an absolute, constitutive condition.

2. The Navi di Pisa: an extraordinary discovery within preventive archaeology

The shipwrecks of San Rossore were capsized or sunk by periodic tsunami-like flooding events on the river Serchio between the 5th century BC and 7th century AD; deposition of the ships in oxygen-free mud almost perfectly preserved the wood and other organic materials such as rope, cloth, and baskets (Table 1). The richness of the discovery led to a hyper-complex set of events and issues. From its beginnings as a routine preventive archaeology investigation, the project quickly transformed into an emergency excavation, then was institutionalized as a combination excavation, conservation, and museum project (though with serious inconsistencies and problems along the way).

Table1. The Navi di Pisa

Ship	Century	Type	Length	Notes
Hellenistic	4th-3rd BC	Cargo Ship		Little wood survived; more than 1000 cargo amphorae were found
A	1st-2nd AD	Cargo Ship	medium-large	Probably from southern France
B	1st-2nd AD	Oared transport ship		
C	1st AD	River boat	12m	The name 'Alkedo' was carved in the boat's prow
D	after 5th AD	River boat		
F	end 2nd AD	Boat	9m	
G	2nd AD	Boat	9m	
H	1st AD	Small boat		
I	?	River boat		
P	2nd AD	River boat		

Table 2. Excavating the ships

Date	Activity
1999-2001	Ships C and F excavated
2001	Ship F lifted, placed in tanks, taken to TESECO
2002	Ship C lifted, placed in tanks, taken to TESECO
2002-2004	Most of Ships A and H plus prows of Ships P and G excavated and lifted, taken to Teseco
Dec-05	CRLB opened, Ships C and F moved there in early 2006
2005-2006	Excavation and lifting of Ship D, identification of ship I
2009	Ship I had not yet been lifted; part 2 of Ship A and Ship B awaited lifting
2011	Public bids issued for lifting Ship B and second part of Ship A

The chronological reconstruction that follows identifies four phases of the project, and is based on interviews and archival research at the SBAT in Florence. Though the project is well-documented and well-published academically, no synoptic chronological description of the project had previously been prepared, making it difficult to reconstruct the timelines of basic activities – such as the discovery, excavation, and removal of ships – with any precision. Table 2, which presents our reconstruction of these activities for the nine largely

intact ships found at San Rossore, therefore lacks some basic detail. For us as researchers, this lack of an overall view of the story of the project, even among its protagonists, is a striking feature: why did telling the story of the project as a whole (as opposed to its individual parts) have to wait for outside researchers?

State of Emergency: Making Sense of the Discovery (1998-2000)

In October 1997, routine preventive archaeology investigations began for the proposed new directional center for the Italian State Railways (hereafter FS, for *Ferrovie dello Stato*) at San Rossore. The archaeological cooperative CoIDRA conducted the excavations under the supervision of the SBAT, with funding from FS, according to Italian law. A complex Roman-era archaeological deposit was located at -1.9m below ground surface in November 1997. At this point, an expert from the SBAT estimated that it would take four workers and 3-4 working months to complete the excavation. However, CoIDRA continued excavations in this Roman layer until almost the end of 1998 – eight months beyond the estimate, even before the discoveries that made the site famous. The initial period of excavation, then, seems to have been characterized by a lack of time pressure.

The *navi di Pisa* were therefore not discovered until almost a year of archaeological excavation had been finished. The first ship was discovered at 3 meters below ground surface on December 7, 1998. Two more ships were discovered in January, two more in March, and by August 1999 nine well-preserved ships and fragments of eight more had been discovered and partially uncovered. The nine intact ships are referred to as Ships A-I, in order of their discovery. It had become obvious to the archaeologists that the site was of major international importance for the understanding of Mediterranean maritime history.

The dramatic nature of the finds inspired then-Superintendent Bottini (the officer in charge of archaeology for Tuscany), to suggest a grand vision for the ships of San Rossore. A 'museum with three vertices' would include the excavation site, conservation laboratory, and museum, all open to the public. In his January 1999 letter updating the Ministry of Cultural Goods & Environment (hereafter the 'Ministry of Culture') about the discovery of the first three ships, Bottini suggested that the laboratory and museum be located in the *Arsenali Medicei* in Pisa, a 17th century cavalry stables on the north side of the Arno, about 500m from the famous leaning tower and 800m from the excavation site.

The preparation of a facility for the definitive recovery and consolidation of the ligneous artifacts... could be designed as an worksite open to the public with a complete series of educational aids that illustrate the discovery and the type of work that will be performed on each of the finds... It doesn't seem entirely out of place here to suggest the possible location of this 'worksite-exhibition' in the *Arsenali Medicei*... It should be underlined that this unexpected and extremely important discovery could be transformed into the central nucleus of a museum installation (which could be open to the public from the conservation phase onward) dedicated to the history of Pisa on the sea (Bottini, 1999a).

The three-fold museum, he underlined, could serve as an opportunity to leverage the discoveries to renovate an attractive, strategically located, but underused portion of Pisa's cultural heritage.

Examination of the early numbers and plans clearly reveals the uncertainty of the situation – which was unavoidable, since it was strictly linked to the nature of the discovery. An initial budget of €300,000 for excavation and €250,000 for conservation were sent by SBAT to the Ministry in January 1999, sums that did not include the cost directly covered by FS.²¹⁸ The proposed work had to be redefined when the Ministry only partially accepted the budget in February. Since the *Arsenali* structures themselves required restoration before they could serve as a conservation laboratory, a temporary solution for the laboratory was identified. An industrial warehouse 20km away in the village of Ospidaletto, was donated for one year by a local

²¹⁸ To make reading easier, we express all monetary values in Euro, though the currency was Italian Lira until 2001.

company called Teseco. This time period which corresponded to initial assumptions about the time required to lift the ships – though things would turn out differently, as we shall see below.

Also, an initial timeline was proposed in March 1999: the expectation was that the stratigraphic excavation of the first two or three ships would be finished between the end of 1999 and February 2000, the ships would be transferred to the Teseco building between May 1999 and December 2000, and finally transferred to the Arsenali for museum display between March 2001 and December 2003 (Bottini, 1999b). In 2015 (fifteen years later!), however, all of the ships are not yet in the Arsenali: the difficulties in foreseeing times and costs (compared to actual figures that will emerge later on) in this early period are in themselves signs of the uncertainty that surrounded the discovery for a long period of time.

A sort of schizophrenic situation emerges from two documents from June 1999: the contrast between the grand plans for the site and the lack of available resources was accentuated by the different role played by two different local branches of the Ministry of Culture. In Florence, as usual in the Italian context, the Ministry has several local branches: there is a *Soprintendenza ai beni architettonici* (Superintendence for architectural resources) and the *Soprintendenza ai beni archeologici* (Superintendence for archaeological resources), each of which played a role in the initial budgeting and planning.²¹⁹ At this time, the Superintendence of Architecture prepared a project for a new museum, with a proposed budget of €1 million for ship conservation and €2.5 million for refurbishing the Arsenali building. At the same time, Bottini, Superintendent of Archaeology, complained about the lack of funding for excavation and preliminary conservation of the ships: if funding was not forthcoming, the only alternative would be to rebury the whole site (Bottini, 1999c).

As these parallel discussions were taking place within the Ministry of Culture, a significant change took place that ended the period of preventive excavation. Though the FS hoped as late as February 1999 that the “archaeological problems” could be resolved on a “less than geological time scale”, by August 1 the railway agency had decided to cancel its control center project and formally ceded the site to the SBAT; this was almost two years after excavations had begun, and 8 months after the discovery of the ships themselves. From now on, the site was totally under the ownership and responsibility of the Ministry of Culture. Even as the project management and funding was being transformed, however, a temporary exhibition took place inside the still-unrestored Arsenali for several months in 1999.

Though the large-scale funding provided by FS for emergency excavation of the ships was in one sense a luxury, the speed of the excavations later was to cause problems in itself: exposing all of the ships to air simultaneously ensured that they would require constant conservation attention. In waterlogged wood, most of the cellulose degrades and is replaced by water; allowing it to dry causes the wood to twist and shrink by as much as 50%, or it may simply disintegrate. At San Rossore, archaeologists constantly irrigated the exposed wood to prevent this; yet the large mass of exposed wood and slow pace of excavation caused problems with fungal growth, highlighting the urgency to remove the ships. The conservation needs created both complex working conditions and high operating costs, which provoked Bottini to again suggest covering the excavation site. In consultation with experts from Italy’s Central Institute for Conservation (*Istituto Centrale per il Restauro*, or ICR), encasing the ships with fiberglass was identified as the best strategy for moving the ships from the site; in the laboratory they were later to be impregnated with kauramine, a formaldehyde-melamine resin which mimics the structure of natural cellulose. During the ICR visit, February 28, 1999, the need to move the first four ships was established. Finally, Bottini asked for additional staff at the Pisa work site (Istituto Centrale per il Restauro, 2000).

The year 2000 started with some important decisions. In February, an agreement was signed with the Public Works Agency of Tuscany (Provveditorato delle Opere Pubbliche or OOPP) to provide engineering

²¹⁹ Florence also has a *Soprintendenza ai Beni Artistici* (Arts), which however did not play a role in this story.

assistance for the excavation site, including safety responsibility, and the running of the excavation site itself. The excavation had reached 6 meters below ground level and was criss-crossed by a series of groundwater faults, requiring retaining walls and an elaborate pumping system to maintain it in safety against the danger of collapse. The same month, the design for the new (temporary) laboratory in the Teseco warehouse was completed. On the needs and purpose of the laboratory, however, some differences of opinion emerged: experts from the national conservation institute ICR noted the need for cost-effectiveness and immediate availability of a space for conservation work:

In fact, the lack of an adequately equipped space for the different types conservation interventions anticipated for the ancient ships, together with the unavoidable necessity of reducing recovery times (at the risk of losing the ships or significant parts of them), suggests different methodologies than that those that the Superintendence has followed to date... in sum it seems useful to consider executing projects that allow restoration and temporary conservation in a short time-frame, independently of the creation of a fully-equipped conservation laboratory (Istituto Centrale per il Restauro, 2000).

Excavation work at the site, now known as the *Cantiere delle navi* (worksite of the ships) experienced several stops and starts in early 2000, possibly due to safety concerns. Another museum exhibition was under preparation for June 2000. A contract for irrigating the ships with water was issued. The need to remove the ships was becoming more pressing, with constantly growing costs. In Bottini's budget for 2000, infrastructure costs alone (shoring, pumps, metalwork, utilities) were estimated to cost €727,000. The total budget for the year was €1,813,000, which included removal of only three ships (C, D, E). However, the Ministry of Culture allocated only €1,033,000 for 2000, so the remainder of the spending had to be deferred to 2001 (Bottini, 2000).

Important developments also took place in terms of the general design of the whole project. In May the initial idea to use the Arsenali Medicei as a both a laboratory and museum was reinforced by the meeting of the *Scientific Study Committee for the Museum of the Shipwrecks of Pisa*, convened by the Ministry. The committee's report, issued September 14 2000, proved a key conceptual document that guided the project for the next decade. Bottini's initial vision of a "project with three vertices" was here repeated and amplified: the project would include a museum, a conservation lab, and the excavation site, all connected and all open to the public. The laboratory would function as a national training and consulting center for waterlogged archaeological materials, while the museum would focus not only on the discovery at San Rossore but would concern the whole history of Mediterranean navigation. The whole structure of the Arsenali Medicei (6,000 m²) was identified as necessary for these purposes, requiring negotiations with the University of Pisa, which leased part of the complex. The report also included the suggestion of establishing an ad hoc administrative structure to run the whole threefold entity.

Not a single number accompanied this grand plan. Bottini himself, though more than sympathetic with the vision, made the point that crucial funding decisions had to be taken, and presented a €6.3 million budget for 2001-2003 – which did, not include the conservation of the Arsenali buildings. Bottini also sought funds from the Italian Lottery with a request of €1 million in October 2000, and asked for 32 additional staff posts for the Pisa project within the SBAT. Even as these grand plans were circulating, the needs of the project seem to have been more mundane, as in the case of Bottini's request for €25,000 to deal with the damage caused by a huge rainstorm in November. Though the project planned extensive investments, the issue of running costs seems not to have been discussed.

The "Dirty Job": Professional challenges and solutions (2001-2003)

The San Rossore project was dramatically transformed over the course of 1999 and 2000: rather than a salvage excavation of four months, the project had expanded to an unknown number of years and was organized around a visionary idea of three interconnected institutions (the museum, excavation site, and

laboratory). At the same time, the FS stopped funding the project, yet the Ministry did not assume full financial responsibility: it articulated a grand vision, but did not commit to investing in it. The huge scale and technical complexity of the finds (on many levels: engineering, conservation, archaeological information) required human, organizational, and financial resources that had not yet been identified. As a result, and paradoxically, the end of the emergency excavations led to the emergence of an even greater crisis.

Despite these challenges, Bottini and the SBAT were able to secure many positive outcomes. After delays and uncertainty throughout 2000, by early 2001 €1 million in funding had been secured from the Italian state lottery (hereafter 'Lotto'). Most importantly, the conservation threats to the exposed wood began to be managed through the work of the SBAT and a number of specialized firms. There were serious worries about Ships C & D that emerged in April. Ship F was lifted and transferred to the Teseco laboratory in July 2001, followed by ship C (the 'Alkedo') by the end of the year. Another ship (the so-called 'Barsicci') was covered with soil to protect it in October. Excavation work was suspended for a while, if we understand correctly from sources due to administrative issues and the lack of money, causing tensions with the contractors.

In October 2002, the Superintendence of Architecture requested funding for a feasibility study of the museum, part of a broader discussion about costs and funding that can be traced back to the beginning of the year. A rather bizarre document on possible alternatives for the cantiere was issued in January that presented three possible options: closing the *cantiere* to the public, only using it for visitors by appointment; stopping the excavations for 2 or 3 years; or closing the site forever. The document is interesting because it suggests that there could have been an effective discussion around these alternatives. However, after a rather opaque set of calculations (including very optimistic cost estimates) the report concludes by affirming that

it appears that with a maximum cost of slightly more than €1,000,000 in the first three years and a minimal amount thereafter, it will be possible to recover all of the ships already found, conduct additional excavations, and discover the right bank of the [ancient] river bed.

A reassuring ending that also reinforces the preferences of professionals: the best option was to proceed with excavations.

Fani, the administrative director of the Superintendence, addressed the issue of operating costs more seriously in April 2002. Based on initial assumptions of a short period of work, the cost of shoring, water pumps, and the rent on the Teseco laboratory building (to be paid after the first year) are discussed. Fani is concerned that the Ministry's proposal would create major delays, and funding problems in completing the excavation:

The proposal to constitute a Foundation that would assume the management of the future Museum of the Ships of Pisa, as the Director General has proposed, does not allow us to put off the necessary decisions [regarding funding for excavation and conservation], no matter how rapidly it is possible to realize the plan (Fani, 2002).

Rather, he suggests, activities at San Rossore should be developed under the assumptions that they will need ongoing funding from the regular budget of the Ministry.

In 2003 excavation work continued. Most of Ships A and H and the prows of P and G were excavated and lifted and taken to the Teseco laboratory by the end of 2004. The working group on the new museum met in parallel, to discuss the organizational statute and communication strategy of the new entity (Proietti, 2004). However, no budget estimations nor commitments of resources can be found in these discussions. A special commission for wet wood was established in September; the commission's November 2003 meeting noted the desirability of combining the laboratory and museum in a single visitor itinerary within the Arsenali Medicei; however it was also clear that the conservation laboratory could not be constructed at the Arsenali quickly enough to meet the immediate need to conserve the wood from the ships. The Arsenali plan was put

on hold: the new national conservation center would be located inside the temporary Teseco warehouse while the Arsenali were being renovated.

Jan 2004-Dec 2008: Instability and improvisation: digesting the discovery

By early 2004, the initial sense of discovery had faded, followed by attempts to institutionalize the project. This was hampered by unstable funding, requiring innovative management solutions. However, the excavation area and laboratory were eventually opened after overcoming obstacles related to path dependence on the concept of “threefold museum”. Major themes of this period included the construction of the Centro di Restauro next to the excavation area, major budget instability and resulting management improvisation, major academic publication efforts, and a revival of the stalled museum project.

Building the Centro di Restauro

The high rents at the TESECO warehouse, the continuing arrival of new finds, the long timelines required for conservation of wet wood, and the imminent arrival of equipment donated by ICR made a working conservation lab even more essential. The decision to abandon the Arsenali and build the Wet Wood Conservation Center (Centro di Restauro del Legno Bagnato, or CRLB) next to the *cantiere* required some logistical changes to the cantiere itself, including the abandonment of an area proposed for excavation. Once this decision was taken, the SBAT moved quickly: by January 2004 Camilli had prepared a project for excavation work, construction of the laboratory, and general management of the cantiere (Camilli, 2004). Construction of the CRLB moved rapidly: by September 2005, it was open to visitors, and was functioning by that December (Camilli, 2007, 2009), and ships C and F were moved to the new facility in early 2006 (Camilli *et al.* 2007). Between December 2005 and April 2009, the CRLB carried out conservation treatments on over 8000 artifacts.

Budget Fluctuation: Instability

Although the nature of the finds required long-term commitments to conservation, budgets for the work at San Rossore came from extraordinary funds for the entire decade of 2000-2010. €6.6 million in Lotto funding was granted to the project from 2000-2003, but applications had to be made on a yearly basis and the totals granted changed each year. The Ministry, by contrast, made no allocations to the project from its ordinary budget. The lack of a regular funding stream resulted in occasional radical budget cuts that crippled the project and threatened the destruction of the finds (see Table 3).

The first of these crises came in 2004. After a consistent Lotto funding from 2000-2003 and despite the preparation of multi-year budgets that clearly expressed needs for substantial sustained funding (Camilli, 2004), Lotto funds were reduced from €2,580,000 in 2003 to just €225,000 for 2004. In the end, an emergency allocation of leftover Lotto 2003 funds allowed the project to proceed without major disruption. Lotto funding fluctuated wildly again in 2005-2006, from €1,143,000 to €3,179,000 (and also included a new funding source, CIPE). After 2006, however, Lotto funds were reduced permanently, with allocations of only €369,000 for 2007 and €290,000 for 2008. These severe and continuous fluctuations in the budget created serious operational problems: as Superintendant Fulvia Lo Schiavo reported in 2007, such low levels of funding would completely stop the activities at both the CNP and CRLB except for basic maintenance, and harm the international partnerships and conservation projects already underway (Lo Schiavo, 2007a). In the first eleven years of operation (2000-2010), and despite its vision of the CRLB as a *national and international reference point* for the study of wet archaeological materials, the Ministry of Culture committed its own funds to the project in only one year: €600,000 in 2006.

Table3. Funding the Navi di Pisa, 2001-2011

Year	Funding Source						Total
	Lotto	CIPE 17/2003	FO cap 1321	FO Cap 7723	FO cap 7723 spec.	ARCUS	
2001	2,169,119						2,169,119
2002	1,807,599						1,807,599
2003	2,582,285						2,582,285
2004*	1,925,509						1,925,509
2005	1,143,101						1,143,101
2006	1,379,788	1,200,000	600,000				3,179,788
2007	368,640						368,640
2008	290,395						290,395
2009	129,766					964,000	1,093,766
2010	290,000						290,000
2011			210,000	200,000	2,000,000		2,410,000
	12,086,202	1,200,000	810,000	200,000	2,000,000	964,000	17,260,202

*Original Lotto allocation for 2004 was €224,829; after an emergency appeal an additional €1,700,680 was allocated from Lotto funds remaining from FY 2003

Source: relazione ispettori ragioneria.doc

Managing the Cantiere: Improvisation

This climate of budget fluctuation and uncertainty led to a slower pace of work and a series of management improvisations by SBAT staff. A 2005 description of the San Rossore complex noted:

The excavation site currently occupies an area of 10,650 m², of which 3,500 is the excavation proper at depths from 5.5 to 9.5m below the surrounding ground level. The area covered with prefabricated facilities buildings (entrance, hostel, reception and management center, etc.) is about 500m², while the field conservation laboratory and the Centro di Restauro del Legno Bagnato occupy 1700m². Next to the site, to the west, lies an area with archaeological significance of approximately 10,000m², as yet unexplored (Camilli & Setari, 2005: 81).

By 2006, 7 of the 9 mostly intact ships had been removed, though Ships B, I, and a part of A remained in the excavation area until at least 2011. The technique for removing ships – constant irrigation followed by covering with fiberglass – was by this point well-developed and allowed up to 36 months of excavation time without damage to the wet wood. The excavation technique used in this period - of uncovering a small piece then covering it with a thin layer of fiberglass and irrigating the area beneath with a small tube – allowed them to extend excavation times to more than 36 months (Camilli, 2007a).

At the end of 2004, SBAT renewed its agreement with OOPP for five years to manage *la gestione e la conduzione cantieristica del sito archeologico* including hiring outside guards and cleaning staff, and maintaining the pumps, well-points, and shoring more generally – a move that represents a sort of informal outsourcing of some site management functions (Ministry of Infrastructure, 2008). In September 2005 the Cantiere opened to the public and was receiving circa 1000 visitors per month (Camilli *et al.*, 2007), fulfilling, six years later, Bottini's vision of a 'cantiere aperto' from early 1999, but ironically coming as the excavation was nearing its end.

A guest house for visiting students and scholars was begun in 2005 and completed in 2007 (Camilli & Setari 2005:83; Camilli 2009), as part of Camilli's conscious strategy to reduce excavation to *costo zero* by inviting university researchers to work at the site. By 2007, 22 universities had participated in excavation or

conservation at San Rossore (Camilli, 2009)²²⁰ – indeed, these teams proved essential for completing any work at all in 2007 and 2008, when the total budgets dropped to €369,000 and €290,000 respectively.

The Research Machine

Despite uncertain budgets and a slower pace of work, a torrent of academic activities emerged from the San Rossore project between 2004 and 2008, including a book-length academic guide, numerous papers, several major conferences, a traveling museum exhibit, and theatrical performances at the site (Camilli, 2007b). Beyond this, the CRLB began to fulfill the role of *national reference point* for wet archaeological materials by providing consulting services to other Superintendencies and internationally. There is a surprising contrast between the instability of funding and the volume and importance of the academic materials issued in this period.

Reviving the Museum

Though the original plans to host the CRLB in the Arsenali were permanently cancelled in late 2003, the notion of a museum there did not die. The Assessor for Culture for the City of Pisa said that the city could support the project, but needed a feasibility study with definite times and costs for the whole project (Lolli Ghetti, 2003). To “overcome this impasse” in museum construction, the CaRiPi Foundation commissioned the ASK center at Bocconi University to create a feasibility study for the museum in 2004 (ASK, 2005). They propose three phases: *adjustment* (2006-2008), *anchoring* (2009-2010), and *museification* (2011-2015). A central aspect of the report is how to coordinate restoration times of the Arsenali with the needed conservation times of the ships, work that obviously needed to proceed in parallel. The ASK report suggested the *Fondazione di Partecipazione* as a governance structure, and estimated restoration costs at €12.295.000 for the buildings alone and €7.176.000 for the installation of the exhibits (ASK, 2005: 45, 68). Compare this to the 1999 estimate that foresaw total costs for completing the excavation, conservation, and museum at less than €1 million!

The report estimates running costs *a regime* for 2013 at €2.6 million, compared to estimated revenues of €500,000, an operating loss for the museum of €2.1 million/year (ASK Report p.98). Five years after the museum was first proposed, this is the first estimate of running costs in any of the project documents – and, notably, prepared by an external organization not directly connected to the project.

In February 2007 the official agreement on creating the museum was concluded between SBAT, City of Pisa, and OOPP. The SBAT had €2 million available between CIPE, Lotto 2006 and Lotto 2007; would design and install the museum and manage museum construction using staff from the SBAT; and will would coordinate with the Superintendence of Architecture about the use of the building itself (Lo Schiavo, 2007b). This was followed by the preparation of an operating project (*progetto definitivo* and a *progetto esecutivo* in the Italian administrative jargon) by early 2008.

Jan 2009-20???: Managerialization and urban politics

This period saw the proposed museum subsumed into a larger urban redevelopment project led by the City of Pisa, with the introduction of managerial rhetoric and generic strategic planning tools in museum planning documents. Finally, the notion of running costs (including large forecasted operating losses) appears in project documents. The addition of an urban planning project, with its attendant bureaucratic layers, led to an explosion of administrative complexity on a formal level. However, archaeologists seem to have remained in charge of the museum project, which began substantial construction efforts in 2011 – though completing the project has remained challenging, as the museum remained a work of progress in early 2015.

²²⁰ This ‘management innovation’ represents another type of informal outsourcing by SBAT, a sort of managerial adaptation to ‘get things done’ despite funding problems.

Urban Politics Arrives at the Museum

In the period beginning in 2010 we see an increased use of managerial language in the documents produced for the 'three vertices', including strategic analyses, business plans, and management plans. In this period planning and budgeting for all three institutions were interconnected: planning for the cantiere and the museum are discussed in the same documents, and they were to share a management structure and revenues/costs. The phasing of activities at the *cantiere* were also structured according to the needs of the museum (Miccio *et al.*, 2011). However, the plans overlap and sometimes contradict one another.

As noted above, the renovation of the Arsenali and construction of the Museo delle Navi gained momentum in early 2009. A coordination agreement for the project was concluded in March of 2009 under the rubric of PIUSS [Piani Integrati di Sviluppo Urbano], a program to promote urban sustainability in Tuscany funded by European Regional Development Funds. In a sign that the project was changing, the signatories to the agreement included not only the SBAT and the City, but a total of 47 entities (mostly government bodies and foundations) that were to work together under four different coordination plans. This reflects that the scope of the project had expanded from simply constructing a museum to redeveloping the whole Arsenali complex and adjacent properties, located in a neglected and underdeveloped part of the city, and connecting the area to the city center and its millions of annual visitors (Archaeological Superintendence of Tuscany, 2007).

Continued Unpredictability at the Cantiere

Meanwhile, at the cantiere, unpredictability still stalked the *Cantiere* and CRLB. After a major redesign of the shoring system costing €330,000, the OOPP withdrew from management of the engineering aspects of site at the end of 2009, adding a new responsibility to SBAT staff (Gaddi & Puccetti, 2009). At that point the excavation had reached over 6m below the level of natural groundwater. The withdrawal of the OOPP coincided, ironically, with major rainstorms in December 2009 that caused the pumps to fail and led to major flooding of the excavation area, causing €50,000 in damage to equipment.

The next month, the *Cantiere*/CRLB complex experienced another budget crisis: against the €1,000,000 budgeted for 2010 budget, only €290,000 was allocated from Lotto funds and €0 from Arcus money (which became available later, but only in 2011). Meanwhile, delays in construction at the museum created additional costs of €120,000, in addition to the costs of coping with the flood. Given this problem, Camilli threatened to close the cantiere and stop restoration work when the 2009 funding ran out in April 2010 (Camilli, 2010). Despite efforts by Camilli and Superintendant Ragni to secure emergency funds from the Ministry for the various active projects, none seems to have been forthcoming.

Following this year of virtual standstill, in 2011 the Ministry for the first time allocated significant sums from its Ordinary Funds (that is, its normal annual budget) to the project, totalling €2,410,000 – nine times the amount provided in 2010. In this period the CRLB was working to lift Hellenistic piles and the Hellenistic ship, and working to move navi H and D into the museum.

Managerializing the Museum

The finalization of the PIUSS agreement for the redevelopment of the Citadella and Arsenali Medicei area on the north bank of the Arno, inserted the project into the urban planning and urban politics of Pisa, bringing several new features to the project. These included additional projects outside the 'tre vertici', the increasing use of managerial language in project planning documents, and a new and sometimes politicized approach to budgeting.

The first major PIUSS report, the *Executive Management Plan (Piano Esecutivo di Gestione)*, issued March 2009, proposed a dual management structure for the Citadella area, which now would include not only the Museo delle Navi, but also the Arsenali Repubblicani, Torre Guelfa, and Complesso ex Piscina Michelucci,

all located within the historic Citadel of Pisa. The report presents the project as part of a general approach to redeveloping the area of Pisa north of the Arno, noting the potential synergies involved:

Integration of the Museum of the Ships into the Citadel Area allows a series of functional, spatial, and economic synergies. In particular, one notes the possibility of creating economies of scale in the use of museum personnel, and for implementing a series of public services in the Citadel Area that – besides enhancing the enjoyment of the museum visit – could also constitute an ‘efficient’ source of revenue (City of Pisa, 2009: 8).

The museum, while central to this effort, becomes conceptually part of the City’s redevelopment plans and allows synergies that enhance the redevelopment efforts. The new project elements and management structures, of course, added additional layers of financial and administrative coordination needs to an already complex project.

The complex as a whole would have a managing director and a technical-scientific director working together with about 10 permanent staff, with outsourced services. The Piano Esecutivo, prepared by staff of the City, includes only work on the Museo delle Navi and surrounding buildings (not at San Rossore). It projects completion of all project elements by 2014, with operating costs a regime of €1,499,835 per year mostly offset by €1,312,380 per year of income from tickets, gift shops, and restaurants, for an operating loss only €187,000 (City of Pisa, 2009). This report, coming four years after the completion of the Bocconi study, is only the second time that the concept of running costs appears in project documents.

This new managerial approach to planning and budgeting also affected the SBAT, which prepared its own *Strategic Analysis and Business Plan* for the *three vertices* (excavation site, conservation laboratory, and museum in the arsenali). The document uses a series of generic strategic management tools, with chapter headings including a mission statement, resource analysis, SWOT analysis, demand analysis, analysis of competitors, and critical success factors. The budget section estimates that the three institutions will require €3.4 million in investment and have a annual operating cost of €1.61 million, of which 35% could be self-funded through consulting services (though, curiously, museum tickets are not considered as an income source) (Camilli et al., 2010). The business plan makes for peculiar reading, given that this type of managerial language had never been used before over the 10 years of the project; some of the discussions, moreover, seem strangely artificial.²²¹ It also shows a fundamentally different logic than the previous budgets of the SBAT: like the PIUSS report, the document moves beyond simple cost centers and attempts to distinguish between operating costs and investment costs over time and estimate the long term (*a regime*) costs of permanent institutions.

The PIUSS Progetto Esecutivo and the SBAT Business Plan were apparently prepared separately, without coordination. Both provide cost estimates for the Museo delle Navi, but they are organized in fundamentally different ways, with different categories, numbers, and organizational logics (Table 4). Moreover, both conflict with the estimates in the ASK Bocconi report of 2004, as well as with the 2010-2012 and 2011-2013 budgets of SBAT itself. Perhaps to deal with this situation, Salvatore Settis, chair of the Ministry’s Scientific Commission for the Navi di Pisa, convened a meeting of PIUSS participants in March 2010 to compare the economic estimates of the City with those of the ASK report of 2005. The report of the meeting notes that the ASK estimates are much less optimistic, showing a operating deficit of €2 million per year for the Museum, Cantiere, and CRLB.²²²

²²¹ E.g. what does it mean to do an ‘analysis of competitors’ when your service is a highly specialized scientific task subsidized by the public sector?

²²² Note the use of budget estimates to politically justify the project ex post facto (e.g. Pisa wants to build it, so comes up with numbers that are *cheaper*).

Table 4. Comparative Estimates of Operating Costs²²³

Cost Centers	Studio ASK, Bocconi University		City of Pisa	
	2010	2015	Start Up	Regime
costi di esercizio della struttura	€ 277,300.00	€ 508,700.00	€ 314,060.00	€ 402,220.00
Personnel	€ 969,199.00	€ 1,281,558.00	€ 668,000.00	€ 1,132,000.00
Exhibit maintenance	€ 10,000.00	€ 150,000.00	€ 0.00	€ 60,000.00
Ordinary and extraordinary maintenance, Citadel Area			€ 0.00	€ 80,000.00
Ordinary and extraordinary maintenance, Arsenali Medicei			€ 0.00	€ 80,000.00
Promotion and Marketing	€ 200,000.00	€ 100,000.00	€ 120,000.00	€ 80,000.00
General Costs	€ 50,000.00	€ 75,000.00	€ 25,000.00	€ 30,000.00
Contingencies	€ 500,000.00	€ 500,000.00	€ 50,000.00	€ 105,000.00
Total Annual Cost	€ 2,006,499.00	€ 2,615,258.00	€ 1,177,060.00	€ 1,969,220.00

ex. 03> PIUSS2010-dopo_tavolo_tecnico_CS_confronti_aggGdL

The report's appendices outline the cost estimates for the PIUSS project for 2010-2015. These costs are also much higher than previous funding for the San Rossore project, estimating €5.9-9.1 million per year in 2010-2014 and a running cost of €4.8 million in the regime phase – more than 50% more than the previous highest funding that the three-fold project had received to date and almost 20 times the lowest funding year. Strikingly, the estimated cost *a regime* for the 'three vertices' of the museum significantly exceeds the maximum allocation during the period of excavation and conservation. The notion that the excavation would have a steady funding stream only *after* its completion is particularly strange.

Building the Museum

Despite the contradictions in the various plans prepared by PIUSS and SBAT, the new money allocated to the SBAT for 2011 seems to have made it possible to proceed with substantial museum construction. A memo of January 2011 from Arch. Mario Ferretti lists the restoration work done so far at the museum, which had already reached €1 million, and included work on light and heating systems, the courtyard, entrance hall, bathrooms and ticket area (Ferretti, 2011). In 2011, a €2 million tender was prepared for the completion of the museum (Miccio *et al.*, 2011), which describes the funding needed to finish removal of the final ships from the excavation site (A and B) and restoration of the removed ships and their installation in the museum (C, D, F, H). After the project is finished it is proposed to close the excavation area permanently.

In 2012 Camilli was actively seeking private sponsors for individual sections of the project, and estimated costs for individual ships.²²⁴ Throughout this period, and despite the increased role of managerial rhetoric and extensive involvement of the City of Pisa and its PIUSS partners, it appears that the SBAT archaeologists stayed in firm control of museum programming, development, and active management.

3. Discussion: professionals and bureaucracy

The long-term story the *Navi di Pisa* represents a fascinating history, incredibly complex, full of uncertainties and unstable solutions, and many stops and starts. In the end, its achievements are significant: far from the worst examples of salvage excavation, the project recovered and conserved nine mostly-complete Roman shipwrecks, fragments of 20 more, and thousands of stunning small finds, conserved them with innovative and successful techniques, and designed a museum to display them, which will (perhaps) open in 2016.

Yet these successes were reached in the midst of constant organizational conflict that tells us interesting things about decision making, and helps to explain the results (or lack thereof). Examining the empirical data, far from being an 'irrelevant' adjunct to theoretical musings, presents an interesting opportunity to

²²³ Revenue estimates also differ considerably between the two documents.

²²⁴ Individual budgets included €174,765 for Ship F (the *pirogue*), €384.750 for Ship A, and €487.620 for Ship C (the 'Alkedo').

investigate the logics underlying organizational action, with particular reference to ways in which professionals (archaeologists, art historians, and conservators) behave and the problems they encounter in understanding the rules, logics, and functions of the bureaucratic institutions in which they are embedded – and in which they participate.

Throughout the whole narrative, there is a striking contradiction between the grand vision of the ‘museum with three vertices’, proposed within a few days of the initial discovery, and the (in)ability of professionals to implement it within the context of the Italian public sector. Funding for even basic operations remained problematic and irregular for more than a decade, delaying the realization of the vision, and creating fundamental uncertainty about the ultimate outcome of the project. If management is an issue of addressing attention (March, 1978), in what ways is such a situation likely to address attention (or mis-address it)? To understand the issue, a closer look at the conditions of uncertainty characterizing archaeological excavations of this type may be useful prior to further discussion of the specific dynamics between professionals and the state at Pisa.

Uncertainty and bureaucratic myopia

Uncertainty is unavoidable in archaeology: by definition, preventive (or salvage) archaeology is characterized by an inability to know what will be found (and thus, how much an excavation will cost). Excavations are carried out to determine if something that deserves protection is buried in the ground; yet even if something is found, its significance is not always apparent until after substantial work has been done. Important finds tend to imply high excavation costs, but also may impose additional degrees of professional or organizational complexity, as in the case of wet organic materials that require specialized treatment.

However, though uncertainty is in itself unavoidable in these situations, its impacts can be better or worse depending on the different nature of its components. In other terms, there is an intrinsic component, which cannot be eliminated; but there is additional component of uncertainty related to the organizational context. We refer to this as “organizational uncertainty”, that is the uncertainty originating in organizational dynamics (and thus the ways in which things are done), and which increases or decreases uncertainty depending on the conducts adopted in different contexts. In our view, the enormous organizational uncertainty surrounding the *Navi di Pisa* affected the project negatively, due to a less-than-positive interaction between archaeological professionals and their own bureaucracy (the Ministry itself).

The Italian tradition in the heritage sector is characterized by a huge intervention of the State in many ways, with pros and cons. An in-depth discussion of the administrative schizophrenia of the Italian Ministry of Culture is beyond our scope here (but is examined in detail in our previous research, see Zan 2002; Zan, Bonini, & Gordon 2007; Ferri & Zan forthcoming), but a few observations can be offered. Italian regulation of heritage (“cultural goods”, as conceptualized in Italian law) is among the most rigorous and generous in the world, with a long tradition of state involvement in heritage dating back to the Renaissance, including the Medici in Florence, the Venetian Republic, and the Vatican (Settis, 2002). Indeed one could refer to a sort of long-term “administrative heritage” embedded within the current, highly centralized system. Day-to-day heritage management, for instance, is not conducted by local administrations but by the Superintendencies, local branches of the central administration of the Ministry of Culture. The State also directly manages many important museums and sites, such as Pompeii.

Here some of the major cons emerge. Heritage, all in all, is just one of many public services that the State provides. From an administrative point of view the heritage sector is structured by the same general administrative rules applied to the rest of the public sector, where the lack of differentiation (a la Lawrence & Lorsh, 1967) is one of the most common problems. It is a law-driven system, based on the Roman code tradition, where administrative lawyers play a hegemonic role in the whole apparatus (“Administrative Directors” of public sector entities are usually lawyers rather than accountants). The whole public sector is

ruled by 'one size fits all' regulations, particularly in terms of human resource management, which makes changing the composition of the labor force in individual offices extremely complicated. The public sector as a whole uses a cash accounting system, which imposes obstacles to multi-year financing and creates serious problems in planning financial resources; even creating a new spending category within ministerial ordinary funds can take over a decade. The amount of red tape is simply astonishing. In terms of routines, underspending is a generalized phenomenon in the public sector, in Italy as elsewhere. Though creative solutions are always sought in order to overcome the limitations and procedures surrounding ordinary funding (with heavy use extraordinary laws and funding, including the State Lottery), serious cuts have emerged in recent years as the Italian State attempts to reduce its deficit.

This combination of inflexibility and structural limitations gives the centralized administrative system an inability to "see" and cope with individual, non-generalizable problems, which we call "bureaucratic myopia". Any individual problem that might emerge (say, the discovery of a shipwreck within the Superintendency of Pompeii, as at Poggiomarino in 2002), must navigate the generic administrative regulations that rule the internal procedures of the public sector as a whole, before it is possible to address the intrinsic, substantive and specific needs and values of an individual discovery. This administrative incapacity persists even when the Ministry provides political support to a project and its aims.

In the context of the bureaucratic myopia that characterizes the Italian public sector in general, the professional optimism of archaeologists can create further problems. At San Rossore, archaeologists pursued their own professional values but did not foresee the likely reactions and behavior of their own bureaucratic institutions, showing a lack of "strategic" attitude (defining *strategic* here as behavior that takes others' reactions into account).

Professional Utopianism

At San Rossore professionals, and their "irreducible" optimism, made things incredibly complicated at the beginning: more complicated than necessary and much more than they (or anyone) were capable of dealing with. The visionary idea of three open, interconnected institutions became a barrier to action for a long period. Reading the project correspondence and meeting memos, it seems as if the more (or most) complicated solution was repeatedly chosen: a museum not only for the ships of San Rossore but focusing on 4000 years of Mediterranean navigation; not a temporary conservation lab to process the ships and associated finds, but a permanent international center of reference for the study of wet archaeological materials; and a museum plan that did not just focus on the Arsenali but included the redevelopment of a whole district of Pisa in partnership with 47 (!) different entities. Adding the notion that these institutions should be 'transparent' and immediately open to the public – even before the full scope of the finds or their conservation needs was understood – added yet another element of complexity that slowed progress. Rather than the Anglo-American acronym KISS (*keep it simple, stupid!*), the motto appears to have been to keep it as complicated as possible, whenever possible. Two elements in professional decision-making can be highlighted here, each of which had huge consequences: the lack of an orientation toward assessing alternatives, and the lack of a notion of internal consistency.

The lack of attention to alternatives is here strictly linked to professional choices. Excavations started over a large area, and even when the first ships were discovered, other possible ways of running archaeological excavations were not seriously debated: for instance slowing the process, focusing on only one ship at a time, or selecting methodologies for excavating, conserving, moving the ship *before* extensive excavations. Though Superintendant Cordaro suggested in 2000 that "it seems useful to suggest the creation of multiple proposals for recovery and restoration in this preliminary phase, so as to take overall effectiveness into consideration" (Istituto Centrale per il Restauro, 2000), alternatives to fast, large-scale work – such as stopping the excavations and protecting the site through reburial – a normal procedure in contemporary

archaeology – were never seriously considered. The reburial argument was used rhetorically in a couple of situations – but simply as a threat in order to get money from the Ministry. Rapid work during the emergency phase created a structure for future costs and decision-making: having exposed the ships, it became impossible to stop working. Alternative patterns in conservation, or in the idea itself of creating a permanent conservation institution, were not discussed in depth (despite the different priorities of ICR, which were successively ignored).

The lack of attention to internal consistency (or to put in other words, to logical consequences) is also at issue. It was many years before the visionary dream of the threefold museum was thought of in terms of feasibility. But early operations (and decisions about the laboratory) focused on “investments” (capital expenditure, e.g. instruments and tools that will be used for years or decades), without addressing the issue of the resources needed for running operations on a day-to-day basis. Indeed the concept of current costs first appears in 2005 for the museum (the ASK study) and 2010 (in the 2010 budget by Camilli) for the excavation and conservation lab. Estimates of the operating deficit of the museum *a regime* ranged from €1.9 to 2.6 million – nearly as much as was spent each year on the excavation in its highest-funded years – a cost which in theory, would be permanent. If such an estimate had been available in 1999, would the excavation have proceeded to invest such huge sums in a project that would require such large, continuing operating subsidies?

The lack of a notion of a flow of resources (that is, the relationship between resources and time), also characterized the original vision of the three-fold museum. That two of the components had a different natures – from an organizational point of view – compared to the core function of a museum never appears in the discussion. The *cantiere aperti*, for instance, could never have been a permanent institution, since excavations would only last for a limited period.²²⁵ The conservation laboratory was also needed for only a finite period, with nothing in the long run for the visitor to see after primary conservation of the finds from San Rossore was finished. Yet from the beginning, the plan was for three permanent institutions open to the public. While this is far from the stereotype of the ‘ivory tower’ archaeologist, heritage professionals’ naïve obsession with the project as public spectacle seems to have corrupted it in a certain sense, as they failed to consider the investments, logistics, and urban planning required to create new institutions open to visitors.

This incompatibility between vision and reality created consequences that made the life of professionals themselves harder than necessary. It took years to understand (or perhaps admit) that the time, costs, and logistics to restore the Arsenali for use as a laboratory were incompatible with the timelines of restoring the ships, and that the laboratory project needed to be thought of, and designed, under different assumptions. Ironically, when the cantiere was finally opened to the public in 2005, most of the excavation activities were finished or on hold.

Administrative naiveté: increasing organizational uncertainty

At San Rossore, professional utopianism combined with bureaucratic myopia to produce what we call *administrative naiveté*, that is an inability to forecast problems, costs, and obstacles associated with the project. The grandiose initial vision of the *museum with three vertices* created a situation of extreme path dependence that was exacerbated by the inability of the State bureaucracies to bring the project *down to earth*.

Funding patterns for the project clearly demonstrate the lack of managerial logic, which is consistent with

²²⁵ It may be that professional values themselves had a hard time conceiving of a finite period of excavation, as can be perceive between the lines: “With the exit of the State Railways from the scene, we find ourselves in charge of numerous problems, in that the excavation was initially planned for a limited period but instead has been extended following the remarkable finds [...] This development allows us to transform it into an experimental excavation.” (1999-10 Verbale gestione progetto).

overall functioning of the Italian heritage bureaucracy. For the decade 2001-2010, the whole project was funded almost exclusively with extraordinary funds from Lotto (only once, in 2006, did the Ministry grant ordinary funds to the project). Lottery funds are unstable by nature and subject to politicization, which had serious impacts on the ways in which activities could be run. This happened with respect to the operating costs of the excavation and conservation lab, which were all in all not so huge compared to the cost of opening (and running) the visionary museum that the Ministry itself also wanted to open. But the problems of the Italian public sector are knowable (and in fact known) to archaeologists, who are themselves mostly public employees; and if you know of a problem, you can avoid it, or at least try to minimize its perverse effects.

This is exactly what the archaeologists were unable to do: their own value-driven professional utopianism ended up increasing confusion, rather than helping to find an effective solution that could support their operating (professional) needs in day-to-day activities. This was true both with reference to the three-fold museum (what could have been done earlier and more effectively in terms of conservation, if the obsession with the Arsenali as a conservation lab had never emerged?), but also with reference to initial professional choices (the decision to excavate over a large area and uncover numerous ships in the early period substantially predetermined the structure of costs for the following decade). Professional optimism, linked with an inability (or unwillingness) to understand their own organizational, institutional and bureaucratic context caused troubles, costs, and risks, adding huge doses of organizational uncertainty to the unavoidable uncertainties of rescue excavation.

The uncertainty was evident early in the project: as Bottini observed at the time “[L]o scavo era iniziato per 6 mesi e invece lo gestiremo per chissà quanto” (Bottini, 1999c). As another observer put it, “In sum, the *Navi di Pisa* have represented, and continue to represent, a paragon of all the principle and complex problems that can arise [...] for those who are required to care for our archaeological heritage as part of their institutional duties” (Archaeological Superintendence of Tuscany, 2007).

Learning to KISS

In one way or another, it seems that professionals (and particularly professionals inside the SBAT) learned their lessons. In fact, as soon as the institutional and organizational confusion declined, things began to “get done”. The “optimistic” and beautiful plan for hybrid, public laboratory-museum in the Arsenali, placed the conservation facilities in a four-year period of limbo, but once the initial plan was abandoned it took less than 2 years to build the new structure and get to work. Conservation work, moreover, seems to have done efficiently and effectively, with 8000 artifacts treated in 4 years and huge research achievements throughout the process. In terms of museum construction, things also seemed to move swiftly once structural decisions were made: the PIUSS agreement was signed in March 2009, major work had already been completed by the end of 2010, and the museum is partially constructed (though we are skeptical about its proposed opening in 2016). Moreover, the managerial approach of PIUSS and the City of Pisa began to include realistic estimates of investments and running costs, allowing projection of costs into the future – generating much-delayed political controversy over the operating subsidies required.

When things are kept simpler, professional optimism was able to play a much more positive role: archaeological managers could pursue clever survival practices vis-à-vis a less than responsive bureaucracy to achieve their professional goals, such as informally outsourcing maintenance of the site to another government agency and research to a consortium of universities, “a costo zero”. But despite these relative successes, we cannot resist comparing the *Navi di Pisa* to an archaeological find of similar magnitude in Luoyang, China, where excavation and conservation were completed, and a museum opened to the public, within *18 months* of the initial discovery – rather than 18 years (Zan & Bonini Baraldi, 2012).

Though the turn toward *modern* managerial rhetoric approach in project documents after 2010 is reassuring in some ways, some doubts remain about its efficacy: for instance when the SBAT's 2010 business plan undertakes a bizarre "competitor analysis" for the CRLB's wet wood restoration services; or the manipulation of cost and revenue estimates within the PIUSS project to make the museum project more politically appealing. Furthermore, the actual meanings associated with the museum constantly changed over time, without making the underlying assumptions explicit (for instance, to what extent the exhibitions within the Arsenali Medicei will coincide with Settis' 2000 idea of a general museum of Mediterranean navigation, rather than just of the San Rossore ships, is still unclear to us). The agenda of the "Settis commission", which affirmed and developed Bottini's 1999 proposal for three interconnected museums, created a situation of 'professional optimism' against which the archaeologists of the SBAT constantly had to struggle. The City of Pisa also attempted to change the agenda of the project by subsuming it into overall urban planning projects; however the City's insistence that the State fund the museum project seems to have allowed professionals within the SBAT to substantially control the process of museum development (City of Pisa, 2009: 2-3).

Conclusion

In reconstructing the 15-year history of the Navi di Pisa, this paper has addressed the critical role played by professional values. In particular, we tried to understand how intrinsic uncertainty was increased by organizational uncertainty linked to professional decision-making. In particular, we focused on how professional optimism and administrative naiveté, are two indispensable elements that help make sense of the whole story. A few concluding remarks are possible here.

Unlike many other countries, what makes administrative naiveté by professionals possible in the Italian context is the lack of a robust managerial culture within the central administration (in this case, the Ministry of Culture). In a different administrative tradition with different operating procedures, a project vision that was unable to foresee its own prohibitive costs – and thus in itself infeasible – would not have been allowed to play such a major role for such a long period. In a sense, a lack of "accountization" (Power, 1997) seems to characterize the debate on management of arts organizations in Italy compared, for instance, to the UK, with a corresponding inability to forecast and manage costs.

Second, a syndrome of making things complex – a love of complexity in itself – seems to be a constant in the story. In the absence of an administrative culture that was able to bring projects *down to earth*, the universalist and utopian tendencies of professional discourse emerged strongly as a tendency to choose the *best* project rather than the most feasible one. This is exactly the contrary of a management approach, where the idea itself of *one best way* is criticized in favor of a more articulated view which tends to define a range of possible solutions or alternatives, that better fit with the individual situation.

Third, traditionally, archaeologists are criticized for their hyper-academic approaches and insufficient attention to visitor experience, often referred to as an "inward looking" attitude (for a critique see Zan 2000; Lusiani & Zan 2010). At San Rossore, however, it was quite the contrary: they seem to have been too visitor-oriented at too early a date. From the month of discovery, they wanted to open a museum, excavation site, and conservation laboratory to the public, an obsession that ultimately created obstacles to effectively accomplishing their core professional tasks. Whether this form of *utopianism* came from managerial rhetoric, new museology, or postmodern archaeology and its obsession with community involvement (or a mixture of the three) a different set of priorities – or placing priorities in a more logical time order – would have had greater effectiveness on excavation and conservation. Core professional values seem here to have been corrupted by theoretical trends in social archaeology.

The process of writing this case study, in itself, poses an interesting question. Despite full access to the SBAT archives, we found no excavation diaries and no synthetic reports summarizing project activities:

rather, we had to laboriously reconstruct events based on hundreds of primary documents stored in an unsystematic way. Why was it that we were forced to write this article to understand the project, rather than having access to a systematic report that a transparent, effective and “modern” managerial organization should produce for its own purposes?

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Exploring the Uniqueness of Innovation Environments in Performance/Entertainment

Zegers, Kristel

NHTV Breda University of Applied Sciences

Breda, The Netherlands

Zegers.K@nhtv.nl

Abstract

This paper explores the uniqueness of an innovation environment in the field of performance/entertainment and how such an innovation environment can be studied. Innovation theory suggests a shift from linear Research & Development models towards relational approaches using terms like innovation networks, clusters, living laboratories, all emphasizing space for experiment, interaction and learning (cf. Nooteboom & Stam 2008; Karlsson & Picard 2011; Rutten *et al.* 2014). Differences and particularities of experience sectors suggest that innovation processes might work differently compared to more traditional service innovation. It is expected that innovation processes in performance/entertainment are more relational. To be able to capture the micro dynamics in innovation processes the social practice approach is suggested as an analytical frame. Together this will form the starting point for empirical research to two innovation networks in the Netherlands in which multiple actors collaborate and search for new futures.

Keywords: innovation process; experiences; social practice approach; performance/entertainment

Introduction

In the region of North Brabant, a province in the South of the Netherlands, several leisure actors joined forces to search for new futures in storytelling and business development. These actors, representing their organizations, derive from different leisure sectors (a theme park, circus festival, world music festival, regional broadcasting, performing arts/musical production), and represent both public and private organizations as well as higher education institutions in arts and in leisure management. Since the leisure sector becomes increasingly intertwined (Mommaas, Van den Heuvel, & Knulst, 2000), the differences in subsectors and arts disciplines diminish (Jenkins 2006; De Jong 2005). Organizations search for new markets to provide their customers with new experiences. For instance, the theme park is no longer a theme park but calls itself a destination. The companies brand values and its fairytale characters are distributed via multiple platforms: via the attractions, live shows and merchandise in the theme park but also via media productions (books, games, radio station, television programs, applications and so on) and theater/live entertainment productions outside the park. This cross- and transmedia storytelling is of interest to all actors. The search for innovative forms of live performances, performances that are not just one arts discipline but cross overs between music, theatre, dance, circus etc. initiated the collaboration between the actors. To bridge notions of leisure, art and entertainment, the innovation network in Brabant has chosen the word storytelling as their common denominator. Storytelling is by them not perceived as the mere process of telling stories, but as “a new domain of digital/analog content development and design, crisscrossing the old domains of multimedia entertainment, events, performing arts, design, gaming, theme parks and organization-, product- and area concepting.” Actors feel a sense of urgency to innovate and stress that “we need to do something, otherwise we will be out of business in a few years”. Currently, they are setting up an innovation environment (as a third space) in which actors can experiment, learn and innovate collaboratively. To be able to theoretically anchor this process, this paper is written.

This paper explores the uniqueness of an innovation environment in the experience industry. Actors operating on the crossroads of arts, culture, media, and entertainment (this is shortened to performance/entertainment in the rest of the paper) deal with challenges related to characteristics of experiences. It is explored what can be learned from other innovation environments, how the leisure sector differs and how the micro dynamics in innovation environments can be studied. The objective of this paper is threefold:

- 1) Exploring what can be learned from innovation processes in other economic sectors,
- 2) Exploring which differences there might be that can be related to the characteristics of the experience economy and leisure sector,
- 3) Exploring how social practice theory is of help in understanding the micro dynamics in innovation networks.

The set-up of this paper is as follows. First, we look at what is already known. Innovation theory shows a change from linear models of innovation towards a more relational approach. This relational turn in innovation theory (Benneworth *et al.* 2014; WRR Scientific Council for Government Policy, 2008) suggest the importance of networks, emphasizing experiments and learning, but also stressing a broader understanding of knowledge and the need for absorptive capacity. This requires trust between innovation partners as well as other forms of proximity. Innovation literature often focuses on product innovation and technological innovation. The leisure sector has particular (and unique) characteristics that suggest that innovation processes might work differently compared to more product or technological oriented innovation networks. This is discussed in the third paragraph. Leisure actor are involved in experiences, which can be seen as a particular type of services (Pine & Gilmore 1999; Sundbo 2009). It is discussed that experience innovation might be seen as a separate domain of innovation. The unique characteristics of the leisure sector furthermore suggest different challenges in innovation. Think for instance of the influence digitalization has on the relationship between producer and consumer and on the opportunities for value creation. These challenges will be dealt with in the fourth paragraph of this paper. When studying the micro dynamics of an innovation process an analytical perspective on action is necessary. Therefore, the fifth paragraph of this paper is devoted to the core elements of the social practice approach. This theory of action helps in analyzing the micro dynamics in innovation networks of performance/entertainment businesses. The paper concludes with the sensitizing concepts taken on board for further empirical research.

1. Thoughts on innovation and innovation processes

Innovation literature often categorizes innovation in terms of source (technological, social), outcome (product, process, service), phase (exploration, exploitation) or on its newness (incremental, radical). However, such (classical) categories often represent linear thoughts on the innovation process. For instance, when involving end users in your innovation process it is difficult to speak of separate phases like exploration and exploitation. The practice of innovation changes (WRR Scientific Council for Government Policy, 2013, 2008). Innovation theory suggests a shift from linear models focused on R&D towards more relational approaches to innovation. According to WRR Scientific Council for Government Policy (2013), current innovation models differ on five points from linear models. First of all, it incorporates a broader understanding of knowledge. Knowledge is not limited to scientific research or user feedback. There are various typologies of knowledge and skills and it is difficult to tell which type of knowledge (scientific-tacit (Polanyi 1958 in WRR Scientific Council for Government Policy, 2013), embodied – embrained (on the individual level) or embedded-encultured (on an organizational level) (Blacker 1995 in WRR Scientific Council for Government Policy, 2013) or skills (generic- specific) fits best in which innovation process. Secondly, it emphasizes adaptive capacity above knowledge production. The innovative capacity of a firm depends on the absorptive capacity: i.e. can a firm absorb knowledge that is complementary to what they already know (Nooteboom

2008)? Thirdly, it acknowledges that innovation can start in all parts of the value chain. Innovation is no longer just product or service innovation. Different elements of the chain, like organizational aspects, the design or the business model can be the focus of innovation. WRR Scientific Council for Government Policy (2013) claims that the move away from the relative importance of R&D goes hand in hand with the rise of the service sector. Service providers do not have separate R&D departments but innovate along the whole value chain. Also customers, previously the final stage of a production line and the destroyer of value, are increasingly included in innovation processes to co-create value (see also Pallot *et al.* 2010; Prahalad & Ramaswamy 2004). Fourthly, current innovation models suppose that innovation predominantly takes place in networks. Innovation becomes much more a result of a collaboration between different types of actors (like universities, suppliers, research institutes, customers, and even competitors). These open innovation processes (collaborating with external parties in the innovation process) become more important (see also the work of Chesbrough, 2006) and take different forms, such as living labs and hubs. Lastly, it assumes that the rate of circulation of innovations continuously increases. Our world has become more complex and less predictable. There is a need for continuous adaptation to changes, trends and developments and new technologies. This also means that innovation and the speed of adaptation are becoming more important for keeping competitive advantage and being able to survive, while at the same time the life span of innovations, competitive advantages, export positions and knowledge decreases (WRR Scientific Council for Government Policy, 2013).

The above section illustrates that innovation processes become more relational. This also causes questions for participants: with whom to collaborate? Which type of partners to involve? How to make the collaboration work? Since “innovation requires learning by interaction” (Lundvall 1988; Nooteboom 2000 in Nooteboom & Stam 2008: 28), the exchange of knowledge and social interaction between partners is key. To be able to share knowledge in an innovation network it is of importance to create an environment in which actors feel safe enough to share knowledge. It might be questionable which knowledge can or should be shared (f.i. strategic plans of a company). This relates to feelings of trust and notions of proximity between partners. Boschma (2005) found that five forms of proximity contribute to effective interactive learning and innovation. He distinguishes cognitive, organizational, social, institutional and geographical proximity. In table 1 these five forms are presented, and the effects of too little and too much proximity on interactive learning and innovation are mentioned.

Table 1. Five forms of proximity and its features. Taken from Boschma (2005: 71)

	Key dimension	Too little proximity	Too much proximity	Possible solutions
1. Cognitive	Knowledge gap	Misunderstanding	Lack of sources of novelty	Common knowledge base with diverse but complementary capabilities
2. Organizational	Control	Opportunism	Bureaucracy	Loosely coupled system
3. Social	Trust (based on social relations)	Opportunism	No economic rationale	Mixture of embedded and market relations
4. Institutional	Trust (based on common institutions)	Opportunism	Lock-in and inertia	Institutional checks and balances
5. Geographical	Distance	No spatial externalities	Lack of geographical openness	Mix of local ‘buzz’ and extra-local linkages

These different forms of proximity help to overcome uncertainties of innovation processes. “Geographical proximity allows regular interaction; social, institutional and organizational proximity build conscious trust; and cognitive proximity provides subconscious rules that align thinking.” (Caniëls, Kronenberg, & Werker,

2014: 224). However, according to Caniëls *et al.* (2014) these five forms are all outward characteristics of individuals, and no attention is paid to the personality of people. They suggest to add a sixth form of proximity, namely personal proximity, which refers to the personal click between people. This emotional bond between individuals, based on individual traits, influences the fruitfulness of a collaboration. However, just as with the five forms of proximity of Boschma (2005), Caniëls *et al.* (2014) stress that too little and too much personal proximity is not considered to be effective. Too little results in having no click on the personal level and the collaboration might not work out. Too much proximity in the personal domain will exclude collaborations with people that have different views, reducing access to additional knowledge. A second result of having too much personal proximity is that unproductive relationships are continued. When studying the micro dynamics of innovation networks, these notions on proximity are of importance, since it is expected that they consciously or unconsciously influence the way actors behave. Literature suggests the interrelatedness of these six forms of proximity although it is unclear how relationships work and which form(s) of proximity are of more or less importance. Caniëls *et al.* (2014: 233) suggest that personal proximity is “likely to tip the scale towards a durable relationship.”

However, the dynamics in innovation processes will most likely not only be influenced by levels of proximity and trust between partners but also by more practical elements, like the availability of required resources, knowledge and skills being brought in the process. The motivation and resources of actors participating and creating an innovation network are likewise of importance. So, from innovation literature the following sensitizing concepts seem to be logical to take into account when studying the micro dynamics of innovation networks in performance/entertainment: networks, learning, proximity, motivation and resources. These elements seem generic for all kinds of industries. However, the leisure sector has several particularities making innovation processes more complex. The following paragraph will shed some light on this.

2. Content innovation and experiences

For actors working on the crossroads of media, entertainment, arts and culture innovation in content is of utmost importance. Tapscott (1996) speaks of content being publishing, entertainment and information providers. Hesmondhalgh (2013: 3) uses the word texts as a collective name for content and for cultural works of all kinds. He stresses that texts refer to objects, artefacts and events that are meaningful. This meaningfulness is what Hutter & Throsby (2008) see as cultural value. Since this study deals with leisure actors focused on performance/entertainment the interpretation of content of Hesmondhalgh is being followed.

It is striking that content innovation often is not classified as R&D (Karlsson & Picard, 2011: 3), which might emphasize the dominant technological approach to innovation. “Content innovation generates experience goods (Nelson, 1970), which create economic value not through improved production efficiency but by offering consumer experience, affect and meaning” (Karlsson & Picard, 2011: 3). Here, we come to the core of the leisure sector, the notion of experiences. Experiences are intangible, sensational, memorable and potentially transformative (Pine & Gilmore, 1999). The general thought is that the more meaningful the experience is, the more likely that an actor remembers it, creating a (emotional) bond or relationship between actors, which suggests a higher potential for value capturing. For many leisure sectors experiences are the primary products (and not an add-on to goods or services). Thus, understanding the particularities of innovation in experience sectors is of relevance for this study.

Sundbo (2009) aimed to explain different types of innovative behavior by creating a taxonomy of experience firms according to their dynamic drivers. He separates experiences from services, since the characteristics of experience production are different from most services. According to Sundbo (2009) the experience production process is more supply determined. “Artists and other creators realize their ideas and the audience (or customers) need to either accept or reject them passively [...]” (Sundbo, 2009: 433). People

may experience the same experience differently. Experience is a mental phenomenon, it leaves people with a memory, and because the experiences takes place in your mind it requires more engagement than in services. There is much technology involved, more than in traditional services. This, for instance, enables (some) experiences to be stored on media and to be transported. Another difference is that in the experience economy customers may travel to the provider instead that the service provider comes to customers (Sundbo, 2009). But what do these differences mean regarding innovation in experiences? Sundbo (2009) is not very clear on this. He sees artists as a special input factor in experiences that cannot be found in other types or production. The creation of new content requires artistic input or creativity. However, according to Sundbo (2009: 438) “artistic creativity may be one input, or source, of innovation, but it is not sufficient to create innovations.” Other input factors are of importance as well since artistic creativity *an sich* does not ensure that a new creation is brought to the market. Therefor entrepreneurship is also necessary. Furthermore, Sundbo (2009) stresses that innovation in experiences is also based on a more collective organization of idea development (collective creativity instead of the individual genius) as well as based on customer-oriented problem-solving (instead of artist-oriented new creation). For these reasons Sundbo (2009) sees artistic creativity as one input factor among others in experience innovation. Sundbo (2009) also stresses the role of technology to create virtual realities or, one step further, combining virtual and real, by playing with time, space, and material as Pine’s (2011) notion of the multiverse allows. Other particularities of innovation in experience sectors according to Sundbo (2009) deal with the organization and market of experience production. There is a big variety in organizational forms, think of technology-based industrial multinational corporations versus events that are organized on project basis and are loosely coupled networks of professionals and volunteers. “The demarcation between the private market-based sector, the public sector and civil society is not as clear within the experience sector as we know from services and manufacturing- particularly not when we talk of cultural activities.” (Sundbo, 2009: 444).

To recap Sundbo’s arguments: differences or peculiarities in experiences and experience innovation are that the production is more supply determined, people may travel to experiences, experiences require more engagement of the consumer, technology plays a big role, there is artistic creativity involved, and the demarcation between private sector-public sector-civil society is more blurry. Is this enough to claim an own innovation dynamic, or is there more? When diving into leisure industry literature other characteristics related to experiences can be found that might make experience innovation different from service innovation. Experience goods are often ephemeral (Mommaas *et al.*, 2000). Think of live experiences for example: a ticket for a performance cannot be stored, it is bounded to a particular time and place (i.e. when and where the performance takes place). The production of experiences contains high risks (Hesmondhalgh 2013; Mommaas *et al.* 2000). Producers are not certain which importance customers attach to the provided experience. Therefore it is of importance to bond the consumer, which stimulated a situation that leisure providers are active on multiple markets to strengthen their bond with their customers in order to gain profit (Mommaas *et al.*, 2000). Hesmondhalgh (2013: 27) adds that the risks stemming from consumption are made worse by production factors:

[..] companies grant symbol creators a limited autonomy in the hope that the creators will come up with something original and distinctive enough to be a hit. But this means that cultural companies are engaged in a constant process of struggle to control what symbol creators are likely to come up with. Second, any particular cultural industry company (Company A) is reliant on other cultural industry companies (B, C, D, and so on) to make audiences aware of the existence of a new product or of the uses and pleasure that they might get from experiencing the product. Even if Company A actually owns Company B or F, they can’t quite control the kind of publicity the text is likely to get because it is

difficult to predict how critics, journalists, radio and television producers, presenters, and so on are likely to evaluate texts.

These risks and uncertainties are accompanied by an increased speed for new experiences. Pine and Gilmore (1999) speak of the rise of the experience economy to point that the economic offer contains increasingly of experiences. The desire for special experiences of the consumer caused a rat race among providers to create more, bigger, spectacular experiences. However, also experiences will be seen as not extra ordinary on a certain time and lose their distinctive character. As a consequence providers will compete on price (Van der Poel, 2004). This view on experiences takes businesses as starting point: the organization tells stories to its customers, searches their attention and directs experiences. The customer is more or less a passive target. Boswijk, Peelen, & Olthof (2011) criticize this business oriented view on experiences and argue for a more human oriented view. The human being should be central in experiences, not in his role of a consumer, buyer or user of goods and services, but as the director of his own life that is meaningful. Boswijk *et al.* (2011) state that via personal interaction with the company individual and meaningful value propositions can be created. This implies a shift in value creation: not within linear chains in the company, but in value networks around the customer.

Throsby (2010) elaborates on the meaning making element of content. According to him, cultural goods (which can also be perceived as experience goods) are vehicles for symbolic messages. Whether the 'consumer' is able to understand and interpret the symbolic meaning or message is not known on beforehand. One might expect that a producer tries to make the experience most memorable or meaningful, suggesting a constant interaction with consumers regarding their needs and desires. However, a characteristic of cultural production is also the art-for-arts sake property (Caves, 2000), which is more in line with Sundbo's suggestion that experience production is more supply determined. Cultural producers are passionate about their content, making rational labor market theory less applicable. As Throsby (2008: 218) says: "cultural goods and services are valued, both by those who make them and by those who consume them, for social and cultural reasons that are likely to complement or transcend a purely economic evaluation." Another distinct characteristic of cultural goods is that "they embody, at least potentially, some intellectual property" (Throsby, 2012: 107). By means of copyrights intellectual property is protected; it is also a way to create artificial scarcity (Hesmondhalgh, 2013) and protecting (or trying to ensure) money streams. Coming back to the second objective of this paper, to explore which differences there might be regarding innovation processes in performance/entertainment versus more product/technological orientated innovation networks, a preliminary answer is formulated. It is clear that the 'product' of innovation is different: an experience is more than just a service. Classical patterns of predicting success or failure are less applicable to experience sectors. There are more uncertainties and risks. Probably the most different element is the challenging relationship between producer and consumer. As said previously, the meaningfulness of the personal experience is central in the experience economy (Boswijk *et al.*, 2011). Sometimes even the moment of production and consumption fall together in time and space (think of a live concert for instance: when a band is playing a particular song and thus producing music, the audience is hearing and thus consuming this music and can attach meaning to this experience). Therefore linear innovation models do not apply or are less useful. More collaborative models are necessary. However, within these collaborative models multiple economies can exist. Sundbo (2009) stressed that the demarcations between private market-based sector, public sector and civil society are blurry. This might mean that in innovation networks more hybrid forms of value creation and value capturing exist. The next paragraph attempts to dive deeper in the challenges that performance/entertainment actors searching for new futures face due to the particularities of experiences.

3. Innovation challenges for experience providers

While the previous paragraph elaborated on the particularities and characteristics of experiences and experience innovation, this section deals with the challenges that actors in performance/entertainment struggle with. Changes in the leisure landscape, caused by digitalization, liberalization and the continuous rise of the network society, make existing business models obsolete. In order to search for new futures strategic alliances are formed. Especially for the leisure sector it seems like new connections between content, experiences and services are sought in redesigning business models. This section will therefore first highlight the work of Van Anandel, Vandenbempt, & Kenis (2011) on business model building blocks, followed by thoughts how digitalization creates a different relationship between producers and consumers, leading to the notion of the hybrid economy.

In the search for value creation/providing added value for customers, the model of Van Anandel, Vandenbempt, & Kenis (2011: 1) seems useful. These authors claim that “segments within the creative industries often display a dominant business model configuration constructed out of three business model building blocks”, namely content, experience or service. Ownership of content by means of intellectual property rights is the core of the business model of mass produced and scalable content. The core of the business model of live experiences like events, festivals, concerts is the unicity of the experience. The experience is simultaneously created (by the performer) and consumed (by the audience). When ‘service’ is the dominant business model configuration creativity functions as the input to enlarge the value of another product. A service provider (such as an architect or graphic designer) delivers work to a client that often also receives the rights of the creative content. While Van Anandel *et al.* (2011:1) suggest that “differentiation from the market can be reached by taking a non-dominant configuration” it can also be argued that currently organizations are combining the building blocks to search for new value creating opportunities. For instance, multiple broadcasters organize live events connected to television programs, where fans can meet their favorite actors or can celebrate the final of a season (thus connecting content and experience). This is also since digital content is easily shared or downloaded illegally. This makes it more difficult to privatize digital goods leading to an uplift in live experiences. An example connecting experience and service is a theme park that designs the children’s hospital wing to stimulate feelings of happiness or comfort. Creating new links between digital content, live experiences and services can also be linked to notions of cross media and transmedia storytelling. It requires particular skills and knowledge to transmit a story from one cultural channel to another. Making a musical performance of a story requires different skills than making a theme park attraction, a television production or an application for a mobile device. Thus, creating new links in content, experience, service probably means that actors have to collaborate with others outside their own cultural domain. This also suggests that the choice for partners might have to do with the competencies, resources, and knowledge that actors possess and that these are complementary to those of other actors in the innovation network (see also Boschma & Iammarino, 2009).

Digitalization, together with liberalization of markets and politics as well as the rise of the network society, challenges the way how (cultural) content is made, disseminated, distributed, accessed, consumed and monetized. While in the world of analog technology the consumer could not be “anything other than a consumer” (Lessig, 2008: 38), in the digital era the consumer moved towards the producer. Enormous amounts of content are created by people in their free time for the sake of pleasure. This user generated content is shared via social media. Also content with copyright is shared (be it illegal or not). This influences the profits of companies whose business models are based on scarcity of products or control over distribution.

Content becomes more fluid, travelling from one device or media channel to another. This creates possibilities for cross and transmedia storytelling to enhance value creation. The same content can be distributed via multiple channels, or every channel can tell a particular piece of the story. The fluidity of

content makes it easier to manipulate, remix, sample and (re)create content. Previously separated arts disciplines overlap (blending written text, image, performing arts), boundaries between culture, arts, media, communication and entertainment are blurring. This convergence – from medium- specific content towards content that flows across multiple media channels (Jenkins, 2006: 254) merging culture, arts, media, communication and entertainment – must be understood “as both a top-down corporate-driven process and a bottom-up consumer-driven process” (Jenkins & Deuze, 2008: 6). Bottom-up since non-professional users or individuals have more opportunities to create and share content, participate in discussions, and learn from various perspectives. One can claim that this *democratization* of cultural production erodes “the power of industrial, professional and institutionalized cultural production” (Hesmondhalgh, 2013: 315). However, this seems only partly be the case. Hesmondhalgh (2013: 339) stresses that “inequality, concentrations of power, and the negative effects of unregulated commercialism still remain in the cultural industries of the twenty-first century.” Companies seek to extend their reach by merging, co-opting, converging and synergizing their brands and intellectual properties across all channels (Jenkins & Deuze, 2008), making convergence also a top-down corporate driven process in which traditional gatekeepers and agenda setters still have (some) power and control over our culture.

Elaborating on these contradicting forces of top-down corporate driven convergence and bottom-up participatory culture is Lessig’s (2008) notion of the hybrid economy. The hybrid economy combines the “economy of sharing” and the “economy of competition” (commerce). While commercial economies build value with money at their core, sharing economies build value ignoring money, but rely on complex social relations (Lessig, 2008: 177). Lessig (2008) claims that there is an increasingly important third economy, he calls this the hybrid economy since it builds upon both the sharing as well as the commercial economies. In his words: “The hybrid is either a commercial entity that aims to leverage value from a sharing economy, or it is a sharing economy that builds a commercial entity to better support its sharing aims. Either way, the hybrid links two simpler, or purer, economies, and produces something from the link” (Lessig, 2008: 177). Preserving the distinction between the two economies is key. Actors on both sides need to stay happy for the reasons they were happy before. For a company in the economy of competition this means a certain amount of profit. For a community participating in a sharing economy this means, according to Shuttleworth (in Lessig, 2008: 184) respect, responsibility and a sense of being part of something that has meaning.

From the above, one can conclude that new relationships are emerging between producers and consumers. Producers have to relate differently to their formerly passive consumers. The consumer is increasingly taking the role of a co-producer (Lessig 2008; Prahalad & Ramaswamy 2004). This questions the classical division between amateurs and professionals and between audience/consumer and producer. It also implies once more that linear value chains are changing towards cyclic value networks. Lessig’s notion of the hybrid economy suggests a role for the producer as a facilitator of communities centered on content. Thus, a prominent challenge of performance/entertainment actors is how to deal with this *new* type of consumer? This can be input for collaborative learning processes in innovation networks.

However, for state subsidized cultural organizations satisfying customer’s needs might not be the only focus. They have to balance multiple objectives: artistic, educational, social and financial. Not only the consumer is putting pressure on the business model of cultural organizations, also the political environment is. Since the 1980’s, neo-liberal politics have brought culture from the margins to the center. Stimulating free markets, free trade and private property rights, caused the cultural offer to expand. Globalization created a global marketplace for cultural products. An increase in leisure time, a rise in disposable income and the related consumer culture further accelerated growth in the cultural industries in the last decades of the 20th century (Hesmondhalgh, 2013). In connecting arts and culture to economic growth and urban revitalization policy (see for instance Landry & Bianchini 1995; O’Connor & Wynne 1996), culture became a central economic instrument in local, regional and national policies. However, after a couple decades of relative prosperity in

terms of money streams provided for the arts, enhanced by politically embraced concepts of the creative city (Landry, 2000), the creative class (Florida, 2002), creative economy (UNESCO & UNDP, 2013), the arts and cultural sector are currently facing difficult times. Not only due to the economic crisis (starting in 2008) causing government to cut budgets, but also due to changing consumer preferences, a rise in cultural offer, political choices, a lack of innovative capacity and the difficulty to find private investors, organizations are struggling financially. State funding for arts and cultural organizations is diminishing. Cultural entrepreneurship is stimulated, new business models, new and/or more public is searched for. O'Connor (n.d.) states that due to the instrumentalisation of culture a lack of appreciation for the intrinsic value of culture exists. This intrinsic value is connected to the earlier mentioned meaning making element of arts and culture. It refers to discussions on artistic quality (Mommaas, 2012). Balancing all these objectives, being artistically and socially relevant in changing times, while at the same time providing added value for your clients and being financially healthy makes the current situation complex. It can be expected that organizing the artistic and business side in a healthy way is a frequently discussed topic in innovation processes of performance/entertainment actors.

To conclude, changes are seen in both the form as the message of content as well as the way how this content can be monetized. Private and public, commercial and artistic, producer and consumer, culture and economy, competition and sharing, amateur and professional, analog and digital are not opposite or separate terms but stand together and are intertwined. This makes processes of value creation more complex, the search for new business models more prominent and thus challenge actors in performance/entertainment. How do they deal with these themes? Which choices are made? To be able to answer such questions empirical research is necessary. This requires an analytical framework to understand actions. Therefore the next paragraph pays attention to the social practice approach.

4. Social practice approach as an ontological framework

As has become clear from the previous sections, an innovation environment is constructed by interaction between actors. This would imply a theory of action as an ontological framework. Giddens structuration theory, as a theory of action, succeeded in bridging the gap between an interpretative perspective on action stressing the role of the individual, the agent or actor and the functionalist perspective stressing the role of structure. While the former explains action and social order by taking a purpose oriented stance (the "homo economicus" making rational choices based on individual interests), the latter supports a norm-oriented theory of action (the "homo sociologicus" following collective norms and values). Giddens combines these perspectives by stating that "the basic domain of study of the social sciences, according to the theory of structuration, is neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal totality, but social practices ordered across space and time." (1984:2). He claims that human activity and the social structures which shape it, are recursively related. Giddens calls this the duality of structures. Thus, "the constitutions of agents and structures are not two independently given sets of phenomena, a dualism, but represent a duality. According to the notion of the duality of structure, the structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organize." (Giddens, 1984: 25).

When actors interact, for instance in innovation processes, this duality of structures becomes 'visible' since it leads to signification, legitimation and the construction of certain power relations. The following scheme clarifies this.



Figure 1. The duality of structures. Taken from Giddens (1976:130; 1979: 82)

Characteristics of interaction (communication, power and sanction) are recursively related to characteristics of structures (signification, domination, and legitimation) by means of modalities. Communication leads via interpretative schemes of actors to signification. Or in other words, the communication of meanings in interaction works via interpretation schemes that help actors to interpret and give meaning to the words of other actors. In using these interpretative schemes a certain shared cognitive order is used and reproduced. Power leads via facilities to domination. Actors use facilities to be able to influence other actors and/or to accomplish outcomes. These facilities are derived from a certain domination order and reproduce this order (Giddens, 1976: 131). Sanction leads via norms to legitimation. What is right or wrong in the interaction is based on norms and rules that are grounded in a certain legitimate order. This order is reconstituted by applying the norms. So, to recapture, the structure (signification, domination, and legitimation) is both the condition as the consequence of the production of interaction.

Giddens sees actors as “knowledgeable agents”, actors are partly conscious as well as unconsciously aware of the conditions and consequences of their daily actions. Their actions are partly based on routines, for which actors make use of rules and resources. A part of the knowledgeability is hidden in the practice, in the acting itself. Although agents are knowledgeable that does not mean that their action only have intended outcomes. Action can result in unintended outcomes that can turn out to be positive or negative. Giddens stresses the importance of language to understand human interaction. Since, according to Giddens by language an actor shapes his environment and explains reality. It is by language that actors try to give meaning to interaction and information. This point is criticized by scholars elaborating on social practices. Reckwitz (2002) compares social practice theory to three other forms of cultural theory (textualism, intersubjectivism, and mentalism), claiming that in practice theory “discourse and language lose their omnipotent status.” (Reckwitz, 2002: 254) Language is seen as one element constituting practices but “a discursive practice also contains bodily patterns, routinized mental activities – forms of understanding, know-how [...], and motivation – and above all, objects [...] that are linked to each other. [...] Practice theory must stress that ‘language exists only in its (routinized) use’: in discursive practices the participants ascribe, in a routinized way, certain meanings to certain objects, and above all, in order to do something.” (Reckwitz, 2002: 255). Thus, although Giddens emphasizes practices, later practice scholars do not prioritize language or communicative action over other forms of action.

How does this help in understanding the challenges performance/entertainment actors face when collaboratively designing an innovation environment? Although Giddens’ duality of structures helps in understanding social action and gives an idea about what happens in the interaction between actors, it does not explain how the innovation environment emerges and evolves. This means that the structuration theory might provide an analytical perspective on how the practice of collaboratively designing an innovation environment can be perceived, but it does not explain any differences/changes in the process (practice). Therefore we need to dive deeper into what recent scholars have written on social practices. According to Shove, Pantzar, & Watson (2012), the social practice approach provide scholars with an understanding of “how practices, ordered across space and time, emerge, evolve and disappear” (Shove, Pantzar, & Watson, 2012: 4).

Theories of social practices are taken on board by multiple scholars (fi. Reckwitz 2002; Schatzki, Knorr Cetina, & Von Savigny 2001; Shove *et al.* 2012; Warde 2005). Schatzki *et al.* (2001) even speak of a

'practice turn'. Seyfang *et al.* (2010: 7) mention three principles of practice theories where most practice scholars agree with:

First, that practices contain within themselves various forms of knowledge, skills, understanding and forms of emotional engagement and that through repeated performance this becomes embedded and embodied within practitioners. Crucially, therefore, these entities are components of, and belong to practices themselves, rather than residing solely inside individuals' heads. Second, that practices always involve the integration of both human and nonhuman, social and technical, elements. Understandings of social agency which neglect its sociotechnical nature are thus blind to vast swathes of both social order and change. Third, and most importantly, that practices themselves, rather than individuals or broad social structures, should be the key unit of analysis in the study of society.

Practices, according to Shove *et al.* (2012), exist as "entity" and as "performance". "It is through performance, through the immediacy of doing, that the 'pattern' provided by the practice-as-an-entity is filled out and reproduced. It is only through successive moments of performance that the interdependencies between elements which constitute the practice as entity are sustained over time." (Shove *et al.*, 2012: 7). The distinction between practices as entities and practices as performances is an analytical one, enabling Shove *et al.* (2012) to show how practices evolve. One can see the application of Giddens ideas on the duality of structure here.

"Individuals feature as the *carriers* (emphasis on original) or hosts of a practice" (Shove *et al.*, 2012: 7). These practitioners, as individuals or actors are called in social practice theory, are constituting and reconfiguring practices. They are knowledgeable and skilled carriers of multiple practices. By actively assembling the elements where practices consists of, practitioners create, recreate or transform a practice. According to Shove *et al.* (2012) there are three different kind of elements: "materials (including things, technologies, tangible physical entities, and the stuff of which objects are made), competences (which encompasses skill, know-how and technique), and meanings (in which we include symbolic meanings, ideas and aspirations)" (Shove *et al.* 2012: 14). "Practices survive and are stabilized through their repeated performance by practitioners, reinforcing the links between the elements (Seyfang *et al.*, 2010: 8). However, "stability is always a provisional outcome of successively faithful reproductions of practice" (Shove *et al.*, 2012: 13). This highlights the dynamic character of the social practice approach; once one (or more) of the three elements constituting practices change, the practice in itself will change as well. Innovation is, by social practice theory, therefore conceived as the making and breaking of links between the elements. It is thus an ongoing process and not an on and off process or something that can be divided into phases like exploration and exploitation.

Reckwitz (2002) stresses that the practice theory cannot be seen as "true" (corresponding to facts) or "false". Instead, social theories, like practice theory, are "vocabularies necessarily underdetermined by empirical facts" (Reckwitz, 2002: 257). They offer "contingent systems of interpretation which enable us to make certain empirical statements" (Reckwitz, 2002: 257). Just like Giddens structuration theory, social practice theory should not be seen as a conceptual framework that can or should be tested. Instead it should be perceived as a "heuristic device, a sensitizing 'framework' for empirical research in the social sciences." This means that it can help scholars to analyze social phenomena since "it opens up a certain way of seeing" (Reckwitz, 2002: 257).

What are the implications of the social practice approach for analyzing the micro dynamics of collaboratively creating an innovation environment in performance/entertainment? First of all, it is the process (of collaboratively designing an innovation environment) that can be seen as the practice studied. Actors

engaged are the carriers of the practice or practitioners. These practitioners are always carriers of multiple practices: for instance, they are a practitioner of an inter organizational innovation network as well as a practitioner of daily routines how work is done in their particular organization. These practices can be conflicting or supporting to another. The elements meaning, materials, and competencies constitute the practice, so in this case, the meanings that practitioners attach to the process of collaboratively designing an innovation environment together with the resources they bring in and the skills, knowledge and competencies that they possess constitute the practice but also recreate the practice. All elements can vary from practitioner to practitioner and from moment to moment. For instance, if the innovation environment succeeds in bringing forward a successful performance/entertainment production, practitioners might attach more importance to the environment (which might also influence the resources that they bring in). It should be emphasized that the process of collaboratively designing an innovation environment (the practice) is never static, but permanently changing. The practice changes when new practitioners enter or when practitioners leave, when new knowledge is brought in, or in the words of Shove *et al.* (2012) when the links between the three elements are made and broken. This dynamic character of the social practice approach makes this approach suitable as an ontological framework for capturing and understanding the micro dynamics in innovation networks of performance/entertainment actors.

Conclusion

This paper started with introducing a performance/entertainment innovation network that is emerging in the South of the Netherlands. To be able to empirically capture the micro dynamics in this innovation network, it is questioned whether experience innovation has an own dynamic. Does the fact that actors in performance/entertainment focus on creating meaningful experiences, require a different perspective on innovation compared to the dominant views on product and service innovation? And following this question, how can such an innovation environment be studied?

An experience is more than just a service. Pine and Gilmore (1999) stress that experiences are sensational, memorable and potentially transformative. Experiences are mental phenomena taking place in people's minds, requiring more engagement than in services. Artistic input is a special input factor in experiences (Sundbo, 2009). The production of experiences is more risky: classical patterns of predicting success or failure are less applicable to experience sectors. Even if tested via market research experience providers cannot be sure that the provided experience is meaningful for the individual. The relationship producer-consumer is a challenging one. Not only due to trends of digitalization and networking, allowing consumer to take the role of the producer or to co-create experiences and content, but also since for some experiences the moment of production and consumption fall together in time and space. To increase the complexity further, hybrid forms of value creation and value capturing exist in experience production and innovation due to blurred boundaries of private market-based sector, public sector and civil society. This also suggests that a variety of objectives is in place in innovation processes, aiming to satisfy artistic, business, social and individual needs. For these reasons and characteristics one might provisionally and hypothetically conclude that experience innovation has an own dynamic. It is expected that due to the particularities of experiences, innovation processes are more relational. The risks involved (for instance the speed in which ideas and concepts are copied by competitors and the importance of reputation) suggest the importance of social and personal proximity. Tensions between experimental and instrumental aims might be present as well as discussions how to combine the economy of sharing with the economy of competition.

It needs further empirical research to capture how actors deal with these challenges and insecurities. These dynamics in innovation processes are worthwhile to be researched in more detail. In this paper the suggested framework to do so, is by taking the social practice approach. Due to the fact that the practice is the central unit of analysis, and not the actors or social structures, it can be studied how an innovation

environment changes due to the way the practitioners (actors) constitute the elements of a practice: meaning, competences, and materials. It should be kept in mind that the practice approach provides an ontological frame and not a conceptual framework that can be tested. In trying to capture the micro dynamics of innovation networks in performance/entertainment the following concepts seem to be relevant to take into account. From innovation literature: networks (which networks / type of actors participate?), learning (what is learned and how is this brought back to the organization?), proximity (levels of cognitive, organizational, social, institutional, geographical and personal proximity), motivation (why do actors participate?) and resources (which resources are brought in for what reasons?). Literature regarding leisure and experiences suggests attention should be given to new combinations between content-experience-service, the notion of hybrid economy, the relationship between producer and consumer and the way a variety of artistic and commercial objectives is reached. These concepts form the starting point of empirical research to the micro dynamics in two innovation networks of actors operating on the crossroads of art, culture, media and entertainment that collaboratively search for new forms of artistic cultural content as well as ways to turn this content into business.

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Research and Practice on the Cultivation of the Creative and Innovative Talents in Arts Management

Zhang, Beili

Professor, Dean of Arts Management Department
Tianjin Conservatory of Music, Tianjin, China
1571807862@qq.com

Abstract

In recent years, the Chinese government has been vigorously developing the cultural industry, leading to a great demand for creative and innovative talents in arts management. This paper based on the comparison at international and domestic on the talents training ideas and methods. It will analyze the main problems currently faced in the arts management education in China. The paper aims to identify and discuss the talents training concept and training model in cultivating creative and innovative talents in arts management at the Arts Management Department of Tianjin Conservatory of Music. Its main theoretical contribution builds from identification of the Project-Based Training Model in cultivating creative and innovative talents in arts management through 15 years of research and practice. These explorations in the training model include the following four components: Specifically, interdisciplinary foundational courses, diverse practical courses, cutting-edge information technology, and industry-college collaboration projects are implemented.

Keywords: arts management, creative and innovative talent, project-based training model

Introduction

On September 27, 2009, China's State Council announced the *Cultural Industry Promotion Plan*. Following revitalization plans in China's top ten industries including the steel, automobile, and textiles industries, this is yet another important industry revitalization plan, raising the status of the cultural industry to one of the country's strategic industries. In China, the culture industry is an important: 1) vehicle for cultural development under market economy conditions, 2) way to meet people's diverse cultural needs, and 3) focal point to promote economic restructuring and transformation. In recent years, the Chinese government has been vigorously developing the cultural industry, leading to a great demand for innovative talents in arts management. We need many leaders in the integration of arts and business. They need to be familiar with the rules of a market economy, need to be capable administrators and managers, but at the same time, also understand the arts.

1. Educational concept of the creative and innovative talents in arts management

Cultivating what kind of person is the core content of the basic educational concept as a kind of ideal about the development of education, spirituality, sustainability, and the value pursuit of relative stability. Today, though their specific goals are different, every country holds to great importance the choice and innovation of higher education and emphasizes the elements of excellence, characteristic, open exchange, people-oriented, and sustainable development.

A. *The Understanding of the Innovative Talents in Domestic and Foreign Education*

We have the following basic understanding of innovative talents from the comparison of domestic and foreign education (Jiang *et al.*, 2005):

First, the innovative talents are a special type of talent relative to the conventional talent. The so-called innovative talent has an innovative consciousness, spirit, and ability. The so-called conventional talent is

dominated by conventional thinking, lacking the innovative consciousness, spirit, and ability, and is used to dealing with problems according to the conventional method of talent. The innovative talents are interconnected with the commonly classified talents oriented in theory, application and skills.

Second, the basis of innovative talents is the well-rounded development of individuals. Closely related to other qualities, the innovative consciousness, spirit, thinking and ability are neither created intentionally, nor developed entirely alone. In this sense, an innovative talent is derived comprehensively first, with highly developed innovative consciousness, spirit, thinking, and ability.

Third, the free development of personality is the premise of the growth and development of innovative talents. Japan's Temporary Education Council pointed out in its first review on education reform that: "Closely related are creativity and individuality." In order to cultivate the creativity in innovative talents, a university must first help them to grow as a human, to develop true freedom and individual independence instead of conditioning them as a kind of tool restricted by all sorts of rules. A freely developed human is not necessarily creative, but the true innovative talents cannot be formed without the free development of individual character. In this sense, the innovative talent does have a freely and independently developed personality.

Fourth, the understanding of innovation and innovative talent vary throughout history. Rooted in the reality and facing the future, innovative talents in the modern society should have the following qualities: a combination of width and depth in the preparation of knowledge; highly developed intelligence and skills marked by creativity; freely developed personality with an innovative consciousness and spirit; positive and dedicated life values; a strong vitality.

B. Characteristics and Qualities of the Creative and Innovative Talents in Arts Management

Arts Management is a highly comprehensive, cross-disciplined, and applied profession. It is an emerging strategic arts discipline based in the arts, guided by management, and supported by the creation and proliferation of the arts, the arts market, and other related disciplines. Under the current economy and policy environment, the arts management discipline strives to organically integrate the expressive fulfillment of the arts, with satisfying people's demand of the arts. This integration is achieved through the guiding of the artists, arts works, arts activities and arts institutions. In the field of arts management, the element of management is both an art and a science. The primary challenge faced by contemporary arts institutions of both visual and performing arts is to harmonize the management, economic, and aesthetic goals, maximizing cultural and economical efficiency.

As an emerging strategic discipline, arts management contributes to economic and social development through the harnessing of arts resources and the generation of new products, markets and opportunities. Therefore, a creative and innovative talent in arts management must be able to adapt to the latest social, economic and cultural developments; they must have a sense of innovation, be familiar with industrial operations and modern corporate management tools, understand the relevant principles of intellectual property protection, be capable in the ways of cultivating a market (planning, marketing, management), and be highly specialized in the strategic development of the arts.

The innovative ability of talents in arts management is embodied in their ability to absorb knowledge, not simply in quantity, but more importantly, in how much they internalize its essence of culture as their own. This can also be reflected in the ability to assimilate their surroundings, to adapt, and cope with knowledge in the future. Ultimately, this innovative ability needs to be cultivated through practice. This is an aspect of our education demanding greater attention. Firstly, the traditional closed training model needs to be replaced by an integration of higher education with research and production. Flexible and varied teaching methods should be adopted, encouraging students to actively participate in the interactive teaching process to stimulate creative thinking. Secondly, the scope of teaching should be broadened to strengthen the practical component. The ability of inquiry and problem solving can only be improved through the integration and exchange of experience gained from theory and practice. Classroom teaching can be extended through

diverse community practice projects, providing information resources for innovation and entrepreneurship, and a greater number of participation opportunities for students.

The Structure and Goals of Creative and Innovative Talent in Arts Management

According to the current and future development trends of arts management, the structure of talents in arts management can be generally divided into three different levels and four different types²²⁶. The three levels of structure of talents in arts management.

At the first level are the high-level creative talents, the "creative gold-collar", who can pioneer new fields to provide new ideas and works. They form the core of the preservation and development of the arts management discipline and will determine its future direction. According to the relevant information, the lack of high-level creative talents is one of the factors restricting the development of arts management. It puts forward some problems for talents cultivation in higher education.

At the second level are the operation and management talents, the "creative white-collar", who understand technology, industry knowledge, and management. They form the backbone of the cultural creative industry development and will determine the scale and speed of the development in cultural enterprises. In a nationwide perspective, the cultivation of talents lags behind the development of arts management, the lack of mid-level creative talents understanding of arts management, but also good at marketing management.

At the third level are the technical talents, the "creative blue-collar", who are at the foundation of the realization of arts management. The technical skills in arts management include packaging and printing, film and television engineering technology, photographic camera technology, and publishing. A high market demand of these technical talents is another factor restricting the development of cultural creative industry. Currently not many higher education programs offer training in these areas, proving a large space for professional development and cultivation of the talents.

According to international experience, a reasonable structure for the classification of talents in arts management should be a hierarchical pyramid, maintaining an appropriate ratio between the first, second and third levels to ensure optimal development of arts management.

Qualities and Requirements of a Creative and Innovative Talent in Arts Management

1) Quality of professional knowledge

The creativity in arts management is built on a certain basis, and it must be closely related to various other disciplines. This requires the creative and innovative talents in arts management, which have strong professional background with the necessary skills and industry experience, understand the future trends for the development of the cultural industry, have their own unique perspectives. Generally, only those who have rich professional knowledge and comprehensive understanding in their field could contribute to arts management using their creative thinking.

2) Quality of skill characteristics

First, the keen insight

Innovation is one of the important characteristics of arts management and the source of vitality for the practitioners of arts management. To keep renewing the source of innovation is to continue to receive and refine new information for creative need. Therefore, the creative and innovative talents in arts management must have a keen insight, which are very sensitive to new information; good at discovering new areas not to be excavated.

Second, the ability to continuously innovate

The arts management demands fresh ideas and concepts, break the normal procedure to open up new space for development. One who thinks conservatively and embodies the old knowledge structure cannot

²²⁶ HUA, Z. (2009) The Construction of Talents Training Model of Chinese Cultural Creative Industry. Shenyang: Journal of Shenyang Normal University Social Science Edition (no. 3; total 153).

become the leading trend of the pioneer. Therefore, the creative talents in arts management must be able to diverge from the conventional mode of thinking in order to create new opportunities for development.

Third, the ability of integration

Arts management covers the various categories of arts disciplines. There is certain correlation between each category. If you can link these different areas, forming a chain, you will certainly promote the comprehensive development of the art of management. Therefore the creative and innovative talents in arts management need to have the ability to absorb the creative elements from various professions and recombine with ones from their own profession to form a unique style, integrating knowledge of the arts and industry.

Fourth, strong learning ability

In the era of the knowledge-based economy, creativity is time sensitive, and the stable development of arts management requires constant renewal. Therefore, the creative and innovative talents in arts management must always be learning. They must be able to master the cutting-edge knowledge through continuous learning and be able to find creative inspiration from the latest changes in the industry, always standing at the forefront of industry trends.

In summary, an innovative talent in arts management should have the following qualities:

- Creativity -innovation and planning
- Charisma - accessible and respectable
- Communication -trust and rapport
- Insight - strategic vision and seizing opportunities
- Integration - comprehensive application of knowledge
- Endurance -perseverance in setbacks
- Collaboration - team spirit and cooperation
- Execution - implementation in practice

2. Analysis of the Current Development of Arts Management Education in China

(A) Background

The education of talents in the Arts Management discipline in China began as early as the 1980s. After the year 2000, to adapt to the new trends in economic and social developments, and in order to meet the talent demand for cultural affairs and cultural industry development, arts institutions began to offer undergraduate programs in arts management. Founded in 2006, the China Arts Administration Education Association (CAAEA) will be held the tenth annual meeting in November this year. The Association has organized an annual national competition of creative entrepreneurial projects in the arts for college students since 2008. Founded in 2012, the China Arts Management Committee of Arts Society of China will be held the fourth annual meeting in October this year. Since 2012, the academic journal *Studies in Arts Management* has been published annually. According to statistics, currently there are more than 100 colleges and universities offering arts management programs or cultural industry management major.

(B) Developments

With more than 15 years of theoretical exploration and educational application, the discipline of arts management in China has been gradually maturing into: 1) a large educational community consisting of conservatories, arts colleges, universities and liberal arts colleges; 2) a complete professional education system including undergraduate, graduate and doctoral programs; 3) a preliminary pedagogical and academic system, building a timely platform connecting academia, industry, and the government sector; 4) a team engaged in teaching, application, and research with an accumulation of academic achievements.²²⁷

(C) The training model of Creative and Innovative Talents in Arts Management in China

²²⁷ JUN, Z. (2012) Progress on the Discipline Development of Arts Management. Nanjing: Study of Arts Management . Publishing House of Southeast University, pp. 045.

The training model is a structure of knowledge, ability and quality designed for the cultivated talent. These cultivating methods are based on the standards of educational quality and goals. The training model of innovative talents should therefore seek a scientific, practical, and effective new build derived from goals, training standards, and implementation strategy. At present, the arts management training in China has explored and practiced the following:

1. a “platform + modules” curriculum system

University curriculum system is divided into two types of compulsory courses and elective courses. Curriculum system is divided into mandatory courses and elective courses.

Compulsory courses include: First, the common foundation platform, mainly includes courses on moral quality, physical and psychological quality, basic knowledge and ability of the curriculum; Second, the discipline foundation platform, including discipline basic courses, discipline main courses, and interdisciplinary courses and so on; Third, the professional foundation platform, mainly for the professional basic courses, practice, etc.

Elective courses include: First, the professional elective course modules, set up multiple professional directions, and each module support and expand the professional foundation courses and professional courses, professional practice, graduation practice and graduation design (Thesis). Second, free elective courses, including public, interdisciplinary, and disciplines elective courses.

But in addition to the public foundation course in accordance with the relevant provisions of Chinese Ministry of Education, there is no uniform standard of the professional basic courses or professional course setting, or standard course names among different colleges and universities of arts management curriculum system. For example, the curriculum system for cultivating a wide range of talents in the Arts Management Department at Tianjin Conservatory is of the “platform + module” course structure. The foundational courses are emphasized in the beginning. Later a flexible professional direction is developed (professional directions in music business and music media) based on market demand and personality development. After completing their professional foundation platform courses, students will choose their own professional direction based on their own educational experiences and goals.

2. The multi-level innovative training specifications

Multi-level talent cultivation specifications have been established according to the different situations and characteristics of individual students. The majority of students are trained to become qualified art management specialized talents. More advanced students are encouraged to pursue further degrees, study abroad, or pursue cross-discipline studies, laying foundation to become leading innovative talents in their specific field.

3. The practice of innovation

A system of course construction, practical teaching and extracurricular training is formed through the establishment of an innovation practice base, building a practical teaching system, organizing students to participate in arts project creative design competitions such as the national challenge cup, training and internships at arts institutions, and a large number of arts planning and management projects on and off campus. These activities promote active thinking and inspiration. They comprehensively cultivate the innovative spirit and practical abilities of the students.

4. The educational reform in innovative talent training

The concept of innovation in education is implemented throughout the course of education through the integration and extension of course content, teaching methods, and examination modes.

(D) Main Problems in Training Model

Over the years, the innovative education of arts management in China has achieved significant results. However, there are still some problems in the training model.

- The concept of education is relatively backward

The main body status of college students is often not fully realized in higher education in China. The relationship between teachers and students is the relationship between the educator (giving) and the educated (receiving). Teaching is the relationship between instruction and acceptance. Due to teachers as authority in the classroom, and students their unequal status, so led to the lack of effective communication between teachers and students.

- Curriculum is not flexible enough

The curriculum is generally used in the "floor type", that is, the public basic course→ the professional basic course→ professional course→ professional direction course structure. This curriculum structure results in narrow range of professional knowledge of isolated disciplines, and the professional adaptability is poor. Many compulsory courses, independent choice scope is small.

The curriculum does not effectively integrate theory and practice. Some courses have arranged practical components, but these are concentrated at the end of the semester (referred as the "practical weeks") with independent examination, as the theoretical portions are taught as mandatory courses occupying the majority of the semester ("theoretical weeks"). This separated structure is neither conducive to the integration of theory and practice, nor the cultivation of autonomous learning and planning.

- Teaching method is relatively unitary

The undergraduate courses in arts management are mainly exam-based, with the focus of teaching activities being "lectures + tests". Classroom lecture is still the main mode of teaching, emphasizing in-class hours. Some teachers cannot arouse students' learning interest and initiative. Students in the large classes, such as eating from the same big pot, are not good at independent learning and thinking, countersunk notes, rote learning, passive accept the teaching contents. In this environment, students become little more than a lecture-note-taking machine, lacking in the development of independent thinking and problem solving. In this type of education with examination scores as the main standard of measurement, the cultivation and evaluation of qualities such as innovation, execution, and dedication are neglected. The motivation for learning does not originate from the intrinsic need and interest for knowledge, but from the pursuit of higher examination scores and other extrinsic benefits.

- The lack of innovative teachers

Many teachers in arts management have not readily adapted to both the latest concepts and modern methods in education, not fully expressing their creative potential and enthusiasm for teaching reform. Therefore, in order to adapt to the rapidly growing scale and needs of higher education in China, the cultivation of the teaching force in arts management requires not only expansion in its quantity, but more importantly advancement in its educational concepts and abilities.

Some teachers may have outdated educational concepts, prioritize research over teaching, give insufficient input, or use obsolete and repetitive teaching contents and methods. Others may lack practical experience in the creation, performance, and management of the arts, and in arts management organizations or industry. Such teachers cannot play a practical role in the education process and are not qualified for innovative education.

The enthusiasm of teachers to write teaching material is not high. A considerable part of the contents of the teaching material is outdated, and cannot keep pace with a rapidly developing arts and cultural industry. Some excellent foreign and domestic materials cannot be translated in a timely and effective manner.

- Innovation practice is not enough

In most current programs in arts management, practical training only occupies a small portion of credit hours relative to traditional lecture course time, despite the improvements the practical abilities of students demand. Relevant case-based teaching is lacking in most professional core courses in arts management, with few opportunities for students to directly participate in research and other projects.

- Innovation management mechanism is weak

Students are unable to independently select a professional direction based on their individual skills and interests. Academic options such as interdisciplinary courses, minors, and second degrees are limited. Students are unable to optimize course times, contents, and teachers according to their individual needs. It is difficult to balance diversity and consistency under these restrictions, can't fully respect the students' subjectivity, and arouse the enthusiasm of students' learning. Additionally, the workload calculation mechanism leads to teachers prioritizing the quantity of teaching hours, classes, and students. Workload is filled by creating more courses, bigger lecture sizes, and longer lecture times; resulting in neither any time left for teachers to provide individual counseling, nor for students to study independently.

3. Explorations in the training model in arts management at the Tianjin Conservatory of Music

(A) Background

Tianjin Conservatory of Music established the Arts Management Department in 2001 in order to adapt to the demands of cultural affairs and industry developments in China, fulfilling the urgent need to train high-quality talents in arts management.

The Department of Arts Management currently accepts 100 undergraduate students and 15 graduate students per year. The Department has established three major (Arts Management, Cultural Industry Management, Art History and Criticism) and two professional directions of music business and music media. The department has 24 faculty and staff members, including 13 full-time faculty members in the studies of arts, management science, communication science, literature, and computer science. At the same time, the department also employs 11 part-time faculty members, including media specialists and elites in the cultural industry. They not only have abundant experience and knowledge but are also able to provide many practical projects and internship opportunities for our students. They supplement and enrich experimental teaching content, complementing well with the teaching and research capabilities of the full-time faculty members.

After 14 years of vigorous development and investment, we have built an on-campus innovative practice platform for the cultural and creative industries: 1,000 square meters with advanced equipments. We also developed 12 off-campus cultural and creative industries innovation practice bases (structures outlined below). We have established long term, stable collaborations with many organizations including cultural and creative industrial parks, newspapers, publishing houses, performing arts agencies, performance groups and venues, radio and television stations, and cultural and artistic enterprises. These collaborations provide us with spaces for project practice and internship, building a broad platform for employment and entrepreneurship of our students.

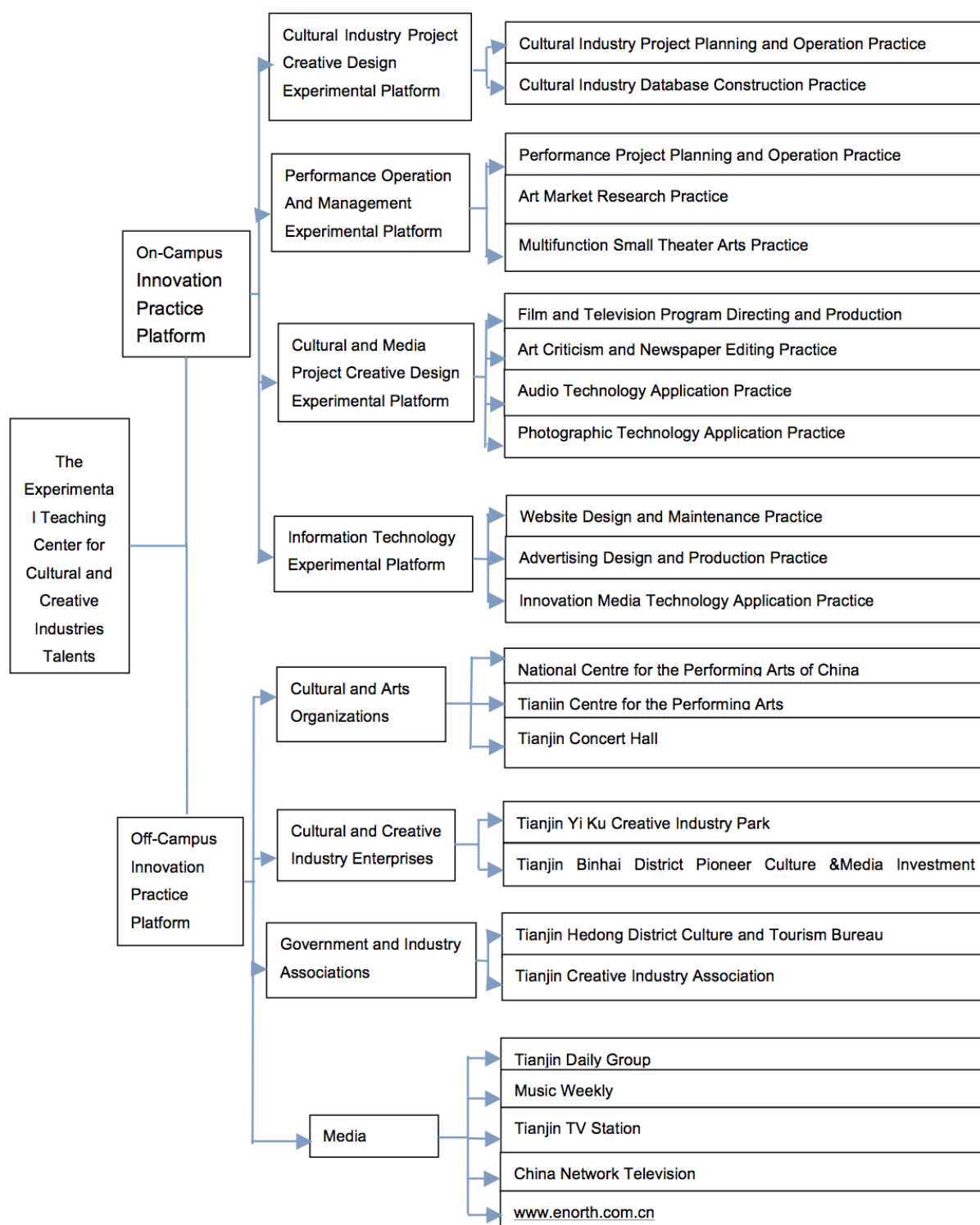


Figure 1. The Experimental Teaching Center for Cultural and Creative Industries Talents Cultivation

(B) Project-based training model

A project-based educational approach in cultivating innovative talents in arts management is implemented, following the model of theoretical foundations → skill building → comprehensive application. Specifically,

interdisciplinary foundational courses, diverse practical courses, cutting-edge information technology, and industry-college collaboration projects are implemented.

Interdisciplinary foundational courses: The interdisciplinary nature of foundational education adapts to current educational developments, and is effective in cultivating the scope of knowledge, the innovative consciousness and problem solving abilities of the students. A comprehensive curriculum system in interdisciplinary training is at the core of cultivating the creative and innovative talents of arts management, enabling students to acquire a broad foundation, professional vision, and strong adaptability. The program at the Arts Management Department of Tianjin Conservatory of Music reinforces interdisciplinary studies in literature, history, arts, law, economics, and management; integrating studies in the arts, management, and communication. Through the development of enhanced appreciation for the arts as well as management skills and familiarity with industry policies, students acquire a solid foundation for their future projects.

Diverse practical courses: The practical and experimental components in training, cultivating the innovative spirit and practical abilities of the students, are present throughout the learning process. This is not only reflected in the practical projects of planning, producing, packaging, marketing, and operating in arts management, but also in the teaching of various experimental courses.

Carrying the tradition of "practical training" in Tianjin Conservatory of Music, the program in arts management has established a four-fold teaching system of: foundational practical teaching, professional practical teaching, comprehensive practical teaching, and innovative practical teaching. The practical courses are comprehensively integrated and reconstructed, emphasizing the close relationship between practice and teaching. Factors such as knowledge structure and innovative education are taken into account in practical training, aiming to develop the required compound characteristics of the talents in arts management such as artistic insight, a business mind, competitive consciousness, and organizational ability.

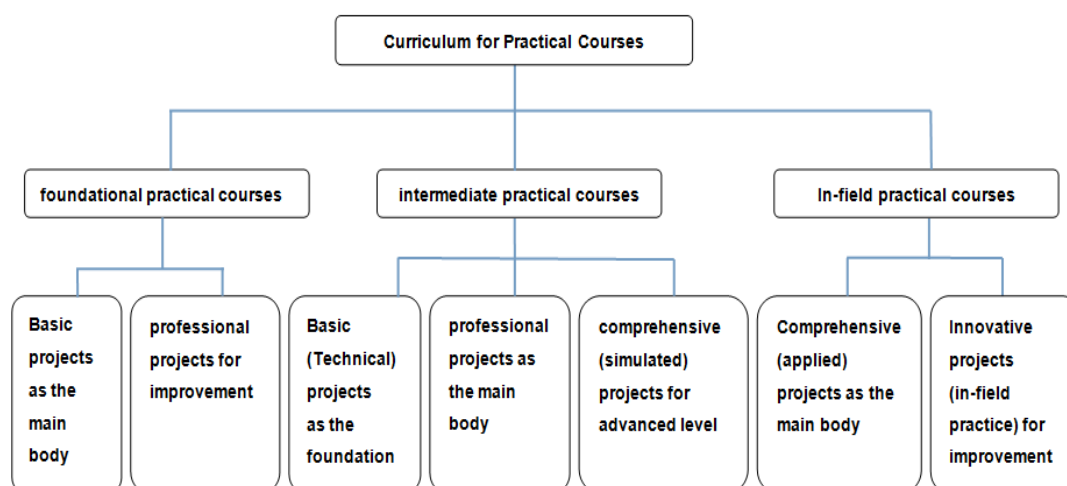


Figure 2. Curriculum for Practical Courses

Cutting-edge information technology: The development of arts management is concurrent with the latest developments in science and technology, requiring the creative and innovative talents in arts management to consistently learn and master the most advanced technology. The Arts Management Department has invested 4, 000,000 RMB in building the Experimental Teaching Center for Cultural and Creative Industries Talents Cultivation and the Virtual Simulation Experimental Teaching Center for Cultural and Creative Industries Projects, consisting of 1,000 square meters of facility (including one culture creation industry practice platform and six studios). These centers break the boundaries of time and space, building an interactive teaching platform and supporting service system for the teachers, students, and administrators on

campus, and collaborating industry experts off campus. Simulations of large cultural industry project development and operation management process are provided, effectively promoting the students' *immersive* training of professional knowledge and skills, stimulating the creative potential of innovation, enhancing employability and entrepreneurship.

Industry-college collaboration projects: The Arts Management Department has established both an internal platform and external bases, building an open learning environment. The internal platform has achieved an advanced standard relative to similar programs in China with regard to 1) the integration of related experimental courses and faculty resources in the composition and performance of music, dance, and theatre, 2) the achievement of practical results in the integration and extension of music industry production chains, and 3) the open platform for incubating cultural industry talents. Research achievements and artistic creations are constantly being converted into practical projects, simulating operations in the culture creative industry, improving both the innovative and practical abilities of the students through design and research.

The Arts Management Department also provides external culture creative industry practice bases for students. Supported by Tianjin Conservatory of Music, these bases fully integrate social resources to form an incubator and attractor of talents in music and cultural creativity, performance, production design and development, and arts management. The compound innovative talents of the cultural industry are cultivated through a project driven and evaluated training model, collaborating with arts organizations, cultural enterprises, media and government cultural management departments through information exchange and joined projects.

Industry-college cooperative projects integrate academic research and industry practice. Some projects are simulations; some practice hands-on operations and management. These projects have effectively improved the innovation and practical operation skills of the students, offering training while performing research and development at the same time.

1. Main problems solved

- Integration of theoretical teaching and industry practice
- Greatly enhanced effectiveness of teaching
- Measurable, objective educational outcomes

2. Methods solving teaching problems

- Clear objectives and programs

Arts management training is a systematic undertaking, involving many faculty, students, and teaching and administrative staff. Therefore, a scientific and reasonable training plan should be developed first, with clear educational goals and optimized curriculum. Supplemental programs should be established for the implementation of supporting measures and education reform initiatives.

- Interest stimulating and task driven

Interest is the best teacher. Project-based teaching models can better stimulate the interest and enthusiasm of students through the organic integration of theory and practice. Students are engaged in the design and discussions surrounding the concepts, planning, promotion, marketing, operation, management and evaluation of practical arts projects, as well as finding solutions to potential problems that may arise in the projects.

- Competition participation - evaluation and motivation

Building the academic competition platform; faculty and students have formed a number of teaching teams, participating in major-related competitions such as: the *Challenge Cup* Entrepreneurial Business Plan Competition, the *Challenge Cup* Extracurricular Academic and Scientific Works Competition, the National Undergraduate Arts Projects Creative Planning Competition, Future Arts Management CEO Contest, Cultural Creative Works Competition, and Micro-Film and Movie Competitions. By participating in competitions at the

university, provincial and national levels, the effectiveness of practical projects training can be further evaluated, at the same time motivating faculty and students to constantly strive for better.

- Learning from each other through resource sharing

In each course the faculty supervises 2-3 practical training projects each semester. These project teams all need to complete teaching, presentation and demonstration assignments, learning from each other. From these activities, the instructor can also gain feedback and in return greatly improve the efficiency and effectiveness of teaching.

- Combination of simulated research and industry practice

In the comprehensive level and innovative level projects, a particular emphasis is placed on connecting to industry projects, with projects such as: joint research and development of *"Gateway to Music" Summer Music Festival* with the Tianjin Concert Hall; joint planning and operation of the *Tianjin May Festival* with the Tianjin Board of Education; joint operation of the project *"Music in the Neighborhood" constructing community music culture* with the Community Education Center; joint development and operation with China's Future Children's Arts Centre on the project *"Cricket Valley" Children Cultural Education Industry*; joint operation with Yi Ku Creative Industrial Park on *"World Expo travels to Yi Ku" exhibition and performance*; collaboration with CCTV in filming documentary series *Millennium Ancient County*; collaboration with Sun TV in filming the documentary *Nankai Spring* for the series *China Humanities Geography*; collaboration with CCTV Digital Television shooting *Xintan Landslide* for the series *Twentieth Century Disasters*; collaboration with China Education Television filming documentary film *My Sun* (Top Ten selection of Chinese documentary films; Film and Television Festival Special Contribution Award in Malaga, Spain).

3. Results and applications

Since 2006, students have earned more than 100 prizes in provincial and national level competitions and most of graduates have found satisfactory employment.

Among competition prizes, our students have earned 2 gold prizes, 1 silver prize and 4 bronze prizes in the "Challenge Cup" national Competition, which is exceptional for arts colleges. In addition, since 2009 our students have also participated in the national creative arts project planning competition and won more than 10 awards. Many graduates have secured employment in major cultural organizations such as CCTV, National Peking Opera Theatre Troupe, China Cultural Development Foundation, and Shanghai Center for the Performing Arts, Tianjin Cultural Center, and China Music Weekly, etc.

Conclusion

A conservatory of music is often deeply embedded within the city culture, absorbing cultural nutrients, and in turn giving back the fruits of professional arts resources to the city. No longer is a closed ivory tower, the conservatory is a music center of the city, embodying music education, cultural exchange, and community outreach. It is the palace of elegant arts, is the incubator promoting national music to the international stage, but also the cradle improving artistic appreciation of the city. We wish to build a platform for students, let them to show, exercise their creative potential and with what they have learned to give back to society. This is a path in cultivating the creative and innovative talents in arts management, is also the current trends of international music education.

The successful cultivation of the creative and innovative talents in arts management must both "look up" and "look down". "Look up" refers to the highest professional standards, such as ones upheld by experts from around the world that we often invite, for students to access the latest academic research, ideas and experience in cultural industries. "Look down" refers to leading our students in outreach activities among the population. Responsible for building the cultural atmosphere of the city, a conservatory of music should keep close contact with local cultural centers such as museums, concert halls, opera houses, professional

performance groups, creative industry parks, communities and schools to engage in regularly outreach activities.

The cultivation of the creative and innovative talents in arts management should foster a powerful ability to adapt and change - to challenge, create and present outstanding artistic experiences that enrich lives. Forming a broad range of close contact with the city, they are responsible for shaping a city's image, leading cultural trends and serving citizens through cultural outreach of the highest quality. Their creative work enables arts to function as not only a supportive vehicle providing spiritual motivation and intellectual support for the city, but also a powerful catalyst to economic development, promoting investment and consumption, creating a more dynamic and competitive economy and society.

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COLOPHON

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Avenue Maurice 1
1050 Brussels,
Belgium

T +32 (0)2 201 29 12
info@encatc.org
www.encatc.org



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