

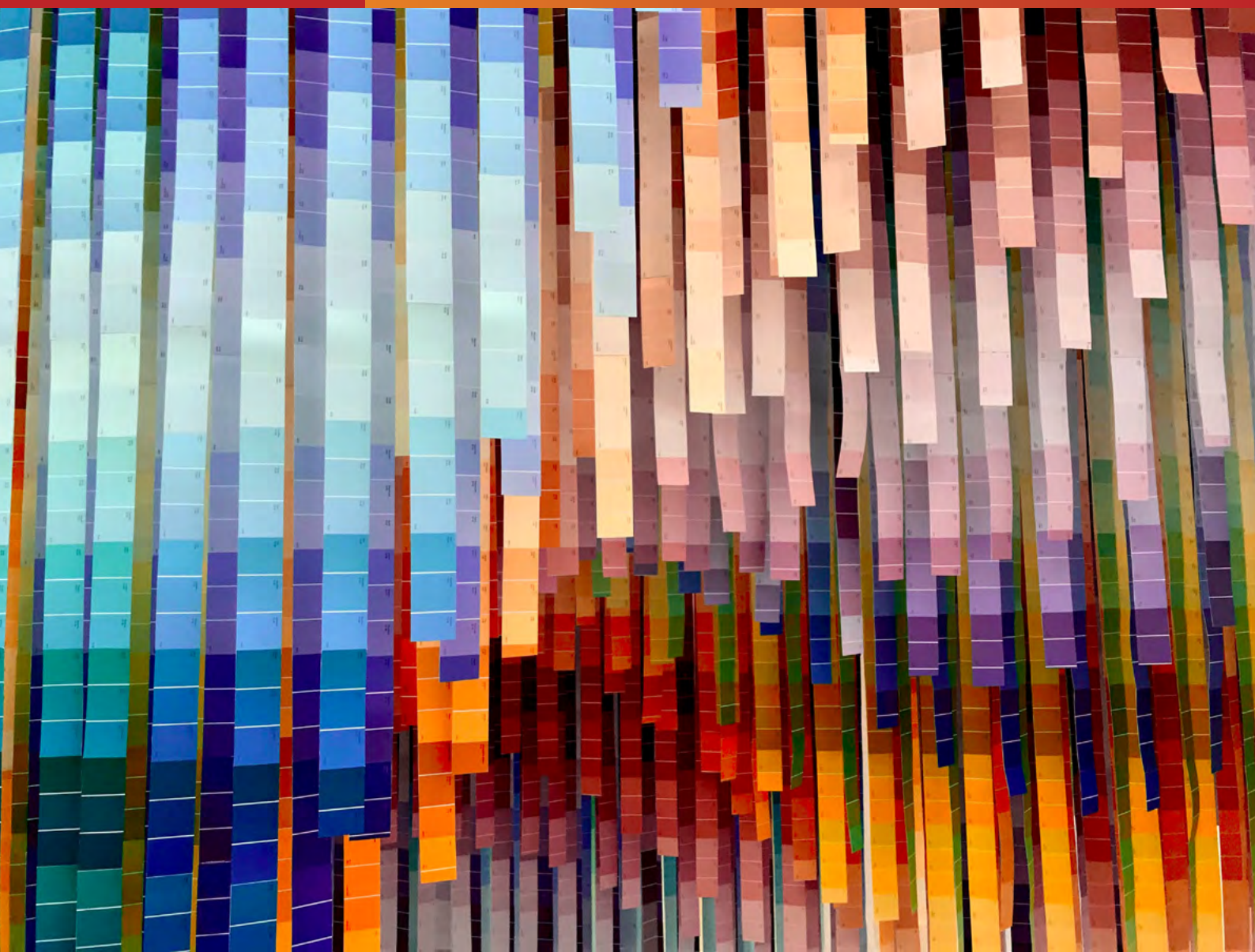


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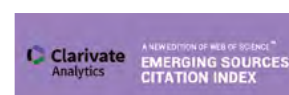


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Cultural Management and Policy in the “Migration Society”: Inequalities and starting points for a critical reorientation

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses exclusions in the public cultural sector of German-speaking Europe and focuses on the need for fundamental structural changes to ensure that the “normality” of diversity in a migration society prevails in the field of arts and culture. The article presents the concept of the “migration society”, which was originally developed in the context of pedagogical theory, and recommends it for a critical examination of cultural management and cultural policy. The perspective of the “migration society” looks at our society as a whole, not at migrants as imaginary groups or individuals. The focus is intersectional, taking in both the existing social standing of migrants and the processes that create and maintain asymmetries, as well as the privileges of the majority society. Based on this concept, the author argues for the adoption of a discrimination-sensitive perspective toward employees and in programs and audiences in established cultural institutions, in the independent scene and in cultural policy. She also develops starting points and measures for a migration-oriented realignment of the cultural sector.

Keywords:

Migration Society

Inequalities

Discrimination-sensitive

Cultural Management

Social Inclusion

Introduction

Although migration is a universal human practice that has long shaped our society decisively, the field of arts and culture has proven to be highly resistant to fundamental change. It continues to reproduce a *white*¹ and male dominance at different levels and hegemonic inequalities. Thus, this field, which, in the German-speaking world, is largely financed by public funds and is politically controlled, is also at odds with a democratic cultural policy (cf. Mokre, 2005), the task of which is to focus and promote art and culture in such a way that the population is represented in its entirety and its diversity, and is empowered to act. This would also have to result in comprehensive – not least financial – support for people, artistic perspectives and practices that have been marginalized and/or even excluded (educationally, socially, economically). In a further consequence, this would lead to greater distributive justice and heterogeneity in the artistic and cultural field. A cultural sector oriented in such a way could provide important impulses for other social fields.

What must be done to ensure that the “normality” of diversity² in a migration society prevails in the art and cultural sector? And indeed in the sense that diversity is not only thematically, temporarily and superficially “integrated,” but that a transformation³ in the form of a deeper structural change on different levels takes place? This is the question under examination in this contribution. To this end, I will briefly outline the state of the cultural sector in German-speaking Europe and present the most important aspects with regard to exclusions in the context of developments in a migration society. In the last section, the concept of the “migration society” and its potential for a critical examination of the cultural sector will be discussed in order to work out the concrete starting points for a migration-oriented realignment.

Trends in the cultural sector: Migration as a source of themes and migrants as a “target group”

For a better understanding of the following explanations, I would like to begin by briefly outlining the essential structural aspects of the cultural sector. In German-speaking Europe, the cultural sector is a complex field made up of individual institutions and projects, their actors (artists, cultural managers, curators and mediators), intermediaries and cultural-political frameworks (cf. Zembylas, 2004; Heinrichs, 2006). With regard to sponsorship and funding, a distinction can be made between state institutions, private commercial institutions in the for-profit sector and private non-profit institutions. The last, which are typically organized in smaller structures and work independently from established institutions, are often subsumed under the term “free scene” (cf. Moser, 2015).

The three areas are characterized by mixed forms as well as various overlaps and mutual influences. The most significant differences can be found in terms of their cultural and political security and financing, with established state institutions being in a much more privileged situation than the chronically underfinanced free-producing artists, collectives and initiatives. Another aspect is that state cultural institutions are more tightly bound to the implementation of cultural policy mandates than are private non-profit institutions. Cultural policy, in turn, is – at least in Austria – largely shaped by a bourgeois understanding of art and culture aimed at representation (cf. Wimmer 2011: 376ff.). As a result, state institutions usually have less room for critical or experimental formats. Free cultural work – which emerged in the 1970s out of the need for self-organization, independence of content and the development of a particular socio-culture – is characterized by a socio-critical self-image and often more unconventional approaches (cf. *ibid.*; Moser, 2016). To a certain degree, the field offers opportunities – especially for minority groups – to initiate self-organized artistic and cultural collaborations. Overall,

¹ The term *white*, written in lowercase and italics, is – as it is used in the present text – an analytical term developed by Black theorists to describe structurally anchored white dominance and power relationships and the privileges and racisms associated with them (cf. Kuria, 2015).

² Mark Terkessidis (2017) speaks generally with respect to institutions and establishments in an “immigration society” of “diversity plans” (*ibid.*: 42ff.), which are to be developed in our diverse society in order to bring about a change of perspective and a readjustment to the organizations. He sees migration as “a kind of *passe-partout*” (*ibid.*: 9) for discussing numerous fundamental aspects of change.

³ For several years, the term “transformation” has increasingly been used in connection with art and culture and addressed from different perspectives in the context of demographic change, digitalization, etc., including in relation to cultural management and policy (cf. Knoblich, 2018; Kolland, 2016; Sievers, Föhl & Knoblich, 2016; Föhl, Wolfram & Peper, 2016; Föhl & Sievers, 2015), museum studies (cf. CARMAH, 2018), critical art education (cf. Mörsch, 2009; Settele & Mörsch, 2012) or in connection with neoliberalism, the culture industry and artistic criticism (cf. Raunig & Wuggenig, 2016 [2007]).

“FOR SOME YEARS NOW – AND ESPECIALLY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE REFUGEE MOVEMENTS OF 2015 – THE CULTURAL SECTOR HAS BEEN EMBROILED OVER QUESTIONS OF “INTEGRATION” AND THE “INTERCULTURAL OPENING” OF ESTABLISHMENTS”

however, the free cultural field is characterized by a high level of heterogeneity and inequalities in terms of power and access. Thus, as in the state sector, exclusion, discrimination and racism are structurally anchored in the independent cultural scenes.⁴ Because of such parallels, the present article makes a partial distinction between the segments, but largely addresses the cultural sector as a whole.

For some years now – and especially in the context of the refugee movements of 2015 – the cultural sector has been embroiled over questions of “integration” and the “intercultural opening” of establishments. Two phenomena have come to dominate: on the one hand, the focus on migrants⁵ as a potential public, including the implementation of appropriate audience development strategies, and on the other hand, the increasing inclusion of (global) migration and related content as a theme in cultural institutions and exhibition projects.

Thus, since the 1990s, exhibitions in Europe have increasingly been aimed at overcoming Eurocentric perspectives in Western art, such as the exhibition *Inklusion: Exklusion. Kunst im Zeitalter von Postkolonialismus und globaler Migration* (“Inclusion: Exclusion. Art in the Age of Postcolonialism and Global Migration”), devised in Austria as part of *steirischer herbst '96*, which undertook an “attempt at a new cultural cartography” (Weibel, 1997: jacket text). The Biennale of Contemporary Art in Lyon (2000) or the major exhibition *Kunstwelten im Dialog – Von Gauguin zur globalen Gegenwart* (“Art Worlds in Dialogue – From Gauguin to the Global Present”), shown in Cologne in 1999–2000, also focused on non-Western art. In this way, the “other” was appropriated, presented and positioned in the art market without critically questioning Western institutions and their entanglement in (post-)colonialist power relations, incorporating non-white artists and creators of culture as experts and decision-makers or

even leaving the field open to them at all. Such projects, for all their commitment, cement the *white* – and male – predominance and perspective in the Western art sector (cf. Micossé-Aikins, 2011).

For about fifteen years, the racist exclusions on the part of institutions and their role as “preservers of colonialism” (Kravagna, 2009) have been critically examined in the German-speaking world (cf. for Austria e.g. Muttenthaler & Wonisch, 2006; Schnittpunkt, et al, 2009). In terms of content, these discussions are to some extent incorporated into the collection activities of (ethnological) museums, exhibition theories and practices, but less into the organizational structures of cultural enterprises. All the more important, therefore, are exceptional events such as *documenta 11*, which was first led by a non-European in 2002 with the Nigerian-born curator Okwui Enwezor. Enwezor carried out a change of perspective within the renowned exhibition by installing five platforms in different parts of the world – Kassel being one of them – that combined art with other knowledge systems, thus questioning and deconstructing the hierarchies and exclusions of the Western Eurocentric view of art.

Since the 2000s, migration – and particularly the history of labor migration – has increasingly found its way into institutions as an everyday cultural topic. Experts have noticed a boom in migration exhibitions (cf. Wonisch, 2012: 14), which must be viewed critically. Often these exhibitions are conceived and implemented without any or with only marginal involvement of migrants and a close focus is put on “the” culture of “the” migrants or the presentation of decontextualized, clichéd objects. A much-noted exception is the exhibition *Gastarbeiter*innen – 40 Jahre Arbeitsmigration* (“Guest Workers – 40 Years of Labor Migration”), which was initiated by the former “guest worker” Cemalettin Efe and realized in 2004 by the Minderheiten Initiative in cooperation with the Vienna Museum (cf. Gürses, Kogoj

⁴ Structural discrimination and racism manifest themselves in our society in social structures, in the (legal) framework, accessibility, forms of communication and the everyday routines of the institutions, in income levels, on the labor market, in the school and education system, etc. Structural changes are therefore needed to counteract these.

⁵ I will deal with the problematic nature of this term at a later point. The present text deliberately avoids a distinction between migrants and refugees, as these categories support a discourse of distinction between legitimate and illegitimate migration, necessary flight (of “war refugees”) and less necessary flight (of “economic refugees”).

& Mattl, 2004). The exhibition, which was implemented by an interdisciplinary team that included migrant workers and anti-racism activists, told the stories of labor migration autonomously from the perspective of migrants and with a focus on social and political issues. This was the first time that the topic had been incorporated into a cultural institution in Austria. The specific conditions under which the exhibition was conceived and implemented – as a “counter-narrative” to the Austrian discourse on migration (cf. Böse, 2005) – meant that it was also visited by great numbers of (former) migrant workers. However, the broad expertise developed in the context of the project with regard to content and organizational issues has scarcely been taken up by the cultural sector. Migration is still rarely seen as a cross-disciplinary issue in the permanent exhibitions of museums or as a freestanding part of the Austrian culture of remembrance (cf. Hintermann, 2012: 137).

Similar to the “migration exhibitions,” an increase in the initiatives and theoretical debates on creating access “for migrants” can also be observed. A steadily growing number of audience development studies have dealt with the question of migrants as a (missing) public in the cultural sector (cf. e.g. Allmanritter, 2009, 2016, 2017; Allmanritter & Siebenhaar, 2010; Hausmann & Körner, 2009; Mandel, 2013, 2016a, 2016b, 2017 [2016]). Here, economic issues sometimes form the point of departure, which is primarily argued from the economically well-situated, educated bourgeois white perspective of the majority society as well as from the logic of the cultural sector. In addition to the reproduction of discriminatory fixations, constructing migrants as a (mostly homogeneous, sometimes unprofitable) “target group” also establishes a hierarchical relationship between the supposedly open institution and the expected visitors.

The starting point for audience development approaches and practical guidelines for opening up cultural institutions are often the concepts of “integration,” “interculturality” and “intercultural dialogue”. These are approaches that María do Mar Castro Varela (2002) describes as hierarchical, power-maintaining and exclusionary discourses, which are mainly conceived and directed by members of the majority, use culturally specific culturizing nostrums

and understand intercultural competence “above all as a concept of conflict avoidance or control” (ibid.: 38).⁶ More recent studies (cf. e.g. Dätsch, 2018) have increasingly taken the concept of transculturality as their starting point. In the German-speaking world, this concept was essentially coined by Wolfgang Welsch (1995) and contrasts the idea of closed and uniform national cultures with the idea of cultures characterized by plural identities and mixing. The relationship between cultures is therefore not determined by isolation and conflict, but by interdependence and blending (cf. ibid.). But the notion of interwoven hybrid cultures, which must always be theorized in the context of questions of power (cf. Mecheril & Seukwa, 2006: 10), again presupposes (at least two) individual cultures. The critique of the static and unifying concept of culture therefore leads into the concept of transculturality, “not to an overcoming, but to the ‘multiplication’ of static culture” (ibid.: 9). As with intercultural approaches, a culturalist reduction of social and political conditions is also promoted in the context of transculturality, “because: (trans)culturalization remains culturalization” (ibid.).

It is fundamentally important and positive that, for several years now, an intensive reflection has been taking place in the cultural sector on the reduction of barriers and the creation of access. However, it is evident that this reflection often comes to a halt in individual artistic genres (such as visual arts or art mediation) and disciplines (such as audience development), or is not radical enough, in the literal sense of “going to the roots”. “Audience development in the narrower sense can make cultural institutions more attractive and relevant for a broader audience,” concludes Birgit Mandel (2017 [2016]: n.p.), “but it can only make a minor contribution to reducing the social selectivity of participation in publicly funded cultural offerings”.

Although migration affects all of the areas of the cultural sector outlined above, questions regarding the appropriate adaptation of migration are addressed primarily to cultural organizers – and not to cultural policy authorities and their agents. The focus of the dominant phenomena “migration as a theme” and “migrants as a target group” is on the programs and publics of cultural institutions. The level of personnel – a third central area in organizations in which diversity is to

⁶ Criticisms of this kind were also formulated, for example, by the *Bündnis kritischer Kulturpraktiker*innen* (Alliance of Critical Cultural Practitioners) in the context of the conference *Mind the Gap! – Zugangsbarrieren zu kulturellen Angeboten und Konzeptionen niedrigschwelliger Kulturvermittlung* (“Barriers to Accessing Cultural Offerings and Concepts of Low-Threshold Cultural Mediation,” 9-10 January 2014, Deutsches Theater Berlin), where it intervened with the action *Mind the Trap!* Not a single scholar, cultural practitioner or expert affected by exclusions was invited to the conference to critically examine exclusion and marginalization from this very perspective. “In the end it was a matter, to put it pointedly, of reassuring one’s own position, which is given as long as one’s own parameters are not called into question” (Sharifi & Sharifi, 2014: n.p.).

be implemented, alongside program and audience (cf. e.g. Mandel, 2016b; Schauws, 2016; Ministry of Science, Research and the Arts Baden-Württemberg, 2015) – is addressed marginally, as is the question of the power of definition and decision-making in a cultural enterprise. The deficits and potentials of the independent cultural scenes as well as their interactions with established state institutions are also often ignored. Analyses that take a holistic, critical view of the institutional landscape and its dynamics of exclusion, as well as comprehensive measures based on these analyses that promote under-represented individuals and groups as actors in the cultural sector, are still rare. State institutions such as the *Diversity Arts Culture* design and consultation office for diversity development in the cultural sector,⁷ founded by the Berlin Senate in April 2017, are the exception in German-speaking Europe and are completely absent in Austria.

The concept of the “Migration Society” as a critical perspective on inequalities

In recent years, perspectives have continuously emerged that regard migration research as an “open project of criticism” (Mecheril et al, 2013: 41; cf. e.g. [KriMi] research group website; Kritnet website). A critical approach is taken, for example, by “Perspectives on Migration,” which was developed to a large extent in the cultural sector and particularly in the transdisciplinary *Projekt Migration*.⁸ This is not (primarily) to be regarded as the perspective of individual migrants, but rather as a (research) attitude that breaks with current discourses and depictions of migration and “takes up migration epistemologically and methodologically as a *conditio humana*, as a total social fact and as a force changing society” (Hess, 2013: 118). Migration is grasped here as a movement that challenges the concepts of the nation-state (such as citizenship) as well as a resistant and, to a certain degree, autonomous practice that is supported by subjects acting independently and that can only be controlled and governed to a limited extent (cf. Mezzadra, 2005; Bojadžijev & Karakayali, 2007). From this perspective, the potential of the “summer of migration,”

for example, is analyzed as a fundamental critique of border regimes and as a temporary interruption and overcoming of the same (cf. Hess et al, 2016).

The socially forming and transforming power of migration is also at the heart of the concept of the “migration society” as it was shaped particularly in the educational context and theorized fundamentally with regard to the role of educational processes and institutions by the education and migration researcher Paul Mecheril. Migration shapes our social reality in a specific way and to such a decisive extent that, according to the basic assumption, the term “migration society” is the appropriate designation for contemporary society (cf. Broden & Mecheril, 2007: 7). The frequently used term “immigration society,” which is to be distinguished from this, falls short in that it refers to the nation-state as a container as well as to related immigration phenomena, while a number of central aspects of migration (such as multiple affiliations, transnational life worlds, etc.) remain ignored (cf. *ibid.*).

The perspective of the “migration society” looks not at imagined groups or individual migrants, but at society as a whole, and at a broad spectrum of migration phenomena and migration-related social changes. These include, for example, new (self-)positionings and forms of action, hybrid transnational identities and spaces, constructions of foreignness, racist processes and structures, social inclusion and exclusion, as well as real-political and symbolic demarcations and transgressions. The central starting point is the assumption that experiences in the migration society are structured in a significant way by orders of belonging, whereby “belonging” indicates a relationship between an individual and a social context in which practices and concepts of differentiating between “belonging” and “not belonging” are constitutive (cf. Mecheril, 2012: 26). It must be disclosed that, in a migration society, belonging is produced along different categories such as ethnicity, nationality and religion, and through the binary distinction between groups of “us” (normally seen as *white*) and “not-us” (frequently devalued as “others”). This domination practice of “othering”, which has been theorized in particular in cultural and postcolonial studies (cf. Said, 1978; Spivak, 1985; Hall, 1997), is closely linked to representations. A multitude

⁷ The stated aim of this institution, which emerged out of, among other things, the activist and other initiatives of various actors in the Berlin cultural sector, is to initiate diversity-oriented structural change. The work includes advising cultural institutions, providing training for cultural personnel, bolstering underrepresented artists and cultural workers through empowerment strategies, supporting the cultural administration in its movement toward diversity and collecting equality data for the Berlin cultural sector (cf. the website of the Berliner Projektbüro für Diversitätsentwicklung *Diversity Arts Culture*).

⁸ The project was carried out at the Kölner Kunstverein from 2002 to 2006. In addition to the extensive documentation, the resulting catalog contains fundamental theoretical texts (cf. Kölner Kunstverein et al, 2005).

of descriptions, symbols and representations provide information about (national-ethno-cultural) identity and difference and (re-)produce them constantly (cf. Broden & Mecheril, 2007: 9). The migration society is, in all its relevant areas – from art to media to everyday events, science or politics – “characterized by a struggle over representations”, according to Paul Mecheril (2014: 110).

Ethnicized culture as an essential and determining focus on migratory movements, (individual) actions, attitudes or conflicts is criticized as too narrow and inappropriate, as it not only reproduces the stereotypical attributions and fixations of people to the supposedly “foreign” culture, but also often addresses social, political and structural inequalities as cultural issues or differences. The category of “migrant” or a “migrant background” is also considered a problematic attribution, since it is enormously abbreviated and masks diverse, complex facets of identity. Conversely, studies show that a “migrant background” is an important statistical factor in connection with disadvantage in educational attainment, access to upper segments of the labor market or housing. This makes specific experiences of – racist – discrimination invisible if it is not taken into account (cf. Ahyoud et al, 2018; Terkessidis, 2017: 45ff.). It is therefore important, on the one hand, to be aware of the reductionist and reproduceable potential of categories and ascriptions of identity and of the “impossibility of acknowledgment” (Mecheril, 2012). Comprehensive recognition is fundamentally impossible, since “[t]he other is not acknowledgeable because the other is not recognizable” (ibid.: 31). Acknowledgement presupposes inscribing oneself (i.e. visually) into the hegemonic discourse and reproducing its discriminatory structures to a certain extent (cf. Schaffer, 2008). Mecheril emphasizes the necessity of reflecting on the impossibility as well as the acknowledgment of the non-recognizability or indeterminacy of the Other. This “paradoxical moment” must also be a moment of general education and reflection (cf. Mecheril, 2012: 31).

On the other hand, an intersectional perspective on inequalities is also essential, reflecting the fact

that migration-related discrimination does not occur in isolation but must be analyzed in terms of its interwovenness and simultaneity with other forms of discrimination (on the basis of presumed gender, sexual orientation, class, national or cultural affiliation, etc.). Gender and queer studies, which explore heteronormativity as a discriminating social structural principle, as well as intersectionality studies are therefore central points of departure for critical migration research, as are cultural studies and postcolonial and critical whiteness studies, which examine the historical continuities of *white* supremacy in (geo-)political, social and knowledge-related contexts.

“AT THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE “MIGRATION SOCIETY” LOOKS NOT AT IMAGINED GROUPS OR INDIVIDUAL MIGRANTS, BUT AT SOCIETY AS A WHOLE, AND AT A BROAD SPECTRUM OF MIGRATION PHENOMENA AND MIGRATION-RELATED SOCIAL CHANGES”

The concept of the “migration society” also emphasizes the political or historical dimension of established (non-) belonging, acknowledgment and representation with its inseparable meanings of (political) representation and (symbolic) presentation. Thus, for example, the discursive and cultural consequences of the defensive-tending politics of the twentieth century are considered to be components of the cultural practices of constructing and treating “‘foreigners’, ‘migrants’, ‘people with a migrant background’ as foreigners and ‘not actually belonging’” (Mecheril, 2016a: 10) that are still significant today. Migration, understood as a phenomenon of uneasiness (cf. Mecheril, 2016b), puts the political “us” up for discussion, particularly with regard to the question of who this “us” represents

politically, who can articulate themselves as a political subject and who cannot. Migration also challenges the routines of public institutions – for instance with regard to their language – and, last but not least, questions the legitimacy of individual privileges.

What can be inferred from this in relation to a critical examination of the cultural sector in the “migration society”?

From “Inter-/Transcultural Opening” to a critical reorientation of the cultural sector

In reference to the concept of the “migration society,” a focus on the powerful “othering” processes and structures that create and shape asymmetric affiliations

is an important starting point in the analysis of the art and culture field on all levels. Together with this, it is necessary to uncover culturalizations, reflect critically on categories and modes of address (such as "migrants") and analyze discrimination intersectionally. A further essential point to consider is that the production and reproduction of belonging(s) and inequalities should not be seen independently of (cultural) politics and corresponding measures since, on the one hand, they systematically and structurally sanction exclusion, but on the other hand, they can also be a means of steering change. Last but not least, the privileges of the majority society must be addressed and destabilized, and critical questions must be asked as to who benefits from which structures – established in initiatives, projects, concepts or measures – and when. Much like the goals formulated in migration pedagogy (cf. e.g. Mecheril, 2016b: 106), it must also be an issue in the cultural sector, "in connection with the analysis of the social structures and hegemonic conditions made clear by migration movements, of thinking about how perspectives and [cultural] spaces can be created for all. For all!" (ibid.).⁹

In the context of the arts, the concept of the "migration society" has so far been used primarily in the field of critical art mediation, which engages with – and aims to change – art and culture institutions as places of education, as well as with questions of critical empowerment (cf. Mörsch, Schade & Vögele, 2018; ifa et al, 2012; Mörsch, 2009). Starting with racism and exclusion as structural phenomena, the "vision of an art mediation that counteracts exclusion mechanisms and makes art spaces useful as places of learning and action, especially for minority positions, cannot leave the self-image of cultural institutions and art mediation untouched" (Mörsch, 2012: 15). The transformation of cultural institutions such as museums from bourgeois elitist establishments into actors in the political domain is a stated demand of critical art mediation. With regard to "the operation of art mediation in a migration society", this is, on the one hand, a matter of the individual responsibility of the mediators, but it is also about collectively working out the "institutional awareness of the history of this particular institution" and the question of making historical responsibility productive for the present (ibid.: 17f.).

For a critical analysis and migration-focused orientation of the cultural sector, it is necessary to take into account the considerations of critical art mediation and to think about them further in two ways in particular:

Firstly, the concepts and measures that relate to cultural organizations should not be restricted to state institutions but should also address and include the independent scenes and examine the interactions

between the fields. As has already been emphasized, the non-profit sector is just as permeated as the major institutions by structural racisms and inequalities. This can be seen, for example, at the personnel level, which is often not very diverse in terms of the cultural backgrounds, social affiliations or physical characteristics of the employees. Programs of cabaret theaters, literary events or multidisciplinary cultural associations also produce exclusions, insofar as they often target a *white*, educated middle-class public. At the same time, however, there are numerous initiatives and projects, particularly in the field of independent cultural work, which have a great deal of expertise in such areas as diversity, the identification and reduction of discrimination and the (self-)organization and politicization of excluded persons.

The autonomous migrant organization *maiz* (cf. website), for example, has been operating at the interfaces of political cultural and educational work since its foundation in Linz in 1994. In the early 2000s, the organization was already formulating questions about structuring lines of conflict as well as criteria and requirements with regard to collaborations between migrants and artists from the majority society (cf. Salgado, 2015 [2004]) that are still relevant today, especially for cultural institutions. They criticize, among other things, concepts of participation that do not aim at an egalitarian form of cooperation, but merely mean the involvement of migrants (cf. ibid.). One of *maiz*'s principles is therefore not to enter into cooperation with artists "who come to us with already finished concepts and an invitation to participate" (ibid.: 41). Parallels to these and other considerations¹⁰ of *maiz* can be found in RISE's ten-point program, *10 things you need to consider if you are an artist – not of the refugee and asylum seeker community – looking to work with our community* (cf. Canas, 2015), which was developed more than ten years later, such as point 4, "Participation is not always progressive or empowering" (ibid.: n.p.). Since 2007, the ArtSocialSpace Brunnenpassage (cf. website) has been active as a laboratory and a practice site for transcultural and participatory art in the former market hall at Vienna's Brunnenmarkt. A freely accessible, multilingual, interdisciplinary program as well as multi-year collaborations with established cultural institutions such as the Vienna Konzerthaus, the Burgtheater and the Weltmuseum are part of the core concept (cf. Pilić & Wiederhold, 2015). The WIENWOCHE cultural festival (cf. website), which has been held annually in September since 2012 on various announced topics, views cultural work as an intervention in social, political and cultural debates, and maintains that artistic and cultural practices ought to be expanded and made accessible to all social groups

⁹ Paul Mecheril (2016b: 106) is speaking specifically of the creation of "educational perspectives" and "educational spaces".

¹⁰ Another principle identified by *maiz* is to make decisions regarding cooperation on the basis of certain criteria, such as the willingness and interest of the artists to engage in a "dialogical process that should unfold outside of the logic of the victim role and a Eurocentric perspective" (Salgado, 2015 [2004]: 42). There must also be consistency in terms of the project's objectives, with *maiz* articulating an explicit socio-critical interest and the mediation of counter-hegemonic positions. All phases and levels of the projects should also be permeated by critical reflection with regard to racism and sexism within the project.

“IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ARTS, THE CONCEPT OF THE “MIGRATION SOCIETY” HAS SO FAR BEEN USED PRIMARILY IN THE FIELD OF CRITICAL ART MEDIATION, WHICH ENGAGES WITH – AND AIMS TO CHANGE – ART AND CULTURE INSTITUTIONS AS PLACES OF EDUCATION, AS WELL AS WITH QUESTIONS OF CRITICAL EMPOWERMENT”

living in the city. WIENWOCHE offers comprehensive support for the conception and implementation of projects and thus makes an important contribution to the professionalization of cultural workers.

The knowledge developed and tested in these exemplary establishments and projects is often lacking in institutions (cf. Moser & Gülcü, 2018), which is why it is not only targeted measures that must be taken to ensure that such knowledge is incorporated and implemented, but also budgetary redistributions to strengthen the overall field of independent cultural work that are needed.

Secondly, a broad implementation of the demands for a change in the cultural sector beyond the sphere of individual cultural institutions should be considered by addressing cultural policy¹¹ and administration with concrete (cultural) political measures (cf. e.g. Kolland, 2016; Mandel, 2016b). The cultural policy dimension is essential because, as Mark Terkessidis also emphasizes in relation to organizations in general, change often requires an impetus in the sense of political influence (cf. 2017: 43f.). According to the expert report by Joshua Kwesi Aikins and Daniel Gyamerah, *Handlungsoptionen zur Diversifizierung des Berliner Kultursektors* (“Action options for diversifying the Berlin cultural sector”, 2016), the “promotion of diversity” is to be seen as a “target-oriented interaction between politics, administration and cultural institutions” and can only succeed “if it is understood and communicated by Parliament as well as the head of the cultural administration as a priority and a permanent political task” (ibid.: 16).

In summation, it can be said that the migration-related orientation of the cultural sector is not about an (“intercultural” or “transcultural”) opening up of individual cultural institutions, the thematic negotiation of migration or a change from established institutions to open, critical places of learning, but rather it is about a comprehensive change and a systematic, discrimination-sensitive readjustment of the cultural sector (cf. Baumgartinger & Moser, 2018; Prabha Nising & Mörsch, 2018). It must be recognized that this necessary reorientation is a long-term, complex and

difficult undertaking. As will be shown in the following, a gradual approach to it can be achieved through the continuous implementation of numerous small, pragmatic measures within the individual cultural institutions and in cultural policy. A particular practical challenge will be to develop successful concepts for the implementation of changes in existing institutions and practices and for their evaluation.

A discrimination-sensitive perspective on personnel, program and public in state institutions, independent scenes and cultural policy

A readjustment of the cultural sector presupposes a differentiated examination of the “three Ps” of personnel, program and public (audience) in institutionalized and independent cultural establishments as well as in organizations of cultural policy and administration, where the three levels can be defined by the terms actors/actants, agenda and addressee. To do this, an intersectional, discrimination-critical perspective must be adopted and the focus must be placed on established affiliations, culturalizations and majority social privileges. The question of (the lack of) access is also central, as Aikins and Gyamerah illustrate with their fourth pillar (2016: 14), which complements the “three Ps.” This must be posed fundamentally as an issue cutting across personnel, program and public.¹² Structured and professionally guided processes of critical self-reflection, stock-taking, evaluation, needs assessment and the development of fields of action and goals are the other essential foundations of a reorientation. Appropriate fundamental decisions, mission statements and the planning and provision of sufficient financial resources for the processes are also essential (cf. Fig. 1).

¹¹ In concrete terms, this refers to the different levels of cultural policy – i.e., the structural, formal and institutional policy dimensions, the content of the policy and the negotiation processes of politics – and their intertwining.

¹² Aikins and Gyamerah (2016: 14), however, stress the relevance of their fourth pillar, access, primarily in relation to two actors: the cultural administration (which should, among other things, ensure access to funding through a specific target group approach) and cultural institutions (which should, among other things, provide access to the professional cultural business through paid internships for the target group).

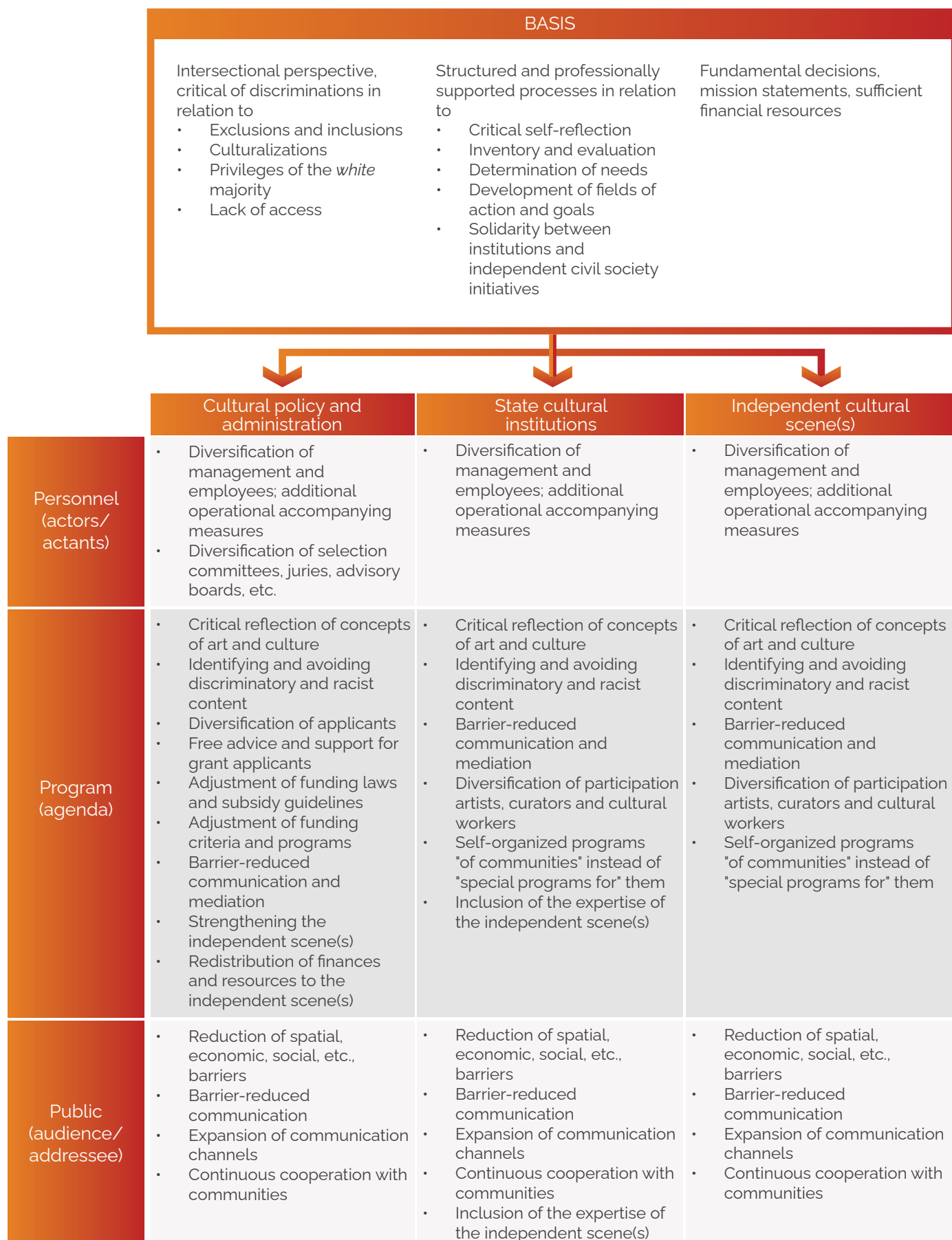


FIGURE 1. STARTING POINTS AND MEASURES FOR A MIGRATION-ORIENTED REALIGNMENT OF THE CULTURAL SECTOR

Source: Author's own elaboration.

Self-critical questions about personnel composition need to be asked in cultural institutions across all hierarchical levels of artistic and administrative areas, including permanent employees and freelancers. The makeup of the personnel is also highly relevant in cultural policy and administration, not only for civil servants, but especially in decision-making bodies, advisory boards and juries. The appointment of heads of cultural institutions plays a central role in this context, as this seems to be "the most effective steering measure to promote diversity" (Aikins & Gyamerah, 2016: 28). This is partly because "house directors bring their own program makers, networks and diversity-relevant concepts with them" (ibid.). When appointing new managers in particular, their commitment to promoting diversity should be taken into account. Along with the diversification of personnel and other actors in the cultural sector, further comprehensive measures are needed to accompany the implementation of the new orientation and to enable good working conditions. For example, it is necessary to reflect on how new employees are seen and treated and how "their advancement is ensured" (cf. Terkessidis, 2017: 51). It is also necessary to address the racist knowledge inscribed in institutional practices (cf. ibid.: 53f.). The personnel level plays an essential role with regard to changes in the programing and offerings as well as the public or the addressees.

In the programs of organizations and projects in the art and culture sector, on the one hand, the dissemination of discriminatory and racist knowledge and the production of stereotypes and exclusions must be examined at the content level. This continuous critical self-reflection and evaluation should be a natural part of any cultural work. On the other hand, however, it is also a matter of fundamentally questioning a preexisting, bourgeois white concept of art and culture (cf. Micossé-Aikins, 2011), the programs based on it and the barriers created by it, which are often accompanied by a broad lack of interest in the cultural production of migrant communities (cf. e.g. ibid.; Moser & Gülcü, 2018). The organization of special programs for the "migrant" target group should also be critically examined, since these promote reductionist, stereotypical fixations and sometimes fail to go beyond "tokenism" in the sense of a "short-term, fig-leaf-like involvement of various actors at the lowest hierarchical levels" (Aikins & Gyamerah, 2016: 11).

The program level of cultural administration and policy encompasses offerings, content and support structures. Here, too, a fundamental scrutinizing of the concepts of art and culture, which implicitly and explicitly underlie subsidies and produce exclusions, is necessary. Where do policies and administration

create (non-)belonging through formalities by tying the awarding of grants to citizenship or by making laws, forms and funding procedures that are incomprehensible? On the level of cultural administration, similar to the cultural organizers, the modes of addressing the public through a barrier-conscious approach¹³ and the choice of networks and channels¹⁴ are of central importance for the success or failure of communication. Following a critical inventory of the situation and adaptations in terms of content and language, specific qualification opportunities – for example, in relation to "application fitness" (cf. Aikins & Gyamerah, 2016: 11) – and access to funding programs should be guaranteed for persons affected by exclusion. In addition, a budgetary redistribution with a focus on the long-term promotion of marginalized organizations and independent cultural initiatives is recommended, which can provide important impulses for a reorientation of the cultural sector in terms organizational structures and the critical content negotiated therein.

Concluding observations

Whenever the cultural sector in the German-speaking world talks about best-practice examples of diversity, reference is always made – and rightly so – to the Maxim Gorki Theater in Berlin (cf. website), which has been run by Shermin Langhoff and Jens Hilje since 2013. The state-financed theatre, which was awarded the Berlin Theatre Prize in 2016 and was voted Theatre of the Year in the 2014 and 2016 critics' surveys by *theater heute*, clearly shows what a discrimination-sensitive cultural organization that is in keeping with the migration society can look like. Social diversity is structurally reflected at all levels. The staff is diverse in the different hierarchical levels, the projects and performances are (also visually) multilingual and the audience is very heterogeneous. The program includes pieces from different cultures and social contexts, non-canonical and canonical texts, whereby, for example, the German canon is continuously deconstructed and appropriated from new non-*white* perspectives. In the sense of a critical reorientation of the cultural sector, as this contribution argues, the Gorki Theater is pursuing a critical and political claim not only on the organizational level, but also on the content level, by negotiating volatile questions on stage: "How can we live civilized in a heterogeneous society? More pointedly: What new society do we need?" (Langhoff, 2015: n.p.).

In the public-funded state sector, examples such as the Gorki Theatre are still rare – and there can

¹³ Part of the barrier-conscious approach of the Berlin Project Fund for Cultural Education is, for example, the provision of information about the fund's support programs in German, Turkish, Arabic, Farsi, English, French and Hebrew (cf. Aikins & Gyamerah, 2016: 11).

¹⁴ This was demonstrated, for example, in the project *Türkisch – Oper kann das* ("Turkish – opera can do it") at the Komische Oper in Berlin. Surprised that there were no children of Turkish origin in the children's choir, artistic director Mustafa Akca launched an appeal on the largest Turkish language channel in Berlin, to which about 200 families responded (cf. Terkessidis, 2017: 50).

also be a danger in the justified praise of institutions like this one, according to Aikins and Gyamerah (2016: 9): "These houses should not be presented as pleasant niches whose existence [...] justifies the status quo". For widespread change in the form of a deeper structural transformation at various levels of the German-speaking cultural sector, comprehensive discrimination-sensitive analyses and measures affecting established institutions, the independent scenes and cultural policy are needed, as has been described in this article. The concept of the "migration society," with its intersectional focus on systems, structures and processes that create and shape asymmetries, offers important theoretical points of reference. A particular challenge in the practical realization of a progressive reorientation of the cultural sector will be to develop successful concepts for the implementation of changes in existing institutions and for their evaluation.

On the whole, a fundamental critical reflection on the cultural sector and a broad, systematic organizational development based on this may seem like a large, difficult-to-control and scarcely feasible project that could be opposed by a number of counter-arguments from cultural workers, officials and politicians from the privileged majority society. In particular, the financial restructuring and redistribution of power that is necessary in this context will be met with resistance. Change "understood as a creative challenge" (Terkessidis, 2017: 71) therefore requires not only optimism and perseverance, but also a certain "willingness to argue", because "In]o one said that a society of diversity is a cozy affair" (ibid.).

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Challenging spaces and formats of culture in the city: highlights on the future of cultural heritage management

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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses upon the relationship between culture and society in the urban environment. The first section introduces the social and urban changes of our time from a critical theory perspective, integrating socioeconomic and urban studies: what emerges is the fading of social boundaries and the emergence of new political claims arising from cultural instances; the second section focuses on the discrepancies between such changes and the cultural offer, still anchored to rigid heritage preservation, never meeting new forms of cultural expression. This stern dichotomy needs to be faced through a paradigm shift, which is dealt with in the third section: some best practices across Europe are selected, highlighting the need to focus on cross-sector partnerships, vertical integration, and a public support aimed at favouring the diffusion of culture on multiple social layers. The map of culture is eventually redesigned, and new creative encounters are made by challenging the use of space in the urban scenario.

Keywords:

Cultural heritage

Heritage
management

Cultural
sustainability

Methodology of analysis

The first two sections of the present paper will reconstruct the map of the contemporary city, with its idiosyncrasies, and controversial interactions among the new creative vectors, cultural heritage management and the emerging social stances: from a methodological perspective, this is carried out through critical theory and urban studies, which allow for a multi-level, multi-disciplinary understanding, necessary in order to account for the complexity of contemporary scenarios. The lens of critical theory proves particularly precious in that it allows to observe phenomena in the light of the superstructures and societal changes.

A gap exists, in facts, in cultural policy studies and in the analysis of cultural phenomena in general: the notion of embeddedness. Only in recent times an ecological approach is being adopted in both policy and research (Gross & Wilson, 2018; Borin & Donato, 2015) which account for the entangled layers which constitute infrastructures and networks in the city. The paper positions itself within this understanding of complexity and aspires at framing.

First emphasised by Karl Polanyi with reference to the economy, and its being impacted by the social and historical *Weltanschauung* (Polanyi, 2002), embeddedness describes the need to consider phenomena in the light of the complex processes and intricate superstructures which contribute to shaping them. In this respect, therefore, critical theory helps to build the foundations for a more grounded and holistic understanding of such phenomena; for this reason, the theoretical framework for the research has been built on the accurate historical account on critical theory (Keucheyan, 2010) as well as the most relevant critical theorists on urban change and social transformation (Virno, 2001; Harvey, 2012).

After drafting a map of the contemporary interactions between culture and people in urban transformation from the perspective of critical theory, the analysis focuses on the contemporary cultural system by drawing from cultural policy studies (Bonini Baraldi, 2014; D'Ovidio, 2016) and from heritage studies (Bertacchini et al, 2012).

The third section is an outlook on best practices. Following Eglene (2003), some best practices and, consequently, some policy and strategic guidelines have been outlined. The practices analysed come from a wide range of contexts and yet it is not unsystematic:

both critical theory and policy studies have emphasised in the first section some crucial aspects, such as the orientation of public funding, the need to foster cross-sector partnerships and private-public alliances, while vertical integration of cultural goods and services enhances both cross-subsidisation (and, therefore, financial sustainability) and unaware exposure of cultural consumers to complex and stratified cultural experiences. After having identified these three vectors, both the authors' research network and the web were the starting point for a search of policy examples and managerial protocols that are able to highlight the best practices and, therefore, suggested guidelines for the future have been identified.

Ce siècle est fait pour tout confondre! On marche vers le chaos¹

In Stendhal's *The Red and the Black* a young, ambitious countryman enters the complicated social eco-system of the city in the delicate, magmatic time of post-revolutionary Paris. While the novel's most obvious layer of interpretation is that of a *bildungsroman*, the story of Julien Sorel also underlies the loss of innocence of a century within the dramatic, violent paradigm shift generated by the French Revolution, and the sense of dismay affecting people who lived it.

A less violent, yet similarly radical, change is occurring in our time. The postmodern, globalised world tore down the conceptual categories which people used to identify society, politics, economics with. Playing with metaphors, we could say that culture in the 21st century pretty much resembles Julien Sorel, living with anguish the unsettlement of his time: "This century is turning everything upside down". Stendhal's young hero is totally unprepared to enter the new, revolving ecosystem; the cultural system is witnessing, not without some fearful reluctance, the transformation of the urban fabric, of the people who inhabit it, and of the economic infrastructure in which they act. Culture, in other words, is *experiencing* the change of our century, rather than *taking* part to it: it lags behind, lacking interpretative intuition, creative inputs, meaningful visions.

A practical example could prove useful as a starting point. From 2002 to 2004, when the historical building of *Teatro alla Scala* was subject to restoration, the opera house displaced its activity in the Bicocca

¹ "This century is turning everything upside down! We're marching towards chaos" Stendhal (2000), *Le rouge et le noir*, Paris, Folio (1st ed 1830).

"INNUMERABLE ARE THE EXAMPLES OF CULTURAL ORGANISATIONS WHOSE APPROACH TO THE URBAN DYNAMICS REFLECTS THE SAME BACKWARD AND CONVENTIONAL PHILOSOPHY. AND YET, THE CHANGES OCCURRING WITHIN THE CITY AND IN THE SOCIAL FABRIC NEED TO BE ACCOUNTED FOR IN ORDER FOR CULTURAL MANAGEMENT TO BE SUSTAINABLE OVER TIME"

neighbourhood, and performances were held in the newly built Arcimboldi Theatre. Borrowing terms from textbook economics, the partnership with the Arcimboldi Theatre could have been a good opportunity for the theatre to expand the scale of its production, possibly attracting new consumers whose cultural itineraries were not necessarily anchored to the centralised cultural offer of Milan; and yet, the distance from the historical centre was perceived almost as an exile by the La Scala administration, and the temporary contact with a reality different from the conventional one was soon forgotten.

Innumerable are the examples of cultural organisations whose approach to the urban dynamics reflects the same backward and conventional philosophy. And yet, the changes occurring within the city and in the social fabric need to be accounted for in order for cultural management to be sustainable over time. The frequent appeal to past levels of public funding is a clear symptom of the reluctance to acknowledge changes, and at the same time a biased interpretation of rights and duties, failures and opportunities in a complex society.

The fading of social classes is paving the way to a fertile multitude (Virno, 2001), whose characteristics are those of a diversified plurality. This multitude, which inhabits the city in disordered, creative and unpredictable ways, is neither defined by its belonging to obsolete social categories, nor by its economic status, as was the case with the previous class system, which identified class components according to categories of ownership, as the etymology of 'capitalist' and 'proletariat' suggests. Quite the opposite, such a magmatic, plural and yet diverse entity is defined by its identity which is described by cultural claims and instances.

The cultural rationale subtended to the notion of identity exerts immense impacts on social organisation

and on the way we think of political structures: Firstly, because the global, diverse multitude "involves minorities who recognize themselves as such - that is, who do not have the mission of transforming themselves into a majority" (Keucheyan, 2010: 23). Secondly, and consequently, because the fragmentation of such a multitude is questioning the majority system underlying the democratic rule (Ventura, 2019).² Not only politics, but institutions and the whole cultural system need to rethink the whole infrastructure they act in, in order for them to account for this complexity.

The relevance of cultural instances underlying these movements is, in facts, mirrored by the rising of identity-based political movements such as identity politics (Calhoun, 1995) and politics of recognition (Taylor, 1992). This multitude, and the multitude of cultures which represent it, is the most recent development of a long historical process: encompassing geographical limits, combining and merging different cultures which challenge the spatial limits of Nations. In such a delicate framework culture as an intangible factor of social organisation proves crucial due to its critical and evolutionary nature: it is able to craft identities, provide us with a more flexible understanding of such mutable scenarios, and shape more valid definitions than those established by the economic and political rules of the past century. And yet, while culture at an informal and somehow imperceptible level carries out an epistemological and social revolution, the cultural system, and particularly the heritage layer, remains anchored to definitions and boundaries which belong to the previous century and its prevailing meta-ethical conception of culture itself.

Not all factors in such a complex paradigm, in facts, are aligned: two main variables are lagging behind. Primarily the city, the most representative ecosystem of the 21st century, which still fails to grasp the fluidity of the multiple identities inhabiting its material

² The identity claims the paper refers to are those of the multi-cultural plurality that is the "multitude", and are not to be intended as the cultural instances underlying nationalist movements or radicalised fringes of politics, whose use of culture is rather oriented towards a distortive adoption of culture.

infrastructure: a fracture is being operated between time (the historical evolution of society and its identity) and space (the way spatial dynamics respond or react to such changes).

The way we picture (and, in most cases, structure) the city today, in facts, still responds to the manufacturing paradigm developed during the industrial revolution: the productive centre, refurbished with services, is opposed to a periphery³ which once marginalised the working classes and relegated them to the outer, poorer fringes of the city, and which, today, ends up marginalising minorities of any kinds.

Secondarily culture itself, and in particular its organisational and institutional system, is identified today with structures and entities, be them private or public, rather than with projects, trails and itineraries (Balestra & Malaguti, 2000). Such a rigidity does not account for the emersion of new unlabelled forms of cultural expression and of cultural encounters in the urban grid, as well as highbrow-lowbrow tensions still reflect out-dated social paradigms (van Hek & Kraaykamp, 2013). A double standard emerges, then, for the institutional layer and for the creative and informal one, leaving the cultural system to lag behind, and the new forms of expression to find harsh barriers to entry within the institutional domain.

Vous n'avez pas compris votre siècle⁴

After having arrived in Paris our freshman social climber, Julien, meets the noble Count Altamira, who addresses him with a sibylline statement: *Vous n'avez pas compris votre siècle* (Stendhal, 2000). If we pictured Count Altamira as a metaphoric judge in the court of the Spirit of Time, culture in the 21st century would probably be reproached, just like Julien Sorel, not to have understood its time.

The characteristics of culture and its deployment in the social fabric are not met by a sound cultural policy and an apt reorganisation of the cultural offer. A hiatus exists in facts between the structures of cultural production and the informal processes of cultural creation and learning which occur in everyday life. Such issue can be articulated in several dichotomies

which illustrate the distance between culture, its time, and the society it is supposed to mirror and represent.

Centre vs. periphery: culture at the crossroads of urban planning and economic infrastructures

A centre-periphery dichotomy affects the structure of contemporary cities in spite of the new social pressures: the friction between building and dwelling, as identified by Richard Sennett (2018), expresses the modalities in which the city is crafted and organised as opposed to an unprecedented social mobility and to the rise of urban movements which claim their *right to the city* (Lefebvre, 1968; Harvey, 2012⁵ Kruger, 2012).

This dichotomy is likewise mirrored in the spatial organisation of the cultural offer: this is true, primarily, for cultural institutions such as museums and theatres, whose position is an isolated one, located within a musealised historic centre, inspiring awe and reverence rather than eliciting curiosity and creativity; the urban map of culture is, in facts, a manufacturing one, and the enjoyment of cultural heritage and cultural manufactures is anchored to the 19th century paradigm. This has contributed to a neat separation between the everyday urban itineraries of people, on the one hand, and culture, relegated in an ivory tower, on the other (Trimarchi, 2014). The semantics of cultural spaces reflect the new drift of cultural goods: that of club goods, rather than public ones.

This fraction was by no means alleviated whenever culture was used as a means of regeneration in disadvantaged areas. David Throsby (2001) was the first to analyse culture-oriented regeneration strategies as the drivers of economic development in cities; and yet, he was also the first to point out how "in a society where government pursues an economic agenda, the balance in the policy mix will tend to favour individualistic at the expense of collective goals" (Throsby, 2001: 138). This was precisely the case with many culture-led projects which have contributed to the area's gentrification, as was the case with Raval in Barcelona, NDSM wharf in Amsterdam or Dumbo in Brooklyn.

In such a case poorly designed strategies

⁴ "You haven't understood your times", Stendhal, *op. cit.*

⁵ David Harvey has extensively described this tension; he borrowed the conception of "right to the city" by Henri Lefebvre and expanded it by identifying in the urban population, rather than in a specific class, the primary revolutionary subject of our times. For an exhaustive account, see Harvey, D. (2012), *Rebel cities: from the right to the city to the urban revolution*, New York: Verso. In addition, in a compelling reading of the Paris' commune Harvey pointed out the strong interrelation between the struggle for political and civil rights and the struggle for public space. See Harvey, D. (2005), *Paris, capital of modernity*, London: Routledge.

Loren Kruger associates cultural practices, and particularly theatrical ones, to the struggle for the right to the city. See Kruger, L. (2012) *What time is this place? Continuity, conflict and the right to the city*, in Fischer-Lichte, E., and Wishutz, B. (eds.) (2012), *Performance and the politics of space: theatre and topology*, London: Routledge.

without a long term vision constellate peripheries with cultural venues doomed to become 'cathedrals in the desert', lacking considerations over infrastructural connections and accessibility; it is the case of Paris in the 1970s, when theatres were placed in disadvantaged neighbourhoods in the hope of articulating a new cultural life for the area, but which eventually failed to establish the needed connections with the neighbourhood's life; or, recently, of Centrale Montemartini in Rome, a dismissed hydroelectric plant which was turned into an archaeological museum in 2001 in the developing neighbourhood of Garbatella; saluted as the "Italian Musée d'Orsay", it did not update the popular French museum's format (conceived for a 19th century audience) and missed the opportunity to establish a semantic dialogue between early 20th century's machines (used as a mere background) and Ancient Rome's archaeology, and is now dramatically underdeveloped (Favale, 2018).

At the other end of the culture-led intervention spectrum we record that interactions between urban planning and cultural infrastructures have enforced the creative city paradigm, as described by Richard Florida (2002). A city in which the neoliberal economic paradigm has turned culture into a commodity (Scott, 2007; Harvey, 2012) and has generated a new class of exploited workers, the *cognitariat* (Moulier-Boutang, 2007). These mechanisms reflect those of the creative industries, whose production mechanisms are linked to the generation of intellectual property and to the exploitation of cultural capital. By overlapping to and substituting those of manufacturing capitalism, they have not reduced inequalities as was optimistically foreseen by some, since cultural capital, differently from the physical one, is non-excludable (Hardt & Negri, 2009).⁶

The supposedly uncontroversial generation of economic benefits from knowledge exploitation and cultural capital is, in facts, deeply embedded in a political and economic eco-system in which the

creative city develops, often shaped by the neoliberal paradigm regaining popularity from the 1980s. Such an uneven generation of wealth, regulated by unwise policy design, has exasperated the concentric divisions of the city and the difference between the structures of culture and its informal production processes, as exhaustively observed by D'Ovidio,

Creative and cultural operators often do not recognize themselves in the policies proposed in their name, alternative and avant-garde culture are still emarginated, the production and promotion of culture is no more open than before and a large segment of creative labour is suffering a precarious and insecure situation. (2016: 141)

Similarly, Corsani and Lazzarato have pointed out how *[...]neoliberal practices and the creative industries produce both the marginalisation of creative workers and the marginalisation of cultural productions that do not respond to market logics. (2008: 16)*

"THE SUPPOSEDLY UNCONTROVERSIAL GENERATION OF ECONOMIC BENEFITS FROM KNOWLEDGE EXPLOITATION AND CULTURAL CAPITAL IS, IN FACTS, DEEPLY EMBEDDED IN A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ECO-SYSTEM IN WHICH THE CREATIVE CITY DEVELOPS"

Class is culture: hierarchies of taste and centripetal distribution patterns in times of social transformation

This leads directly to a second dichotomy, still related to a hierarchic articulation of the city, which, in its turn, has generated a hierarchic articulation of culture: the supposed highbrow and lowbrow forms of culture are still mostly produced and practiced in separate spaces. From both the production and consumption sides this has crucial corollaries: the offer is rigidly and oddly segmented, replicating modes and genres which are still anchored to tastes and cultural instances of long-disappeared classes, and do not account for the many hybridisations which are (as have always been) propaedeutic to artistic and cultural innovation (van Hek & Kraaykamp, 2013); such changes, occurring in both the semiotic codes and the material base of creative production (Jones, Lorenzen & Sapsed, 2015),

⁶ For a more complete account on the critical theories on cultural-cognitive capitalism see Keucheyan, R. (2010), *Emisphère Gauche. Une cartographie des nouvelles pensées critiques*, Paris : La Découverte.

are hindered by the prescriptive separation between the 'high' and 'low' layers. The challenges to such a rigid paradigm are often unsystematic and bottom-up, and fail to reach the policy discourse on culture – as a consequence, they often do not engender an actual process of innovation.

On the consumption side, such a segmentation lies on the commonplace that cultural taste coincides with demographic indicators such as age, income, job, often abused in uncritical and mechanical audience studies. Not only the aforementioned liquidity of social boundaries denies the effectiveness of such indicators in describing the complex motivations behind cultural consumption; these textbook-kind audience studies assume that cultural consumers are monomaniac entities driven by a social status whose symptoms are age, income and education. These analyses totally ignore the high proportion of old, affluent and formally educated people who simply refuse culture in both its roles of social assessment and shared enjoyment source: socio-demographic variables are not at all motivations for cultural consumption.

When opening a YouTube video of, say, Beethoven's 9th Symphony, II movement, many of the comments below the video are of the following sort: "Clockwork Orange brought me here"⁷; education and, more specifically, exposure to any form of arts and culture depends in most cases by unpredictable motivations and unsought inspiration. The patterns of learning are far from being a hieratic ascension to Mount Parnassus: quite the reverse, they pretty much resemble the map of a medieval city, unstructured, fluid, mixed, and as such, inspirational.

The parallel paths of development: creativity and heritage

The distinction between highbrow and lowbrow is mirrored by a further dichotomous classification in the cultural and creative domain: a dynamic, fluid form of cultural production, from cinema to pop music, runs parallel to the rigid diktats of heritage management, whose firmness is not so much responsive to a concern for heritage's physical preservation as it is a symptom of a missing strategy in the short as well as in the long period. In other words, creativity and heritage seldom meet on the urban arena of the contemporary city.

The notion of heritage, asserted with the UNESCO World Heritage Convention of 1972⁸, was of

crucial importance for the acknowledgment of the immortal cultural value of many artifacts and buildings to mankind, while providing solid ground for the identity claims of many populations worldwide (which, as we observed above, is a pivotal factor in contemporary politics); this notion, however, produced the effect of crystallising a sort of dualism between cultural production and the mere preservation of heritage, both tangible and intangible; this is particularly evident, for instance, not just in policies concerning tangible heritage, such as ancient buildings, but also in the case of intangible heritage preservation, such as opera or classical music where still the orientation to preserve and protect prevails upon any temptations of understanding that value can be generated by some processing, and that the institutional mummification of culture drains its dialogue with society and the audience, and at the same time keeps it isolated from the urban fabric and its community.

Tangible heritage, in facts, is subject to an extremely stern regulation concerning its uses; ancient theatres, temples and other buildings of this sort see their physical capital preserved almost with obsessive jealousy (and not without a sort of apocalyptic obsession), and very few are the occasions in which the scope of these sites' activities goes beyond the mere contemplation on behalf of astonished (or, more precisely, confused) tourists. Considerations over the carrying capacity and the physical maintenance of historical buildings, though fundamental in setting the boundaries of a sustainable adaptive reuse, often adopt a zero tolerance approach towards the vertical integration of built heritage as an input for the production of cultural goods such as live performances (Trimarchi, 2004); from a cultural perspective, the risk of this risk-averse strategy is to reduce the accumulation of joint cultural stock on behalf of consumers.

From the economic perspective, the opportunity cost of giving up a possible cross-subsidisation of heritage with other cultural activities is relevantly high; moreover, "limited enjoyment of built heritage could reduce visitors' willingness-to-pay and make the need for public or private financial support stronger" (Trimarchi, 2004: 10).

Especially in civil law countries (Bonini Baraldi, 2014), the adoption of NPM practices in the public sector and, consequently, cultural heritage management, were supposed to bridge the efficiency of the business system and public management by fostering efficiency,

⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p5fav1zQtXo>

⁸ For the evolution and development of UNESCO definitions on culture and cultural heritage, see Pereira Roders, A., and van Oers, R. (2011), *Editorial: bridging cultural heritage and sustainable development*, Journal of Heritage Management and Sustainable Development, 1:1.

“THE MOST DRAMATIC ASPECT OF THE SEPARATION BETWEEN HERITAGE AND THE CREATIVE, DYNAMIC SPHERE OF CULTURAL PRODUCTION LIES IN A PROGRESSIVE DECREASE OF THE CULTURAL STOCK GENERATED BY HERITAGE, AND OF THE CULTURAL VALUE ATTACHED TO IT”

inducing effectiveness, reducing public spending and speeding up bureaucratic procedures; it only resulted in confused hybrid forms of still publicly managed institutions, with ineffective reforms succeeding one another in an endless chain of doubled bureaucratic efforts.

This is not only the case of heritage buildings, subject to the rigid rule of preservation, lacking whatsoever strategic view for their uses and proper management, often to the detriment of financial sustainability. It is also the case of intangible heritage, and especially of most performing arts: from multifunctional public spaces, central to the social life of the city, theatres turned into improbable temples of 'beauty', their intangible heritage being firmly, irreducibly reproduced without ever appealing to other expressive media or without interacting with the outer spatial reality of its urban environment.

It is not by chance that, in the Italian criteria for public funding, social-oriented goals and educational activities are not accounted for when evaluating the eligibility of theatres for the assignment of funds; in their place stands the qualitative peer-based evaluation of supposedly qualified experts, which ends up favouring a vicious circle of uncritical heritage replication – such heritage being less controversial to assess in conventionally qualitative terms (Sabatini & Trimarchi, 2019).

While tastes and itineraries have changed, the business model of most performing arts institutions has not; other media, from TV shows to Netflix series, have absorbed and adopted the semantics of theatre, elaborating a powerful response to the usual immortal cultural instances, but through innovative forms of production and delivery channels; theatres, blaming the uneducated youngest generation for habits which theatre administrators do not understand, quietly await for the pavlovian response of their ever-decreasing audience to a cultural offer which is unlikely to arouse any interest *per se*, if it is not matched with clever visions for the future, innovative hybridisations with other forms of creativity, smart partnerships, and a wider and more even diffusion in the urban fabric.

The most dramatic aspect of the separation between heritage and the creative, dynamic sphere of cultural production (which can be roughly identified with the creative industries) lies in a progressive decrease of the cultural stock generated by heritage, and of the cultural value attached to it: the proper maintenance of heritage's cultural capital, only partly embodied by its physical shape, is at stake; a fracture is generated between the physical preservation of the building, and the preservation of its original value, of its value for the present generation and for the future one – which is at risk.

While, then, most institutions are facing everyday issues of financial sustainability and are struggling against time in the battle for physical maintenance of heritage sites, unaware of the changes occurring in their direct proximity, a fundamental aspect of the sustainability framework is unaccounted for: the cognitive dimension.

From the Brundtland perspective sustainability is reached by meeting “the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (UN, 1987: 15). In the cultural realm this view can be perhaps adjusted in more dauntless, farsighted terms, as cultural sustainable development shall deliver a cultural heritage to future generations in *an improved state* (Marx, 2014). Culture is not simply a renewable resource: it is cumulative, and has an infinite carrying capacity. Its sustainability as a renewable resource is however threatened by the uncertainty of transmission caused by its possible misuse (Bertacchini et al, 2012). In any case the concept itself of misuse appears to have been excessively adopted: for many cultural professionals even the simple use of cultural venues is often considered harmful and inappropriate.

In cultural production the many dimensions of sustainability are tightly intertwined: intergenerational equity, intragenerational equity, but also issues of identity and recognition, the production of cultural value and the increase of cultural stock; neither of these matters is neutral, and the way culture is managed and organised in the city strongly affects its beneficial externalities and the effects it produces, their features,

scale, and the way they are distributed among society. Such a complexity needs to be tackled from a holistic and integrated perspective.

Today, the primary feature of culture still appears to be separation: a separation which culture operates between social classes, between spaces of inclusion and exclusion, popular and high culture, centre and periphery – and, worse, knowledge centres and cognitive peripheries. The complexity of our times calls for diversity instead of separation, hybridisation instead of segmentation, unpredictable creative trails instead of divine artistic initiation. The modern multitude's quest for recognition and sharing calls for a culture which mirrors and personalises, crafts questions rather than dispatching answers: a contemporary Janus whose inheritance from the past is not mere contemplation of an idealised antiquity, but a milestone for building a still unpredictable future and inspiring new creative responses to the solicitations of the changing world.

Rappelez-vous le grand principe de votre siècle⁹

Julien, our personified metaphor of culture, has come to the end of his journey. His unscrupulous social climbing is not perhaps the most suitable prescription for a policy which should aspire at conveying the cultural value of heritage by tearing down the urban and social barriers to entry which characterise the organisation of culture today. And yet, there is a lot to learn from Stendhal's hero about the delicate art of mediation and compromise – and the risks it implies. In the case of culture, a zero-tolerance approach towards the changes of a supposedly barbarised society is, at the best, reckless; at the worst, suicidal.

Before being crystallised into protocols of production and consumption culture was made for and by the instances and encounters of societies; a sustainable use of heritage and production of culture, intended as the transmission of its real cultural value, passes through a new mutual recognition between culture and society, a reconciliation with new modes of living the urban space and new ways of experiencing culture. Rethinking policies and strategies for the cultural system is a preliminary step towards such a sustainability.

Context and adhocism, the two pillars of local administration, make it difficult to draw a taxonomy of policy actions and best practices which may serve the

purposes of an infinite diversity of local specificities. It is neither impossible nor useless, however, to draw some guidelines which could provide cultural policy with a suitable and consistent orientation in the complexity of the contemporary environment.

Both public action and institutional initiatives can lead to a more sustainable relationship between culture and society, operating at different, interconnected levels: cross-sector partnerships challenge cultural enclosure while providing creativity and culture with new inputs from different sectors, while vertical integration between cultural heritage and other forms of cultural production enriches its cultural value and strengthens autonomy on the financial side thanks to cross-subsidisation; the structure of public funding, in its turn, should aim at enabling such autonomy: today public funding ensures the survival of institutions unable to dialogue with partners as well as their main stakeholders, i.e. the citizens; reversely, it should provide incentives for the development of financially sound and socially sustainable cultural projects; a smarter use of the space, both of theatre within the city and within the theatre itself is necessary: all of these aspects are dealt with in detail below. Cognitive sustainability proves the crucial source of value, since the material transmission of objects with no interpretation and elaboration would drain the cultural value chain; the effective transmission of the cultural value of heritage can be reached through its diffused and consistent enjoyment, as well as flexible and non-prejudicial interactions rather than stern physical preservation.

The fact that culture is written in the singular form accounts for its universal value to mankind, but leaves out the infinite multiplicity of cultural forms and expressions. Mediation and mutual exchanges occur at a subterranean level between cultures, but very few cultural organisations develop an effective network within and outside their respective sphere; cross-sector partnerships are fairly common among the NGOs as a powerful tool to tackle complex issues (Selsky & Parker, 2005); in a time where research on knowledge and culture as a commons demonstrate the pervasiveness and collectiveness of value generation processes (Hess & Ostrom, 2007), it is curious to notice how cultural organisations are, on the contrary, often isolated or, at best, rigidly sectorial in their partnerships (Lonkaric, 2014). This network enclosure limits the reach of cultural activities within the city and hinders a potential cross-fertilisation between the different cultural sectors.

⁹ "Remember the main rule of your century", Stendhal, op. cit.

Opera di Roma, for instance, has recently begun to associate its name with fashion: its *La Traviata*, a massive blockbuster production featuring costumes by Valentino, has earned more than 1.2 million euros in ticket presales only in 2016 (Beghelli, 2016), and it's been brought onstage every year since then; the recent Philip Glass *soirée* has put onstage the costumes by Dior's superstar Maria Grazia Chiuri (Beghelli, 2019). The enhanced visibility of the theatre to the eyes of a diversified audience is generated by a new creative product which combines high-quality elements from different cultural domains.

The networking issue is strictly related to that of vertical integration between different cultural activities – namely that of built heritage in the production of live performances; the rigid control over the type of activities to be performed in a Greek theatre, rather than being an effective enabler of preservation, is sometimes a too stern a priori rejection of any forms of entertainment which still hasn't entered the conventional domain of legitimacy. This issue is well illustrated in Trimarchi:

A few years ago the Greek-Roman Theatre in Taormina, Sicily, was denied for an acoustic concert of some rock band but given for the presentation of a new Formula One car (which was placed very close to the ancient columns). In the same way, the American rock singer Bruce Springsteen was denied the opportunity to perform in an acoustic concert at the Arena di Verona, due to explicit prohibition on the part of the Heritage Superintendent in Veneto. (2004: 2)

If properly managed and protected from possible misuses, the vertical integration of cultural heritage is, on the contrary, a powerful driver of growth for both the economic and the cultural value of heritage (Trimarchi, 2004); this is but one among the many missing opportunities concerning a proper, though supposedly unconventional, use of heritage: the exposure of a still unaware audience to cultural artifacts which they might have not otherwise experienced. The missing opportunity of exposure is worsened in the absence of the potential financial benefits coming from the proper use of heritage.

Vertical integration does not simply generate consumption of mixed cultural stock: it can sometimes challenge creativity and elicit new forms of artistic production. This is the case when the barriers between highbrow and lowbrow are discussed, and heritage institutions either embrace new forms of expression, or new creative modes are generated by a different use

of the space on behalf of such institutions themselves, once displaced in venues not commonly associated with culture or with 'highbrow' culture.

Partnerships and vertical integrations are, in addition, a useful driver of cross-subsidisation of cultural activities, determinant in enabling the (at least partial) financial autonomy of cultural heritage institutions. The cultural value of such sites and activities is an eminently valid justification for public support and funding, and it has too often been a lifebelt against inefficiency and the inability to interact with their complex surrounding environment. Especially among established institutions, the dimensions of performance evaluation usually range between monetary and qualitative (i.e. subjectively perceptive) indicators, while the 'environmental sustainability' or societal dimension is hardly ever accounted for (Hadida, 2015).

Similarly, and especially in the Italian experience, public support places a nominal emphasis on such a dimension while often discarding matters such as education, social inclusion, cross-sectorial activities, quality of urban life; these are not based on immediate economic and financial results but rather on the long-term strategy of demand construction.

Such a strategy cannot waive from a policy shift concerning the use of the urban space as well as of the theatrical one: the wider diffusion of a diversified cultural offer is not simply a matter of equity within the present generation (as in Throsby's definition of cultural sustainable development (1995)), but also provides different forms of culture with opportunities to merge and to produce new cultural stock which bridges heritage and creativity, while operating a balancing act between economic and artistic indicators, between innovation and preservation, between shaping demand and following it (Lampel et al, 2000). The physical displacement of the cultural offer could be a powerful driver of change by exogenous demand, meeting new audiences and tastes, and of change in the semiotic code of a form of art through the merging with other expressive media (Jones, Lorenzen & Sapsed, 2015).

Reversely, the combination of venues commonly associated with the 'high' culture challenges culture's conventional use of the space, producing unpredictable short-circuits between places, people, culture. It is the case, for example, of *Opéra Underground*, the World music festival held at the Opéra de Lyon every year, holding popular and alternative music concerts in unconventional venues (Opéra Nationale de Lyon website).

Moreover, according to Bandura's social cognitive

“THE PREVAILING WEIGHT OF A VIEW ACCORDING TO WHICH CULTURE IS OBJECTIVE, SOMEHOW SCULPTED ON BRONZE, AND THE AUDIENCE HAS A SORT OF DUTY TO ACCEPT AND ABSORB ITS ‘MESSAGE’, ENDED UP DRAINING MANY OF THE SEMANTIC AND DIALOGIC OPTIONS”

theory of sustainable behaviour (1986), the motivation and types of actions taken by individuals depend on their empathy towards sustainability. The idea of empathy is particularly relevant in the cultural domain: sustainable policy design begins with the awareness that people would rather partake to and support activities to which they feel an emotional proximity. In Bologna, a crowdfunding campaign contributed to the restoration of the historical arches climbing the surrounding hills up to the Sanctuary of S. Luca; people were given the possibility to contribute to the restoration by ‘adopting’ a portion of the arches in exchange for a special mention by the local administration and constant information on the progression of the works (Un passo per San Luca website).

The crucial importance of public support is matched to a rising interest on the part of communities to contribute directly to the maintenance and sustainability of what they perceive as a common good. Innovation in management generates new forms of heritage expression, bridging creativity and tradition. This is an unprecedented shift: preservation is exchanged now with transmission, defining a new modality of preservation through innovation: a sustainable paradigm of collective responsibility towards a shared culture. This could have, in the future, significant implications not only in heritage management, but in cultural economics as a whole: a line is drawn for good between willingness-to-pay and willingness-to-contribute.

Concluding remarks

Our investigation and exploration in the delicate area of cultural sustainability has revealed the likely endemic weakness of the cultural system in its still prevailing shape and structure. Although the long, and still lively, debate on culture identifies both the lack of funds and the ignorance of society as the ultimate responsible for the progressive decay and the eventual extinction of culture, facts clearly show the opposite: culture as a varied, multiple, plural and unpredictable approach

and content is being shared and diffused by wider layers of a sophisticated and complex society, while its conventional containers and rites prove growingly obsolete and certainly unrelated to the ferments and visions of contemporary society. Nobody can anymore assess that the fault is somebody else's.

The prevailing weight of a view according to which culture is objective, somehow sculpted on bronze, and the audience has a sort of duty to accept and absorb its ‘message’, ended up draining many of the semantic and dialogic options. In the most recent years a growing slice of society is enjoying culture on the web, in non-conventional spaces, at home. This is not a deterrent against the direct consumption. It is certainly true that the personal presence in theatres and museums is a necessary condition for the cultural value chain to be activated; but it appears to be less and less sufficient, since a wide set of knowledge, critical interpretation, cognitive connections and further desires arises from the integrated combination and fertilisation among the myriad of information related to each artwork, be it tangible or intangible.

In such a respect, the ritual of conventional formats (affecting both supply and demand) is slowly but firmly fading away: not only it misses the needed integration of information and knowledge that responds to the perceptive expectations and critical desires of contemporary society, but it also ends up emphasising the static and crystallised features of an old-fashioned protocol whereby only a club of initiated individuals was admitted and accepted in cultural sanctuaries. Following such a rigid and exclusive approach the cultural heritage conveyed to future generations (also to ourselves in the future) would have consisted of stones, objects, manufactures certainly noble but almost dumb, due to the limited elaboration of knowledge and the prevailing taxonomic and conventional interpretation which is still diffused in guided tours, catalogues, programs, and all the information that should provoke rather than instruct the audience.

The strength of culture consists in its ability to witness the spirit of time when it was created and crafted, and at the same time to anticipate the spirit

of time of its present audience. On the contrary, the strategy (rather, the tactics) presently pursued by the majority of cultural organisations is being developed and carried out along a contradictory blade: the container remains exclusive and gives the clear message that who trespasses the threshold should 'deserve' it; the artifacts (both tangible and intangible) are displayed in a ritual way, like on altars and ritual boxes; the audience is expected to be already informed and to follow a pre-cooked physical and cognitive trail. Since this approach has proved clearly unable to raise the needed funds, some special effects are being added, from blockbuster exhibitions to merchandises, from unusual experiences generated by the superficial adoption of digital tricks to fashionable attractions.

Reactionary in its protocols, cheap in its decorations, cultural supply can face contemporary society and its cognitive expectations only if it discusses, and possibly overcomes, the rigidity of its framework, acknowledging that a versatile and multiple value can be much stronger than a rigid and mummified box. The changing urban fabric, less and less subject to functional and hierarchic dynamics, expects cultural spaces to be accessible, welcoming and inclusive. In such a way culture can be extensively spread and intensively shared, and its sustainability can be credibly pursued and improved.

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Searching for diversity: An overview of Italian Cultural Institutes boards of directors

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ABSTRACT

The theme of diversity has been debated in the era of globalization in response to affirmations of human and gender rights, and many studies have analysed board diversity within for-profit organizations. However, there is a paucity of studies investigating the role of demographic and non-demographic characteristics (such as educational and occupational background) among cultural organizations and the non-profit sector. Italian cultural institutions have been grouped together in a website by a private association called the Italian Association of Cultural Institutes (AICI). This website was used to collect information about these cultural organizations and to map their boards in terms of visible (demographic) and invisible (non-demographic) variables of diversity. Thus, diversity was explored among the board members of 111 private foundations and associations, studying age, gender, nationality, and educational and professional backgrounds. This article will highlight how Italian cultural organizations have low degrees of diversity within their boards of directors.

Keywords:

Governance

Boards

Cultural institutes

Diversity

Gender

Introduction

Diversity has been strongly debated in the era of globalization and migration in response to affirmations of human rights and gender policies. Strategies formulated by national governments and private organizations have been pushing the issue of diversity to increase competitiveness (Carter et al, 2010), favouring the exchange and integration of skills. Moreover, diversity increases inclusiveness (Gilbert et al, 1999).

Many studies have linked the causes of business success to the manifestation of diversity in the workplace, combining internal and external interests (Cox & Blake, 1991; Robinson & Dechant, 1997). Other studies have investigated the role of diversity within boards of directors to highlight its relationship with company performance (Rhode & Packel, 2014; Carter et al, 2010).

Most of these studies have been strongly anchored to the analysis of board diversity within for-profit organizations. However, few studies have studied such phenomena among cultural organizations and the non-profit sector to investigate the effects of demographic (age, gender, ethnicity) and non-demographic (educational and occupational background) diversity (Milliken & Martins, 1996; Forbes & Milliken, 1999).

According to Italy's legal framework, three forms of governance can be identified for these cultural organizations: institutional (involving public institutions), private, and public-private (including both public and private elements). The latter include associations, institutions, foundations, and consortia. These organizations are governed by a steering committee elected by the board of directors (Giambrone, 2013). Recently, a study by Dubini and Monti (2018) revealed that in arts organizations, boards contribute to financial sustainability because they can involve multiple donors and stakeholders.

Assuming that the diversity of a board implies quality (Harrison & Klein, 2007; Dubini & Monti, 2018), this study explored this concept within Italian cultural institutes to cope this theme through multiple variables of diversity (age, gender, nationality, knowledge background, and professional background). The aim was to provide a perspective on the level of diversity present in the boards of the members of the Association of Italian Cultural Institutions (AICI). If their heterogeneity were confirmed, it could represent the first point of analysis to deepen the impact of

diversity on internal decisions and external activities for stakeholders. Starting from analysis of the institutions available on the AICI website, this article aims to answer the following research questions:

- What is the level of demographic and non-demographic diversity in the composition of boards of directors in Italian cultural institutions?
- What is the level of diversity within these boards according to activity sectors and cultural institution features?

The AICI is a private association that has grouped Italian cultural institutions in a unique database. These organizations serve different purposes and areas of intervention and differ in terms of legal form. Nonetheless, they share similar attitudes toward governance. A list of 111 institutions was analysed in terms of their structure, mission, and rules to inspect the boards of directors and to have a first image of the composition of the boards of Italian cultural institutes.

This article will be structured in five sections, beginning with a literature analysis regarding diversity as a driver for these organizations and the composition of their boards. The methodology will then be described, followed by an analysis of the results. Next, a final discussion will outline critical aspects of the paper and possible future research. This study could become the first in a series of studies exploring diversity, cultural institutes and governance. Furthermore, the goal here is to strengthen cultural organizations' governance and to enhance studies in the field of diversity.

Diversity on cultural organizations' boards

Sampling and data collection instruments

Diversity has often been considered a double-edged sword (Milliken & Martins, 1996). However, from a terminological perspective, it is characterised by a multiplicity of synonyms that include "heterogeneity, dissimilarity, and dispersion", used interchangeably (Harrison & Klein, 2007).

Literature has separated diversity in two main categories: visible or less visible (Milliken & Martins, 1996; Forbes & Milliken, 1999). Visible attributes have been identified with demographics; non-visible attributes have been defined as educational and professional or functional (job-related) background by Carpenter and Westphal (2001). According to Harrison and Klein (2007), knowledge, background and

experience are useful to reveal compositional variety, whereas non-demographic differences represent elements of separation or disparity.

According to Harrison & Klein (2007: 1200), the word diversity is often used "to describe the distribution of differences among the members of a certain unit with respect to a common attribute 'X'". This means that diversity is considered as a whole and not as a focal member's difference from other members. Studies have shown both positive and negative impacts of diversity on different boards (Nederveen Pieterse et al, 2013) and consequently on firm performance (Carter et al, 2010).

In addition, researchers have explored diversity inside workplace contexts (Cox & Blake, 1991; Robinson & Dechant, 1997), in which the management of diversity has enhanced competitive advantage. This could reduce frustration and the cost of turnover for those involved (Cox & Blake, 1991). In other cases, company diversity meets the diversity of customers and suppliers with a high probability of penetrating the market. Aiding innovation and creativity, diversity management could increase flexibility and problem-solving within organizations (Robinson & Dechant, 1997).

By extending the analysis of diversity in the workplace, many studies have investigated boards of directors. As pointed out by Pfeffer and Salancik (1978: 163), "[W]hen an organization appoints an individual to a board, it expects the individual will come to support the organization, will concern himself with its problems, will variably present it to others, and will try to aid it". Board composition has been analysed according to the macro-categories of structure and demographics. Regarding structure, studies have referred to the composition of a board, including a) the number of members; b) directors' election (internal or external); and c) the number of meetings per year (Hermalin & Weisbach, 2000; Bhagat & Black, 1999; Shultz, 2000). Meanwhile, the demographic category concerns the personal characteristics of the members, such as demographic variables (Schwartz-Ziv & Weisbach, 2013); educational backgrounds (Jehn et al, 1999); and other non-demographic variables (Harrison et al, 1998; Jehn et al, 1999; Doerr et al, 2002). A wide variety of attributes can be extracted from a board, including age, ethnicity, culture, gender, knowledge, professional background, technical skills, industry experience and life experience (Milliken & Martins, 1996).

Traditionally, a board controls or monitors activities and provides resources (Hilman et al, 2000; Miller, 2002). The studies that have analysed this

relationship have mostly been based on the agency theory (Fama, 1980) and the resource dependence theory (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978; Hillman et al, 2009). In some cases, both theories have been integrated (Hillman & Dalziel, 2003).

The board has the power to monitor top management's behaviour, which should respect ethical principles and finances (Rhoades et al, 2000) in line with the organization's mission and values, especially in non profit organisations – NPOs (Brown, 2005). The dominant theory of resource dependence was adopted in this study to give a different perspective on the role of the board in providing resources to an organization. In addition, board composition connects a firm to its environment (Hillmann et al, 2000), creating networks and relationships and ensuring good relations with its stakeholders.

The analysis of diversity is not limited to a resource-based perspective. Studies have also investigated the role of the board from the agency theory perspective, emphasising the monitoring by members of top management on behalf of shareholders (Mizruchi, 1983), acting in the latter's interests (Macey & Miller, 1993).

As stated by Carter et al (2003: 37), diversity could increase the "board independence because people with different gender, ethnicity, or educational background might ask questions that would not come from board members with more traditional backgrounds". Through Tobin's Q, they found a positive relationship between firm value and board diversity. However, these authors also suggested that the agency theory approach is somewhat limiting. That is, this perspective does not provide a clear relationship between board diversity and financial performances, even though diversity is considered an advantage.

Finally, Hillman and Dalziel (2003) merged the function of monitoring and provision of resources. The result was a better understanding of the influence of board capital on the monitoring and provisioning of resources. This created a positive relationship between board capital and provision of resources but a negative one between board capital and monitoring.

In addition, diversity affects board performance, and plenty of empirical research has analysed demographic diversity (Rhode & Packel, 2014). More specifically, such studies have found positive relationships between board diversity and performance (Bonn, 2004; Campbell & Minguez-Vera, 2008; Bear et al, 2010; Mahadeo et al, 2012; Hafsi & Turgut, 2013); negative relationships (Adams & Ferreira, 2009; Haslam

et al, 2010; Dobbin & Jung, 2011); and non-significant relationships (Carter et al, 2010). The search for diversity must be integrated into strategic objectives through planned actions and should be managed to fulfil affirmative action policies.

Beyond this, diversity awareness as an element to manage has increased within organizations. Some are voluntarily moving toward initiatives or programs to manage diversity, driven by two factors: the dissemination of policies of inclusiveness and the positive results of business outcomes (Gilbert et al, 1999). These studies are strongly focused on the for-profit sector, according to a perspective aiming to analyse the impact of diversity on company performance. This performance is related to financial value, competitive advantage, preservation of interests of shareholders and the image of an organization.

Board composition and role in cultural organizations

Over the last two decades, the topic of boards of directors in NPOs has gained attention among scholars (Cornforth, 2001; Dacin et al, 2010; Miller, 2002; Miller-Millesen, 2003), but few studies have covered the topic of board composition. However, this discussion has been strongly anchored to studies within the for-profit sector that reflect some of the same features. The nature of NPOs allows their association with hybrid organizations, which are entities that aim to be sustainable and to achieve social goals (Battilana & Lee, 2014; MacMillan et al, 2004).

In the case of art organizations, which embrace different segments of artistic NPOs, studies have identified many common features of boards. In 1983, the Council for Business and the Arts in Canada explained the significant elements required to develop an effective arts board, underlining the need for most members to be volunteers. Meanwhile, Wry (1982) highlighted the crucial importance of having qualified administrators in art organizations and defined the fundamental role of the board of trustees (or directors), identifying their main tasks. First, he explained the efforts made by these boards to operate in a non-profit art institution to direct, plan and evaluate financial resources. The board's members were considered an "important operational arm of the non-profit organization" (Wry, 1987: 4) because they were a bridge between the business and the public needs of the community. Wry described not only the role and function of the board but the spirit of board involvement, which has been and continues

to be deeply integrated into the basic concept of the NPOs' art model.

McDaniel and Thorn (1990), questioned the ways in which the NPOs' artistic sector operates, opening a conversation around the role and function of the boards of directors in art organizations during a period of multicultural evolution. A lack of board development represents a huge problem when an organization is going through a critical period, such as environmental pressures.

This discussion continued on the theme of the board's allowing art organizations to express their needs for support from the board or the managers to achieve cultural goals (Thorn, 1990). Until that point, studies had been focused on a specific portion of art organizations but less on the condition of boards of directors. The responsibilities of these boards consisted of making decisions to a) link strategic choices; b) strongly collaborate with management; c) provide resources; and d) have the right people manage organisations, including board directors (Radbourn & Fraser, 1996).

Researchers began to pay attention to the composition of boards not only for the role acquired by it but also in terms of influencing organizations and including diversity. Radbourne (2003) suggested a model linking governance and reputation. Through interviews with the board chair and general manager of a performing arts company in Australia, he observed that reputation, skills, engagement, and management of a company are drivers of good governance and there are positively influenced by the board. In this sense, the features of the board concern the human skills and capacity. In this sense, the features of the board concern the human skills and capacity. The potential composition of art boards has been analysed from the stakeholder perspective, exploring how gender and ethnicity affect corporate responsibility (Azmat & Rentschler, 2017).

Dubini and Monti (2018) filled in the gap regarding board composition (in terms of background) and performance in Italian opera houses, merging agency theory and resource dependency theory. What emerged was how the presence of artistic profiles on a board is not positively correlated with public or private funding. However, the study indicated that the actions of a board could ensure an organization's growth, contributing to financial sustainability.

The resource-based theory and the agency theory are not the only two perspectives; especially for art organizations, the board performs the important tasks of formulating strategic decisions and of ensuring

relations with stakeholders. As stated by Azmat and Rentschler (2017: 319), "Art organizations have a primary focus on serving their diverse stakeholders on whom they depend for donations; hence, stakeholder trust is critical for their survival and sustainability".

The nature of art organizations highlights their strong dependence on public financing and fundraising actions, their need to increase their number of partnerships with multiple actors, the creation of a network and collaboration with stakeholders of the community. The board has the role of working to ensure the value creation and the sustainability of an organization, achieving goals for the key stakeholders, understanding and representing their interests. Board diversity enhances these aspects because "[e]thnic and gender diversity in the board provide legitimacy, credibility, and integrity which are important for earning stakeholder trust, as stakeholders are now more demanding in the current context of economic uncertainty" (Azmat and Rentschler, 2017: 319). Concerning the role of the board in art organizations, it has not been investigated through the perspective of stakeholders, except for in a study conducted by Azmat and Rentschler (2017) that linked the theory to corporate responsibility.

In the present study, diversity was explored in boards of organizations based on age, gender, nationality, knowledge background and professional background. Heterogeneity, if confirmed, could be explored in depth, analysing the repercussions it may have on the decisions and objectives of cultural organizations, as well as on participation levels and the creation of partnerships and networks.

Italian Cultural Institutes

This analysis aimed to provide overview of the composition of boards in Italian cultural organizations. From an administrative and legal point of view, foundations are autonomous entities, private non-

profit organizations with their own income sources that would normally come from a patrimony. Some of these are participation of foundations of Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities. However, the legacies and patrimonies of foundations are devoted to the pursuit of educational, cultural, religious, social, health, scientific research, and other needs. The law set the

objectives of developing forms of cooperation for non-profit activities between institutional and private subjects for the management and enhancement of cultural heritage (Wizemann & Alberti, 2005). Foundations are headed by boards of directors, and associations are another kind of organization, governed by the code of the non profit sector (called "Codice del Terzo Settore") – the same as foundations. According to the characteristics of these associations, both physical and legal persons can take provision for the involvement of members in activities. An association is usually initiated by a steering committee elected by the assembly (frequently called Consiglio Direttivo). On a related note, boards of directors should not be confused with other committees (Collegio dei revisori dei conti, Collegio dei probiviri, Comitato scientifico) or with staff. The latter have specific technical mansions and often included a director who can be nominated or fired by the board. Leaders of such organizations should not

necessarily be the leaders of the board. Moreover, leaders must never be confused with directors.

Research Design

Data collection

This research addressed certain questions regarding Italian cultural institutes. Among others, such concerns included the following: a) General information about the institutes such as geographic location, activities, and juridical diversities; b) Regarding the specific structure of the board, this study strived to understand how it

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has to be composed in such an organization in terms of dimensions, goals, and typology; c) Referring to people who have sat on a board, there was a necessity to comprehend their diversity in terms of visible and invisible variables.

Organizations were selected from the website of the Association of Italian Cultural Institutes (*Associazione delle Istituzioni di Cultura italiane*). AICI¹ is a NPOs' founded in 1992 comprised of a group of associations, foundations and institutes engaged in the fields of research, conservation and promotion in a broad range of cultural fields. The AICI website provided a list that collected Italian cultural organizations who voluntarily decided to join the network. On this note, there are currently 111 registered cultural organizations in Southern, Central and Northern Italy. These organizations are associations and foundations of great prestige and consolidated activity. Network members operate to carry out research, conservation and promotion activities in the most diverse areas of cultural production. Organizations that are listed by AICI share their not-for-profit status, cultural mission and governance methods. This means that they generally include a leader and a board, which must be democratically elected by the general assembly, depending on their statute.²

Starting from AICI's list, a dataset containing information about the 111 institutes and their members was designed. The following information were extracted from the website: name of the institute, address and contacts, along with the declared program, which is the most crucial variable for measuring the creativity and quality of an organization.

This research aimed to give an overview of the many variables of diversity, including both visible and invisible attributes. For the first category of variables, age, gender and nationality were listed. For the second one, personal experiences in terms of education and professional background were included. This dataset was developed to observe the following variables:

1. URL of a working official website;
2. Name on the institution's leader;
3. names of the board members, including the board's leader;
4. organizations' statute availability; and
5. availability of CVs.

¹ For more information: www.aici.it

² In order to become part of the AICI network, applying organizations need to be able to demonstrate specific characteristics: a) legal status; b) constitution no more recent than 5 years; c) verified and continuous scientific research activity, to be eventually accompanied by educational activities; d) scientific relevance of its documentary heritage; e) publishing activities; f) periodic organisation of conferences, exhibitions or other events of high scientific value; and g) contact with national and international organizations. In addition, according to Italian law, a cultural heritage site has to be open to the public at least 20 hours per week.

³ Regarding these features, we had to distinguish between knowledge backgrounds in terms of education levels and experience; meanwhile, "professional background" refers to professional roles held

The next step of the research was the search for information that needed to be verified through a deeper analysis, including the type of board, juridical form of the organization, head office location, and board's size. The type and the effective dimensions of the board were verified comparing every board member's list with the relative statute to avoid errors or misunderstandings. In addition, statutes were checked to determine the juridical statuses of the institutes.

Next, the members' CVs were analysed to obtain the following variables:

1. Demographics: age, gender, nationality;
2. Non-demographics: knowledge and professional background³.

The aim of this research was to give a panoramic view of the diversity in boards' compositions looking at "visible" attributes, such as demographics. Meanwhile, "non-visible" variables like education and professional background were defined as functional (job-related) diversities (Carpenter & Westphal, 2001).

To cope with the risk of biases, errors and lack of accuracy were tempered by putting extra monitoring during the phase of data extraction (i.e. the year of birth, nationality, gender identity). Additional research was conducted with the support of newspapers, professional social network websites like LinkedIn or XING and a variety of other trusted sources.

Educational background and professional activities had to be forced into a closed number of categories that were relevant to the scope of the research. For this, we merged all of the hard science disciplines and kept the law faculty separate, as it could be grouped with the social sciences. At the same time, humanistic bachelor's degrees (history, literature and foreign languages, philosophy, art history, etc.) had to be grouped together as well. In addition, jobs were given functional groupings.

Results

Institutional analyses

Out of the 111 institutions included in the AICI website, those that did not provide sufficient information regarding their legal status, activities or

Macroregions	NUTS Code	ISTAT Code	Macroregions	Associations	Foundations	Total
Islands	ITG	1	Sicily, Sardinia	-	0,98%	0,98%
South	ITF	2	Abruzzo, Molise, Campania, Apulia, Basilicata, Calabria	1,96%	3,92%	5,88%
Centre	ITI	3	Tuscany, Umbria, Marche, Lazio	19,61%	32,35%	51,96%
Northwest	ITC	4	Piedmont, Valle d'Aosta, Liguria, Lombardia	9,80%	15,69%	25,49%
Northwest	ITH	5	Trentino-Alto Adige, Veneto, Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Emilia Romagna	7,84%	7,84%	15,69%
<i>Total</i>				39,22%	60,78%	100,00%

TABLE 1. ASSOCIATIONS AND FOUNDATIONS PER GEOGRAPHIC AREA

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

board composition were excluded. Thus, the final data samples included 102 Institutions ($n = 102$), distributed across the Italian macro-areas according to the Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics (NUTS, cf. Table 1). Specifically, 52% of the monitored institutions had their headquarters in the centre of the country, closely followed by the North. In addition, the Northwest accounted for 25,5% of the institutions, while the Northeast held 15,7% of the AICI institutions. Only 5,9% of AICI's cultural institutions had their headquarters in the South, and even fewer were located in the Isles (1%). Foundational legal forms dominated most of these areas, while the Northeast was the only place in which we noted a similar percentage of associations and foundations.

Looking at the regions hosting cultural institutes reveals that 38 institutions were based in Lazio, followed by Tuscany (15), Piedmont (14), Lombardy (11), Emilia Romagna (8), Veneto and Campania (4). A few regions contained one or two institutions, whereas several regions had no representation at all (Abruzzo, Basilicata, Calabria, Marche, Molise, Sicily, Umbria, Valle d'Aosta). The geographical distribution over the Italian provinces copied the cultural geography of the nation. In addition, it showed that the majority of organizations were distributed over just a few cities, and 63 of them were dispersed across small provinces.

In any case, Rome led the provinces list, hosting 36 institutes, followed by the 11 of Turin, nine for both Florence and Milan, four in Venice, and three each in Naples and Bologna. The seven provinces of Rome, Turin, Milan, Florence, Venice, Naples and Bologna held a total of 75 institutes (73% of the 102 samples). Excluding Rome (which is the political capital and has many political foundations), associations and foundations were equally distributed in those provinces (20 foundations and 19 associations). In the minor

centres, where provinces host two or fewer institutions, the foundation form was prominent (20 to 7).

Regarding the law form of the institutes, we found a heterogeneous representation: foundations, cultural academies, associations and cultural institutes are the juridical forms that the organizations expressed in their statutes. Therefore, according to recent law dispositions, we grouped academies and institutes together under the label of the association. As shown in Table 1, nearly 61% of the cultural institutes were foundations (62 organizations). The other represented legal form was the association with 40 members (39%).

In the case of associations, the prevailing category was "humanities" with 47,5%, followed by the social sciences with 25%. Concerning foundations, 51,6% were grouped under the social sciences and 41,9% in the field of humanities. Notably, cultural institutions from the social sciences preferred the juridical form of a foundation. Moreover, the field of political sciences emerged as the dominant category, comprising 34% of the organizations. Among the associations, a broader variety of activities was documented, whereas in foundations there was a large number of organizations working in the field of political sciences. Apart from the library service (which was the most common activity), the institutional program was reported as heterogeneous, demonstrating that every organisation has its own mix of activities, with significant differences among them.

Analysis of demographic variables

Leaders of the boards and leaders of these organizations were carefully observed to better comprehend the boards' natures. In certain institutions, they could differ in accordance with the internal rules of the organisation. In the sample, a board's leader was usually the leader of

the entire organisation as well, with only one exception. Due to the prominence of the leaders, their CVs were often more complete with demographic and non-demographic information.

On the subject of gender representation, minor problems throughout the extractions of the sample occurred; therefore, the recognition of every leader and member's gender was possible. With 82,35% of male leaders, women who are in charge of a board in Italian cultural institutions represent 17,65% of the total leadership. Men are even more dominant in associations (85%) over females (15%), whereas in foundations, female leaders are a bit more represented (19,35% vs 80,65%).

Concerning the demographic variables⁴ of the 102 leaders, only 86 dates of birth were found. The oldest leader was 101 years old (b. 1918, female), while the youngest was 27 (b. 1992, male). The average year of birth was 1949, meaning that Italian leaders of cultural institutions are, on average, 71 years old.

Furthermore, data on female leaders was drastically inferior to data for male leaders. Statistics have shown that for female leaders, personal data has been spreading through the Internet, currently reaching 43,7% of availability for women and 87,21% for men. However, demographic information presented little difference when sectioning the sample by juridical

forms. In this case, it can be seen that the average age of these associations' leaders was higher (73 years old), whereas in foundations, the leaders were slightly younger (70 years old).

On the subject of member composition, boards of cultural institutions included in the AICI ranged from a minimum of 3 to a maximum of 25 members, depending on the statute. The average number of board members was nine, and male members represented approximately 74,40% of the board members. The sample was taken by analysing 918 members from the 102 different boards. In addition, leaders of the boards had already been included in the count.

Of the 918 board members, 74% were male. There were only 235 female members, meaning more diversity through the boards in comparison with those of the leadership. On the topic of demography, slight differences were appreciable in terms of ethnic diversity; for instance, only 2,6% of the board members were non-Italians.

In addition, birth years were available only in 62,6% of the 918 samples. No significant difference emerged from the leaders' records; the youngest member was born in 1998, whereas the oldest remained the one born in 1918. The youngest member was 21 years old, but the average board member in these cultural institutions was a 65-year-old man or woman (Table 3).

Organization juridical form	AVERAGE AGE OF:		
	All leaders	Male leaders	Female leaders
All	71	72	72
Associations	73	74	58
Foundations	70	70	70

TABLE 2. LEADERS' DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

Organization juridical form	AVERAGE AGE OF:		
	All members	Male members	Female members
All	65	66	61
Associations	66	67	62
Foundations	64	66	60

TABLE 3. MEMBERS' DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

⁴ Data were updated to 7 October 2019.

Education	LEADERS' EDUCATION			MEMBERS' EDUCATION		
	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
Architecture	2,8%	0,0%	2,4%	2,8%	2,8%	2,8%
Hard sciences	6,9%	0,0%	6,1%	13,7%	8,5%	12,5%
Law	20,8%	20,0%	20,0%	18,8%	7,1%	16,1%
Social sciences	30,6%	30,0%	30,5%	24,6%	14,9%	22,3%
Humanities	36,1%	50,0%	37,8%	37,0%	63,8%	43,2%

TABLE 4. LEADERS' AND MEMBERS' EDUCATION

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

Careers	LEADERS' EDUCATION			MEMBERS' EDUCATION		
	Male	Female	All	Male	Female	All
Creative	4,8%	0,0%	4,2%	6,2%	10,7%	7,3%
Legal	4,8%	16,7%	6,3%	6,2%	3,6%	5,6%
Politics	12,0%	16,7%	12,6%	7,8%	4,1%	7,0%
Manager	10,8%	8,3%	10,5%	14,2%	11,8%	13,7%*
Education	51,8%	33,3%	49,5%**	51,5%	52,1%	51,6%***

TABLE 5. LEADERS AND MEMBERS' CAREERS

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

* Including cultural manager, 0,9% among members

** Including Teachers (1,1%)

*** Including Academics (1,6) and Teachers (2,0%), along with Professors (47,3%)

Non-demographic variables analysis

Among the non-demographic – or invisible – variables considered in the literature (such as skills, competence, relational, hobbies and so on), educational and professional backgrounds were investigated for leaders and members. For instance, Table 4 showed that 37,8% of the leaders came from the humanities (history, philosophy and literature), followed by 30,6% who were educated in the social sciences (including political sciences, economics and sociology).

The third major group consisted of leaders who had studied law (20%). A significant portion (18,8%) of leaders didn't declare their educational background at all. The group of people who studied hard sciences followed with 6,1%, preceding the architecture group (2,4%). The absolute majority (99%) of the cultural institution leaders held at least one bachelor's degree.

However, a group of 35,3% of female leaders didn't declare anything about their educational backgrounds. Female leaders who were educated in the humanities made up 50,0% of the group, followed by those in

the social sciences (30%) and law (20%). Male leaders preferred humanities bachelor's degrees (36,1%), followed by those from the social sciences (30,6%) and law (20,8%). On the other hand, very few people chose the paths of hard sciences (6,9%) and architecture (2,8%). Of the entire male sample, 17,4% did not declare anything about their educational backgrounds.

Accuracy of describing educational backgrounds was more problematic for members; data were unavailable for 33,9% (316 members of 918) of the samples. Only 0,9% of the 918 members affirmed they did not hold a bachelor's degree, 43,2% came from the humanities, 22,3% from social sciences and 16,1% from law. The last significant group was the hard sciences, with 12,5%. Next came a small contingent that was trained in the field of applied arts (music, cinema, visual arts) and architecture (2,8%).

These leaders came from a variety of professional fields, though there was a great predominance of leaders whose careers were deeply academic or more linked to an educational career (49,5%). In addition, academia was a more frequent choice for the male

leaders (51.8% of the cases) than for the female leaders (33.3%). A significant majority of politicians were also included (12.6% of the total), with similar percentages of women and men. Other appreciated professional paths were careers related to management (in the broader sense), to the law (judges included) and to journalism. Creative and cultural workers, an essential category in the field of creative industries and, more specifically, in the present society, amounted to only 4.2% of the leaders.

The second analysed variable focused on the members' professional backgrounds, for which the data were much more disaggregated. Unfortunately, the determination of career paths was even more complex for the members than for the leaders. That is, 21.5% of the members gave no information regarding their occupations. The educational group accounted for 51.6% of the members, including professors, scholars and teachers. This group represented the largest category, followed at a great distance by managers (13.7%), politicians (7%), legal professionals⁵ (5.6%), creative workers (4.0%), cultural managers (0.5%) and cultural operators (1.3%), accounting together for no more than 7.3% of the total of creative item.

Diversity between associations and foundations

The aim of the second research question was to reveal the level of diversity within the board of directors according to activity sectors and features of the cultural institutions. Among the educational backgrounds of members of associations, 53% came from the humanities sector, data confirmed by the percentage of this sector within the institution's typology. However, there was a significant number of members educated in the hard sciences (16%), and even more significant were the percentages of both social sciences (17%) and law (10%) that merged together to account for a notable 27%.

The educational backgrounds of foundations members showed more variety because there were three main areas in this section, including humanities (35%), social sciences (27%) and law (22%). In fact, there was an unpredictable reduction of members coming from the hard sciences. The more evident data in terms of the educational background was that, merging both social sciences and law accounted for 49% of the total sample, which was far more consistent than the humanities.

The data on professional backgrounds within the associations revealed that there was an absolute majority of male academics (74%) working as university professors. In addition, there were scholars and teachers belonging to a similar area of the job field. Meanwhile, the female professional backgrounds inside the same kinds of institutions slightly differed in terms of academic profession, making up a minor percentage of the total. Of note was the presence of creative workers and cultural operators not included in the category of male directors' associations.

The context of the foundations showed great variety for men's professional backgrounds. For this reason, even if the occupation of professor continues to be dominant (41%), there would still be other categories to be highlighted, such as manager (15%), politician (9%), law profession (8%) and creative worker (5%). For the professional backgrounds for the female directors, 17 categories were identified, more than in comparison with the men. The percentage of female professors was less dominant (31%), increasing the number of women coming from the management field (18%) and women with positions in the cultural field (9%).

Merging the sectors of associations and foundations without making gender distinctions, the data explained that the dominant career category was still "professor", but there was extensive professional diversity.

Discussion of results and final considerations

This paper aimed to paint a picture of the theme of diversity in Italian cultural institutions. The main question of the work has been answered by giving an overall picture of Italian boards of directors in terms of internal diversity, considering of both visible and invisible attributes.

As pointed out by Walt and Ingley (2003), "[T]he concept of diversity relates to board composition and the varied combination of attributes, characteristics, and expertise contributed by individual board members" (p. 219). The main result of this study was a low degree of diversity or homogeneous diversity (Brammer et al, 2007; Milliken & Martins, 1996).

This Italian scenario was chosen due to several considerations: first, Italy has many cultural cities that host cultural organizations. Therefore, Italian cultural geography allows one to simultaneously examine several regions of long-established cultural tradition.

⁵ Including lawyers, judges, and notaries

“THIS PAPER AIMED TO PAINT A PICTURE OF THE THEME OF DIVERSITY IN ITALIAN CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS. THE MAIN QUESTION OF THE WORK HAS BEEN ANSWERED BY GIVING AN OVERALL PICTURE OF ITALIAN BOARDS OF DIRECTORS IN TERMS OF INTERNAL DIVERSITY, CONSIDERING OF BOTH VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE ATTRIBUTE”

Lastly, the existence of the AICI database represented a unique opportunity to convey research across a homogeneous group of cultural institutions.

There is no public national register to systematically catalogue Italian cultural institutes, but there are certain official regional databases (called *Albo Regionale*), depending on the politics of the different regions. This gap of a unique database did not allow a precise outlining of the overall Italian panorama regarding the number and model of governances of these organizations, causing a fragmented scenario.

From this analysis, a heterogeneity emerged regarding the legal form representing the cultural institutions. First, there was a significant presence of foundations, representing 61% of the total organizations. Regarding geographical distribution, the cultural institutions collected by AICI were concentrated in the centre of Italy. These data aligned with the index of density and relevance of the museum heritage that accounted for Tuscany and Lazio with the highest asset index in Italy (ISTAT). These data were confirmed by the presence of 37% of the institutes located around the province of Rome.

According to the first research question, the aim of this study was to investigate the diversity of two variables: demographic and non-demographic, splitting the analysis into two parts. splitting the analysis into the leaders and members of the board of directors.

Demographic variables articulated included age, gender and ethnicity, revealing that Italian cultural institutions presented by AICI are governed by a board leader. In 99% of these cases, this person was the president of an institution. In addition, a gender diversity study showed men as dominant, comprising 83% of the leaders in these institutions. The representative average age was 70 years old, demonstrating that the age rate was quite high. These data, compared with the gender variable, confirmed the same result, specifying that the foundations were more represented by women with an average age slightly below 70 years old.

In terms of ethnicity, the data gave a panorama dominated by Italian leaders. This revealed both a

critical point and a topic for future discussion concerning cultural organizations. The ethnographic homogeneity that characterized these boards of directors underlined that these organizations considered only the involvement of national members. However, from the point of view of development and results, the heterogeneity could constitute an advantage and could thus increase the creativity and the results required to reach the objectives. Program quality of these Italian organizations should be compared to quality of organizations from a different area of the continent to verify the impact of heterogeneity on the definitions of activities and their impacts on society.

Furthermore, educational backgrounds and job positions were analysed as non-demographic variables. The two main categories were the fields of humanities (30,7%) and the social sciences (24,8%), with female leaders dominant in the first category and male leaders preferring bachelor's degrees in the social sciences. The professional field was the last variable analysed, and it emerged that these leaders were mostly employed in the educational sector, but there were not enough leaders working in the fields of cultural and creative industries (less than 10%).

The levels of demographic and non-demographic diversity that emerged through the analysis of the board of directors confirmed the presence of the male component (74,40%), with an average age of 66. On the other hand, the female component comprised 26% of the population, with an average age of 61.

The results on educational backgrounds showed similar results with the data regarding the leaders. In fact, 33% of analysable information of the members (918 available) confirmed that the three main categories were (in increasing order) the humanities, social sciences, and law fields. The data on career positions were too disaggregated but had identified 11 categories, of which the most populated category concerned education.

The observations derived from these data were as follows:

- The boards of directors have many elderly

members. The leaders are even older.

- There is lack of integration between people of different ethnicity.
- Cultural and creative careers are the least chosen by board members.

The second research question had the objective of investigating whether there were different levels of diversity according to the sectors of activities and features of the cultural institutions.

The analysis first showed such a difference visible by sectioning the sample by juridical form. Leaders in the associations were older than leaders in the foundations, and men were always the dominant gender among them. The situation was different in foundations, however, where female leaders were a bit more represented.

Beyond this, the analysis divided the organizations into macro-categories. The main category representing the sector was the humanities (44%), followed by the social sciences (41,5%). The humanities included history, philosophy, art, literature, music, and other related disciplines.

On a related note, the aim of the second question research was to analyse the level of diversity according to the sectors of activities and features of the cultural institutions. Diversity of foundations among the boards of directors was more evident than in the associations, both in educational and professional backgrounds. In fact, this level of variety was also confirmed for the professional background, for which the associations presented the dominant category of professors. Meanwhile, foundations showed great diversity in the professional backgrounds of men and women. In addition, this category was important because creative education and occupations were introduced there by only women.

These studies focused on explaining the implications of the diversity levels of the boards, highlighting a significant focus on for-profit organizations. These studies, elaborated within the corporate field, have increased the level of awareness regarding the homogeneity of the composition of boards of directors. In addition, even in non-profit organizations, the effects of diversity could increase levels of creativity and innovation and could improve the quality of diversity within the organizations (Harrison & Klein, 2007; Dubini & Monti, 2018).

In this vein, quality in art organizations can be assessed using multiple aspects, including activities carried out, artistic programs, involvement of the public,

creative processes, originality, contents conveyed and impact at the local level (AQA Guidance, 2020; Gilmore et al, 2017). These aspects could be driven by the role assumed by the board and by their degree of heterogeneity. In other words, the diversity in the board is expected to influence the quality of the organizations in terms of programs, which are intended to place quantity of initiatives over the dimension of quality (i.e. support of avant-garde artists, of cultural diversity, of intercultural issues or by creating diversity among cultural practices and processes).

The interchange of knowledge among the members of director boards helps these organizations to monitor management decisions. Members could even give more suggestions to realize strategies and support the management of financial resources and the acquisition of new resources and activities for the stakeholders (Callen et al, 2013), but sometimes it is worth considering a change in corporate culture (Bowens et al, 1993). Organizational theories explain that creativity in organizations is facilitated by the adoption of structures and practices that support innovation and organizational success (Gahaneta et al, 2007). That is, creativity from an organizational point of view is seen as the production of new ideas according to the organizational scenario (Amabile et al, 1996).

In the cultural organizations characterized by different legal frameworks, the level of diversity noted could have an impact on the management of resources and on the strategies implemented to reach the results (economic and non-economic), as well as on those linked to the missions of the organizations.

On the other hand, it would be necessary to evaluate how the role played by the diversity of members would be affected by the delegation attributed to them and what impact this would have on the organizations and their relations with a variety of stakeholders and audiences. Concerning the limitations and future directions for this research, many board members were reticent in making their CVs public and accessible. A further study would benefit from systematic interviews with board leaders and members. Such a methodology would allow overcoming the need for privacy that some trustees have shown in refraining from putting their CVs on the Internet.

Future research on these few regions where a regional albo is available would be of the greatest usefulness in comparing the statistics that we already had. In addition to this topic, some regions appeared to not be adequately represented, a fact that still needs to be extensively investigated. Moreover, further

research into the cultural and professional background is needed. In addition, cultural institutions covered a certain variety of institutions, so future research should consider focusing on a more precise range of organizations, such as local private museums, allowing a further detailed analysis of the programs and activities.

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The Possibility Spectrum: Increasing Diversity & Inclusion in Arts Organizations

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ABSTRACT

Many arts and cultural organizations seek increased diversity and inclusion; however, these ideals can be simpler in concept than conception. Each are different values that must be implemented in tandem for success. The author challenges organizations to look internally and acknowledge that if they are not representative of the communities they claim to serve, then the organization is not serving the communities they claim to represent. Data and analysis from five years of case studies on Intiman Theatre's programming reveal practical actions organizations can take to improve diversity and increase inclusion. Through research the author outlines a 12-step plan in three phases, awaken, broaden, and commit, enabling organizations to access their Possibility Spectrum. First presented as a workshop at the Association of Arts Administration Educators (AAAE) 36th annual conference hosted by Queen Margaret University in Edinburgh, this article updates research, findings, and case studies with the latest available information.

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What is Diversity and Inclusion?

Background and Methodology

Many arts and cultural organizations seek to welcome diversity and increase inclusion; however, these ideals can be simpler in concept than conception. After a near extinction, Seattle's Intiman Theatre reinvented itself with the mission to produce theater "as diverse as the community in which we live". To reach this mission, the theatre needed to recruit and hire more diverse actors and staff while retraining existing employees in complex issues of diversity and social equity. To meet this challenge, in 2015 the theatre launched the Intiman Emerging Artist Program (IEAP), a pre-professional training initiative intended to find and prepare diverse candidates to fulfill nontraditional casting and staffing opportunities in the theatre arts. In 2017 Intiman expanded their efforts toward diversity and inclusion by launching the Starfish Project, a technical theatre training program for high school students attending schools in marginalized communities. In the midst of growing social tensions in the United States, both IEAP and Starfish embrace straightforward, practical programming that does not avoid difficult diversity issues, but rather prepares space for conflict and complexity to be addressed as part of training. IEAP and Starfish provide useful case studies for equitable and inclusionary practices in arts education programming.

Intiman Theatre has had the freedom to take bold, uncharted steps lined with both successes and failures. The author embarked on a year-long research project of Intiman's educational programs including a literature review; organizational document analysis; interviews with staff members, board trustees, program facilitators, instructors, and students; student focus groups; and anonymous surveys of program graduates. Concrete data and analysis from the past five years of educational programming revealed practical actions arts and cultural organizations can take to improve diversity and increase inclusion. Additionally, the author draws on experience working with international arts and culture organizations as guided by research to formulate a 12-step action plan for like-minded establishments to embark on a guided journey toward diversity and inclusion.

What is Diversity?

At a recent board meeting I attended, Intiman Theatre Board Trustees spent an hour debating what we mean

by diversity. The definition has become highly politicized (Leo & Barton, 2006). I had a strong sense of *déjà vu* as I have been in this conversation many times before and with many types of organizations. Within the context of the United States this often plays out as a group of mostly white people talking about "People of Color" or "POC," by which they mean, yet often do not realize, the global majority. Somehow the American conversation on binary racial identity continues to suggest that a person is either white or nonwhite, and that referring to the latter group as POC is somehow less white-centric. It is not. Moreover, diverse racial identities are merely one small facet of diversity, the importance of which bear different weights dependent upon local historical contexts. However, "It is diversity itself which must be saved, not the outward and visible form in which each period has clothed that diversity, and which can never be preserved beyond the period which gave it birth" (Lévi-Strauss, 1952). Presently the North American and European contexts too often equate diversity with variances in individuals' outward and visible skin tones. At times the definition is expanded to include an individual's accent or attire as other outward and visible assignments. As nationalistic ideals resurge throughout these regions, an individual's country of origin is considered in misinformed, unfavorable, binary citizen versus noncitizen ways (Council of Europe, 2016a).

When cogitating diversity it is most beneficial to consider the more encompassing concept of cultural diversity. Therefore, for clarity, the better question to ask is "what is cultural diversity?" UNESCO defines cultural diversity as a "fact" discoverable only through deeper examination of "social codes" representing,

lifestyles, social representations, value systems, codes of conduct, social relations (inter-generational, between men and women, etc.), the linguistic forms and registers within a particular language, cognitive processes, artistic expressions, notions of public and private space [...], forms of learning and expression, modes of communication and even systems of thought, can no longer be reduced to a single model or conceived in terms of fixed representations (UNESCO, 2009: 4).

This expanded definition demonstrates a need for greater diversity and inclusion of women, gender nonconforming individuals, age ranges, sexual orientation, first languages, artistic practices, social norms, and other underrepresented communities and subcultures. Unspecified in UNESCO's definition, but

important for delineation during diversity conversations are neurodivergency, physical ability, religious belief system, country of origin, and socioeconomic class. Stereotyping or underrepresenting categorized marginalized populations can also be culturally dependent. Ultimately the definition of diversity itself is nearly as diverse as the populations it attempts to qualify.

If organizations would like an environment to be more diverse, look at who is absent from the space. However, if organizations would like ideas to be more diverse, look at who is missing from the conversation. In this way, discover who is needed to fill the void. When trying to fill these vacuums, do not conduct community "outreach" because that concept has the connotation that an organization is dragging the community into their "better" world. Rather, the community needs to take the lead (Houck, 2012). Individuals who are currently absent must be the leaders of diversification efforts. Organizations seeking increased diversity must recognize themselves as community partners, invite community guidance, and desire community leadership to identify the organization as one with whom they can safely and successfully collaborate. Therefore I was delighted when the conversation among Intiman's board and staff diverged from the American norm instead turning to these ladder concepts. Progress had indeed occurred.

The most vital part of increasing this diversity is mindful and appropriate recruiting (Axenson, 2018). Individuals who were formerly excluded, whether intentionally or unintentionally, deserve proper, sincere, and individualized invitations. When I started IEAP in 2015, Intiman's Artistic Director challenged me to fill the program with at least 50% People of Color (POC) to ensure "diversity." Selecting individuals into the program based on their race, ethnicity, or skin color would have been immoral and ineffective in expanding long-term diversification efforts and would not have achieved actual diversity. Instead, I expanded recruiting efforts to ensure a more diverse applicant pool. In the end program diversity not only exceeded the POC goal, but also demonstrated diversity among other underrepresented populations. This was due to recruitment efforts and leaders from marginalized communities partnering in the effort.

What is Inclusion?

Diversity and inclusion are separate concepts which must operate interpedently for success; however, quite

the opposite often occurs. The Society for Human Resource Management's Global Diversity Readiness Index found that organizations within countries with more diverse populations resisted inclusivity, while those within countries with less diverse populations were not systematically less inclusive (SHMR, 2009). When the relationship between two classes is such that all members of one are also members of the other, then inclusion is achieved. Often a missing component is the organization's stake in the community partnership. The stakes are high for the community and need to be just as high for the partnering organization. Too often organizations consider their own costs and benefits to community partnership, but neglect consideration of the costs and benefits for the community with whom they are partnering (Srinivas et al, 2015). Worse the partnership becomes some afterthought done for a bullet point on a grant application or advertisement. Both the organization and the community partner need equal skin in the game. If an initiative could make or break the community, then the organization must allow the initiative to make or break them as well. They need to be brave together with equally balanced high stakes. If an organization is unwilling to take on the same risks as the community group with whom they seek to partner, then the partnership should not be pursued. A truly inclusive organization shares risk and has equal stakes.

Article 2 of UNESCO's Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity states, "Policies for the inclusion and participation of all citizens are guarantees of social cohesion, the vitality of civil society and peace" (2001: 4). The important work of increasing inclusion requires research (Leavy & Harris, 2019). Research should be conducted to better understand who an organization is excluding and who they are including. For instance,

Race is a socially constructed idea that humans can be divided into district groups based on inborn traits that differentiate them from members of other groups. This conception is core to practices of racism. There is no scientific justification for race. All humans are mixed! And, scientists have demonstrated that there is no physical existence of races. Yet, race is a social fact with a violent and hierarchy that has resulted in differential and disturbing experiences of racism predicated on beliefs that races do exist (Mahiri, 2017: 2).

This means scientific research has shown that racial exclusion is unwarranted. Furthermore, racial exclusion is racist, and inclusion is antiracist. If an

organization's decisionmakers and stakeholders do not include a representational example of their community, then the organization is excluding the individuals they need to enable diversity. Moreover, exclusion presents hostile working environments in any field (Gibney, 2016; Restrepo Sanin, 2019). Inclusive environments not only enable organizations to operate at their best, but also are a required ethos before an organization embraces diversity efforts.

Why Do Arts & Cultural Organizations Need Diversity and Inclusion?

Diversity + Inclusion = The Possibility Spectrum. Arts and cultural organizations need both diversity and inclusion to open up possibilities. Research shows that cognitive diversity, the inclusion of diverse thinking and expression, improves teams' ability to formulate and execute successful strategies (Reynolds & Lewis, 2017). Additionally, individuals who work in diverse and inclusive environments are 80% more likely to believe they belong to a high performing organization (Deloitte, 2013). Companies with diverse leadership teams demonstrate financial performance that is more than 50% greater (Barta, Kleiner, & Neumann, 2012). In their 2020-2030 strategy, The Arts Council England recognized diversity and inclusion as a key characteristic of a dynamic organization (2019). Furthermore, equitable education and participation in arts and culture is a human right, therefore individuals who are often excluded or marginalized from cultural participation are being denied their human right (UNESCO, 2006). As such, arts and cultural organizations can facilitate the preservation of human rights. "By becoming spaces for deepening the understanding of different cultures and providing room for participative and creative encounters, cultural institutions may, in our opinion, play a pivotal role in connecting people and in building a more cohesive and open society"

(European Commission, 2014: 5).

Some believe that diversification could cause their organization to fail. The truth is that it could... if an organization only tries to appear more diverse without being willing to expand who they are through inclusion. The 'new' Intiman nearly had this fate. Initially organizational diversity increased as did commitment and support for the organization. Intiman appeared to be doing the right thing but had not yet achieved the crucial inclusion of increased diversity. At first there was great triumph when the organization finally paid off 100% of their debt in 2019. Shortly thereafter the theatre nearly collapsed again when the board voted to close the theatre for good. This result seemed counterintuitive, but deeper study of the organization revealed that although more diverse faces had been invited, underrepresented and marginalized voices were still not fully embraced. Increased diversity without increased inclusion led to tokenization. While this type of diversity can have short-term gains, the ultimate results are more problematic than not seeking diversity in the first place. Luckily for Intiman, there were initiatives like IEAP and Starfish that practiced diversity and inclusion saving the theatre from demise once again. These assets were recognized and utilized by current Artistic Director Jennifer Zeyl who showed a willingness to listen and eagerness to transform the organization to meet the needs of the community.

Conversely, inclusion without diversity is how many arts and cultural organizations operate today through "audience engagement." These organizations include others through invitations to watch what they do without being willing to change what they do or how they do it (McQuaid, 2014). This is because actual diversity can be a scary concept. As stated previously, if not done in earnest an organization can fail. To open The Possibility Spectrum organizations must endeavor for both increased diversity and inclusion. Not addressing both issues ignores the power dynamics known to

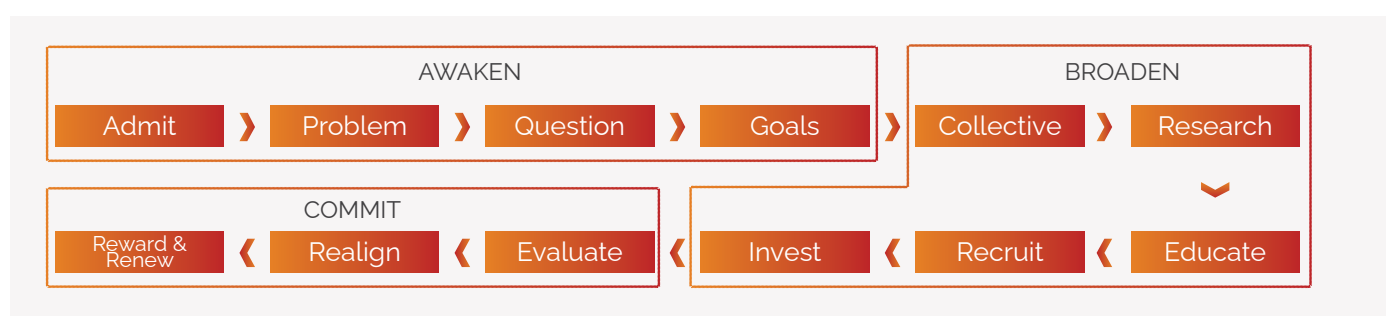


FIGURE 1. 12-STEPS TOWARD DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION

Source: Based on the author's research and experience.

critical theorists who study these relationships with the goal of creating a more equitable society (Allen, 2011). It is important to take an honest look at the board, executives, and other leaders within an organization. If organizational decisionmakers are not representative of the communities they claim to serve, then they are not serving the communities they claim to represent. The 12-Steps toward Diversity and Inclusion, as pictured in Figure 1 below, breaks the effort into manageable action items based on research and experience. Twelve steps is a lot, but diversity and inclusion is complicated, and The Possibility Spectrum is worth it.

12 Steps toward Diversity and Inclusion

As portrayed in Figure 1, deepening organizational involvement with diversity and inclusion can be delineated into three phases: Awaken, Broaden, and Commit – the ABC's of The Possibility Spectrum. To awaken an organization must admit that it has a problem, identify the actual problem that exists, question whether the organization itself has the answers to solve this problem, and set measurable goals to alleviate the problem. To broaden an organization should form a Collective of people who can answer outstanding questions, conduct relevant cultural research, educate those within the organization, recruit appropriate stakeholders, and invest in the new and remaining people involved with the organization. Finally, the organization needs to commit to the effort by evaluating their progress, realigning their goals, and recognizing, rewarding, and renewing their efforts to achieve their goals toward diversity and inclusion.

Step 1: Admit You Have a Problem

As with other 12-step programs, the first step toward positive change is admitting you have a problem. Doing so is requisite in awakening the organization to The Possibility Spectrum. The organization must acknowledge that they are addicted to the perceived safety of homogeneity. Not everyone will get on board at first, but that is ok. Real change and growth takes time. However, it is important to acknowledge the degree to which each of the organization's stakeholders realizes change must occur. Margaret Booker founded Intiman in 1972 as "Seattle's classics theater" showcasing Eastern European plays. By the early 1990's the theatre was operating under the tagline "New Masters / Classic

Works." In subsequent years, Intiman became known for "large, majestic productions" and was heralded as "Seattle theatre's indisputable star." Intiman's list of accomplishments grew to include a Tony Award, a Pulitzer Prize, and commissioning award-winning original work. Despite awards and accolades, in 2010 Intiman announced bankruptcy, abruptly laid off its staff, and canceled the season after producing just one show (Tucker, 2015; Taylor, 2011; Kiley, 2011). A number of factors contributed to Intiman's closing, but subsequent finger-pointing has been plentiful. The fact remains that a well-established, highly regarded, award-winning theatre shut its doors. Intiman was forced to admit they had a problem and change was needed to survive.

In 2012, under innovative Artistic Director Andrew Russell, Intiman reimagined itself into a festival model focused on positive impact and effecting social change. Instead of breaking their traditional \$6.5M budget over a nine-month season, Intiman produced a summer festival of plays with an underlying thematic element, worked within a \$1.3M budget, and spent capital they already possessed instead of relying on attendance to remain solvent. Then Intiman engaged with long-term strategies to ensure availability of liquid capital. A former business director who worked with both the old and new Intiman, stated that the revived Intiman "huddles around our mission like a campfire, holding everything up to the light of that mission" (Yingling, 2015: 17). This made Intiman agile to bend through uncertainty and passionate about serving as a catalyst for positive social change. The death and rebirth of this regional gem is lesson to other theaters on how to stop the final curtain call. Previous ideas of success need to be measured in a new way. Intiman's survival has set the stage for purpose and efficacy in the theatre arts and beyond because they were forced to admit that they had problems. Other organizations need not wait until this final reckoning to do the same. Indeed, in 2019 another near closure of Intiman revealed that Intiman had yet to identify all of their actual problems.

Step 2: Identify the Actual Problem

After admitting they have a problem, organizations must determine what their genuine issues are. Here is a hint: the actual problem is not "diversity". If an organization is not as diverse as it would like it to be, then it must dig deeper to ask why. Forget about the blame game, it will take unnecessary time and provide no useful answers. Inherent self-serving attributional

biases lead people to believe successes are their own and failures belong to others (Levine et al, 2017). After Intiman's near failure, articles abounded discussing who was responsible. In reality, everyone was. Asking why something went wrong is far more important than pointing fingers to one person or group in a chain of events. Intiman's actual problems were threefold. The theatre was not on mission, the staff and board were not as diverse as the community they served, and the productions were not fully relevant to the community. In the end it was unclear who Intiman was playing to which resulted in dwindling audiences.

To mitigate this organizations should mirror who they want their audience to be. In doing so the right voices will be among their decisionmakers to offer programs that a diverse community actually wants. Updating Intiman's mission statement to align with their new stated goals was the open acknowledgement of the theatre's perceived problems. Although this initial revision was done without community input, which would prove unfortunate, it was a recognition of the need for change and action toward renewed goals. Nevertheless, Intiman as a whole was not yet moving into Step 3 which involves questioning whether the organization has the answers it needs or whether they require experts from within the community to answer these questions in a way that moves the organization in the desired direction. In 2020, Intiman embarked on a year-long, community-centric strategic planning initiative to further delineate digestible and actionable priorities. Public town halls, community focus groups, and stakeholder interviews served as the basis for the design of a new strategic plan and community-conceived mission to, "use the power of story and education to activate dialogue, confront inequity, and build collective joy."

One often overlooked aspect of enabling inclusive diversity is providing accommodations for those with [dis]abilities. The International Labour Organization (2016: 7) states, "Reasonable adjustments, often referred to as accommodations, are an essential component for promoting diversity and inclusion at the workplace and the right to equality in employment, vocational training and education [...] so that he or she may enjoy the same rights as others". A common response is to make reasonable accommodations if requested, but it can be frustrating or even embarrassing for an individual with accessibility needs to continually ask organizations for accommodations to enable equal participation. Partnerships with accessibility organizations who can ensure the

institution is accommodating needs before they are requested and to a greater degree than the minimum required by local laws is imperative. Arts and cultural organizations must proactively set an environment of inclusivity by removing barriers to accessibility rather than further marginalizing individuals by compelling them to ask for equity.

Step 3: Question Whether You Have the Answers

Once an organization has identified the actual problems, they must also recognize that they likely do not have all the answers needed to solve them. Indeed, no one person or entity has all the answers. Organizations must cogitate which questions they have answers to, and which need expertise, context, and local action from community members (Wright & Wright, 2010). All parties should come with questions and an eagerness to participate in open communication. Pertinent questions include: Are we as diverse as our community?; What communities are we not reaching?; Are we relevant to those communities?; How can we be relevant to those communities?; Is our programming timely?; and is there a way we can be more responsive to events that matter to our community? Ultimately organizations seeking greater diversity and inclusion must ask, "Which of these answers do we not know?" The organization will later (Step 5) form a Collective of community members who can help to answer these questions.

The ultimate goal is to resolve why specific community identities are not participating. Generally the reason is either, 1) The invitation was insincere; or 2) The conversation was irrelevant. So, the solution is not to convince participation in an irrelevant conversation, but instead amend the conversation to be more relevant to the community identity. If an organization aims for greater diversity, then they are likely not yet diverse enough to understand their own relevance to a diverse community. In reflective community conversations participants must be willing to realize their ideas or even belief systems are wrong and be open to the ideas and belief systems of others. To ensure equal representation it is important to maintain an awareness of underrepresented voices and democratically yield space for their input (Krasner et al, 2006). To do this, the organization may have to create that space. For instance, during Intiman's "Power from the Mouths of the Occupied" performances curated by #BlackLivesMatter, the first several audience rows

were reserved for members of the Black Community. This was to ensure a safe space and the opportunity for appropriate representation. Even local Grammy Award-winning artist Macklemore came to one of the performances and did not sit up front despite his celebrity status.

Step 4: Set Measurable Goals

With your organizational questions in hand, define desired outcomes and how the organization will know if they are achieving them as desired by outlining clear and measurable goals (Rose, 2015; Bowles & Nadon, 2013; Chamberlin, 2011; Jay, 2011; University of Westminster, 2009). Here is a hint: a goal should not be to “increase diversity” which can neglect inclusion and lead to tokenism. Instead goals should set the right environment where diversity thrives and inclusion abounds. A setting which cultivates diverse inclusion is the goal. Another goal could pertain to why the organization wants or needs diversity. Aforementioned research showed that organizational diversity and inclusion advances strategy development and execution, improves team performance, increases financial success, and enables democratic participation. Also consider the community’s goal in partnering with an organization. If the community is moving closer to their goal, then the supporting organization has been listening well. Be creative in designing measurable goals that are germane to an organization’s and the community’s desired outcomes.

The most important consideration in goalsetting is that the beginning is not the starting point. Backward planning results in higher motivation and better performance (Park, Lu & Hedgcock, 2017; U.S. Department of the Army, 2015). Start with the end goal and work backwards, from end to beginning, to outline the steps needed for goal achievement. For instance,

when I launched the pilot IEAP in 2015 the ultimate overarching purpose was to start a pre-professional theatre training program to provide networking opportunities for diverse artists and increase inclusion through industry placement. Using this stated purpose I developed end goals, measurable objectives, and impact indicators as listed in Table 1. Each end goal listed in the left column is a qualitative metric to reach the program’s purpose. The center column shows the measurable quantifiable objective aligned with the end goal. The far right column lists what impact indicators were monitored to measure the objective, and thus end goal success. By working backwards I conjectured that I needed to find untapped potential, decided receiving greater than 100 qualified applicants was a positive measurable objective of this goal, and denoted that the number of applications would be an appropriate impact indicator to track for objective achievement. When designing goals, objectives, and impact indicators, a useful acronym to keep in mind is SMART: Specific, Measurable, Attainable, Relevant, and Trackable (Chamberlin, 2011).

Step 5: Form a Collective of People with Answers

Now that the organization is awakened through Phase I, it is time to move into the broadening of Phase II by forming a Collective of people who can answer outstanding questions. Organizations must actively seek and adopt an inner circle of diverse people and voices for partnership needed in collective creativity (Parjanen, Harmaakorpi, & Frantsi, 2010) and cyclical organizational improvement (Gattenhof, 2017). The Collective can refine Step 4 goals. Members of the organization are observers, facilitators, partners, and mentors. Comparing it to a sporting event, the community is the field, community members are the

End Goals	Measurable Objective	Impact Indicators
Find untapped potential for summer 2015	>100 qualified applicants	# applications
Start a professional theater training program	Build actionable curricula	instructors quality & quantity
Ensure racial equity of 20-30 participants	>50% POC; >50% women	Cohort diversity %
Network with industry professionals	½ Seattle Center orgs	# & locations of networking events
Showcase emerging artist talent	>200 attendees in 2 days	Audience attendance
Bridge to professional employment	¼ secure relevant jobs within 2 months	# & level of arts orgs who hire alumni; # alumni who are hired

TABLE 1. INTIMAN EMERGING ARTIST PROGRAM GOALS

Source: Developed in partnership with Intiman Theatre’s former Artistic Director Andrew Russell.

players, and those within the supporting organization are the assistant coaches (with specialized skill and expertise in offense, defense, etc.). The head coach, however, must be a community stakeholder and not the Artistic Director despite the way many arts organizations operate. Artistic Directors, Executive Directors, and other organizational leaders should be key players on the field but cannot run the game. The traditional 'top-down' approach is ineffective without 'bottom-up' involvement (Wright & Wright, 2010).

It was a difficult to not become the head coach of IEAP. After all, why was I as a white womxn selected to design and run the program? POC communities in the US have been underrepresented for so long that it can be difficult to appreciate the role of non-POCs (aka whites) in increasing representation. Many allies and accomplices are wary of becoming a White Savior, while POCs can exclude non-POC voices because they have been overrepresented. It is important to have balanced representation through concepts like Team Leadership and Co-Directorship and allow for adaptive organizational responsivity to think beyond traditional structures (Leo, & Barton, 2006). Those with the power to oppress must take responsibility for yielding space to those who seek greater representation. It is not the responsibility of oppressed populations to fix a deficit created by oppressors, but to work together with allies toward progress. When designing IEAP I had worked outside of the US for so long that I could not comprehend why certain voices are underrepresented in American Theatre. So I sought the expert advice of program applicants themselves to help design IEAP's curricula. Since the program was openly geared toward increasing diversity and representation, the applicant pool was extremely diverse. Within the application itself I surveyed each applicant on the types of training and networking opportunities they needed, and their goals and expectations. Based on this Collective feedback, I designed the very first IEAP curriculum. In subsequent years this line of inquiry continued, but I also actively sought feedback of program alums to continue to improve each year's curriculum. I also sought the input of local community leaders of color. Their feedback was instrumental to the program's success.

Step 6: Conduct Cultural Research

Arts organizations must conduct cultural research for diversity and inclusion, but also Heidelberg (2010) predicts that they must use this research offensively in order to continue to thrive during economic downturns.

Conducting cultural research with the guidance of the newly formed Collective will prepare arts organization for the organizational change that must occur in order to successfully increase diversity, expand inclusion, and potentially help them the weather difficult financial times. The organization must have an understanding of self and an understanding of others unlike themselves (Council of Europe, 2016b; Kolb, 2008). There are two key steps to this research. Step 1: Develop cultural self-awareness and Step 2: Develop cultural awareness of others (Fong et al, 2016). There are truths and myths within cultures and understanding one's own culture is imperative for effective communication. Additionally, every organization has its own culture. These norms cause groups to behave in certain ways and be viewed by cultural outsiders favorably or unfavorably. An outside interviewer of individuals within a culture can be an effective way to identify invisible threads that operate within a group or organization. Similarly, a survey of individuals from outside a culture can yield interesting information with regard to how a culture is viewed by cultural outsiders. With the relevant information about one's own culture and perceptions of this culture among others, cultural awareness of others becomes possible.

While I was working with the US Embassy in Mauritania I was charged with facilitating a program which sought to decrease *Al-Qaeda's* recruitment of Mauritanian youth. As a cultural outsider, forming a Collective of local advisors to conduct research was indispensable. They were able to interview and survey community members whose feedback guided program design and implementation. Additionally, the direct support of and partnership with local Mauritanian Ministries ensured initiative success. The end result was a series of Sports and Cultural Festivals in vulnerable communities which proved efficacious in countering violent extremist ideologies and reducing *Al-Qaeda* recruitment. Absent the requisite cultural research performed by the expert local Collective and partnership between two governments this initiative would have been impossible.

Groundwork is essential for developing a better understanding of other cultures. Organizations must know their communities, study their communities, understand how to communicate with those communities, and accept that the organization is an outsider to the community. Transformational educator Paulo Freire observed, "How is it possible for us to work in a community without feeling the spirit of the culture that has been there for many years [...] Without

understanding the soul of the culture we just invade the culture" (Bell, Gaventa, & Peters, 1990: 131). There is no better way to learn about the community than to talk to people, meet other local organizations, and be within the community. No organization can accurately reflect their communities without becoming a part of them. Ultimately, conversations should be about and for the community as they take the lead while the organization facilitates. Organizations can gain buy-in by partnering with key leaders from that community and having them host the conversation. In every way possible, let the community take the lead.

It is important to conduct Step 5: Form a Collective before conducting cultural research so that there is a knowledgeable support system to ensure accurate information gathering. In 2006, the Irish Arts Council recognized the country's increasing diversity and named diversity as a core value including, "diversity of arts practice; the range of ways in which artists make work; the range of ways in which people experience the arts; and the increasing cultural diversity of our society" (2010: 4). Recognizing the knowledge and capacity gaps between arts organizations and ethnic and cultural minority communities in Ireland they worked with the Department of Justice Equality and Law Reform to strategize for partnerships to close knowledge gaps.

Arts and cultural organizations can consult with the Community Collective while conducting cultural research. Additionally, there are a wealth of free resources. The US Library of Congress hosts Country Studies at <https://www.loc.gov/collections/countrystudies/>; Nationmaster supports cultural analytics at <http://www.nationmaster.com/>; Gapminder has impressive cultural research and photographic documentation at <https://www.gapminder.org/>; The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) hosts World Heritage Publications at <http://whc.unesco.org/en/publications/>; and individuals can contact their own embassy within a country of interest for cultural information. Nonetheless, a true understanding of any culture or community involves operating within and among the community.

While doing work in South Korea I learned that even South Koreans needed to research North Korea in order to effectively communicate due to cultural differences from years of separation. Not all Koreans I worked with, however, recognized the need to conduct cultural research to understand these intricacies. Many believed that South Koreans could effectively reach North Koreans simply because of their common lineage. In one effort K-pop music was offered because

the music genre was so popular locally there was belief that a North Korean audience would similarly love it. Many did not (Lee, 2015). Conversely, older folk music that Korea shared before the country's division remained popular in North Korea and became a fantastic way to create common bonds. This was not the music that many South Koreans wanted to play, but it was the music that many North Koreans delighted to hear. On the other hand, in more recent years there have been some young North Korean defectors that attribute their escape to K-pop influences (Denyer & Kim, 2019). The intricacies of subculture matter.

Step 7: Educate Those Within Your Organization

After completing cultural research educate those within your organization. Keep in mind that there are plentiful free resources, and the organization should have a Collective to help. Training is necessary to navigate inevitably tense conversations. It is vital to "have educational experiences that facilitate learners' seeing and understanding the nearly limitless range of micro-cultural positionalities, practices, choices, and perspectives of individuals below the surface of broad notions of culture" (Mahiri, 2017: 173). First share learnings from cultural research with others within the organization and encourage them to also conduct their own research to share with the team. Then invite members of the Collective to teach and train, but be careful to not expect these individuals to be the "model" person to answer on behalf of all underrepresented people groups. Finally, turn to available resources to help the organization reach its educational goals.

Consider training in effective communication, conflict resolution, racial equity, white fragility, multiculturalism, social justice, and equal opportunity. The UN Human Right Council (UNHRC) has numerous resources at <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/Pages/Home.aspx>; For training aids on racial equity consider racialequitytools.org or raceforward.org and their publication colorlines.com; For information and workshops on LGBTQ2+ issues check out thesafezoneproject.com.

The work of self-education is never completed. Train and educate both those within the organization as well as those the organization wants to recruit to the organization. As new individuals enter the organization ensure they become well-educated on pertinent issues. As new information comes to light or cultural shifts occur, stay up-to-date with these changes. As

new, often more diverse leaders enter the field, update the information repository to add room for these new voices.

As a womxn US Army Special Operations Officer working in a male-dominant environment while in Afghanistan, it became evident that female voices were not included in the conversation. Cultural research revealed that Afghan women had insights which they could only share with other female-identifying individuals in a closed environment. For years both the US and Afghanistan overlooked this population. Indeed only recently has Afghanistan permitted mother's names on their children's birth certificates (Barr, 2020). By educating Special Operations units on these cultural norms they began conducting women's shuras, similar to a town hall, with women US Army teams. These successful events further demonstrated the necessity and benefit of female Special Operators to conduct such work in a culturally appropriate manner. The value of Afghan women as well as Special Operations women began to be realized.

Step 8: Recruit Stakeholders

Job postings and casting calls are not enough. "If you build it, they will come" only works in the movies. You need real and true invitations. Many organizations will post employment opportunities with standardized equal opportunity statements. This is not enough as it does not signify a culture of inclusivity (Axenson, 2018). The organization should now have an inner circle Collective of diverse voices and viewpoints. The organization must also foster an outer circle by recruiting stakeholders. First the organization may need to redefine their expectations of what they think they want and who is qualified to do it. Then organizations must endeavor to find who they actually need. No more "why won't they apply" attitudes. Increasing targeted recruiting equates to increasing diversity. Find the right person and train knowledge and ability gap areas. To convince the right person to accept the organization the invitation must be sincere and intentional. Effective invitations are built through honesty and sincerity. People could argue that organizations should ignore identity and treat everyone equally, but that is impossible as well as unjust. Organizations have a moral and ethical responsibility to value and respect diverse identities (Byrd & Hughes, 2018) and proactively conduct inclusive recruiting practices (Arts Council England, 2019). Sincere invitations account for the beauty and value of identity from a position of respect.

Once a new individual accepts the invitation, greet them like a new neighbor. In many cultural traditions, a community member brings a new neighbor a delicious homemade treat in a reusable container. The generally accepted response is for this new neighbor to return the cleaned container or even fill it with their own homemade good. In this way the new neighbor feels welcome and reciprocates. In this same way, give newly recruited stakeholders something for showing up. While developing the pilot IEAP a Collective community leader cautioned that since I invited marginalized populations to apply, those who were not accepted into the program could feel further rejected and disenfranchised. She urged me to give every applicant something for applying, even if they were not selected to the program. Heeding her advice, every applicant became a member of the "Inti-fam" receiving special invitations to events. Additionally, the most well-qualified applicants who were not accepted received personalized letters offering a fast-track to in-person auditions the following year.

The most imperative qualifications of stakeholders are potential, personality, and possibility. The organization can train and educate on most other things. Find the people the organization wants to be around and who are mission-aligned. Look for people who can grow into the job. I once applied for a job with Seattle Repertory Theatre (SRT), but I was not the best fit. Instead, SRT saw something they liked in me and created a position for me that was a better fit. If an organization really likes someone they can generate a job for them. SRT saw a need, and my potential to assist with that need, and made a position for what I could bring. In the end I was able to assist SRT with essentials not in the posting I applied for, to include diverse recruiting for the Professional Artist Training Program (PATP), providing resources and training for hiring managers, creating an interview rubric for equitable hiring practices, and developing weighted evaluation criteria to remove unintentional biases. After years of work to create an inclusive environment, in 2020 first majority minority cohort was welcomed into the PATP.

Step 9: Invest in People

Sometimes it is necessary to professionally develop the people an organization needs (McDonough, 2002). Train them in the skills they will need to meet the requirements of becoming the inner circle. Help those whom the organization recruited to become successful. Remember that potential, personality,

and possibilities are the most important qualifications. Other knowledge or skill gaps can be filled by investing in people. "Companies that build successful Diversity initiatives create a management infrastructure to support them" (SHMR, 2009: 27), and a growing number of arts and cultural organizations recognize the need for the leadership among these organizations to better reflect and represent the diversity of the communities they serve (Arts Council England, 2019; Citizens for Europe, 2018; University of Western Australia, 2008). However, long-term systemic marginalization of minority communities have created a void in available leaders who fit traditional qualification models to fill these roles; therefore it is imperative to both adjust organizational thinking on who is a qualified leader as well as provide training and leadership opportunities to those who can grow into these roles.

IEAP came into existence to cultivate the diverse talent that Intiman was seeking. The Starfish Project took this concept a step farther by providing technical theatre training to high school students many of whom did not realize careers in technical theatre existed, nor the number of available offstage occupations. Research revealed that these students still lacked accessible pathways into the industry, so Intiman responded in a rather revolutionary way by partnering with a local community-level state college, Seattle Central College, to become their theatre-in-residence and provide a new 2-year Associate Arts (AA) degree emphasis in Technical Theater for Social Justice (TTSJ) which will launch in Fall 2021. TTSJ Students will work as apprentices on Intiman mainstage shows while exploring ways to confront social justice issues through their technical theatre work. Professional theatres-in-residence are uncommon in American higher education. Moreover, AA-level technical theatre students working directly on productions for a Tony Award-winning theater-in-residence had yet to be imagined. This is a necessary evolution for the industry to become more diverse and inclusive.

Creating access points to enable organizational diversity and inclusion might seem difficult. It can involve designing new ways to find the talent which the organization seeks. It could require creating additional positions, designing internships and training programs, hiring additional staff, increasing board size, or even inventing an entirely new collegiate program. When doing so be sure these new stakeholders are not asked to speak on behalf of an entire population as if they are exemplars on everything related to their skin color, gender identification, cultural identity, or any

other diversity marker. People should only be asked to speak for themselves. There is a fine line between forming a Collective of experts for help and guidance and tokenization of someone based on their attributes or identity. Just as an organization should not rely on one individual to speak on behalf of an entire group, they should also not endeavor to understand a group without consulting with people who identify as group members. Moreover, traditionally underrepresented voices must be allowed the space and respect which has so often been excluded. The difference is actual inclusion that requires organizations to invest in those they are attempting to include.

Despite Intiman's successes with IEAP and Starfish, the theatre fully retiring 100% of their debt, and the company winning the 2019 Mayor's Arts Award, the board voted to dissolve the organization. Many asked how such a thing could happen. Intiman had finally overcome years of struggle and was seen by many as a beacon of racial equity and social justice for the community. A primary component was in Intiman's failure to train and invest in new voices added to the board. While the board was diversified, inclusion was not increased. Many new trustees had never been board members of any organization before and felt tokenized. Overall the board was neither well-trained nor well-equipped in either their governance responsibilities or the operations of the theatre. Artistic Director Jennifer Zeyl stepped in to prevent Intiman's final curtain call. Under their direction Intiman has been engaged in a year of research, reflection, and community conversations resulting in new, exciting, more inclusive directions. Community stakeholders were directly involved in this evolution during the strategic planning process. The board is being rebuilt and Intiman is investing in trustees by training and preparing them for success in their roles. Meanwhile, staged productions are paused, but flagship educational programs of IEAP and Starfish returned in spite of COVID-19 allowing Intiman to continue to invest directly in community members.

Research indicated quantitative markers of success from IEAP, yet qualitative indicators were more varied. Immediate responses from program participation were overwhelmingly favorable, but many IEAP Alums felt unsupported after program completion and lost trust with the company. Empowered by the research findings, IEAP 2020 shifted gears to support IEAP graduates by inviting them back to adapt and perform Sojourn Theatre's "The Race 2020" while earning a stipend for the work and credits as the creative team of this Intiman show. When COVID-19

closed down performance spaces, Intiman kept its promise to these alums, produced the show virtually, and maintained the full participant stipends. In many ways these virtual performances were more accessible than traditional theatre as Intiman was able to host more than 1,000 audience members tuning in from around the world.

This same year, Intiman also made the unique decision to turn its annual fundraising campaign into a grant opportunity for artists who had previously worked with Intiman or participated in Intiman's educational programs. Half of the money raised was given to artists who were most impacted by job loss and financial hardship due to the economic effects of this pandemic. Intiman publicly put its money where its mission is.

Step 10: Evaluate Your Progress

As the organization charges ahead toward increased diversity and inclusion, it is time to broaden the effort. Take time to check in on those measurable goals from

Step 4 which were targets to help identify strategies toward progress and not an end in themselves (Rose, 2015). Ask the Collective and the community for feedback. Conduct satisfaction surveys and analyze results. Progress evaluation is imperative to enable organizations to make evidence-based informed decisions (Bresler, 2007; Bailey & Richardson, 2010; Chiaravalloti, 2014; Norton et al, 2016).

Using the stated metrics and goals from Step 4 listed in Table 1, IEAP demonstrated success and was expanded upon. The pilot year in 2015 received 125 applicants, the selected cohort was 73% POC and 61% womxn with concentration in leadership roles, program participants received 150 hours of tuition-free training from industry professionals, more than 300 people attended three showcase performances, and 17 professional arts organizations cast or hired program alumni within two months of program completion. Also, these Intiman-tracked qualitative and quantitative statistics were readily available for donors and grant applications to help fund future program iterations. With

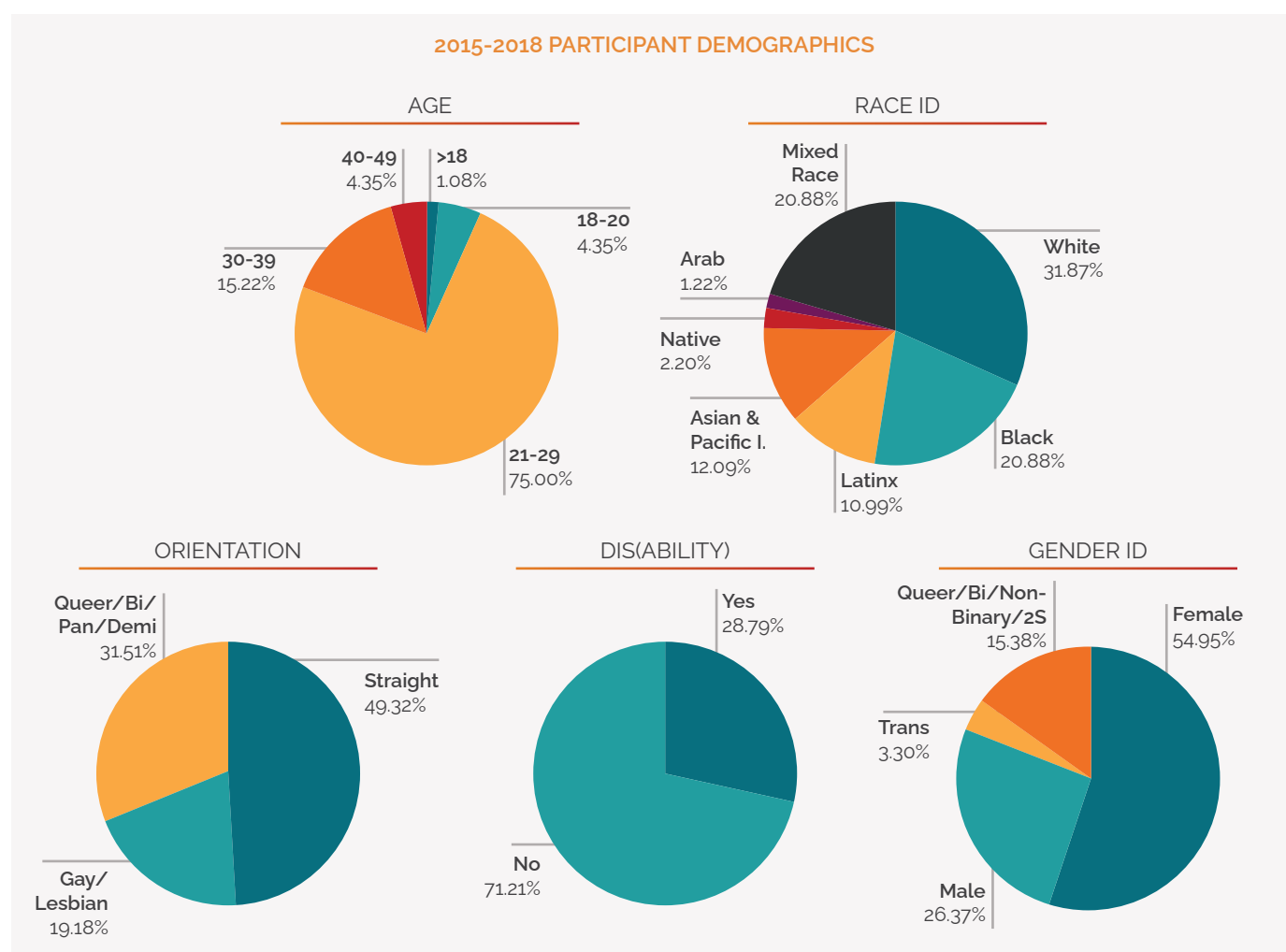


FIGURE 2. INTIMAN EMERGING ARTIST PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHICS BETWEEN 2015-2018

Source: Demographic information collected by author during research on Intiman's educational programs

increased support, IEAP 2016 received more than 200 qualified applicants from five countries, 20 US States, and one territory. The selected cohort of 27 “emergers” was also more diverse to include race, ethnicity, [dis]ability, gender identity, religion, educational background, and socioeconomic status. That year IEAP partnered with SRT to bring the program's culminating showcase to a professional stage for more than 450 audience members and industry leaders. IEAP 2017 and 2018 showed decreases in applicant diversity resulting in somewhat less diverse cohorts. Ultimately, between 2015-2018 IEAP trained nearly 100 artists, more than one-third have been hired or contracted by Intiman, and many more have continued on to successful careers in the arts and cultural sector. IEAP demographics are included in Figure 2. The path for IEAP over recent years has not been without hiccups which has led to program goal realignment. It is unclear when IEAP will relaunch to a new cohort, but the metrics from earlier years updated the research-based curriculum for student attainment.

In 2017 the Starfish Project launched, and it has also been quite successful. To date Starfish has trained 122 high schoolers from Seattle city schools where 97% of students are among the global majority (aka nonwhite). During a student focus group 100% of participants stated they were now considering a career in theatre, and 85% attributed this desired career path to Starfish. The demographics of Starfish Project students since 2017 is included in Figure 3. While

Starfish students are diverse, they remain less racially diverse than the student population served. After high school graduation, one student began studying lighting design at Cornish College of the Arts but left due to the costs and cultural considerations (Kiley, 2020). Students like this one are why the upcoming Intiman partnership with SCC is necessary.

Step 11: Realign Your Goals

Use what your organization has learned throughout this process to set a new or strengthened course. If the organization has met their goals, then consider expanding those goals with greater challenges. If the organization was not able to meet their goals, then consider goal realignment. This 12-step process could also completely change what the organization's goals are, and if that is the case it is a good thing. After two years of IEAP, Intiman recognized the continued shortcomings of diversity among technical theatre artists and how IEAP was not well-suited to train individuals for these complex jobs. The result was the initiation of the Starfish Project. These two programs can work together to strengthen one another with Starfish students running the technical theatre aspects of the IEAP showcase and working with these pre-professional artists. Now students can continue to close the attainment gap to professional theatre through the AA degree emphasis working on professional productions with the Intiman as theatre-in-residence

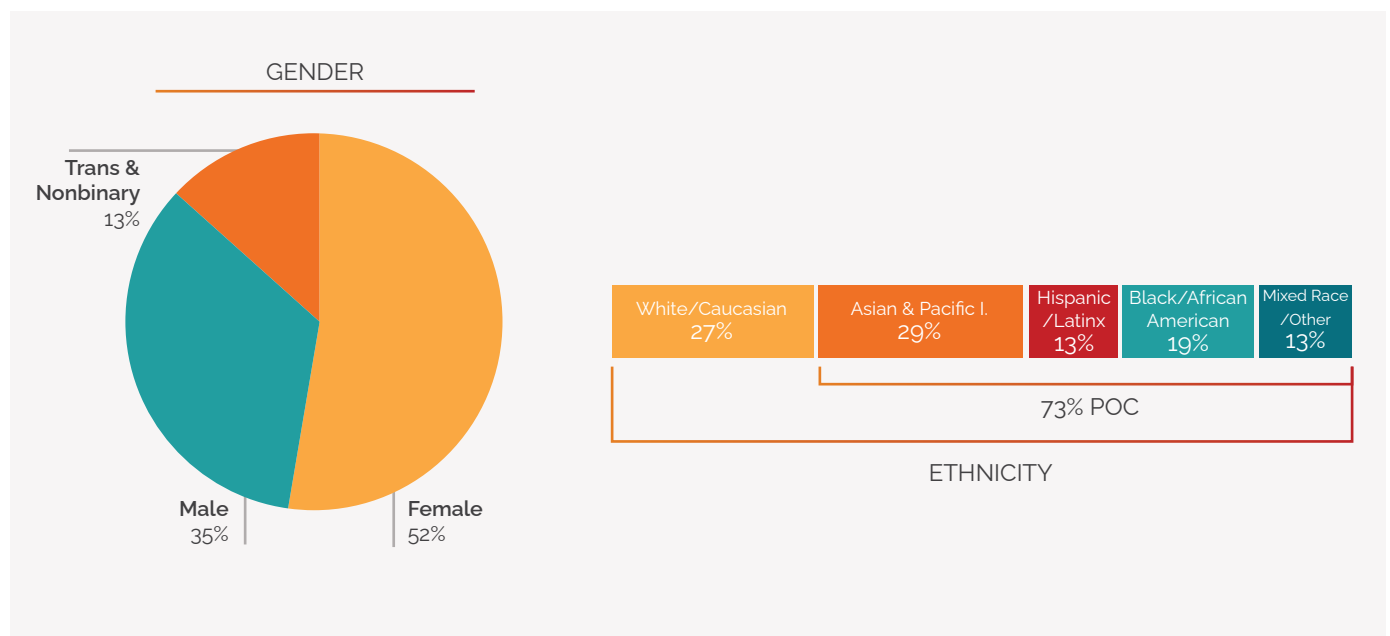


FIGURE 3. STARFISH PROJECT PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHICS BETWEEN 2017-2019

Source: Demographic information collected by author during research on Intiman's educational programs.

to SCC. Operations have not always been and will not always be smooth. Trying to make everything work perfectly every time is an unrealistic goal. Goal evaluation and subsequent realignment are necessary for favorable evolution.

For instance, in 2019 after the IEAP recruitment slump, the program took a year pause to research and realign their goals. Admittedly I also took a pause from Intiman during this timeframe to finish my doctorate, and because I too was unsure of Intiman's community commitment. I returned to Intiman because they were eager to conduct research and recommit to community-centric goals; and I returned with new knowledge and skills to help assess and realign programming. Through surveys, interviews, and focus groups I learned that IEAP alumni needed ongoing support and continuing professional development. Intiman had to invest more in their people (Step Nine). Intiman made a commitment to earlier emerging artists and more follow-through was necessary. Due to this research Intiman began quarterly events for IEAP Alumni and pivoted to launch the IEAP 2020: Alumni Edition, an entirely alumni-based program. From there and based on ongoing feedback and research, every 4-5 years IEAP might focus on ongoing professional development for program graduates rather than bringing in an entirely new cohort. These changes are necessary, favorable, and could not have happened if the company was unwilling to evaluate and realign their goals to better suit the communities they aim to serve.

Step 12: Recognize, Reward, and Renew

The final step of this plan is also the beginning of the next. First organizations should recognize both their successes and their shortcomings, and they should do so with transparency. Keep in mind that the larger an organization is, the slower it will move. This is an important reason goals must be measurable, and organizations must track their progress against those goals. Along the way reward for favorable outcomes (Chamberlin, 2011). It is a good idea to designate these rewards as a part of the goal planning process of Step 4. An international study conducted by the Society for Human Resources Management demonstrated that companies who successfully increase diversity and inclusion do so in part by encouraging managers' efforts to contribute to this organizational goal by linking their compensation to positive diversity recruitment and

retention results (SHMR, 2009).

Finally, the organization can renew their commitment to forward progress by going back to Step 1 and reperforming all the steps. From there the organization can either recommit to the previous plan or set a new course. Intiman went back to Step 1 and reengaged. They met their measurable goals for 2015 & 2016, so they set a new course for 2017 based on what they had learned. Cycling back again and going through the 12-step process in 2019, they realigned. The resulting research, pivot, and relaunch changed the future of the programs and the theatre company for the better for 2020 and beyond. Ultimately, will Intiman be successful after several near-failures? I hope they will because at least they have been trying to open up the Possibility Spectrum through diversity and inclusion. Time will tell, but this 12-step process gives them and other arts and cultural organizations wanting to improve the best chances of long-term success.

Welcome to The Possibility Spectrum

Working toward diversity and inclusion is a difficult yet rewarding process. Organizations must acknowledge that opening the Possibility Spectrum requires different voices, belief systems, and ideologies. "To challenge ideologies (belief systems) that perpetuate inequalities and injustices, we have to acknowledge that difference matters" (Allen, 2011: 183). Numerous studies show that organizational performance improves with increased diversity and inclusion. Nonetheless, this author acknowledges the myriad of challenges and issues that can arise through diversification efforts including individualized regional concerns, working with subcultures of intolerance that are antithetical to democratic processes, and the challenges of ensuring individual and community cultural preservation while embracing and honoring diverse perspectives (Mitchell & Creary, 2009). This article seeks only to provide a 12-step plan as a scaffold to help like-minded organizations activate a plan toward a spectrum of possibilities. Now that you know the steps, is your organization ready to broaden, awaken, and commit to the Possibility Spectrum? If so, the following Figures 4, 5, and 6 serve as a worksheet to guide the journey.

12 STEPS TO DIVERSITY & INCLUSION

PHASE 1. AWAKEN

ADMIT YOU HAVE
A PROBLEM

You and the organization must acknowledge that you are not yet where you want to be. Not everyone will get on board at first...

Board

☐

Staff

☐

Supporters/Donors

☐

IDENTIFY THE ACTUAL
PROBLEM

Determine the actual issue.
HINT: It is not "diversity."

Our issues include...

QUESTION IF YOU HAVE THE
ANSWERS

Recognize that you do not have all the answers to solve that problem. No one person has all the answers.

What we don't know:

SET MEASURABLE GOALS

Define your desired outcome and how you know if you're achieving it. HINT: It should not be to "increase diversity."

Start with End Goal:

Objectives

Impact
IndicatorsMeasurable
Goals

FIGURE 4. 12-STEPS WORKSHEET PAGE 1, PHASE I AWAKEN, STEPS 1-4

Source: Developed from research and analysis of diverse and inclusive arts and cultural organizations.

12 STEPS TO DIVERSITY & INCLUSION

PHASE 2. BROADEN

FROM A COLLECTIVE OF
PEOPLE WITH ANSWERS

Others have some of the answers you are missing. Create this inner circle. Work with them to restructure your goals (from Phase 1, Step 4).

Where I will look:

Who I will ask:

<p>CONDUCT CULTURAL RESEARCH</p> <p>Do your homework! Do this after you have a Collective to work with for guidance & assistance.</p>	<p>I need to research...</p>
<p>EDUCATE THOSE WITHIN YOUR ORG</p> <p>There are lots of free resources. And, you now have a Collective to help.</p>	<p>Training I need includes:</p> <p>I can train others on:</p>
<p>RECRUIT STAKEHOLDERS</p> <p>Job postings and casting calls aren't enough. You need real and true invitations. Create this outer circle.</p>	<p>Our real invitation is...</p>
<p>INVEST IN PEOPLE</p> <p>Train them in the skills they will need to meet your requirements and become your inner circle.</p>	<p>Trainable skills we/they need:</p>

FIGURE 5. 12-STEPS WORKSHEET PAGE 2, PHASE II BROADEN, STEPS 5-9

Source: Developed from research and analysis of diverse and inclusive arts and cultural organizations.

12 STEPS TO DIVERSITY & INCLUSION

PHASE 3. COMMIT

<p>EVALUATE YOUR PROGRESS</p> <p>Check in on those measurable goals. Ask your Collective and your Community for feedback.</p>	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="background-color: #e67e22; color: white;">Measurable Goals (Step 4)</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="background-color: #e67e22; color: white;">Outcomes</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	Measurable Goals (Step 4)				Outcomes							
Measurable Goals (Step 4)													
Outcomes													
<p>REALIGN YOUR GOALS</p> <p>Use what you've learned to set a new or strengthened course, or to reroute.</p>	<p>Strengthened Course:</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="background-color: #e67e22; color: white;">Objectives</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="background-color: #e67e22; color: white;">Impact Indicators</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="background-color: #e67e22; color: white;">Realigned Measurable Goals</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	Objectives				Impact Indicators				Realigned Measurable Goals			
Objectives													
Impact Indicators													
Realigned Measurable Goals													
<p>RECOGNIZE</p> <p>Recognize your successes and your shortcomings.</p>	<p>We did these things well:</p> <p>We need to improve:</p>												

<p style="text-align: center; color: #c00000;">REWARD</p> <p>Reward for favorable outcomes - these rewards should be a part of your goal planning process.</p> <p style="text-align: center; color: #c00000;">RENEW</p> <p>Renew your commitment to forward progress by going back to Step 1.</p>	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; height: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="background-color: #e67e22; color: white; text-align: center; padding: 5px;">Planned Rewards for met Objs or Goals</td> <td style="width: 20%; height: 40px;"></td> <td style="width: 20%; height: 40px;"></td> <td style="width: 20%; height: 40px;"></td> <td style="width: 20%; height: 40px;"></td> </tr> </table>	Planned Rewards for met Objs or Goals				
Planned Rewards for met Objs or Goals						

FIGURE 6. 12-STEPS WORKSHEET PAGE 3, PHASE III COMMIT, STEPS 10-12

Source: Developed from research and analysis of diverse and inclusive arts and cultural organizations.

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Portraits of the Loire in the Renaissance

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ABSTRACT

The Loire forms a key link for the Centre-Val-de-Loire and Pays-de-la-Loire Regions and for their inhabitants alike. It is unquestionably a geographic link, but also one which stems from the territory's long-standing history. This is the focus of the current project's aspirations through six animated films (4-5 minutes). To talk about the way in which the Loire's riverside territories relate to the river and about how this relation has its roots in a historical process involving the shaping of a landscape. The aim is to help the general public to picture what the Loire and its banks might have looked like in Renaissance times, and in doing so to grasp the ever-present nature of a relationship with the river forged slowly and patiently over time, which also shows that today's landscapes are a foundation for the landscapes of tomorrow.

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Keywords:

World Heritage
management

Cultural
landscape

Loire

Film series

Renaissance

Presentation

The Presentation of the Loire Valley: listed site and key points

The Loire Valley was included on the World Heritage List as a "continuing and organically evolved cultural landscape" on 30 November 2000. It is the largest site ever listed in France. This inclusion – the culmination of decades' worth of extensive work and attention devoted to the site – bestows international recognition upon it and adds a new, more general aspect: a cultural, economic and social vision.

The convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage was adopted by the UNESCO General Conference in 1972. The World Heritage Committee is the "jury", the decision-making body, which considers nominations of properties for inclusion submitted by States Parties and identifies which sites will be included on the World Heritage List. There are 21 States Parties to the Convention, which meet at least once a year. Inclusion in itself does not result in another law; it has no direct legal consequence on the site in question. That said, upon signature each State Party undertakes to preserve and enhance listed properties within its territory with respect to UNESCO and the international community.

UNESCO listed properties are divided into three main categories: cultural properties, natural properties or mixed properties (cultural and natural). "Cultural landscapes" are mixed properties. The "cultural landscapes" category has existed since 1992. These are sites which have also gained UNESCO recognition for their tangible and human factors (intangible and symbolic). Tangible factors encompass both nature, with its biodiversity, and architecture. Human factors are the activities of the civilizations that have shaped this landscape or contributed to the identity of the territory. Three types of cultural landscape can be distinguished:

- the cultural landscape designed and created intentionally, such as gardens or parklands
- organically evolved or continuing landscapes (with an economic or social activity for example)
- associative landscapes, connected with culture, religion or art.

An organically evolved or continuing landscape is a combined work of nature and man, "which retain an active social role in contemporary society [...], and

in which the evolutionary process is still in progress" (UNESCO, 2012a: 88).

A site is recognized on account of its value, "which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity" (UNESCO, 2012a: 14): *outstanding universal value*. The OUV of each site is determined at the time of its inclusion on the basis of the criteria set by UNESCO. The Committee refers to ten criteria when assessing nominations, at least one of which must be met if the site is to be listed. The "organically evolved and continuing landscape" of the Loire Valley meets the three following criteria out of the ten existing for UNESCO (UNESCO, 2000: 44):

Criterion (i): represent a masterpiece of human creative genius

The Loire Valley is noteworthy for the quality of its architectural heritage, in its historic towns such as Blois, Chinon, Orleans, Saumur, and Tours, but in particular in its world-famous castles, such as the *Château de Chambord*. The *Château de Chambord*, listed under criterion (i) since 1983, has been included within the perimeter.

Criterion (iii): exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design.

The Loire Valley is an outstanding cultural landscape along a major river which bears witness to an interchange of influences and human values and to a harmonious development of interactions between human beings and their environment over two millennia.

Criterion (iv): be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history.

The landscape of the Loire Valley, and more particularly its many cultural monuments, illustrate to an exceptional degree the ideals of the Renaissance and the Age of the Enlightenment on western European thought and design.

The project *Portraits of the Loire in the Renaissance* is created to respond and reflect these three criterions.

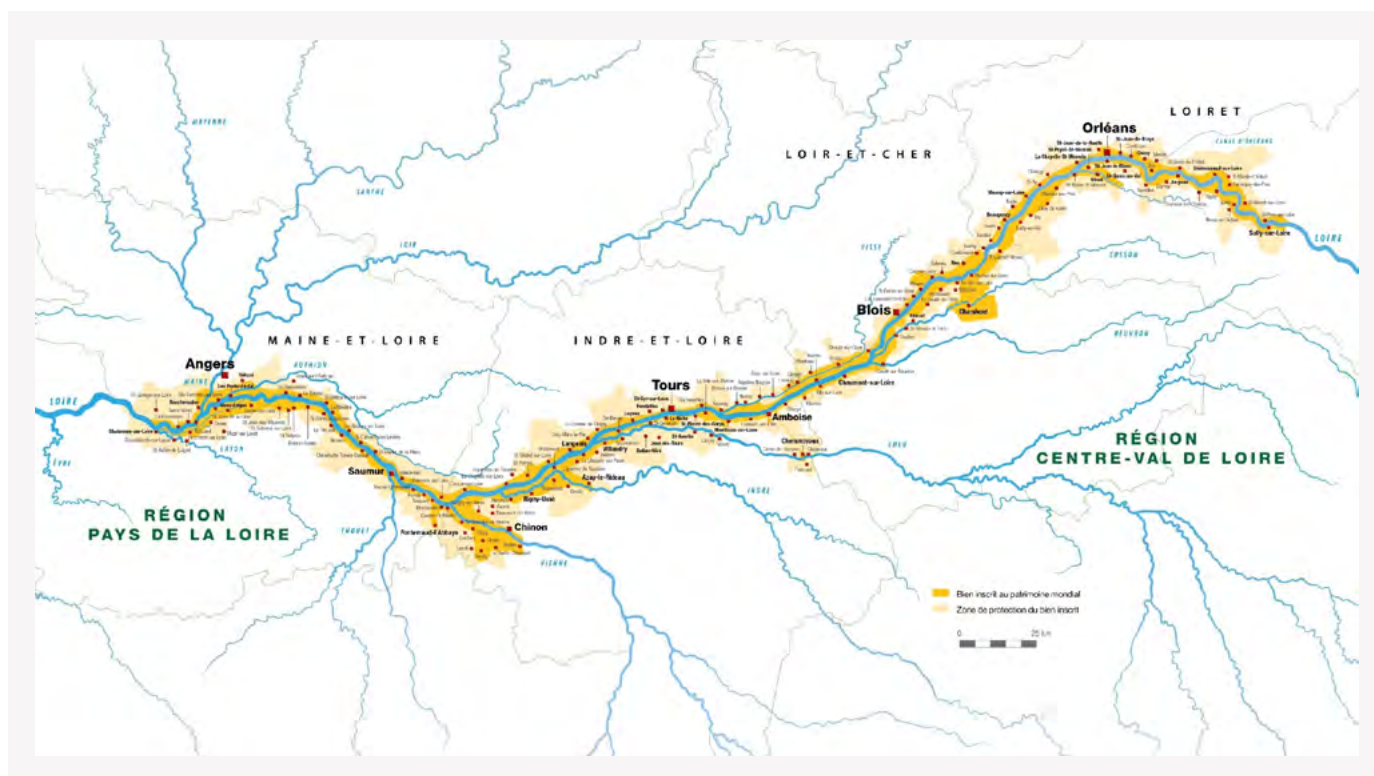


FIGURE 1. THE LISTED PERIMETER OF THE LOIRE VALLEY WORLD HERITAGE SITE

Source: © Mission Val de Loire.

The listed perimeter encompasses the middle course of the river, from Sully-sur-Loire upstream to Chalonnes-sur-Loire downstream, over a length of 300km and extending over nearly 850km². The listed site runs from the riverbed right up to the hilltops or levees. In 2019 it embraces 155 riverside municipalities, 4 departments (Loiret, Loire-et-Cher, Indre-et-Loire and Maine-et-Loire), 2 regions (Centre and Pays-de-la-Loire) and 1 regional natural park (Loire-Anjou-Touraine PNR). 900,000 inhabitants currently live within the perimeter.

The factors that give this area an identity come to light through a less administrative approach. The Loire Valley is characterised by the components defining its landscape: the river – stone – vines and gardens.

The river: The Loire with its myriad tributaries (Cosson, Beuvron, Cher, Indre, Vienne, Thouet and Maine) outlines the landscape and paves the way for the development of human societies connected to it. The river valleys are cultural and economic corridors along which such concepts as civilization and urban planning have been able to emerge and flourish.

The quintessential stones are also a defining feature of the Loire Valley landscape: tuffeau (a sort of limestone) and slate (a sort of schist), which are the most commonly used stones in all sorts of buildings.

The dazzling white of the latter contrasts with the gleaming black of slate, contributing to the identity of the perimeter.

Vines have become the most typical crop grown on Loire hillsides. Quality vineyards have been tended since the 15th century, dividing the landscape up into plots. Wine forms one of the cornerstones of French cuisine.

The Loire Valley gardens have proven a testing ground for gardens across France. The French-style garden, modelled on the monastic design, originated at Louis XI's Château du Plessis. Royal presence brought Italian gardeners to the region (Blois, Amboise). From the 18th century, exotic plants arrived from the port of Nantes, and gardens were graced with rare botanical species: cedars, chestnut trees, tulip trees and sequoias among others. The traditions for designing and redesigning gardens are still going strong in the 21st century (Villandry, Chaumont).

The Loire Valley represents a wellspring of human civilization, as the birthplace and home of a cast of inspirational figures. Following on from the Renaissance kings and their noteworthy contemporaries – Du Bellay, Rabelais and Ronsard among them – between 1800 and 2000 such prominent names as Honoré de Balzac, Charles Péguy, René Bazin, Hervé Bazin, Max Ernst,

"THE FACTORS THAT GIVE THIS AREA AN IDENTITY COME TO LIGHT THROUGH A LESS ADMINISTRATIVE APPROACH. THE LOIRE VALLEY IS CHARACTERISED BY THE COMPONENTS DEFINING ITS LANDSCAPE: THE RIVER – STONE – VINES AND GARDENS"

Olivier Debré, Alexander Calder and others have each helped to shape the history of the Loire landscape in turn.

The Presentation of the Mission Val de Loire

In their readiness to pursue a policy in keeping with UNESCO's guidelines, in 2002 the State, its representatives and local stakeholders signed the Loire Valley Charter of Commitment. The same year, this document led to the founding of Mission Val de Loire, an interregional joint association, in line with the wishes of the Centre (now Centre-Val de Loire) and Pays de la Loire regions. These two regions take it in turns to chair this association, for a three-year period each time. The Pays de la Loire region is its current chair. Financing of the association is also shared between the regions: two-thirds for the Centre region and one-third for Pays de la Loire. Eight members of staff make up the Mission Val de Loire team. Not all listed sites are run according to a similar association, but in the Nord Pas-de-Calais mining basin for example, there is a similar structure operating on the ground.

The Mission Val de Loire is positioned at the intersection of several different parties: it oversees coordination between UNESCO, the State and local operators/stakeholders. It liaises with UNESCO's world heritage headquarters and ensures that the inscription is taken on board across the perimeter at all levels. Its guidelines are set out in the Property Management Plan, approved in 2012 (UNESCO 2012b: 110-147), underpinned by three priorities:

Guideline 7, as contributing to the organization of a sustainable form of tourism that safeguards the site's landscape and heritage values.

Guideline 8, as upholding the action for fostering assimilation of the UNESCO listing's values by the territory's stakeholders.

Guideline 9, as upholding the action for assisting decision-makers with advice and constant guidance.

It is responsible for managing use of the label and certifies educational, scientific, and cultural

initiatives where they contribute to enhancing the site. Policy coherence requires close collaboration between the heads of the different managing bodies of local collectivities and the State. To foster the networking of stakeholders – one of the most important missions of the structure – the team runs a number of forums for getting together and holding discussions, all of which are key calendar dates to make aware of and share the values of the world heritage listing.

Mission Val de Loire acts as an interface when it comes to knowledge and research. It invites scientists and operators within the perimeter to deepen knowledge through dialogue, publications, and numerous consultations.

Mission Val de Loire communicates across a number of platforms, including the www.valdeloire.com (in English www.loirevalley-worldheritage.org) website. This provides a wealth of information: it can be used as a database with practical publications and teaching aids that can be downloaded, but also as a tourist platform with an agenda showcasing a whole host of events for a wide range of audiences, ages and interests.

The Presentation of Mission Val de Loire's action in terms of enhancement and cultural mediation of heritage

Fostering assimilation of the listing's values by all stakeholders across the territory is crucial to Mission Val de Loire's purpose. This is one of its guidelines (8), identified in the Management Plan (UNESCO 2012b: 121-123) for the listed perimeter. And yet Mission Val de Loire does not have its own exhibition venue or other site for receiving the public. It therefore looks for potential partnerships and lends support to an array of cultural projects whose organizers and leaders may be local authorities or associations for example. Tools specific to cultural mediation include posters, brochures, films, DVDs and exhibitions. There are currently eight exhibitions available for borrowing at no cost, designed by MVL in mobile format (photos,

panels, roller banners, pop-up stands and interactive terminals). These combine the collective expertise of specialists in a range of themes all committed to enhancing Loire heritage.

In an effort to reach out to younger generations, Mission Val de Loire has teamed up with the local education authorities of Orléans-Tours and Nantes. Since 2011 a *Teachers' Toolkit*, designed and set up by Mission Val de Loire, has made numerous documents available (for downloading) via a search engine, for all school levels from infant right through to high school. Exhibitions with accompanying questionnaires-activities have also come about through this collaboration.

The project called Portraits of the Loire in the Renaissance



The context: The 500 years of Renaissance

In 2019 the Centre-Val de Loire Region has put together a cultural season on the theme of the Renaissance. This decision is based upon a number of landmark anniversaries: First, 2019 marks the 500th anniversary of Leonardo da Vinci's death at the *Manoir de Cloux*, now known as the Clos Lucé, in Amboise. The artist spent the last three years of his life near the royal court as a personal guest of King Francis I. He nurtured a new approach to art and the sciences alike. He was a pioneering figure and an inspiration for the technological innovation taking place in the Region today. Second, building work on *Château de Chambord* began 500 years ago, back in September 1519. This prominent

monument to the Renaissance also bears traces of the genius Leonardo da Vinci. Finally, Catherine de Medici, the wife of French King Henry II, was also born in 1519. As owner of *Château de Chenonceau*, she had a part to play in the emergence of a new era, especially with her Renaissance-style gardens. She also represents a link between France and Italy, the latter serving as the model for the French Renaissance. It was in the Centre Region that the Kings of France had their châteaux built, inspired by the new style witnessed and appreciated in Italy. The Loire Valley can be considered the birthplace of the French Renaissance.

These anniversary commemorations are an opportunity to bring together stakeholders from the culture, science and tech sectors as part of a large-scale initiative.

The UNESCO listing encompasses two regions, however: the Centre-Val de Loire and the Pays-de-la-Loire, whose capital city is Nantes. Although the Centre-Val de Loire Region is showcasing its local monuments and past, Mission Val de Loire demonstrates, for its part, that today's administrative boundaries did not exist back in the Renaissance, and that the Loire, as a main thoroughfare and the territory being listed as a site with its own characteristics, calls for greater coherence. This consideration is clearly stated within Mission Val de Loire's policy, including in all these measures.

The key implementation issues

This territory has been so strongly shaped by the Renaissance that UNESCO has selected this period as one of the criteria for the site's inclusion on the World Heritage List. The key words of the regional initiative, such as *Renaissance, innovation, creativity, humanism*, correspond to the criteria behind the UNESCO listing. They are in keeping with its guidelines: promote the landscape values (7), foster assimilation of the values by residents and stakeholders in the territory (8) and assist decision-makers (9). The cultural season represents a challenge and a tremendous opportunity for Mission Val de Loire. By bringing partners together and contributing to content, it is playing a key role in this initiative.

Mission Val de Loire was eager to personally contribute to the cultural program. It decided to focus its proposal on the common thread running all the way through the territory: the Loire. The Loire forms a key link for the Centre-Val-de-Loire and Pays-de-la-Loire Regions and for their inhabitants alike. It is unquestionably a geographic link, but also one which

stems from the territory's long-standing history. This is the focus of the project's aspirations. The way in which the Loire's riverside territories relate to it has its roots in a historical process involving the shaping of a landscape. Our aim is to help the general public to picture what the Loire and its banks might have looked like in Renaissance times, and in doing so to grasp the ever-present nature of a relationship with the river forged slowly and patiently over time, which also shows that today's landscapes are a foundation for the landscapes of tomorrow. The project *Portraits de Loire à la Renaissance* has been designed to shed light on the three criteria underpinning the listing. It was about preparing a presentation, for the general public, of a historical portrait of the river, which resonates with its present-day image. The choice of format was mulled over for a long time: digital tool, traditional publication or exhibition? The requirements were clear, though: a scientifically grounded, informative and entertaining format.

A six months long historical, documentary, and iconographic research assignment was undertaken by a historian, thanks to which a whole host of sources could be gathered: texts from the time and an image database. The historian, hired especially for the project was to cooperate with scientific partners, cross information and propose a thematised content. The intention was not to engage in an extensive research program, however; rather, it was to make use of knowledge that has already been acquired, compile it and cross-link it in an interdisciplinary manner. With that in mind, a call was launched to a group of local, national, European and international academic and scientific partners, to archives, universities and schools, museums and qualified individuals in a bid to compile the "material" available: chronicles, publications, accounts, reports from archaeological digs: the whole of a scientifically sound corpus that can be communicated to a broad audience. Today's bargees and shipbuilders have also been able to contribute their specialist knowledge. Once all of this data had been obtained, and thematically organized, the format type was decided on: a web series made up of short films would reach out to all generations. Distribution over the Internet would mainly appeal to young people, while public screenings would be organized for all ages. The web series is organized around three main themes – development, trade and travel – with 2 episodes per theme and episodes lasting 4-5 minutes. These animation films should adopt a style and language that makes the scientific subject matter

easily understandable to the general public.

From this vast set of documents, it was possible to paint a naturally fragmented "portrait": a whole made up of distinctive parts. The content is formed from a set of "focal points" bearing on specific, scientifically substantiated facts (archaeological digs, *ad hoc* research, sedimentology, documentary approaches and so on). One episode demonstrates that the riverbanks have shifted over time, while in another we learn about the venerable age of a portside development. The practices of fishermen, washerwomen and boatmen are all touched on. Historically high and low water levels as well as ice jams have had to be chronicled. The ancestors of our levees today are also presented, as are some aspects to do with the "status of the river", which at that time had tolls dotted all along its length, etc.

The sheer number of sources from the time sparked an earnest discussion within the team. How can such a complex history be told in a concise, easy-to-follow way, during short episodes? How can the team's enthusiasm be passed on to viewers? How can archive images and written sources be presented in a meaningful way? A good number of meetings were required to tailor the contents for the audience. Period accounts have been updated to make them easier to understand. Rémi Deleplanque, responsible for the educational and cultural heritage development activities of the Mission Val de Loire was following the project from the beginning. It proved to be useful that the hired historian continued working closely on the realisation of the episodes. The fluid interaction between texts and images, to illustrate each situation made necessary to refine continuously the iconographic research. The chosen service provider was attentive and grasped the importance of respecting sources (Christophe Gaillard /MASAO Productions and Igor Mitrecey). Promoting the original sources was obviously a key requirement. We were aiming for an animation designed for a mainstream audience that was entertaining, engaging and relevant. The possibilities offered up by technology were harnessed to showcase the beauty and wealth of the historical documents, and the sound was also chosen with particular care (Sound design: Fabien Bourdier).

The historical research was programmed between July and December of 2018, the provider company was chosen through an open public tender between January and March of 2019, while the phases of the realisation was programmed between April and December of 2019. The financial investment was

shared in a following way: approximatively a quarter of the project's costs were dedicated as a salary for the historian, a half of the budget was provided for the company of the co-producer for the realisation and the rest was divided between image diffusion rights and communication.

Portraits of the Loire in the Renaissance



But what might the Loire and its riverbanks have looked like during the Renaissance? Directed by Mission Val de

Loire, the web series *Portraits de Loire à la Renaissance* immerses us into this historical period, criss-crosses this landscape and tells us about the close relationship that has always existed between the Loire and its communities. ... In some respects, this period is also similar to our own.

Three teasers were released before the first "proper" episodes were aired, focusing on this central question. The first presented the theme within the context of the UNESCO listing, the second delved into the close link between the river and society and the third talked about the history of the Loire Valley during the period in question.

Chapter 1: Developing the landscape

The Loire is fickle: inconstant flow, severe low water levels and catastrophic floods. It may strike us as controlled today, but back in Renaissance times, residents had to keep on their guard because of this capricious, difficult nature. By the 16th century, the levees were already well-established. They made



FIGURE 2&3. COMPOSIT ATLAS, TOURAINE, CH. TASSIN AND N-J. VISSCHER, GRAVURE, 1641

Source: © gallica.bnf.fr / BnF and the same map animated by MASAO Productions and Igor Mitrecey.



FIGURE 4&5. FOUR DRAWINGS OF THE COURSE OF THE LOIRE, 17th C.

Source: © gallica.bnf.fr / BnF and the same map animated by MASAO Productions and Igor Mitrecey.



FIGURE 6. VIEW OF ORLEANS, JORIS HOEFNAGEL, PRINTED BY G. BRAUN AND FR. HONGENBERG, 1575

Source: © Biblioteca Nacional de España, 21120.

navigation easier, contained the most common high water levels and protected farmland. Vineyards gained ground across the valleys around Angers or Orléans, while the countryside around Blois was shaped more by cereal crops. The alluvial plain in Touraine was ideal for market gardeners. And so, the Loire Valley became a land of gardens. And yet, the main course of the river could change, and its banks could shift: the Loire was in no way tamed. The movement of *alluvia* paved the way for islands and myriad channels. Flow variations supplied natural and artificial canals. There were several devastating floods that would forever stay etched in locals' minds. Repairs were conducted by the towns by royal order. In 1615 François Bourneau, a witness back in the day, described a freak flood dubbed "the deluge of Saumur":

Winter had been harsh, with heavy snowfall. For nearly a month the land remained blanketed in snow, which began to melt as Lent approached. On one side, Loire, Vienne and Authion rose up against us and besieged our town – all around was nothing but sea. Saumur, which is akin to a peninsula, between four rivers, looked more like an island floating amidst the mass of water. (Champion, 1959: 229-230)

But how beautiful this landscape is! So many Renaissance poets waxed lyrical about it!

This initial episode gives the public an opportunity to make a direct comparison with the Loire they know today. We understand how the levees came about and we realize that the islands we see today weren't always there – and might one day disappear. That despite our efforts, the river has not always flowed within its bed

and has threatened the communities alongside it. But also, that these communities chose to settle near its banks as they have gained from its wealth and life-giving nature. The testimony gives us a glimpse into the local concerns of the day.

Chapter 2: Developing the towns

Royal presence in the Loire Valley expedited the growth of towns. Back in Renaissance times, the river, its banks and its bridges were used and exploited. Direct access to the water was blocked by ramparts, but developments increasingly sprung up along the banks. A final wave of defense system reinforcements took place in the 16th century. This was the responsibility of the respective municipalities, and certain trades set up at the water's edge for convenience's sake. Tanners, dyers, butchers and washerwomen could thus all be found on the riverbanks in a carefully thought-out order. Despite the evident hygiene problems, the residents paid scant attention when it came to their banks and emptied their waste indiscriminately into the Loire. Infectious diseases were rampant in heavily populated towns.

At the end of the 15th century, there were only eight bridges straddling the Loire between Sully-sur-Loire and Chalonnes-sur-Loire. These often comprised different sections and different materials dating back to different periods. The hotchpotch of constructions along the bridges meant that crossing over them was no easy matter: drawbridges, houses, shops and public toilets could all be found across them. In June 1623, in Angers, an alderman bemoaned "just how laborious it was for the locals to go from one side of the town to

the other via the big bridge – such that on market days there were so many carts obstructing the way that it was impossible or immensely difficult to get across on horseback or by foot" (Courant, 1997: 23). Beneath the bridges, water mills and fishing huts added to the hustle and bustle. The municipality let out plots and managed their upkeep while the locals kept an eye on safety. The Loire was the beating heart of community life and the country's economy.

This episode enables the public to picture what life on the riverbanks was like. We learn that the river played more of an economic role in residents' day-to-day life than it does today. Hygiene is still a relevant issue today, as is the maintenance of civil engineering structures and bridges, and even the safety of local communities. The testimony enables the perspectives of a resident back then and a resident today to be compared.

Chapter 3: Navigating come what may

The Loire has been navigated along since prehistoric times, but during the Renaissance it could be likened to a busy motorway – a main thoroughfare for the country's trade and transport. All manner of boats and users took to it, and navigating it was fraught with difficulty.

Vessels were designed with flat bottoms. Traditional *chaland* barges were the largest vessels equipped with square sails. The *piautre* was the name of the rudder specific to these boats, and the bargee's pole, pushed into the sand, helped to steer them. Some tradesmen sailed themselves, but most entrusted their goods to "water carriers". The latter worked from generation to generation, their lives tough and uncertain. One corporation, the "Community of Merchants operating along the River Loire and rivers descending into the latter", acted as a kind of trade union for the channel's upkeep, signposting, known as marking out, and toll management. It governed compensations and defended the interests of its members. Tolls, a sort of river customs duty, were common, and managed by lords, ecclesiastical communities or towns. Printed or handwritten signs were displayed, setting the taxes for each product traded. There was a plethora of different regulations and enforcing them was a challenge. Despite efforts to improve the safety of sailing, accidents frequently arose, and compensation was paid out. In 1507 for example, 15 *livres tournois* (Tours pounds) were paid "to Benoist Mycier, merchant of Nevers, to compensate the cargo of wheat and barley that he lost, in the month of April, near Laril, parish of



FIGURE 7. VIEW OF BLOIS WITH CHALAND BARGES, DRAWING, 1600-1650

Source: © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-T-1948-372(R).



FIGURES 8 & 9. VIEW OF ORLEANS, ENGRAVING, CIRCA 1650

Source: © Médiathèque d'Orléans, ICO G 138 / Bibliothèque Numérique Orléans and the same view animated by MASAO Productions.

Saint-Benoist-sur-Loire, because of two mills that were in the way of the chaland barges" (Mantellier, 1864 (2): 448). The economic importance of the Loire was such that, at the turn of the 16th century, Leonardo da Vinci, living in Amboise at the time, drew up plans for connecting the Loire to the Rhône, and therefore the Atlantic to the Mediterranean!

This episode shows that flat-bottomed boats are a very old model and that the bargee's profession goes back many centuries. The testimony addresses the types of transport vessel, cargoes and the kinds of difficulties encountered. It is also possible to discover, study, compare and understand the newly built traditions boats on the Loire, and consider the obstacles that bridges, barrages or difficult climate situations mean to the navigation.

Chapter 4: Products transported

In the 16th century, royal presence in the Loire Valley and discoveries of far-flung countries ushered in a new golden age for trade along the Loire. During the Renaissance, France's longest river acted as a transit

route for products from almost all over the known world at the time. The most common commodities were salt, wheat and wine, which were staple ingredients in people's diet back then. Quality varied wildly and fraud was rife. Products from inland were sent downriver to Nantes while boats sailed back up with goods that were often imported. Wealthy French or Italian merchants who had made their homes in towns along the banks had luxury, exotic products brought in. Oranges, wool and soda arrived from Spain and Portugal, while metals came from England and Ireland, fabrics from Flanders and leather from Cordoba. With such new products now appearing on the scene from overseas, the tradesfolk were obliged to change their practices. The toll signs setting the taxes on goods or accounts give a precise idea of the local or imported products used in communities' day-to-day lives. The royal "catering" accounts indicating the products that arrived at the Court show the kinds of food that this privileged class enjoyed. Certain "noble" products such as paper, books, sugar and slate for the castle and stately residence roofs were exempt from duties.

Accordingly, in 1521, the Judgment of the Parliament of Paris decreed that a "Boat laden with slate shall be exempt from tax: He who steers the boat shall shout upon approaching the toll: "I bring slate" and shall throw a piece of slate into the water" (Mantellier, 1864 (3): 111). The thriving trade along the Loire during the Renaissance was a key factor in the development of the whole kingdom.

This episode gives a clearer idea of the Loire Valley's prominence within the kingdom and the global trading network which was taking shape and developing at the time. By following the journey taken by products, the public will realize that "globalisation" was already in motion back in Renaissance times. We find out where all sorts of consumer products we take for granted today came from, about the conflicts of interest and transformation of the feudal system, as well as the emergence of new social classes.

Chapter 5: Travelling in times of peace and war

In times of peace, the Loire Valley played host to constructions of all sorts and its river linked it with the world. After the unrest of the Hundred Years' War, the decades of peace that followed and regular visits by the royal court drove a building boom in the Loire Valley, in which the many boats sailing up and down the river played their part. Commissioners harked from all walks of life: municipalities, the wealthy nobility, city-dwellers and the royal court itself. Timber was brought up from the forests of the Massif-Central by simple pine barges known as *sapines*. Blocks of white *tuffeau* stone were ferried up or down the river on *chaland* barges. Books were regarded as an example of precious cargo. They attested to the free movement of thoughts and ideals – of Protestantism in particular – which spread from the

1520s across western France via Orléans, Tours and Saumur.

In times of war, the Loire Valley became a strategic battleground. From the latter half of the 16th century, the Wars of Religion brought turmoil and strife to life in the Loire Valley, which played a key role in this context. Towns protected themselves as best they could but suffered tremendously for all that.

In 1569 in Blois, "To defend the areas around Le Port-Vieux, thirty posts are delivered for driving into the riverbed [...]. Masons have to cut off the bridge to prevent the enemies from crossing the Loire. [...]. The City's Assembly has decided to repair the wall of St-Laumer towards the river, wall up all the windows of the gallery over the water and, on the side of this gallery, pierce oblique loop-holes..." (Trouëssart, 1999: 98-101).

Trade was paralysed, the passing armies terrorised the locals and shortages in food staples led to famine. The Loire and its ships were witnesses and actors of the tragic events unfolding. In 1598 the Edict of Nantes represented peace, but problems continued to dog domestic policy and the Loire Valley remained a key battleground. French Kings Henry IV and Louis XIII fought to cement their power. The journeys taken by construction materials shaped and enhanced the Loire Valley. Those embarked on by men of arms remind us that the Renaissance was not just a time of greater open-mindedness, but also one of intolerance.

This episode throws light on the contradictions of this famous and often admired period. On the one hand we approve the striking transformation of the landscape and construction of its celebrated châteaux. On the other we are obliged to face with the human limits to this openness, development, and inventiveness that the Renaissance tends to represent in our eyes.



FIGURES 10 & 11. THE MASSACRE OF TOURS, ENGRAVING BY J. TORTOREL AND J. J. PERRISSIN, circa 1570

Source: © Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-78.770-17 and the same engraving animated by MASAO Productions.



FIGURE 12. THE ESTATES GENERAL IN TOURS IN 1470, IN "LES CRONONIQUES..." BY PHILIPPE DE COMMYNES, ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT, 1510-1520

Source: © Musée Dobrée – Grand Patrimoine de Loire-Atlantique, Ms. 18, fol. 66v.

Chapter 6: Visits by "ordinary" and royal travellers

Since the kingdom revolved around the *châteaux* and their immediate surroundings, the Loire was truly a Renaissance heartland. Royal families, ambassadors and other political figures all travelled along it, and its towns put on wholly worthy welcomes steeped in symbolism. "Tableaux vivants" are vestiges of medieval theatre, but draw inspiration from the triumphant entrances of old reinterpreted by the Renaissance artists. Many feature the river. Locals closely followed the private and public lives of their kings and queens: experiencing royal births, engagements or deaths as family events. The Loire carried living and deceased members of the court. Bargees decked out their

toues or *galiotes*, merchants transported foodstuffs and aldermen organised delivery of their gifts. The municipalities expected a reward in return for publicly supporting the royalty, in the form of liberties, exemptions or other types of rights granted during these special occasions. In this way, the town sought not only to appeal to the monarch's better nature but also to enchant its own population. In 1539, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V travelled through France from Spain to Flanders to crush the uprisings. "On the third day of the month of December, Francis I took to the River Loire to sail to Orléans. The aldermen sent him in Gien ten or twelve boats all draped in satin, with rooms, fireplaces, etc." (Du Bellay-Langei, 1753: 370). At the same time, the river also continued to serve ordinary

folk who visited its banks and towns, and to inspire a great many poets.

The final episode invites the public to experience the excitement of Renaissance festivities. In addition to admiring the splendour and wealth, we find out exactly how these events were organised by aldermen and how almost every inhabitant in the town had a part to play.

Conclusion

Extended Promotional Methods

During the creation of the little films, we realised that it was sensible, necessary even, to round off the film contents with a documentary pack. This would also give teachers an opportunity to refresh or add to their teaching resources. This series of documents, which are freely accessible on the Mission Val de Loire website, back up the narrative, provide non-updated transcriptions of written sources and offer a bibliography and a selection of images. All written and iconographic sources are credited, referenced and, where possible, refer users to the place where they are stored.

One episode a month was broadcasted between July and December 2019. Episode 6 was followed by a "making of", taking viewers behind the scenes of each step in the production process from research right through to broadcasting.

The main communication channel is Mission Val de Loire's website: www.valdeloire.org and on the Mission's YouTube channel: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4mLUSUmiNKM&list=PLNoHPCDmd3pYsaa-tYTGFWbsbbrvZaFaC>. Viewing is also possible on the website of the Region's initiative: www.vivadavinci2019.fr. There are also links on social media, such as the respective Facebook pages.

In addition to this web series, a series of public screenings, workshops and conferences has also been planned from the autumn of 2019 (The Journey of the stone, early September, Tours – Blois – Saint-Dyé-sur-Loire, The Loire Festival in Orléans, The Rendez-vous of History in Blois in October). They serve as a basis to deepen the knowledge of groups of children, to exchange with history enthusiasts or to direct attention of the general public towards their neighbouring landscape's issues.

Potential for future discussion: creation – promotion

The films set the stage for (re)discovering the link between past and present and even for planning for the

future. These complex ideas are laying the groundwork for 2020, the year which marks the 20th anniversary of the UNESCO listing. This opportunity is all the more invaluable as it encourages us to renew our perspective of the territory and of its values. The web series Portraits de Loire à la Renaissance serves as an effective tool in this context, a stepping stone to new discussions. In 2021-2022 we plan to work on a new series, based again on the UNESCO inscription criteria (UNESCO 2000: 44), that concentrates on the Age of the Enlightenment, called also as siècle des Lumières (the Century of Light) in France. For the primary goal of the listing was never to turn the factors assessed into static museum pieces, but to encourage us to become aware of them and manage them responsibly. This is a living, continually changing territory and inhabitants and policymakers alike are encouraged to keep the interaction between the river and its community responsible and ongoing through their thoughts and actions. As such, for us, looking to the past is useful only in the way it enables us to plan for our future.

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