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Governance of cultural heritage: towards participatory approaches

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ABSTRACT

This article analyzes participatory governance in relation to heritage. Based on previous studies on the implementation of participation and theoretical discussions considering the participatory governance of cultural heritage, we found four types of cultural heritage governance, with differing weights with regard to public authorities, civil society, markets, and citizens. Governmental, corporatist, service-led, and co-creative cultural heritage governance types were identified, which reflect the shifts in participatory approaches to governance from state-centered activities to the proliferation of civil society, and from professionally dominated to more citizen-based activities. According to our analysis, culture and heritage can be conceptualized as instruments for the transformation of attributes and competencies, and they work as mediums to cultivate recognition between institutions and citizens. This includes not only seeking consensus in decision making but also respecting the nuances and values of different heritages.

Introduction

The subject of participatory governance has recently gained prominence in the fields of public policy and management. The basis of participatory governance is favoring and promoting the direct participation of citizens in the public decision-making processes. The growing relevance of participatory approaches is consistent with the evolution of the concept of governance in the current context of public administration, especially in Europe (Bouckaert, 2017). This implies the possibility of considering a new research agenda for public sector governance, where participation could play a crucial role. The opportunity to develop participatory methods in public administration is strictly connected with the possibility that these methods will emerge to solve problems between different, and sometimes conflicting, "public values" (Nabatchi, 2012).

Concerning the development and spread of participatory approaches to governance, Frank Fischer (2006) has construed two prominent shifts: a) from state-centered activities to a proliferation of civil society organizations that deliver services and offer various forms of support to economic and social development and b) from professionally dominated to more citizen- or client-based activities, often taking place within the new civil society organizations. Despite much of the rhetoric surrounding the discussion of participation, experiences with new forms of participatory governance show participation to be neither straightforward nor easy. A closer look shows that citizen participation is a complicated and uncertain business that needs to be contextualized, and carefully thought out in advance (Fischer, 2000). It must be carefully organized and facilitated and even cultivated and nurtured, yet without too rigorous a priori specifications (Johanson et al., 2014).

In this article, participatory approaches appear to be particularly appropriate for the application of cultural heritage policy and management. Relevant international institutions have claimed the importance of community engagement in cultural heritage management and development since the beginning of this century. The Budapest Declaration on World Heritage (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization UNESCO, 2002), the Intangible Heritage Convention (UNESCO, 2003), the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (UNESCO, 2005), and the Faro Convention of the Council of Europe (Council of Europe,

2005) represent some of the milestones observed along this path. An actual application of participatory methods for cultural heritage presents relevant difficulties, and there is a concrete risk of observing an expectation gap, similar to those highlighted in the literature concerning the effectiveness of democracy (Flinders, 2014). For these reasons, this paper aims to identify different conditions for the adoption of participatory approaches in the context of the governance of cultural heritage.

Different policy sectors' contexts produce distinct kinds of governing practices and procedures that have an impact on the level of citizen participation and affect the definitions of cultural heritage and the types of governance. For example, the international context of cultural policy shows a quite varied situation of national regimes, in terms of institutions, types of funding, and modes of organization (Dubois, 2015; Mulcahy, 2006).

The analysis draws on perspectives of participatory governance from earlier studies on the implementation of participation and will contribute to the theoretical discussions considering the participatory governance of cultural heritage. The paper is structured as follows. The next section will introduce the basic concepts used in this analysis. In the following section, four types of cultural heritage governance are identified in relation to the possible interrelation of the elements of the traditional/hybrid definitions of cultural heritage and the lower/higher levels of citizen participation. The paper will end with some concluding remarks, highlighting ideas for future research.

Basic Concepts

Governance for Citizens

Governance is a complex term with some ambiguity traits, and it is often linked to the promotion of democracy and the fight against corruption (Rose-Ackerman, 2017). The concept of governance is traditionally differentiated from that of government because the former relies on the system of relations between governmental entities and the societal system whereas the latter seems to convey a more coercive power exercised by the public authority (Kooiman, 2003; Peters, 1996; Rhodes, 1997). In this analysis, governance is considered "as governing with and through networks and their cooperative behaviour" (Rhodes, 2007, pp. 1245–1246).

Based on the findings of previous research, the extent to which citizens become involved in the

creation of heritage should have a strong impact on the success of governance processes. Also, academics and professionals in cultural management advocate multi-stakeholder governance models and the multi-level management of cultural resources (Bonet and Donato, 2011; Kickert, 1997; Li et al., 2020). In these governance systems, there is often a significant degree of autonomy of the actors involved, and the state can only steer the governance networks imperfectly (Stoker, 1998). The varieties of cultural heritage governance that this paper proposes reflect different types of governing with differing weights with regard to public authorities, civil society, markets, and citizens.

Previous empirical research reports and articles on governance have identified several important aspects of what it requires. These include constitutional legitimacy, administrative competence, accountability, transparency, and public participation (Ackerman, 2004; Blair, 2000; Cuthill and Fien, 2005; Fung and March, 2001; Kim et al., 2005), which imply attributions like capacity and autonomy but also performance and results (Fukuyama, 2013; Rotberg, 2014). A significant debate about governance regards the development of the conditions for "good" governance. Specifically, since 1989, the World Bank has established conceptual references for the key elements that constitute good governance (Woods, 2000). The concept of good governance is also explicitly noted, in these terms, by the International Monetary Fund, which defines good governance aspects as "the transparency of government accounts, the effectiveness of public resource management, and the stability and transparency of the economic and regulatory environment for private sector activity" (IMF, 1997, p. 3). Later, the OECD (2007, p. 336) defined good governance as follows: "Good governance is characterised by participation, transparency, accountability, rule of law, effectiveness, equity, etc." Good governance has thus become closely related with participation, which, in this context, has also become an instrument, for example, for the World Bank's "own agendas" (Fischer, 2006, p. 22).

The complexity of good governance can also be easily applied to the main contemporary, transformative challenges facing cultural policies: the call for redefinitions of culture, the desire for easier access to culture and art, and the widening of the borders of cultural fields (Bonet and Négrier, 2018; McGuigan, 2016; Stage, Eriksson, and Reestorff, 2020). The same ideas can be detected in the governance of cultural heritage (Poirrier, 2003; Shipley and Kovacs, 2008). This relates to the struggle between the transformative and the functionalist roles that culture and heritage policy has in society, when heritage, tradition, art, philosophy, religion, education, and advertising can be used by dominant groups to make their dominance appear normal and natural to the heterogeneous groups that constitute the society (Williams, 1961, 1967, 1974).

Ultimately, good governance is rooted in trust as it rests upon interaction, negotiation, and resource exchange. This can involve different arenas: governmental arenas, where decisions carry the authority of the state; non-governmental arenas, in which self-organizing citizens make decisions; and new kinds of arenas, where governmental and non-governmental actors meet to debate and possibly act and decide together (Somerville and Haines, 2008). Good governance can be pursued through the enhancement of community-based decision making at a local level. It can contribute to improving resource allocation, increasing community commitment, reasserting community identities, and strengthening community groups and their voices, which all contribute to the development of new collaborative actions, which, in turn, can increase the success rate of governance (Cuthill and Fien, 2005).

Participatory Governance of Cultural Heritage

Heritage can be how "very selective material artefacts, mythologies, memories, and traditions become resources . . . [that] are selected according to the demands of the present" (Graham, 2002, p. 1004). A heritage regime is the result of socio-historical, political, and cultural processes of classification (definitions, hierarchies, inclusion, and exclusion), labelling, and support. The identification of heritage is based on an active choice about which elements of culture are deemed worthy of preservation as an "inheritance" for the future. These decisions are generally made by state authorities and international organizations (Blake, 2000; Salazar, 2010). According to Višna Kisić (2014), heritage as a process connects three interdependent categories: firstly, (re)production as a process of the creation or preservation of a desired image of the world; secondly, values as a process of the reflection, recognition, and formulation of desires and choices and as the intended result of creation; and thirdly, identities of new social structures as forms of shaping and representing values. To recognize such categories, institutions and official bodies need to encourage dialogue about values and allow social actors to take part in decisions about

heritage (Turnpenny, 2004).

A concrete attempt to delineate the concept of cultural heritage emerges from the Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies, the result of the World Conference on Cultural Policies "Mondiacult" in 1982:

The cultural heritage of a people includes the works of its artists, architects, musicians, writers and scientists and also the work of anonymous artists, expressions of the people's spirituality, and the body of values which give meaning to life. It includes both tangible and intangible works: languages ..., rites, beliefs, historic places and monuments, literature, works of art, archives and libraries. Every people therefore has a right and a duty to defend and preserve its cultural heritage, since societies recognize themselves through the values in which they find a source of creative inspiration (UNESCO, 1982, secs. 23–24).

As an international organization, UNESCO has a very special kind of actorhood. Funded by its member states, it is a high-level forum for intellectual engage, that creates vocabulary to be disseminated on national level, and sets international normative standards (conventions, recommendations, and declarations), that policymakers can follow when (re)formulizing policy domains. (Alasuurari & Kangas 2020.) The definition of cultural heritage by "Mondiacult" has been further developed through the report Our Creative Diversity (World Commission of Culture and Development, 1996), the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (UNESCO, 2001), and the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO, 2003). Therefore, the consideration of cultural heritage regards both its tangible and intangible dimensions (Vecco, 2010), also in its digital expressions. In the frame of the 2003 Convention, intangible heritage is defined (article 2) as "oral traditions and expressions, including language ..., performing arts, social practices, rituals and festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe, traditional craftsmanship." The newest theme for local stakeholders emphasizes many ways to get indigenous peoples better involved in the Convention (UNESCO, 2019).

There are systematic differences in how people do, make, and say things, and thus, different cultures exist (Cahoone, 2005). The richness of cultural phenomena and practices derives substantially from hybridity, which is a characteristic feature of cultural heritage: hybridity as such refers to variety, combinations, and mixtures, which also makes it impossible to define the moment when a "hybrid" begins (Kuutma, 2013). Consequently, cultural heritage is characterized by a multiplicity of contexts and meanings, changing through time and across space, resulting in a processual production of heritage.

The link across time and space makes heritage a constructor of agreed-upon rules for a community, and the identification of cultural heritage can be regarded as a political act. Hence, cultural heritage is a value-laden concept, vulnerable to becoming co-opted by ideology. The phrase "participatory governance of cultural heritage" has gained popularity in recent years (EU, 2018; Voices of Culture, 2015). However, previous research also suggests that participatory governance has become a new orthodoxy in a sense that policy innovations, like participatory budgeting and citizen assemblies, are often celebrated without closer consideration of what kind of arrangements the realization of participatory governance requires (Richardson, Durose, and Perry, 2019).

As the UNESCO official documents (UNESCO, 1982, 2001, 2003) illustrate, the governance of cultural heritage requires the involvement of a range of local stakeholders, normally represented by associations that accompany an object or monument and provide the sense of being part of a group (Blake, 2000). In this view, the development of cultural heritage is based on the joint discovery of the community's own identity, and local actions, like associational memberships and cooperatives, are important for the development of the political capacities of citizens (Fischer, 2006; Holmes and Slater, 2012). Previous research suggests closely scrutinizing the processes that are concerned with the regulation, mediation, and negotiation of cultural and historical values and narratives (Waterton and Smith, 2009). It calls for dialogue where the inclusiveness of heritage definitions is discussed and diversities in communities are heard (Apaydin, 2018; Williams, 1961; Zamarbide Urbaniz, 2019).

It seems to be necessary to investigate both what (e.g., defining and adopting cultural heritage) is done and how (the processes and practices). This is particularly true in the context of the governance of cultural heritage so as to understand the varied contextual landscape that such governance is bound to. At the local level, the quality of governance rests both on rules of deliberation and the impact of new political space deliberation on decision-making processes (Farrington, 2011), which imply "using discursive techniques to identify appropriate policy choices for given circumstances," as Clive Gray (2012, p. 507) writes. The underlying idea of exposed concepts in the field of governance can be expressed in the search for a "new"

form of governance, based on tools and processes that enable participation (Bingham, Nabatchi, and O'Leary, 2005; Skelcher and Torfing, 2010).

Participatory Governance Logics, the Role of Citizens, and Functions of Institutions

As illustrated above, the participatory governance of cultural heritage refers to organizing and joining collaborative ventures aimed at intercepting, extracting, processing, and transforming knowledge to make it useable in decision-making processes. Recently, researchers have developed new categorizations to depict how such processes are intertwined with different governance logics and what it means for the nature and form of citizen participation in the processes. In a current analysis of different citizen roles, governance logics, and institutional functions of participatory governance, the researchers formed four distinctive logics for local participatory governance: instrumental, interest-based, deliberation-based, and functional (Danielsson et al., 2018). Instrumental logic is based on vertical relations and the top-down implementation of policy goals, where decision making relies on "the parliamentary chain." The other three logics are based on horizontal relations, where interests are mediated and articulated (interest-based), reflected via reasoning together (deliberative), or co-produced and coordinated (functional).

Citizens can lead their own lives with recognition and develop a sense of belonging to a community based on linguistic, religious, national, or ethnic identity, among other factors that appear to be connected with the definition of cultural heritage (Kangas, 2004). Each of the four logics above grants citizens different roles. According to the instrumental logic of participatory governance, citizens vote, take part in political party activities, and contribute to the top-down implementation of policies. Instrumental logic can be detected in the use of instruments like user surveys, which follow vertical implementation structures. In interest-based participatory governance, citizens participate actively in a role where they represent either their own or group (or both) interests. Interest-based logic leads to the use of instruments like participatory budgeting and the gathering of citizens' suggestions. In the deliberative model, citizens participate and provide learning in dialogues and public conversations. Deliberative logic is realized through citizen panels and dialogue councils. Finally, according to the functional logic of participatory governance, citizens contribute

knowledge and other resources to solve problems efficiently. Functional logic comes alive in governance networks (Danielsson et al., 2018).

Political participation also has diverse dimensions at the individual level. According to Ekman and Amnå (2012), manifest forms of political participation include both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary forms of political action, which happen via voting, political parties, partaking in demonstrations, etc. In addition, they refer to "latent forms", where engagement in activities within the sphere of civil society is important.

Since its beginnings, research on participation has stressed the importance of bottom-up perspectives and empowering protocols (Arnstein 1969). Rather than just being a process of creating shared knowledge, participation is a process where people give meaning to themselves and their relationships with others and can discuss differences, boundaries, and ways of belonging in everyday life; their formal and informal practices can meet and alter each other. Sherry Arnstein's definition of citizen participation delineates participation as a categorical term for citizen's power (1969). From a Freirean perspective, participation is a dynamic and transformative process of dialogue, which enables people to realize their potential and be engaged in their own welfare (Freire, 1972; see Fischer, 2006).

Per Gustafson and Nils Hertting (2017) found that people choose to participate for substantially different reasons. Based on empirical analysis, they produced three distinct types of motives for participation – common good, self-interest, and professional competence, and stated that "both common good and self-interest motives speak for the democratic potential of participation" and "democratic learning and networking … [can] be an integral part of the meaning that certain groups of participants attribute to participatory governance" (2017, p. 546).

Participatory processes differ in terms of who is included (i.e., broad involvement versus small groups or interest groups) and who is encouraged to become actively involved (Irvin and Stansbury, 2004). Much depends on how much power a political system is willing to grant the people (Thomas, 1995). Participatory governance is a complicated effort, and citizen participation "needs to be carefully thought out in advance," as Fischer writes (2006, p. 22). Obvious questions regarding participatory governance are still whose voices and how many voices the governance system can recognize and on what terms. In the sense of participatory governance, the practices adopted by institutions are essential questions for a working

democracy. To what extent can people participate and influence politics that affect their own lives? New methods of citizen participation can also increase bureaucracy and lead to inefficiency (Farrington, 2011). Possible disadvantages in terms of participation include the heterogeneity of actors, their potentially differing ambitions, and the fact that the means they have at their disposal to take part in participation do not always lead to empowerment.

Examination of Participation in Cultural Heritage Governance

The aim for this article is to analyze participatory approaches in the governance of cultural heritage. This article also calls for further research in the field, especially to test these observations in different territorial areas and local context (Adell, Bendix, Bortolotto & Tauschek, 2015; Zamarbide Urbaniz, 2019). Next, based on the above-expressed theoretical framework and research dealing with participation and governance in cultural fields, the authors delineate four types of cultural heritage governance and discuss their readiness in terms of participatory governance approaches. The types are formed via the use of two axes, one expressing the heritage definition (a vertical line moving from the institutionalized definition of heritage to the hybrid one) and another expressing the level of citizen participation (a horizontal line covering low to high citizen participation). The four types reflect

different types of governance with differing weights regarding public authorities, civil society, markets, and citizens. By analyzing which understanding of heritage these different types adopt and how participatory the processes that produce the heritage definitions are, the aim is to deepen the understanding of participatory heritage governance. All this also relates to the role that heritage has in society: in its institutionalized form, heritage's meaning is cemented by established institutions and more or less taken as normal and natural, whereas hybridity may bring up disputes based on heterogeneity that challenge this institutionalized understanding (cf. Williams, 1961, 1967, 1974).

The two axes form quadrants that describe the types of cultural heritage governance:

1) governmental,
2) corporatist,
3) service-led, and
4) co-creative types of cultural heritage governance.

Governmental

Different governance systems vary in how they induce and respond to information from society ("feedback") and in their capacities to reply to this information ("adaptability") (Duit and Galaz, 2008). The governmental type of cultural heritage governance implies an institutionalized definition of cultural heritage and a lower rate of citizen participation. Incomplete transparencies in terms of the administration
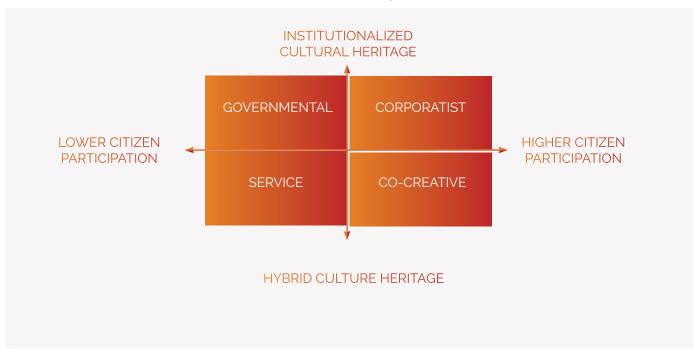

FIGURE 1. Types of cultural heritage governance

processes and limited citizen participation can both result from an exclusively defined notion of cultural heritage (Paquette, 2012; Waterton and Smith, 2009). Traditionally, cultural heritage policy and management have often been controlled by governmental bodies. This goes hand in hand with the legitimizing function of the power relations of cultural policy. Even in democratic societies, the culture of the elite becomes legitimized and hegemonic when administrators and experts make exclusive decisions about representations and reformations of culture, and when funding reflects power relations in society that may have consequences for the preservation of these relations (Sokka and Kangas, 2007; Feder & Katz-Gerro, 2012).

This type of governance can be compared to "fragile governance" (see Duit and Galaz, 2008): it can become focused on representing traditional hierarchies and face difficulties in accumulating new knowledge, adapting to new circumstances, and achieving collective actions, which makes it poorly equipped to handle change. As a result, citizen may find it difficult to join top-down generated processes and question the motivation and authenticity of public officers, who in turn can be afraid and insecure about what to expect after a potential change. Moreover, public officials often claim that there is no money for the necessary changes (Kangas and Sokka, 2015).

The lack of accountability is a common claim when attempts to develop participatory governance are criticized. Citizen participation and engagement require structural support for public action that backs grassroots community development and simultaneously reduces the tendency to create governmental hierarchies (Somerville and Haines, 2008). Public participation and good governance principles are important to create legitimacy, voice, and direction in heritage governance. People need to have opportunities and means to indicate their likes and dislikes to create accountability between them and the administration that governs: such instruments could include instituted public meetings, regular opinion surveys (including their collaborative evaluation), and formal grievance procedures (Blair, 2000).

At an organizational level, traditional top-to-bottom bureaucracy presents obstacles to empowerment-based participation. Due to the complex issues and rapidity of change in modern societies, politicians and public officials can face increasing difficulties in effectively managing the diversity of interests of local residents (Ackerman, 2004; Cuthill and Fien, 2005). In the context of social care (Braye and Preston-Shoot,

1995), some barriers to empowerment processes were listed. One of these relates to the organization of public services and the administration's relationship with residents. Public officers may fear the loss of their status and power, the insufficiency of their professional skills, and the eventual denial of their expertise. This makes them suspicious of their "clients'" emerging competences and emphasizes the mechanisms that reinforce (jurisdictional) power through legislation and administrative terminologies. These considerations seem to be expandable to cultural heritage.

The governmental type of heritage governance represents both low citizen participation and the hegemonic vision of heritage. As such, the competence and accountability of the administration can be questioned as it does not produce open, participatory, and democratic protocols and the free transfer of knowledge. To sum up, although this type of governance is still present in the context of cultural heritage management and policy, it does not appear to be suitable for responding positively to the current demands. It represents the instrumental logic of participatory governance, where citizens vote, take part in political party activities, and contribute to the top-down implementation of policies.

Corporatist

The corporatist type of cultural heritage governance implies an institutionalized definition of cultural heritage and a higher rate of citizen participation. Corporatist governance refers to controlled collaboration between the state and civil society, where established civil society organizations form intermediary structures between the state and the citizens. Corporatism can be identified in many policy areas (Öberg et al., 2011; Torpe, 2014). In corporatist settings, the structural preconditions that make voluntary organizations possible are important indicators of the overall "democratic infrastructure" of society (Torpe, 2014, p. 215). Despite this fact, corporatism is also a matter of benefits: it can be seen as a mutually beneficial exchange between interest groups and government, where "some actors control something that others desire" (Öberg et al., 2011, p. 365). Within its institutionalized arenas, the state can privilege some organizations over others and grant them the status of group representatives in the process of policymaking.

In many cases, interest groups and selected professionals have taken part in the formation of cultural

policy processes that create cultural heritage without the broader inclusion of local residents (e.g., Sokka and Kangas, 2007). The same problem is known to exist within other sectors. For example, in participatory environmental governance, public meeting attendees and committee members can be members of professional groups and strongly affiliated to interest groups, which leads to a lack of accountability in the eyes of citizen (Parkins and Sinclair, 2014).

Once again, the question of who has a voice is relevant because it reflects the inclusive and exclusive patterns embedded in the administrative structures. It is not guaranteed that attempts to develop governance through collaboration with civil society enhance participation. The selection of interest groups can be biased and exclusive, leading to a model of cultural heritage governance that, in principle, is a version of elitism. These problems are also emerging in some fields often related to cultural heritage management, like tourism, where the adoption of the correct empowerment of residents is crucial (Timothy, 2007). For cultural heritage, the level of the success of participatory practices can vary consistently in connection with the specific situation of the site or the local area and depending on the history and tradition of the representative groups (Chirikure, Manvanga, Ndoro, and Pwiti, 2010).

In this type of governance, the roles of citizens become defined by instrumental logic. Due to its controlled collaboration between the state and civil society, corporatist governance maximizes stability, but as an exclusive model, it is not flexible with regard to changing circumstances when collaboration with selected interest groups leads to the partial transfer of knowledge and poorly organized feedback (cf. Duit and Galaz, 2008). This can generate an assorted outlook in terms of cultural heritage, which engages the selected actors but does not fulfill the very ideas of changing boundaries, interactions, and negotiations within the networks that are identified to help in creating good governance (Rhodes, 2007). The success of governance seems to be dependent on opening up the process beyond the already established civil society organizations (Ackerman, 2004).

Service-led

The service orientation of cultural heritage governance implies a hybrid definition of cultural heritage and a lower rate of citizen participation. Governance has been piloted through the development of service delivery models. For example, during the 1980s and 1990s, Australian governments attempted to develop an interface between the government and the community by following the private sector focus on improving customer services (Cutchill and Fien, 2005). This implies a need for balance between the requests of clients and beneficiaries of public services and the economic and efficient use of public resources.

Public managers are operating in a context where client (and citizen) needs are not made explicit as clearly as in a market system but where they must still be interpreted and possibly satisfied (Moore 1995). The service delivery perspective is targeted "for" the community, but it easily neglects community capacity building – the civic engagement – that can only be achieved by working with communities (Cuthill and Fien, 2005).

British experiences show how the use of markets has created tensions when the members of networks started to rival for contracts instead of aiming at cooperative behavior (Rhodes, 2007). In the end, the rivalry of participants can limit the diversity of cultural expressions when the actors try to maximize their individual utility through market-based selection processes, where only the fittest survive (Duit and Galaz, 2008). Annika Agger and Dorthe Lund (2017) noted how a service-oriented approach makes it hard to engage citizens in the production of public services as a group and limits citizen input regarding service improvement. Even if citizens participate and provide learning in dialogues and public conversations, the problem is that they are much more than customers: marketization allows a citizen to "exit" if they wish but does not provide active participation in decision-making and definition processes (Ackerman, 2004). Such governance can therefore be defined properly as service-led, echoing the shift from citizens to consumers (Clarke et al., 2007). The move towards a "contract culture" in service production has not increased civic participation as it posits the community organizations as parts of hierarchical governance rather than as cooperative partners (Somerville and Haines, 2008, p. 66).

Concerning cultural heritage governance, these topics typically emerge in the field of museum management and governance, where the public authority needs to balance the development of a correct managerial approach for the museum with the necessity of the integration of audiences within the museum (Crooke, 2010). This necessity is related to the multiplicity of values associated with cultural heritage. At organizational level, the aim is to provide a service

to satisfy audiences´ needs while at societal level participation can have public-good nature (Vecco et al. 2017). David Throsby (2010) identifies several cultural values to be added to heritage: aesthetic, spiritual, social, historical, symbolic, authenticity, and locational. That complexity alone is enough to indicate that any planning and policy instruments are not likely to be successful unless they engage the local population in the "ownership" of heritage. In principle, there is room for the diversity of heritage definitions in service-oriented governance, but this model does not actively support citizen participation. To accomplish this is not simply a matter of adapting predefined heritage and adjusting existing administrative patterns: it is also about fostering cultural understanding and taking part in decisions that (re)produce governing organizations and administrative formations (Kangas and Sokka, 2015).

Co-creative

There are also good experiences of co-management models that allow marginalized groups to take part in leading heritage administration (Paquette, 2008). The co-creative type of cultural heritage governance implies a hybrid definition of cultural heritage and a higher rate of citizen participation, where citizens contribute knowledge and other resources to solve problems efficiently.

In the functional logic of participatory governance, there are many alternative views to co-creation. It has been widely used to demonstrate a shift in thinking from organizations as definers of value to a more participatory process where people generate and develop meaning together with organizations. In the research literature, co-creation has mainly referred to innovation and value creation, which takes place as a collaborative process that involves different types of actors: a process where citizens are regarded as valuable contributors, but their precise role has remained rather unclear (Lund, 2018).

One of the many roots behind the idea of co-creation is participatory design, which was developed to involve workers in the development of systems in a workspace setting with designers in the 1970s (Holdgaard and Klastrup, 2014). In the context of management studies, the concept of co-creation was introduced in the works that addressed the concept of co-production, investigated in both the private (Ramírez, 1999) and public sectors (Ostrom, 1996) through the development of flexible and cooperative relations between organizations, which can be carried out through forms of so-called co-opetition (Li et al., 2020; Nalebuff and Brandenburger, 1997). The concept of co-creation is sometimes also used interchangeably with the concept of co-production, which, however, is here seen as more service- and product-oriented and often more concerned with cost reduction than value creation (Lund, 2018).

In the context of the public sector, co-creation has assumed a specific focus on the involvement of external stakeholders (Bovaird and Löffler, 2012). With regard to the provision of public services, this leads to rethinking the processes of the creation of public value (Moore, 1995). In this sense, co-creation, co-production, and co-governance are terms often used in contexts where the public sector and non-profit organizations cooperate, especially in the field of social services and welfare (Bode, 2006). In public settings where complex problems are addressed, co-creation can be subdivided into co-implementing, co-designing, and co-initiating – each of which distinguishes different approaches to citizen engagement (i.e., at which points of the processes citizen are active and how active they are). Of these sub-dimensions, the dimension of co-initiator refers to the most active yet also the most resource-demanding citizen role (Lund, 2018).

Co-creation is not just about the creation of things but also about interpretation and meaning-making, which is always co-created via social interaction (Ind and Coates, 2013). That is how the value-based definition of co-creation has developed to pay ever-stronger attention to the co-creation of experiences. The concepts of personalization, engagement, and co-production illustrate a broad view of co-creation, where personal experiences, the sense of connectivity and involvement, and taking part throughout the service experience are pivotal components. In marketing research, it is taken to refer to the self-directed path that consumers choose to take: it is about tailoring the experience to meet individual needs (Minkiewicz, Evans, and Bridson, 2014). In the context of the public sector, the experience-based knowledge of citizens has become valued in finding answers to "wicked" societal problems (Agger and Lund, 2017).

Frequently, even co-creative processes stem from institutional (organizational) needs. Experience, however, has not been the traditional focus of heritage organizations, and only little empirical research has been carried out regarding the drivers and inhibitors of co-creation (Minkiewicz et al., 2014). According to previous research, there, nevertheless, is a need

for tailor-made methods and facilitating processes in co-creation to minimize "the importance of power differences and support rational argumentation rather than interest-based advocacy" (Agger and Lund, 2017, p. 11). It is important not only to pay attention to output and effectiveness but also to include marginalized citizens to maintain the legitimacy of co-creative processes.

A Danish study illustrates how co-creativity has often been understood in a rather limited and unclear way. When the "outside partners" of art and heritage institutions (museums) remain "visitors" rather than actual partners who have a voice, their participation becomes stripped from its democracy origin – despite claims of enhancing participation (Holdgaard and Klastrup, 2014). One research study considering participation in cultural services in Finland found that people do not see themselves as having much power: residents feel unable to influence decision making concerning local cultural activities (Kangas and Sokka, 2015). In another Finnish project (Kangas, 2017), action research was conducted to strengthen the opportunities for existing, possibly even hidden, local cultures to engage in participative co-creation. The starting point was at the very grassroots level, trying to reach the people who had never taken part in cultural activities. It illustrated how artists and anthropologists can activate grassroots participation. Participation was also strengthened when the directors of different sectors facilitated change in their own domains, generated positive attitudes towards participation, and publicly expressed this (cf. Sani, 2015). Participation was enhanced by connecting the activation of people to the idea of finding universal points of identification and common denominators, with special features that may even be subject to debate among members of local communities. In contrast to knowledge determined by elites, participative processes can activate knowledge agreed upon by a community, and both innovators and adapters are needed in such processes (Ind and Coates, 2013). Another case study from Korea (Hong and Lee, 2015) demonstrates how shared goals and visions between all partners – local residents, public institutions, experts, and even tourists – are vital for the successful implementation of co-creation.

To avoid the most obvious governance failures, it is important to note that governance is date- and place-specific (cf. Paquette, 2012). Due to collaborative action, the co-creative mode is apt to detect changes early and create flexible decision-making procedures (Duit and Galaz, 2008). The co-creative governance of heritage is, however, not likely to succeed without the acceptance and adoption of participatory structures. It requires support to back grassroots community development. Furthermore, attention should be paid to reducing the tendency to create extensive hierarchies – both within the political system that grants legitimacy to the actors and the civil society that creates and maintains the channels for expressions of individual and interest-group opinions (Somerville and Haines, 2008). In a public setting, processes of co-creation also require leadership that "can navigate in conditions of shared power and voluntary engagement, where participants cannot be ordered to collaborate but must be convinced of the merits of collaboration" (Agger and Lund, 2017, p. 10; see also Ansell and Gash, 2012).

Conclusions

This article aimed to identify different tools for participatory approaches in the context of the governance of cultural heritage. Following R.A.W. Rhodes (2007), governance was defined as governing through networks and the cooperative behavior of the same. Different models and their applications were recognized. The authors implement this approach to cultural heritage by asking how heritage becomes defined in different governance frames and which kinds of roles different modes of heritage governance allow citizens to play.

The analysis identified knowledge about contextual power structures and attentiveness to different voices in different phases of decision making and implementation as important prerequisites of citizen participation (including both more direct and latent forms of political participation). Based on this, obvious questions for participatory governance are regarding whose voices and how many voices the governance system can recognize and on what terms. Also, the practices adopted by institutions are essential questions for a working democracy in this perspective.

Against this backdrop, four types of cultural heritage governance were identified, that reflect different types of governing with differing weights with regard to public authorities, civil society, markets, and citizens: 1) *governmental*, 2) *corporatist*, 3) *service-led*, and 4) *co-creative*. As such, the four types indicate the shifts in participatory approaches to governance from state-centered activities to the proliferation of civil society and from professionally dominated to more citizen-based activities (see Fischer, 2006), which can also be detected in more official recommendations for

creating new participatory practices (cf. UNESCO).

Traditionally, the first and second, governmental and corporatist forms in relation to the governance of heritage have been the prevailing types in the cultural and heritage sectors. Of these, *the governmental type* implies the institutionalized definition of heritage and a low level of citizen participation and appears not to be suitable for responding positively to the demand for enhanced participation. It represents the instrumental logic of participatory governance, where a citizen may vote, take part in political party activities, and contribute to the top-down implementation of policies, but is excluded from other parts of the heritage process. *The corporatist type* of cultural heritage governance implies an institutionalized definition of cultural heritage and a higher rate of citizen participation. Corporatist governance refers to controlled collaboration between the state and civil society, where established civil society organizations form intermediary structures between the state and citizens. The structural preconditions that make voluntary organizations possible are important for democracy, but corporatism is also a matter of benefits. Within its institutionalized arenas, the state can privilege some organizations over others and grant them the status of group representatives in the processes of policymaking. Due to its controlled collaboration between the state and civil society, corporatist governance maximizes stability but is not flexible with regard to changing circumstances.

The third type, the *service orientation* of cultural heritage governance implies a hybrid definition of cultural heritage and a lower rate of citizen participation. In principle, there is room for diversity in heritage definitions in service-led governance, but this model does not actively support citizen participation. The service delivery perspective is targeted "for" the community, but it posits the community organizations as parts of hierarchical governance rather than as cooperative partners and easily neglects civic engagement, which limits citizen input to service improvement, echoing the shift from citizens to consumers.

Our fourth type, the *co-creative governance of cultural heritage*, implies a hybrid definition of cultural heritage and a higher rate of citizen participation, where citizens contribute knowledge and other resources to solve problems efficiently. Culture and heritage can be conceptualized as instruments for the transformation of attributes and competencies; at best, they can work as mediums through which it is possible to cultivate recognition between institutions and citizens and even create a sense of identity among citizens and those who are excluded from formal citizenship. This includes not only seeking consensus in decision making but also respecting the nuances and values of different heritages.

The co-creative governance of heritage is not likely to succeed without the adoption of participatory structures in an administration that supports grassroots community development. In the co-creative type, citizens and other stakeholders take part in the formation of processes like goal setting and strategy definition, proceeding to a more active engagement of the users of public services. According to this type, it becomes important not only to pay attention to output and effectiveness but also to include marginalized citizens to maintain the legitimacy of co-creative processes.

The co-creative type aims to motivate community members to take part in heritage processes and requires interaction between professionals, managers, stakeholders, and members of the communities that the heritage definitions affect. Due to collaborative action, the co-creative mode is apt to detect changes early and create flexible decision-making procedures. In the public setting, processes of co-creation also require leadership. Participatory governance needs grassroots initiatives but can only work effectively if the local government is active in enabling partnership building and guaranteeing the rules of the game, which strengthens the legitimacy of actions.

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The art organisation's societal engagement – do the artist's values matter?

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ABSTRACT

The paper focuses on understanding the values of the artist and how they affect the art organisation, its understanding of social responsibility and related actions, especially social engagement. The values of the artist and the art organisation's organisational identity are key drivers building social engagement with the local community. Through the lenses of institutional theory, the value concept is analysed and reflected with organisational identity and social responsibility conceptualisations. The phenomenon is examined by adopting a qualitative approach to the single case of the Arvo Pärt Centre in Estonia based on interviews, desk research and observations. The results point out that the art organisations may adopt the artist's values as the basis of its own organisational values manifested from physical details to the worldviews of its staff. The paper provides new avenues for understanding how the artist's participation in an organisation's daily life adds complex managerial privileges and potential challenges.

Keywords:

Cultural networks

strategic management

institutional theory

social responsibility;

values

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Introduction

The role of values as the basis of institutionalised norms and practices is well established (e.g. Scott, 1987; DiMaggio and Powell, 2000). The intertwined nature between the institutional context and the organisation has been examined from various perspectives, such as in respect to organisational names (Glynn and Abzug, 2002) or differences in professional identities creating joint organisational identities (Johansson and Jyrämä, 2016; Glynn, 2000). Moreover, how values affect our organisational (institutional) practices has been well elaborated (e.g. Kiitsak-Prikk, 2017). However, the role personal values play in building organisational values and identity merits more study.

In this study, we will look at the connectedness between the values and identity of the organisation and the personal values of the artist. We shall look at these values also from the perspective of social responsibility. The importance of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) in the profit sector is well established (McWilliams and Siegel, 2001; Bielak et al., 2007). However, CSR might have different meanings in different organisations, especially in non-profit contexts (Matten and Moon, 2008; Andreini et al., 2014). Therefore, we argue that the concept of CSR needs to be applied taking into account the special characteristics of art organisations (see e.g. Leidler-Kylander et al., 2007 for discussions on differences). In this study, we will focus on the connection of values in the context of social responsibility, namely in terms of engagement with the local community (Jyrämä and Kajalo, 2013).

This paper is part of a larger study that aims to identify the values of the artist, art organisations and local communities and to understand how values are reflected in the interactive practices of societal engagement, and finally the interpretations of social responsibility. Here, we will focus on the understanding of the artist's values and their effect on the art organisation. The research questions are: How are an artist's personal values reflected in an art organisation's values and identity? How might they influence the understanding of social responsibility?

The theoretical discussion of the study is based on the conceptualisation of values with emphasis on the institutional approach (e.g. Scott, 1987; DiMaggio and Powell, 2000, Äyväri and Jyrämä, 2017) and connecting the understanding of values to organisational identity via social responsibility as one way of expressing organisational values. We examine these phenomena in the context of the Arvo Pärt Centre in Estonia. We adopt a single case method with qualitative approach and the analysis of two value levels: the artist and composer, Arvo Pärt, and the art organisation, Arvo Pärt Centre. The Arvo Pärt Centre provides us with an ideal case where an art organisation has been created for a living artist whose works can be perceived as value laden.

The study will provide new insights into discussions of organisational identity and its connectedness with the institutional setting and values. The elaboration on the role of personal values provides new avenues for understanding organisational identity and practices that manifest underlying values and identities. The managerial contribution emerges from the novel understanding of how values guide and affect organisational practices.

Next, we shall introduce the theoretical discussions followed by the research design and results and conclude by pointing out the key findings and reflections.

Theoretical discussion

Values – from artist to art organisation

In institutional and network theories, value is seen as a social construct guiding the activities of the actors, and as a basis of social norms. The understanding of value can be simplified to statements such as *art is important, money is important or social impact is important.* Socio-cultural values are found to be created and re-created in social interaction and differ in different contexts, such as fields, networks and cultures. The socio-cultural values guide our decision-making and may be different at individual, group or organisational levels (Jyrämä and Äyväri, 2010); hence, they also guide how social responsibility is understood and implemented in organisations. For example, Glynn and Abzug (2002) emphasise that organisational identity is rooted in the institutional field it belongs to. Yet, it is important to note that organisational identity seeks distinctiveness, being internally defined, but simultaneously under isomorphic pressures (Gioia et al., 2013).

Organizational identity can be seen as unfolding from symbolic and utilitarian values inherent in the institutional setting as well as professional identity. The understanding of the identity is (re)negotiated based on the recognised values of the respective professions, such as artistic quality or economic sustainability, or a network of identities (Glynn, 2000; Johansson and

Jyrämä, 2016).

The role of the institutional setting as constructing the organisational identity is well elaborated in current literature (see e.g. DiMaggio and Powell, 2000). For example, Haslam, Cornelissen and Werner (2017) present an excellent discussion of the three dominant approaches to organisational identity proposing a new framework to look at the phenomenon from different levels and perspectives. The interconnectedness of the institutional setting or social structure is inherent in all of the selected approaches and within the new model proposed. In addition, the role of value as the building block of institutionalisation is well established (see e.g. Scott, 1987.) as is the role of value(s) guiding the art organisation in multiple ways (e.g. Holden, 2006; Kiitsak-Prikk, 2017, and Jyrämä, 2002). However, the role of personal values and value in the context of organisational identity merit a closer inspection.

There are multiple ways to conceptualise value (see e.g. Äyväri and Jyrämä, 2017); in this paper we look at value as representations of social principles that are the basis of our judgements, and guide our practices at the individual and organisational level (see e.g. DiMaggio and Powell, 2000; Kiitsak-Prikk, 2017). In addition, we look at values as creating organisational identities. Organisational identity is seen as reflecting the core value of the organisation, yet the interpretation of this value changes over time and thus organisational identity is dynamic rather than static by nature (Gioia, Schultz and Corley, 2000). However, the core values identified have often been from the companies, asserting such ideas as "service or quality are at the core of our operation". It appears that the values of an individual – personal values – as the basis of organisational identity has not been dealt with as a topic. It can be assumed that personal values may change over time, as may the ways they are interpreted in an organisational setting.

We argue that an artist's personal values reflected over time in his/her discourse and artistic work create a rather distinct identity and a path that can be observed and followed in organisational sense making and identity building. When looking at personal values on an individual level, we argue in this study that an individual is constrained by the social context in his/her choice of values, not even acknowledging or evaluating the potential adoption of values that are not inherent within his/her social context, his/her institutional setting. The individual shares the rules, values and beliefs of the institutional field(s). Yet, these constraints are not conclusive, and there is room left for individual choice in response to established rules and

constraints (Jyrämä, 1999) or the adoption of different values. Therefore, an individual is not completely limited in his/her choices by rules and norms. We assume that individuals can break the rules, and act against shared values. Consequently, an individual is never completely determined by his/her social context (Crozier and Friedberg, 1980). Moreover, we acknowledge that an individual can simultaneously participate in multiple institutional fields and is, hence, faced with several value sets, sometimes even conflicting (Jyrämä, 2002; Johansson and Jyrämä, 2016; Glynn, 2000).

Next, we shall discuss organisational identity and values through the perspective of social responsibility. The conceptualisation of social responsibility can be seen as one way of looking at the value sets within an organisation.

Values and social responsibility – art organisations

Social responsibility within the non-profit context has been analysed through two levels. First, the organisation's ability to fulfil its mission, identifying the societal aims for its activities, such as *art for citizens or curing cancer.* Second, social responsibility viewed through the concept of CRS; the organisation's ability to respond to other societal issues, such as the environment or equality (Andreini et al., 2014; Cornelius et al., 2008), while also focusing on the special characteristics of arts organisations (Leidler-Kylander et al., 2007). Social responsibility has been studied from various perspectives and contexts; for example, through the analysis of social exchange and identity (e.g. Arnett, Germand and Shelby, 2003).

There are multiple conceptualisations of CSR incorporating a number of issues (e.g. Marin and Ruiz, 2006; He and Li, 2010; Kajalo and Jyrämä, 2015). The definition by Marin and Ruiz (2006) encompasses most of the main views inherent in social responsibility, namely 1) environmental sustainability, 2) philanthropy, 3) gender equality, and 4) disabled and minority issues. All of these are relevant to practically all arts or non-profit organisations. However, art and non-profit organisations seem to find it difficult to identify and report their social responsibility. As an example, for non-profit organisations, philanthropy takes place in the form of arranging or taking part in societal activities, whereas for companies, the form is more often sponsorship or donations (see Kajalo and Jyrämä, 2015). To better encompass such activities as part of social responsibility, Kajalo and Jyrämä (2015) propose

contributing to the local community as an additional dimension.

Theoretical framework of the study

In art organisations, as already noted above, there can be institutionally set values that are inherent to the art field, and simultaneously different professional values, for example, adopted from the professional managerial field as pointed out by Glynn (2000). In addition, we wish to acknowledge that there can be personal values derived from the artist or the artistic work guiding the organisational values and identity. However, it is important to note that there can also exist artist and/or artistic work-related values that do not affect the art organisation's value set and identity – the role of personal creative values and their effect on the art organisation are context dependent. Hence, we adopt the view that organisational value and identity is socially constructed, affected by institutional forces both from the organisational field as well as from the professional values of the organisation's members (managers, employees, stakeholders).

Social responsibility is here analysed as one way of looking at the value sets within an organisation. All the dimensions of social responsibility discovered in previous studies (e.g. Marin and Ruiz, 2006; He and Li,

2010; Kajalo and Jyrämä, 2015) are seen as relevant to arts organisations in this study. However, here we focus on one dimension in social responsibility: contributing to the local community, with insights from discussions on the social engagement (e.g. Froggett et al., 2011) and civic role (e.g. Doeser & Vona, 2016) of arts organisations. We construct our framework on the premise that organisational discourse (Glynn and Abzug, 2002) and practices (Haslan et al., 2017) are manifestations of organisational identity and values (see Figure 1).

Research method

Context of the study: Arvo Pärt Centre and the composer Arvo Pärt

The mission of the Arvo Pärt Centre (APC) is to maintain and promote the legacy of Arvo Pärt. The APC was founded by the family members of the composer in 2010. The Centre is situated 35 kilometres from Tallinn, in a pine forest near the sea. The APC is housed in the new prize-winning building with its magnificent architecture that opened in October 2018. The building contains a library with the composer's personal archive, an information centre, a small concert hall, and a cafe (see more on the APC website 2019 https://www.arvopart.ee/en/).
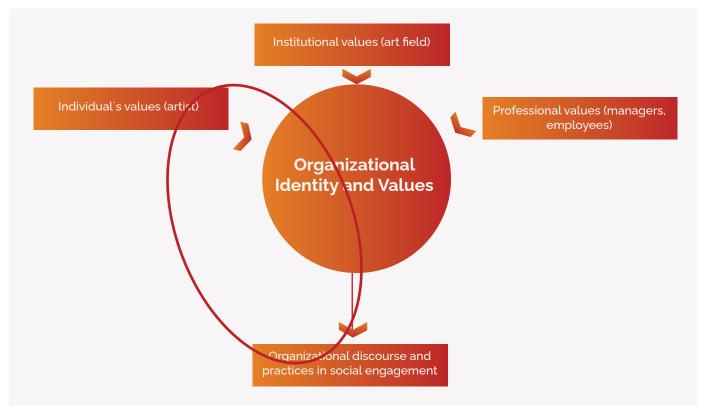

FIGURE 1. THE FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

The composer Arvo Pärt has for eight years in a row been given the title of the "the world's most performed living composer" by the classical music event database, Backtrack (Tambur, 2019). He is considered the boldest innovator of 1960s Estonian music by bringing modernist techniques to his early compositions. His music is recognised by the meditative tintinnabuli style. As a person, he is known for his unique life philosophy and its expression in the compositions, and his personal approach to sound, silence and word (APC website, 2019).

The Arvo Pärt Centre has 15 employees. It is funded (approx. 50%) by the Ministry of Culture, as well as the composer's family and private sponsors. In addition, it has self-earned revenue. The APC is a non-governmental organisation – a private foundation with a representative of the Ministry of Culture on the organisation's board. The investment of nine million euros for the new building was covered by the state. The APC hosts exhibitions, music events, and the space can be hired for selected events. The permanent content includes a film about Arvo Pärt, an exhibition of photographs of his life and the library services. The APC also has rooms for visiting researchers.

Data collection and analysis

We adopted a single case study approach because of the complexity of the phenomenon under study (e.g. Stake, 2000). The APC is an ideal case for studying the way an artist's personal values interact with the art centre, as the APC was built around the living artist; hence, phenomena can be discovered in a unique setting. We used several data collection methods, including document analysis, in-depth interviews, writings and studies on the artist, and reviews from mainstream media to facilitate an understanding of the phenomena under study (Yin, 2009). These different data collection methods were used (Yin, 2009; Flyvberg, 2006) to gain a deeper understanding of the case (Patton, 2002), and the interrelationships between the identified three levels of analysis (Stake, 2000). The rich case data provide us with multiple discursive practices to bring forth the values and their manifestations.

The data consists of in-depth face-to-face interviews with the key managers of the APC, organisational documents (e.g. development plan, homepage), other documents, such as speeches given by Arvo Pärt and his interviews, as well as interviews with conductors playing Pärt's music (approximately 35,000 words in total). The face-to-face interviews

lasted from 45 to 60 minutes and were recorded and transcribed.

The method of analysis applied in the study is qualitative content analysis. The data analysis proceeded from the identification and categorisation of various statements of values. Values were also discovered from practical examples and statements in the documents. Analysis of the qualitative research material focused in particular on how the organisational members describe the relationships between the Centre and the artist and his family, and the ways the artist makes sense of his relationship with society and his own and scholar's interpretations of the underlying values. Each new piece of information was compared to the current state of understanding of a particular aspect, and sometimes previous conceptions were revised due to the new data: hence previous readings of data informed later analysis, while subsequent assessment permitted the researchers to identify patterns in the data not identified in the initial analysis (see e.g., Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Reliability and validity in qualitative research are connected to the credibility of data collection and analysis but also generalizability to theories instead of populations (e.g. Yin, 2009). Reliability and validity are enhanced by linking the analysis to previous studies and by showing the analysis path throughout the study (Wallendorf and Belk, 1989). The theoretical basis, when setting the key research questions, improves the internal validity (the content validity), which is also strengthened using triangulation via the multiple sources of data collected (Patton, 2002). External validity was improved using comparisons with existing studies and theoretical conceptions.

Findings

In this chapter, we shall first look at the personal values of the composer Arvo Pärt viewed from his writings, speeches, and analyses of his works. Then we will reflect on these based on the interpretations made by the APC managers and manifested in the APC's practices, followed by an analysis of the values from a social responsibility perspective. The results are elaborated upon with respect to personal values, the institutional setting and professional perspectives. The analysis is divided into two distinct timelines – construction of the APC and operational phases.

The composer Arvo Pärt and his music

Arvo Pärt's music and his personal values or worldviews have been extensively studied (e.g. Siitan, 2017; Merisalu, 2014), yet few thorough studies of his works and life have been published. Pärt writes notes and philosophical reflections on his work in diary format but has not published these. The keywords connected to Pärt's music are, among others, sacred, silence, solidness, simplicity and humility. He is openly Christian in the Orthodox faith and has a strong emphasis on values connected to respect for life and nature. These values can be detected from his public speeches and writings.

His music is strongly rooted in sacral, intimate, personal faith, yet it speaks to a very wide audience. Siitan (2017) writes: "Throughout his compositions, Arvo Pärt has sought the congruity of music with universal laws of harmony and a Pythagorean notion of the cosmos' numerical structure". In addition, he (Siitan, 2017) points out that "Already in the 1960s, the composer experimented with various means of structuring that pass from work to work and later shaped his compositions in the tintinnabuli style".

The CEO and long-time programme manager of the APC clarified that important values are based on Christianity and charity (in the sense of love for one another). "His music, his tintinnabulate style, is based on Christianity. If we think about his personal values, it is Christianity" (CEO). Pärt's life philosophy is that people should love one another and there are no rules that he would place on others, but he is extremely modest. As highlighted by the CEO: "The Hospitality that he has in him...If someone knocked on the door even if we were not open, the door would be opened. At that moment, we would have to put the coffee and cakes on the table...to maintain this feeling of coming home" (CEO).

Hence, to summarize, Arvo Pärt's personal values are characterised by Christianity, respect for life and nature as well as modesty. Next, we shall look at how his personal values are reflected in the APC's identity and values.

Arvo Pärt's personal values in the identity and values of the APC – construction phase

The APC formulated a list of the Centre's values when it was established prior to the building of the Centre's new building (see Appendix 1). The list of values was developed with the staff, Pärt's wife, and to some extent with Arvo Pärt himself. For example,

the vision/aim of the APC states: "Christian values are expressed in a discrete, non-intrusive manner, yet with courage". The CEO of the APC ponders that the values of the organisation could be seen as controversial or paradoxical but sees a close connection to Arvo Pärt's personal values.

These values guide the practices of the APC. For example, they were included in the architectural competition documents, and they guided the choices during the construction process. Reflections on Pärt's personal values can be detected from the location of the APC; for example, in a forest to represent his respect for nature as remembered by the CEO: "(guidelines from the composer) the Centre should provide the possibility to take time, to think, to go deeper into some topics and this kind of thing is nice in the middle of nature (CEO)". In addition, the perseverance of nature and the harmony between the building and the surrounding environment was seen as important. There are plenty of small examples of managerial decisions concerning the building which reflect the worldview and values of the composer: In selecting an elevator to take visitors up the tower, a slow one was deliberately chosen to stress the necessity to take time and focus as the composer focuses within his music. Or, choosing to create a walkway through the forest to the Centre from a distant carpark (rather than building a carpark right next to it).

The appreciation of nature is an aspect the APC has always had in its essence. For example, the Centre avoided taking trees down as much as possible during the construction of the building. The management made a clear decision to plant more trees for each one taken down. Nature and the forest are integrated deeply into the building and the outdoors is seamlessly incorporated with the interior. The visitors are gently reminded to "let the blueberries grow" and not to step off the walkway. The blueberries growing next to the building were all replanted. Ecological responsibility is rather an unwritten mindset, not set in the strategic plans and not measured, but part of the organisational identity. In addition, the value of the Christian religion can be seen as the APC contains a small chapel.

Arvo Pärt's personal values in the identity and values of the APC – operational phase

Arvo Pärt's specific approach to life and tasks is transferred to the Centre. The staff meets the composer regularly and they have joint discussion sessions where the composer explains the background and contexts

of his works to the staff. "We, Arvo Pärt, his wife and our staff have had those sessions for 5–6 years, and intuitively we follow the ideas behind his music. But if there are too many people and staff turnover, of course, it (the transfer of values) can be challenging" (CEO). The CEO sees this transfer of values as a privilege; the values are grasped through what the composer expresses.

These values are also seen to be carried through the employed people: "It is not only the room that influences the people; it is still those who welcome them here" (Programme manager). There have been conscious choices concerning recruiting new employees to ensure the recruitment choices are in-line with the main values of the organisation. When hiring key people, the closest family members of the composer were involved in the selection. In addition, a decision was made to not increase the team too much "because then we can't have this core of the people who are carrying the values" (CEO). For example, the respect of religiousness is part of the inherent values of the organisation. As described, "but not every person on the team is going to church. In addition, not everyone goes to the same church... Many of them go, but they go to different churches and that is not obligatory. But on the other hand, if you are against any religion, then you can't work here" (CEO).

The organisational values and identity have other less publicised elements from the personal values of Arvo Pärt, such as a readiness to detach. This derives from the composer's long-term connection to a Greek Orthodox monastery in Essex, Great Britain. All the team members have had the opportunity to go there and live there for one week, but this is not mandatory. The sense of humour and playfulness inherent in Arvo Pärt's music (Merisalu, 2014) is considered to be important: "the objective of the APC is to be creative and playful rather than be a deeply serious sanctuary" (see Appendix 1).

In addition, the search for a perfect solution is a guiding value for the APC. Pärt has said in one of his few interviews: "If there were no continual effort to start from the beginning there would be no art. I cannot help but start from scratch. I am tempted only when I experience something unknown, something new and meaningful for me. It seems, however, that this unknown territory is sooner reached by way of reduction than by growing complexity." (Smith, 1999). As reflected by the CEO: "Arvo starts from zero practically every day. You have to have the courage to set the things aside and say let us start again. If we feel that this is not perfect, we are not giving it out. This is why we still don't have a permanent exhibition... but it will come!"

To summarise, the APC has adopted several of Arvo Pärt's personal values as their organisational values and identity. The values are transferred through personal contact and discourse and by isomorphic forces. These values guide the everyday practices as well as strategic vision of the Centre. The composer is seen as a role model and his views and those of his family are respected guidelines for the APC. Next, we shall look at values from the perspective of social responsibility.

Arvo Pärt's personal values in the identity and values of the APC – social responsibility perspective

Arvo Pärt has explained his understanding of social responsibly in one of his few interviews (Huizenga, 2014.): "The social responsibility of a person consists in being responsible before God and before your own soul. If both of these were in order, then responsibility before society would function automatically. But if you begin with the social aspect, then you can never know where it may all lead and how the good intentions may end. If there is no divine dimension in social activity and it all stays merely at the human level, then we have to accept the world as it is now."

The interviews with the staff representatives reflected the importance of responsibility starting from the human, essentially personal level, pointing out social responsibility proceeding from and for the people who work there, but also towards the people who visit and work with the APC. Social responsibility was expressed as caring about the employees. This is reflected in everyday practices such as sharing lunches together after the joint discussion sessions; paying attention to work-life balance; being polite and avoiding internal fights and intrigues. Social responsibility is also interpreted as accessibility irrespective of financial pressures. Due to the APC's use of public funding, there is accountability to the state/government and the activities have to be open to the public.

The role of contributing to the local community was only expressed when probed. The CEO explains that the relationship between the APC and the locals in the village is developing gradually, starting from the composer having his home in the village, and using an existing small private house for the archive. The neighbouring households were engaged and informed from the early stages of the planning for the new building and their concerns were taken into account. The neighbours are provided free access to the concerts

and the APC, and local schools and kindergartens can use their facilities rent-free. Local people are prioritised as volunteers or subcontractors. Pärt's values have influenced some of the social engagement activities; for example, bird boxes were made together with local school children, on the initiative of the APC, and they were jointly installed on the trees surrounding the Centre out of respect for nature. The CEO claims that locals "actually feel that we are here, and they are coming here as well".

To summarise, social responsibility is seen as a mainly internal responsibility and the role of the organisational values is not reflected through the perspective of social responsibility even though, for example, the societal engagement with locals reflects these values.

Discussion and conclusions

Our results point out that in the case of the APC, the artist's personal values strongly affect the Centre's value base and identity. The art organisation has adopted the artist's values as a basis for their own organisational value setting; this is even more emphasised due to the active participation of the artist in the organisation's daily life. However, these results cannot be generalised across art organisations, as the APC presents a unique case. Nevertheless, this study shows interesting avenues for further research to explore the role of individual, personal values in organisational value creation. In particular, the results are relevant in the field of arts, where the roles of individuals are often emphasised (e.g. Jyrämä, 2002).

The theoretical contribution of this study builds from a novel understanding of the role that personal values may play in organisational values and identity building. The connectedness of personal values and organisational values merits more study to see how this is manifested in other organisations. Moreover, we can note that the identified personal values are connected to the institutional setting and historical context of the person's life. For example, Pärt's values reflect the values of the art field in terms of the importance of art in society and at the same time, as he has stated, he has lived a significant portion of his life within the Soviet regime, and he would not have become who he is now without that (Merisalu, 2014).

In addition, we discovered some balancing between the art field and managerial values within the Arvo Pärt Centre. This finding supports findings from previous studies on the role of professional values

(Glynn, 2000). The management struggles to balance core values and economic success. Moreover, the employees would like to keep the inherent values of slowness. Success in terms of increasing visitor numbers might detract from maintaining a close connection with Arvo Pärt and his personal values. To ensure continuity in the values base and organisational identity, the Centre has decided to limit the number of excursions/group tours. This also refers to an interesting phenomenon, where the values of the institutional field of the arts dominates the values of the managerial field.

Managerial implications

The results of our study provide interesting insights for managers. The findings point out the vulnerability of an art organisation creating its identity and value base through close dialogue with an artist to ensure the transfer of personal values. If this connection is broken, the organisational identity and value base might become lost as they are based on personal interaction. This personal connection could be replaced with a more analytical relationship with regard to the artist's personal values. In addition, this strong personal relationship with the living artist might hinder the growth of the team and organisational development. Yet, on the other hand, the advantages of a strong connection with personal values embodies a true mission-driven organisation with a strong value base and identity: an organisation that carries its message not only via programmes and content, but also via small details and through each staff member.

In terms of looking at social responsibility and its connection to organisational values and identity, if the value base is strong yet narrow, this might discourage the organisation from even considering potential ways of building social responsibility, for example, through societal engagement.

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APPENDIX 1

Excerpts from the "Visions for the Arvo Pärt Centre" (Provided by the CEO, prepared for the public procurement of APC building).

1. The Arvo Pärt Centre is like a small "private university".

   - The Centre encourages teaching, learning, research, creation and creativity.
   - The Centre is a vibrant environment, not a museum.

   /.../
   - The Centre is unconventional.
   - Christian values are expressed in a discrete, non-intrusive manner, yet with courage.

2. The archive is the heart of the APC.

   - All activities of the APC emanate from the archive, which is like a source or a seed for the Centre.
   - The archive is unique, as the composer himself participates in compiling it.

   /../

3. The objectives of the APC are to be a

   /.../
   - Carrier of an intellectual message; to elaborate/explain/reflect upon the message of Arvo Pärt and his music
   - An environment that in every detail corresponds to the character of the music of Arvo Pärt
   - Meeting place that brings people interested in the heritage of Arvo Pärt together
   - Creative and playful, rather than a serious sanctuary

   /.../

7. The Centre is characterised by the following:

   - COURAGE to create a totally unique (alternative) centre
   - Purity
   - Authenticity

- Simplicity
- Radicality
- Asceticism
- Ethereality
- Tenderness
- Concentration
- A pearl, not a mammoth
- Grand and intimate
- Simultaneously warm, cosy, rigorous and powerful.

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Communicating the needs of a sector in times of crisis: European cultural networks, advocacy and forward-looking cultural policies

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ABSTRACT

European cultural networks have been key actors in the European cultural sphere, but their advocacy potential has not been substantially documented. The Covid-19 crisis presented a unique moment for cultural networks to voice the needs of a sector, underline its value and contribute actively in forward looking cultural policies. In times where trust arises as a way to look forward, cultural networks provide the plat through a transnational perspective. The article examines the work of the European cultural networks from the early days of the pandemic until today through the advocacy lenses. Rather than providing an analysis of the main issues raised, the aim of the paper is to capture a moment in time that given its fluidity is in a constant evolution and make a contribution to understanding European cultural networks as transnational advocacy actors and rightful participants in the shaping of forward-looking cultural policies.

Introduction

In a book written 10 years ago under the title 2014: how to survive the next world crisis, the author claims that current challenges imposed by globalisation, lead us "towards an ideal of ever-closer cooperation" (Boyle, 2011: 151). Also exactly 10 years ago, Bonet and Donato (2011) had written about the then financial crisis and its impact on the cultural and creative sectors, underlying that beyond its structural economic component, the crisis would probably affect also the political and social systems as well. However, as they underlined "deep crises offer a great opportunity for improvement when people and institutions are fully conscious of their potential for change", while suggesting that "trans-sector and international cooperation could lead to a new development of the sector" (idem: 10).

Today, ten years later, these statements cannot be proved but true. This unexpected situation imposed by the Covid-19 health crisis brought to the surface the vulnerability of the sector and resulted into a number of short and medium-term policy solutions in the forms of grants, funds and subsidies, despite being questioned about their effectiveness on the long-term (Comunian and England, 2020). A report by CAE and Mafaso (2021) for the European Parliament mentions that the loss of the cultural and creative sectors will be felt over several years and will only be evident from 2021 and beyond. In this setting, in Europe cultural networks played a crucial role and information brokers. The new scenario demanded a deeper understanding of the situation, on a European level, for a crisis that was common to everyone. It developed thus into an opportunity to unpack the advocacy and convocation claim and capacity of European networks, and to position them as rightful stakeholders in framing cultural policies.

Cultural networks, have been evolving into decisive actors in international cultural cooperation. Being an "infrastructure that has supported the cultural sector in international cultural cooperation in the last three decades" (IFACCA, 2016: 5), and even longer, cultural networks offer the possibility for long-term cooperation, share a number of common goals and also provide opportunities for physical interaction and contact among their members, contributing to the creation of international communities of practice.

Literature about cultural networks focuses on mapping them, analyzing their role, work, structure and models of function (IFACCA, 2016) and governance (Steinkamp, 2003). Especially in the European arena, cultural networks, with their "non-hierarchical, dynamic,

unpredictable, somehow anarchic and democratic nature", are consider to have contributed to an exceptional space of bottom-up European cultural cooperation (De Vlieg, 2016). Imperiale and Vecco (2019) looked into the determinants of effectiveness of European cultural networks supported by the Creative Europe programmme, while Brkic (2019) underlined their role of 'in-between-space' that nurtures the dialogue between different players in the field challenging the future of cultural networking in relation to the social, political and technological changes that are happening after 2010's. European cultural networks have been realising and assuming their role understanding its unique value, but their strong advocacy potential that has not been substantially documented. This is the case in general of cultural networks, as Delfino notes, "cultural networks are often identified as relevant political actors in the region's cultural sector yet, despite consensus on their social significance, there is a great lack of systematized information regarding their experience". (2012: 2). This article tries to address this gap by examining the reactions of European cultural networks from the early days of the pandemic until today through the advocacy lenses. Rather than providing an analysis of the main issues raised, the aim of the paper is to capture a moment in time that given its fluidity is in a constant evolution. The paper does not discuss the effectiveness of advocacy actions neither-as they are still in ongoing negotiations. It does however make a contribution to understanding European cultural networks as transnational advocacy actors and rightful participants in the shaping of forward-looking cultural policies.

The paper is developed in five main parts, besides this introduction that offers an overview of the research objectives and the framework. The second section provides the theoretical background of the paper reviewing existing literature on international cultural cooperation and networks and especially on European cultural networks and their advocacy role. The third section describes the research methodology and the data reviewed, as well at the limitations of the approach adopted. The fourth section provides an analysis of the research findings, while the next section discusses main trends in the field and potential future research avenues. Finally, the last section includes the conclusions.

International cultural cooperation, European cultural networks and the value of culture

International cooperation in the network society

Today, even more than before, working and cooperating internationally oscillates between choice and need and often is even dictated by social and political developments. Undeniably, globalisation has played an important role in this, since it has radically changed the relations between time and space within the network society (Castells, 2010). Globalisation has indeed become an system that involves "interactions of a new order and intensity" (Appadurai, 1996: 27), due mainly to the wide technological expansion in transportation and information, which has enabled a new era of 'neighborliness' even with people living far away from us.

International cultural cooperation forms a complex system of governance, which involves actors on the international, national, regional, and local levels as well as non-governmental civil society actors and independent artists and cultural operators and may occur at bilateral or multilateral levels. The conceptual stretching of culture to encompass values, beliefs, norms together with the intensified ways of communicating and interacting enforced by globalisation, have given the possibility to various actors to engage in international cultural cooperation. This liminal space of international cultural cooperation has implied "a state of movement and the continuous updating of social relations and structures, with reference to their social construction and thus their changeability" (Zobl and Huber, 2016: 7). In such a framework, artists and cultural operators are expected to use "grasp the opportunity to be at the forefront as mediators of global realities" (DeVereaux and Vartiainen, 2007: 118) and collaborating internationally has become an everyday reality for almost everyone working in arts and culture.

The intensification, however, of international cultural cooperation practices should not be merely considered as if imposed primarily by globalisation. Undeniably globalisation has offered a multiple number of opportunities to connect, however, international cultural cooperation has been widely connected with human nature since ever and when it has not been imposed by economic, or social related reasons, it was merely the result of the human "will to connection"(Simmel, 2001). Networks have arisen in this context as an ideal form of organisation to respond to the conditions created by the network society: the acceleration of information and communication technologies, the intense mobility of people, goods and services transcending time and space constraints. As Castells argues that networks have evolved in the "morphology" of our societies (Castells 2010: 500). Thanks to their flexible and dynamic form of governance, transnational networks have evolved into key advocacy players, as they are independent from state or other influence and supervision, allowing a 'power-shift' from state to non-state actors (Matthews 1997). Their flexible and dynamic nature, their open structures and innovative and adaptive capacities, make them work "as long as they share the same communication codes (for example, values or performance goals)" (Castells 2010: 501).

Cultural networks as transnational advocacy platforms

"Networks are communicative structures. To influence discourse, procedures, and policy, activists may engage and become part of larger policy communities that group actors working on an issue from a variety of institutional and value perspectives. Translational advocacy networks must also be understood as political spaces, in which differently situated actors negotiate- formally or informally- the social, cultural, and political meaning of their joint enterprise" (Keck and Sikkink, 1998: 3)

Brun et al (2008: 82) describe networks of cultural cooperation as part of civil society that act in the public sphere. Van Paaschen adds that international cultural networks are also social change networks that "undertake actions that have a (potential) impact in society by bringing people into an action-oriented framework" (2011: 160). As Keck and Sikkink (1998: 3) mention, "a transnational advocacy network includes those actors working internationally on an issue, who are bound together by shared values, a common discourse, and dense exchanges of information and services". They underline that at the core of the relationship is information exchange, and what makes this information eve more valid and valuable is that it is the result of international interactions. Mobilize information strategically enters at the center of translational advocacy networks activities, in order to "persuade, pressure, and gain leverage over much more powerful organisations and governments" (idem: 4). As van Paaschen (2011: 160) notes, international cultural networks "undertake actions that have a (potential) impact in society by bringing people into an action-oriented framework. These actions could be directed to governments, the private sector or to the public at large".

Littoz-Monnet (2013) explains that European Institutions initially neglected the role of networks in the process of European integration and that it was only in the late 90s that their potential was acknowledged and the conditions were put into place to enhance their role. She explains that this delay was especially due to the subsidiarity clause that leaves EU without substantial competence in the field of culture. She recognizes that it was at that time that the new 'policy method' which allowed spaces of collaboration and exchange at the civil society level was put in place allowing a number of consultations, as today the Voices of Culture. Littoz-Monnet goes on claiming that cultural networks were even "used" when more recently Europe as a political project was challenged by public opinion. One of the conditions that was introduced later was the inclusion of a cultural networks strand in the Creative Europe programme which allowed structural and project based funding to a number of existing cultural networks, but also the creation of new ones. Nevertheless, as Davies (2016: 54-55) notes, "it can be argued, are not really being afforded the opportunity through the European funding process to play to their real strengths, and the danger is that by attempting to re-present themselves to fit a tight European agenda that the picture of their purpose and potential that emerges is distorted, formulaic and, ultimately, rather sterile (Davies, 2016: 54-55)".

Cultural networks and the value of culture

A statement signed by a number of European cultural networks in March 2016 (Culture networks, 2016) under the title The value of international cultural networks emphasises the importance, relevance and strength of cultural networks to empower people through the arts and cultural heritage:

"As networks we build trust and nurture relationships across national borders that support people to overcome local as well as global difficulties and to exchange their ideas, knowledge and expertise. Our 'raison d'être' is to inspire, to be inclusive, to test new ideas and to pilot new projects, to help the culture sector to take risks and meet new challenges."

Cultural networks feel the pressure to prove their value. And this is a communicative action, and one with a strong advocacy aspect. The debate around the value of the arts and culture has been at the forefront of policy discussions due to the on-going need for evidence-based policy-making and practice. Within this concept,

looking for the value of the arts and culture is seen as a way of investigating what works, with the purpose of basing future policy and practice decisions on the results of such investigation.

In order for evidence- based policies to be formulated and for their impacts to be measured and evaluated, reliable information is needed. More and more stakeholders and policy-makers are in a need of specific cultural benchmarks, both objective (often regarded as numerical) and conceptual (often regarded as qualitative), to design programmes and interventions. Although there is some questioning around how evidence-based research is actually taken into consideration in the design of public policies and programmes in general (Cairney, 2016) and especially in the field of cultural policy (IETM, 2016; Belfiore, 2016)[1], literature reviews and evidence-based research have been widely commissioned by public bodies to research institutes and consultancies. In the same time cultural observation, cultural statistics and the development of cultural indicator frameworks have been at the heart of the debates around cultural policies. In a constantly changing world, however, producing timely and responsive knowledge and evidence that can successfully be applied in public or organisational decisions responding to real world situations still remains a challenge. This becomes even more complicated when it comes to the arts and culture sector since, as "arts occupy a particularly fragile position in public policy, account of the fact that the claims made for them, especially relating to their transformative power, are extremely hard to substantiate (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008: 3). This difficulty in articulating the obvious should be considered as the main reason why debates around the impacts of the arts and culture and the development of methodologies for their measurement and evaluation have played a prominent role in the cultural policy discourse over the past decades (Belfiore and Bennett, 2010).

Although diverse in nature, cultural networks share some common features, such as strong interpersonal ties, non-hierarchical relationships, openness towards development and change, innovation of structures and activities (Pehn, 1999). Through their transnational aspect they "bring new ideas, norms, and discourses into policy debates, and sere as sources of information and testimony" (Keck and Sikkink, 1998: 3). Through their inherently social capacity they connect individuals

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[1] This 'missing link' has also been the main point of Pascal Gielen's key-note speech during the IETM Satellite meeting (IETM, 2016) where he made the statement that "there is no evidence for evidence-based research and we need to study culture as a sense-making process".

through shared understanding (Light and Cunningham, 2020) and in moments of extreme stresses- such as the one imposed by Covid-19- they have an amplifier potential which gives voice to the less heard.

Methodology and limitations

For the purpose of this article, I use a meta-analysis methodology based on a review of secondary material gathered through desk research. From the early days of the Covid-19 pandemic in March 2020, On-the-move, the cultural mobility network with the support of Circostrada, started compiling a list of all resources, policy developments and policy documents that were available internationally in an effort to share knowledge, help to navigate information on the condition of art culture and cultural mobility under the unforeseen crisis and serve as a basis of inspiration for the wider community. In their mapping, there is a section specifically including Statements by organizations, networks and foundations. The first part of this list included documents issued by the European Commission, the European Parliament, the EU Ministers of Culture, and UNESCO, which are not in the scope of our study. The second part includes documents and statements issued by some of the most known European cultural networks. The material gathered primarily served the purpose to identify the networks that had some kind of advocacy performance during the Covid-19 pandemic.

As of July 2021, 44 entries appear on this mapping. The entries were reviewed and classified in order to define the final corpus of the research study. Out of these 44 entries, two did not have a European scope as the first was issued by the USA National Performance Network and another was a statement by Caribbean leaders urging to diversity creative economy post-Covid. Another two were reproductions of a statement of various European networks by other European projects/ organisations and were not considered as well, while two entries were repeated. Another one was a statement issued by a regional network located in SouthEast Europe and two entries were statements issued from funding institutions (HIVOS, DOEN and Prince Claus) that we do not consider in the mapping of cultural networks responses. It should be noted that the last update on this list of resources by on-the-move was made on July 5th, nevertheless it is not by any means considered to be exhaustive.

The final corpus indicated 13 European networks[2]. These networks serve as examples to understand the advocacy capacity of European cultural networks, but they are in no way exhaustive of all the efforts undertaken by cultural networks during the pandemic. In addition to reviewing the documents that appeared on the on-the-move site, for the purpose of this article, the websites and often the social media posts of these 13 organisations were reviewed covering the period from March 2020 until July 2021 to identify the further following two elements:
- further texts or statements that had not been included in the on-the-move mapping;
- mapping and/ or data collection activities by those organisations in regards to impacts of Covid-19 on their membership and sector;

Going through the social media posts and websites was also useful in order to define the specific moment during the defined period that a certain statement was published or activation took place, as it was not obvious from the on-the-move mapping. As mentioned, although this mapping is not claimed to be exhaustive, the material reviewed provide a first insight into how European cultural networks orientated their advocacy actions during this period. In the next section I describe and briefly discuss on the main findings of this research.

This study is limited in scope and in depth, however it provides an entry point into understanding better the evolving advocacy role of cultural networks in Europe. It also does not discuss the main points raised by cultural networks, but looks into the how cultural networks formulated and put in place their advocacy actions amidst the Covid-19 pandemic. In a previous article (Imperiale et al., 2020), we attempted a preliminary discussion on the main reactions and points of view of the main stakeholders in the field of arts and culture in Europe. The cultural networks were identified as amplifiers of the concerns and claims of the cultural sector and its professionals. The information reviewed for that article included the first wave of reactions until early summer 2020. The aim of that paper was to contribute to the overall understanding of the challenges that the cultural and creative industries were facing across the different subsectors following the outbreak of the COVID-19 crisis and map the main

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[2] There networks included: Culture Action Europe (CAE), ENCATC- the European network of cultural policy and education, PEARLE*, IETM- the Informal Theater Meeting, the Network of European Museum Organisations (NEMO), the European Festivals Association (EFA), EUNIC- the European Institutes of Culture network, the European Music Council, Europa Cantat, Live Europe, Impala and the Creative Hubs Network.

concerns and emerging challenges brought to the surface. Also in Steinkamp & Magkou (unpublished document, under review) we have approached networks through their collaborative power in the context of the 2005 UNIESCO Convention which places them as civil society actors particularly suitable to function as catalysts of action and change. In that text, the focus was on exemplifying how cultural networks can fill Article 11 of the 2005 UNESCO Convention with life and to prove that the Convention can only be impactful through a multi-stakeholder-approach including civil society, governments and other players, especially during times that require immediate and coordinated action, as it is the case for the Covid-19 pandemic.

Findings

Data collection for evidence-based advocacy and knowledge circulation

In a globalised world, having "access to reliable data that can be compared across borders in order to determine the status of the cultural sector, its weaknesses and its strengths" has become of primary importance (Usero & Del Brío, 2011: 197). One could say that with Covid-19 even more.

In the past decades, cultural observatories, as data-producing bodies that can serve as support to public, private and third sector cultural policies (Ortega, 2010: 54). Cultural observation, "the action of producing and capitalising information and analysis on a scale of the territory under study, and making it available to the decision-makers and local stakeholders on the cultural offer" (Martin, 2011: 80), has attributed to the cultural observatories an important role in evidence provision around the value of arts and culture and have allowed policy makers at different levels to demonstrate the effectiveness of policies or to better understand a situation before intervening through policy. In the same time, the UNESCO 2009 framework for cultural statistics (UNESCO, 2009) has tried to feed in this direction.

Covid-19 was uncharted waters. That's why it required an intense data collection process to understand better the phenomenon and its effects on the cultural and creative sector. The first observation in regards to the data reviewed is the immediate response of cultural networks to try to understand the effects of the Covid-19 to their membership, assuming a role very close to that of cultural observation. This resulted in a number of surveys and questionnaires distributed already during the first weeks of the lockdown. Some of the data gathered did indeed feed into other outputs, mainly digital publications or statements that captured and highlighted the main findings. Here we discuss a number of them.

The majority of surveys as data collection mechanisms them were sector-specific and initiated by cultural networks. Circostrada, for example, launched a survey during the period March- May 2020 that was filled by 100 street art and circus organisations or artistic companies from 25 countries- mostly based in Europe and Taiwan. The results were shared in June 2020 in an infographics form on a 2 pages document capturing the main findings. Again what is interesting here is the articulation of the goal for collecting and sharing these data: "to better advocate for these sectors and imagine appropriate support measures".

IETM also launched a survey[3] under the title *"Performing arts ecosystem: balances and relations amidst the pandemic".* The main question raised here was *"What new insights and practices should be brought along to the post-pandemic future? What models practiced today can become part of the 'new normal' and help the sector to recognize itself in a more sustainable and fair way"?.* In the survey introduction it was clear that the aim of this survey is to feed into a report on "imagining the best possible way for our sector to emerge from the crisis". The contributions received from 80 members in 23 countries were presented in a report compiled by the Communications and Advocacy officer of the organisation already at the end of March 2020 under the title "Performing arts in times of the pandemic: status quo and the way forward" (IETM, 2020b).

The Network of European Museum Organisations (NEMO) was also one of the first organisations to documenting and analyzing the impact of Covid-19 on museums launching survey which gathered 1,000 responses from the end of March to April 2020 from museums in 48 countries, they majority of which in Europe. The survey results were documented in an online publication (NEMO, 2020a) gathering recommendations at three levels (immediate action, mid-term and long-term strategies) on three main areas: economic support for museum operators, investment in digital cultural heritage and making museums fit for crises.

Another example is the European Festival Association. The network, "because festivals have their own specificities" conducted a survey between

the period April- May 2020 to "guide EFA's response to provide an accurate picture to governments and other funders about the needs of festivals" gathering 208 valid answers (EFA, 2020). The results of the survey were published in a document that captured the nature and early dimensions of the damage, mapped a number of alternative solutions and included a future-oriented lessons learnt element.

Fewer surveys were addressed to the sector as a whole. From June to mid November 2020, the European Creative Hubs Network (ECHN) through the MAX-Maker's Mobility Pilot Creative Europe funded project launched a survey to better assess the impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic on all sectors and build efficient advocacy strategies for the implementation of suited public policies. The survey was addressed mainly to individuals working in the CCIs, artists, producers, photographers, designers, technicians, researchers, translators, communications managers from all 27 members states and UK, Turkey, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Ukraine and Moldova, that are the countries represented within ECHN. It is interesting to note, that in order to maximize the reach, the network "assembled a team of ambassadors to support the dissemination of the survey at the local level" in an effort to produce a quantitative research on how the Covid-10 pandemic has affected CCS workers. The analysis of data in this case was undertaken by IDEA Consult and touched upon resilience, consequences, adaptive capacities and an assessment of policy measures for supporting the sector, the results of which were presented in an online publication (ECHN, 2021).

As already mentioned in Imperiale et al. (2020), the complexity of the effects caused by Covid-19 to the overall cultural and creative sector, raised the need of compiling data in a rush, with no coherent research approach. The aim of this paper is not to review the scientific validity of those surveys, but to discuss the knowledge production processes undertaken by key players in the field. To address this challenge, ENCATC the cultural network that brings together cultural policy, education and research, initiated in April 2020 a Think Tank bringing together culture and education institutions, including networks from all over Europe, to better understand the various impacts of Covid-19 through a coordinated effort. The network is still today nurturing the Think Tank through information sharing. In the description of the Think Tank on ENCATC's

website, we read that this initiative is addressed to those who "are interested to gather, analyse, and come away with robust findings for evidence-based policy recommendations that would allow the cultural sector to better navigate through the current and future turbulent times[4]". Moreover, some organisations, tried to compile information coming from others in an effort to share collective knowledge. On-the-move created a dedicated page on coronavirus resources, while ENCATC produced a monthly Think Tank newsletter gathering all relevant and updated information from policy organisations and institutions to initiatives of networks and other cultural organisations in relation to the subject matter. The Creatives Unite initiative was also a platform promoted by the European Commission in the framework of the FLIP pilot project and operated by the European Creative Hubs Network and the Goethe-Institut, "in response to the pandemic and the pressing need to gather in one place pertinent initiatives and information related to the Cultural and Creative Industries in the EU in response to the COVID crisis"[5].

Statements, claims and united efforts

Besides publishing the results of surveys and mapping of initiatives, European cultural networks also deployed the most common tool for advocacy: issuing statements. All 13 networks reviewed did, in different moments of the pandemic crisis, issue a sector-specific statement or endorsed a statement put forward by a number of organisations (see also point below). Therefore, there has been a variety of accounts put forward, describing specific needs and underlying the need to have the different stakeholders be heard in the design of future cultural policies and support measures. The underlying principle could be translated as "no cultural policies without cultural organisations and workers". PEARLE*, the European Federation of Music and Live Performance Organisations issued statements in regards to the conditions for the reopening of live performance venues, underlying the existing knowledge among its organization of safe and sustainable practices (PEARLE, 2021a) and also commenting on EU guidelines on the same resumption of activities in the CCIs (PEARLE, 2021b). EUNIC-the network of EU institutes of culture underlined raised the questions of on "how to go forward in the

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[3] The survey is still available on https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSfRkQKcjOdFiKSnAkalirxD9BwaygG1JrfNhBiCL_YLy9BXcw/viewform?fbclid=IwAR3pbvIOpnNxtxXSZIW-lGz-GqnvrE6fTbDrnDcN5Svhc_HlKvnHu3oQCdI&fbzx=3295052241281183278 (date accessed 25/09/2021)

[4] Taken from ENACTC website https://www.encatc.org/en/news/140-encatc-leading-new-think-tank/ (date accessed 25/09/2021)

longer term", especially in the digital realm and how can "cultural relations continue to bring trust and understanding between the people of Europe and the wider world" (EUNIC, 2021). Europa Cantat underlined the transformational nature of arts, especially in times of crisis (EUROPEAN CORAL ASSOCIATION, 2020), while LiveEurope calls for investing in European cultural diversity and recognizing music venues as vehicles to revive the music ecosystem (LiveEurope, 2020). These examples are used just to underline the variety of messages and standing points that each cultural network brought into the forefront.

Finally, it should be underlined that the Covid-19 pandemic is also giving a unique opportunity for cooperation between networks themselves. Most of the European cultural networks are members of Culture Action Europe (CAE), the sectors' body on advocacy for arts and culture on the European level. Under the coordination of CAE, the COVID-19 outbreak also provided an opportunity for joint work among cultural networks. Already in March 2020, cultural networks addressed a letter to the European Commission on the effect of COVID-19 underlying the challenges imposed by COVID on the implementation of Creative Europe projects and a number of proposals on how to cope with the consequences of COVID-19 on the CCIs.

At the very first weeks of the Covid-19 outbreak, CAE joined forces with another key player on culture in Europe, the European Cultural Foundation and issued a joint paper (CAE & ECF, 2020) in the beginning of May. Solidarity is a key concept in this document, while, as it is underlined, the EU's response to the crisis and evidence of solidarity among Member States will determine Europe's future. For example, under the coordination of CAE, already in March 2020, cultural networks addressed a letter to the European Commission on the effect of COVID-19 underlying the challenges imposed by COVID-19 on the implementation of Creative Europe projects and a number of proposals on how to cope with the consequences of COVID-19 on the cultural and creative industries.

Discussion: Towards a continuous effort of unpacking the needs of the sector

Is it still a question about proving the value?

Covid-19 brought back to the surface the on-going discussion around the value of culture. Jeannotte (2020) even proposes a research framework for public policies in the era of Covid-19 through revising theories of the value of culture. In the past, the transformative power of culture was undeniable and it seemed no one needed proof of it. In the last decades, however, the situation has changed. The arts and culture sector is constantly requested to prove measurable outcomes to demonstrate its wider, sustainable and long-term effects on economy and/ or society and to provide a clear account of value and worth to those who fund and support arts and culture. In the same time, funding agencies, both private and public, have been acquiring a more and more influential role in the processes of measuring performance and value in cultural and arts organisations (Turbide and Laurin, 2009). In reality what has been the result of this situation is that it has added more challenges to what was already a complex environment of financial instability and it has produced additional pressure to cultural practitioners and policy makers to provide proof of the added value that the arts and culture can bring. Moreover, the paradigm shift in regards to recognising culture as a pillar of development has brought a different role to culture, a more institutionalised one, imposing to the sector a higher level of responsibility and an obligation to demonstrate its value (Zurita, 2012: 36).

The question of value of course is not new to cultural networks. It has actually been has been central in their during the last decade, following the financial crisis and the urge to prove to funders and supporters the value of culture. For example, IETM published in Spring 2015, a *General Mapping of Types of Impact Research in the performing arts sector* (2005- 2015) as a first step in IETM's 2014- 2017 plan that had an explicit focus on the measurement of the impacts of the arts. The primary goal of this mapping was "to explore what efforts arts organisations are making in order to contribute to the latest justifications undertaken to counteract budget cuts in the arts and culture sector" (Shishkova, 2015: 4). This focus was also present in a number of activities organised by IETM, such as a Panel discussion in Brussels in February 2015 under the title *The Art of Valuing: between evident and evidence-based* that focused on the analysis of different models for measuring and demonstrating the value of culture and its impacts on societies, as well as the role such measurements play in informing national cultural policies (IETM, 2015), an IETM Satellite meeting in Paris in March 2016 where

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5 Taken from Creeatives Unite website https://creeativesunite.eu/ (date accessed 25/09/2021)

arts sector representatives, researchers, policy makers and intermediaries organisations gathered together to develop a collective view on why and how to advocate for the arts in local, national and European policy-making processes (IETM, 2016a) or a session at the IETM Plenary Meeting in Amsterdam in April 2016 that was devoted to the topic *Advocating for the Arts* and aimed to exchange ideas on "how to convince policy-makers-on local, national and European levels- of the essential role culture and the arts play in the development of European societies" (IETM, 2016b). Similarly, ENCATC the European network on cultural management and policy that has been widely concerned with the topic of cultural observation and measurement and has since December 2007 organised its discussions around the Thematic area/ Working Group *Cultural Observatories and Cultural Information and Knowledge* chaired by the Institute of Leisure Studies of the University of Deusto. ENCATC's Advanced Seminar *Rethinking Cultural Evaluation: Going beyond GDP* was held on the 22nd of October 2014 in Paris France following two previous seminars organised in 2013 in Antwerp *(Rethinking Cultural Evaluation: Going Beyond GDP)* and in New York *(Place of culture in sustainable development: going beyond the GDP indicators)* and an outcome of the ENCATC Thematic Area *Monitors of Culture.* In 2015, a new ENCATC Working Group on *Monitoring and Evaluation of International and European transnational cultural projects and European networks* emerged as a response to the need of having a discussion platform to exchange ideas and best practices in the field. Also CAE since 2013 had been publishing a number of reflection papers and studies on how to measure the impact of culture (CAE, 2013) or on methodology and challenges on culture in relation to well-being (CAE, 2016) under a wider project with the title *Measuring the impact of the arts in society.*

Culture at the heart of the recovery mechanisms

Most of the statements reviewed, especially during the first months of the pandemic, highlighted the need of a coordinated effort at various levels to guarantee the sustainability of the cultural and creative sector, that was also highlighter by international institutions (European Parliament, 2020). All point out to the need to invest in long-term strategies and not only ad-hoc rapid response measures that will contribute to the sustainability and resilience of the sector on the long run. As the policy environment evolved at the European level, the primary claim of cultural networks became the inclusion of arts and culture at the heart of the recovery mechanism on the EU and the national level. At the moment that this article is being written, CAE is running the #CulturalDealEU Campaign, using a campaign tag that resonates to the already solidly articulated European Green Deal, jointly with the European Cultural Foundation and Europa Nostra (representing the European Heritage Alliance). The aim of the campaign is to "mainstream culture across all policy fields to fully realize its potential": from the green transition to Europe's geopolitical ambition, and from the digital shift to a value-driven Union" (CAE, 2021a). The central claim of this campaign is to urge members states to devote at least 2% of the EU Recovery and Resilience Facility to culture, based on the backing provided by the open letter co-signed by over 110 European networks and organisations earlier this year (CAE, 2021). Following the evolution of the policy spectrum on the national and European level will actually allow to understand the level of influence of European cultural networks in future-policy making. As Keck and Sikkink (1998: 3) mention that "more than other kids of transnational networks, advocacy networks often reach beyond policy change to advocate and instigate changes in the institutional and principles bases of international interactions. When they succeed, they are an important part of an explanation for changes in world politics". This can be an interesting topic of further research, which would require- besides desk research and meta analysis of secondary data- a more in depth and qualitative approach to understanding different stakeholder's aspirations and actions in a comprehensive way.

The role of technology

What has been presented above confirms van Paaschen's (2011: 161) statement that "communication and the processing and dissemination of information are two of the most vital functions of the network's organization"). During the Covid-19 outbreak and the months after, the role of cultural networks was all about knowledge and communication. Information and communication technologies have been at the core of networks' work, both internally and externally, but as in all domains in life, Covid-19 intensified our dependence from them. The adaptive capacity of cultural organisations to digital transformation has been (Pelissier-Thieriot & Pelissier 2017; Massi, Vecco

& Lin 2020) and will be a subject of ongoing interest in the future. Besides an anxiety to continue to exist in an uncertain context (Saez 2020), technological developments will also require investments from the side of all organisations in technology and on developing digital capacity (Sgourev 2020) in order to enhance their advocacy potential.

The question of legitimacy and trust

In the case of European cultural networks, passing from the individual or the organizational to the collective, is a process of trust. Networks claim to communicate the needs on behalf of a sector. In reality they communicate on behalf of a specific membership, which is in its own capacity limited to a certain extent. Even if a question of representation arises in regards to legitimacy of cultural networks as a socially constructed, they are quite representative and when it comes to European cultural networks, they are present in many European countries giving the possibility to various actors to voice their concerns and aspirations. A recent initiative by CAE under the title Amplify: make the future of Europe yours, confirms that cultural networks are aware of their limitations and seek to ensure a fair an equal representation at policy related for a. Amplify works across 12 European countries that bring underrepresented voices in the cultural sector in the Conference on the Future of Europe and gathers recommendations that will be put forward by CAE to EU decision makers[6].

As Borin (2015: 28) networks differ from other forms of collaboration "because of their focus on trust, reciprocity, mutual gains and common goals". In the case of cultural networks, members confine their trust to their representatives and the network governance and expect that they will take their interests into account. Although trust is supposed to be important in situations of high uncertainty, there is little research on the impact of trust in achieving results in governance networks, not to say about European cultural networks. Klijn et al (2010) attempt to enlighten the importance of trust in networks and underline that trusting another actor means that one is willing to assume an open and vulnerable position. They continue by saying that this is even more important when dealing with unpredictable or risky situations- such as the setting imposed by the Covid-19 pandemic. "Trust leads to more information and knowledge exchange, which results in an enhanced problem-solving capacity, new insights, innovative power, and better outcomes" (2010: 198). Trust is a pre-condition for successful advocacy actions and should be nurtured by cultural networks within their membership.

Conclusion

The COVID-19 outbreak calls for a deeper understanding of the changes produced and the need to re-define policies and priorities in the filed of culture. This unexpected disruptive process revealed long-term issues concerning the volatility and sustainability of the cultural and creative sector as a whole (Comunian and England, 2020; Saez, 2020) but also its remarkable resilience, responsive capacity and an outlook that calls for solidarity and joint action. It also confirmed that European cultural networks are rightful participants in the shaping of cultural policies and therefore should be consulted and heard. European cultural networks, as transitional advocacy networks "are most prevalent in issue areas characterized by high value content and information uncertainty, although the value content of an issue is both a prerequisite and a results of network activity" (Keck and Sikkink, 1998: 3).

The data reviewed is not exhaustive but it is quite representative of the wealth of work of European cultural networks and the different sectors their represent undertook during these last months. The evolution of the policy landscape in Europe in relation to the claims of the European cultural networks should be further monitored to validate their role as rightful partners the shaping of forward-looking cultural policies.

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Problematic issues in constructing the common space of "knowledge societies": resources of international cooperation in the field of culture.

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ABSTRACT

The article is devoted to the analysis of problematic issues of strategic lines' realization within the international cultural policy and management. New challenges of modern realities of coexistence require a change in the usual established format of policy in the field of culture, creativity of its semantic and instrumental capital, in particular a new view on the discourse of international management in the field of culture. International cultural cooperation is considered as a constructed and organized knowledge exchange process and experience of sharing this knowledge. In this context, cultural management is a fundamental organizational and practical component of the universalization of the new accumulated knowledge about the experience of harmonization between global and local. The article raises questions concerning the effectiveness of methods and mechanisms of knowledge transfer, the search for resources of international cultural cooperation for the creation, accumulation and sustainable development of joint cultural capital.

Keywords:

International cultural cooperation

cultural management

discursive space

knowledge

exchange of cultural experience

Introduction

Globalization, homogenization, universalization, convergence, standardization, on the one hand, localization, heterogenization, particularization, divergence, on the other - these multipolar processes with many scenarios and controversial consequences form united cultural map of the modern world. Both globalization and glocalization processes are necessarily accompanied by the intensification of the communicative sphere. The expansion of intercultural communication, with a lot of positive aspects, also is accompanied by the deepening of the problem of mutual understanding, cultural and information exchange due to the coverage of a large number of local cultures and their carriers. Interdependence is growing up, not only stimulating the dialogue, but also increasing conflict, the main source of which is not ideology, not economics, but - cultural features and differences. The latter are the least ones to change, and therefore they are more difficult to resolve or compromise (Huntington,1993). It is clear that this intensification has revealed the importance of intellectual and informational quality of representatives and representations of the experience of coexistence of different cultures and their carriers

In addition, the newly acquired habit of maintaining "social distance", exacerbating the polarization of society as a whole, changes in attitudes towards "others" - generations, members of social communities, significantly affect the increase of "cultural distance", complicate the formation of a shared vision of reality prospects. At the same time, it has become clear to many people from different cultures that the world is confined and it is impossible to hide from dangerous challenges beyond their own, even closed, borders and developed economies. Besides, the strengthening of interdependence, due to the complexity and dynamization of the modern world, in which actors interact with different systems of values, interests and needs, highlights the problem of mutual trust, without which sustainable development is impossible. Therefore, against the background of globalization and glocalization processes, the formation of a stable strong internal basis for peaceful coexistence, change of the usual established format of the meaningful policy in the field of culture, including creation of new forms of cooperation and solidarity, based on the existing experience, - acquire great value.

Against the background of globalization, the pandemic and economic crisis have exacerbated the crisis of the usual forms and mechanisms of international cooperation, their effectiveness in solving acute problems in supporting and promoting human solidarity and mutual understanding. Modernity has revealed the achievement of a critical level of capacity of certain cultural institutions to solve problems of physical and spiritual survival, not even of sustainable development. The matter of improving the substantive quality of these institutions and the harmonization of national, local strategies with universal, general guidelines is obvious. The issue of how and why to maintain a balance between the implementation of universal imperatives of human development and local pragmatic situational interests in achieving a specific result, is becoming increasingly urgent to support the existence of humanity as a whole. Therefore, the human community directs its resources to find strategies, ways and mechanisms for organizing and managing culture in general, including program and project activities that would be relevant "not even to today's but to future realities and create fundamentally new mechanisms for international cooperation. Not those who will advise, but those who will act" (Klimkin, 2020).

Modern realities of international cooperation: experience of knowledge exchange as the "cultural capital"

Anthropocentrism, activism, openness, contextuality, heterogeneity, subjectivism are not only the characteristic elements of the modern picture of the "Anthropocene" world (Steffen, Grinevald, Crutzen & Mcneill, 2011), they are the foundations of knowledge that is in high demand for nowadays. It is no coincidence that, the prospects for human development are associated in this context with the formation and use of cultural resources of "knowledge societies", with a variety of forms of rationality, multiplicity of experiential knowledge, multiplicity of carriers and ways to obtain, maintain and enrich knowledge.

The switch of actors in the international arena of intercultural interaction is accompanied by the expansion of "cognitive" actors, which involves taking into account the cultural experience of cooperation as a discursive force. It is determined by previously acquired knowledge; forms of identities. Unfortunately, it can be noted that practice is ahead of theory in modern world, which would not always be a proper effective mechanism for counteracting entropic tendencies of diverse ambivalent modernity. But in these conditions of large-scale changes science is not rejected as the
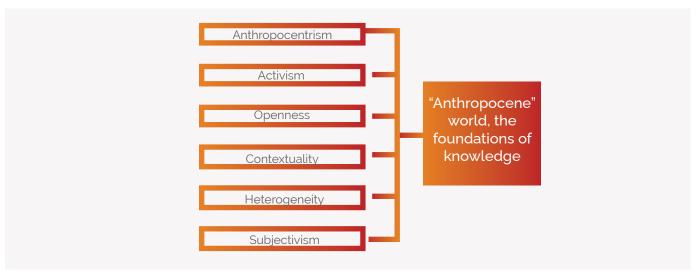
TABLE 1. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MODERN PICTURE OF THE "ANTHROPOCENE" WORLD AND THE FOUNDATIONS OF KNOWLEDGE

Source: own elaboration, text - (Steffen, Grinevald, Crutzen & Mcneill, 2011)

"archaic type of consciousness" (Tyler, 1986: 123). The institutionalization of all theoretical knowledge and its practices becomes a basis for innovative approaches to the reorganization of relevant to modern realities cultural cooperation. .

Sharing the opinion of A. Wendt that science is driven by questions (Wendt,1999: 40), we consider it necessary to ask certain questions concerning the effectiveness of methods and mechanisms of sharing the experience, search for resources of international cultural cooperation to create, accumulate and sustainable development of common cultural capital.

Thus, first, our research hypothesis is that the analyzed and systematized experience of international cooperation in the field of culture shows the productivity and viability of those forms and mechanisms of its organization and management, which focus on the use of knowledge as a tool and result of direct cooperation. In addition, it is focused on mutual exchange of knowledge of different typologies as a fundamental element of sustainable development, support of a stable common globalized world of unique cultures.

It is indisputable that the new challenges before the modern realities of coexistence require a review of the resource provision of sustainable development. All issues in the field of culture require non-standard solutions. This is not the need for a new "cultural turn" in the field of scientific and practical knowledge. Paradigmatic shifts in the social sciences and humanities took place in the second half of the 20th century, when the perspective and methodological tools for research and management of human life processes at all levels changed. Modern practice demonstrates the existence

of new forms of experience in the development and representation of human needs, interests, values. The multiplicity of it does not change, but expands the perspective of the already existed and new theoretical knowledge, its effectiveness. The problem of operationalization of knowledge - both experiential and practical, and especially theoretical - is the subject of research attention of leading international scholars and experts in philosophy, sociology, international relations, public administration, theoretical and practical culture studies, other areas of scientific knowledge. Discursive logic, which is the basis of the information system of communication, creates opportunities for the use of various methodological resources for the analysis of the experience of organization and management of intercultural cooperation.

In our opinion, one of the most relevant to modern international experience and trends in the theory and practice in cultural management, its international component, is the expansion of cultural discourse of international cooperation, management in culture. It becomes possible with the help of resources of socio-constructivist research, based on the phenomenological methodology (phenomenological sociology of knowledge of P. Berger and T. Luckmann in particular), which allows forms and mechanisms of cultural cooperation to be considered as forms and mechanisms of knowledge construction.

This raises the problematic issue of transforming the knowledge accumulated in the diverse space of international cooperation by the world cultural institutions and other direct stakeholders in the interaction into the reality of this diversity of actors.

The essence of this problem lies in the specifics of the interaction of different types of knowledge - theoretical and experimental one. The effectiveness of the results of cooperation depends on its plasticity. In addition, the requirement of the effectiveness of the theoretical foundation of intercultural management, the organization of a common cultural space forces scientists, experts to expand and deepen the internal potential of interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary approaches in research, analytical and expert activities. The interdisciplinary of the study of international cultural cooperation allows to study, understand and organize the plurality of the world of culture by involving not only a constructivist approach, but also elements of cultural anthropology, phenomenology, axiology, and structuralism. It is not only the interdisciplinary approach that integrates existing institutionalized models of knowledge that is effective. Productivity demonstrates transdisciplinary approach, which contributes to the growth of the level of actors' competence on whom managerial, organizational and administrative decisions depend. The transdisciplinary approach provides an opportunity, as a result of scientific "exchange" of cognitive schemes, to jointly find new ways to solve specific problems. The observance of the conceptual unity of research as well as the use of a systematic approach as an important methodological element allows to prevent eclecticism. This contributes to the integration of multidisciplinary knowledge, finding its meaningful intersections and thus expanding and deepening the resource capabilities of cultural studies of international cooperation to use different ways in order to obtain the necessary result.

The complexity of management in the field of culture and international cooperation lies in the specifics of the interaction of their content and form. Interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary principles of interaction of different disciplines correspond to the specifics of the nature of managerial culture. The peculiarities of the cultural sphere determine the same specificity and complexity of the subject field of managerial activities in the cultural field, especially when it comes to the creation of a common product by many actors. In addition, the participants in the cooperation are the part of a diverse cultural space, and their interactions change its content and formal characteristics. It is fundamental that the processes taking place in the field of culture cannot be completely reproduced, even based on one's own positive experience and knowledge of the author's "technologies" of creating a certain cultural product. The sphere of production of such a diverse product with its value at the interlocal, interethnic and international levels of cooperation makes it impossible to formally unify, mechanically use the content of experimental (theoretical and practical) knowledge. (Practice, unfortunately, shows that some actors do not understand this, as well as ignore the specifics of the subject area involved.) On the one hand, cultural management deals with specific actors with their own interests and needs, specific material and technical support, on the other - the subject of their joint activities – is the "cultural expressions of individuals, groups or societies, including on the creation, production, dissemination, distribution of and access to cultural activities, goods and services" (UNESCO, 2005: 5). On the one hand - the introduction of specific technologies (related to the fragmentation and specialization of societies and their cultures), on the other - ideas that, despite their "local" representation, are carriers of universal basic values. They contain resources for coordination of socio-cultural interactions, necessarily anticipating and determining this interaction.

These processes, in turn, determines the resource of the discourse of international management in the field of culture (and discursive power is a quality that determines the possibilities and means of interaction). It is based on the ratio of its cognitive and pragmatic components. On the one hand, they are theoretical constructs that contain a long and complex path of generalization and systematization, conceptualization of the same long and complex history of world order. On the other hand, they did not remain abstractions far from real life. Despite the high level of generalization, they have many forms and mechanisms of representation in many different cultural practices of interaction, in particular - intercultural cooperation.

Creativity and effectiveness of cultural management and administration significantly depend on understanding the question of what the actors of cooperation, in particular its managerial staff, are ultimately dealing with. There is an idea that the scope of the manager's efforts in the field of culture is limited to art and close to art aesthetic forms of human activity. Such views are related in particular to the functioning of certain state and non-state institutions that have historically developed. The competence of them, as a rule, included the management of museums, theaters, other institutions and organizational work with the latest forms of artistic practices. Even at the international level, cooperation for a long time was carried out mainly in the form of exchange of artistic groups, presentation

of artifacts of national and ethnic cultures, material assistance in the organizational support of certain artistic and cultural events.

Whereas cooperation is ultimately a constructed and organized process of knowledge exchange and the formation of a common experience of sharing this knowledge. This is the space of the managerial activity in the field of culture.

By directing the processes of intercultural cooperation to the formation of a common stable sustainable space, it should be understood that this community is always relative, given the diversity of worlds that fill this space. Accordingly, the complexity of cultural management is associated with the need to organize the world pictures, the harmonization of images of reality, the processes of interaction. They are often controversial and have complex multilevel mediation in direct dynamic practice. Indeed, human existence is determined by a constant regulation of the surrounding socio-cultural world. Maintaining this order is also an important element of the experience gained by previous generations, used and developed by their descendants. Tendencies to regulate interpersonal interaction are an urgent need for both the current state of modern culture and society, and the need to ensure continuity of cultural experience, the expansion of its innovative capital. The latter determines whether humanity is moving in a circle and thus its self-realization becomes problematic, or "guided by equal partnership, solidarity and transparency" (OSCE, 1999: 3) it creates a common space of societies, "that is nurtured by its diversity and its capacities" (UNESCO, 2005: 17).

UNESCO activities: issues of "reality construction" within the cultural cooperation

If we consider the activities of UNESCO - the global manager of international cultural cooperation - as a complex open system, its positive dynamics depends on the "mobility" of its discursive, analytical component. The quality of this component relies on constructive generalizations, responses to current challenges and the effectiveness of its instrumental and organizational aspects. It is also important to be able to move from abstract discourse to direct concrete actions, "translate" general laws, rules, algorithms into the language of specific cooperation practices and, what is fundamentally important, to have the availability of feedback. This logic is not new, it is articulated by the Organization, significant experience has been gained in

this direction. But, at the same time, the present time has posed many questions to human coexistence, problematizing both the stable structures of intercultural interaction and, in general, the experience and basis for organizing the diversity of human worlds (both on local and global levels). In this context, UNESCO's activities necessarily take the form of strategic and logistical management, which has an important and integral component - knowledge of the specifics, tools and mechanisms (in the words of T. Luckmann) of "constructing reality" in the field cultural cooperation. The important part is also giving this reality those forms and meanings of objectifications, which, in turn, would ensure the sustainable development of mankind. And according to W. Goodenough, (Goodenough, 1964) if the components of culture are what you need to know and believe in in order to act mutually acceptable to all members of society, according to C. Geertz (Geertz, 1973), the activities of UNESCO are an the expanding the boundaries of human discourse.

The knowledge that is opened to the actors of cultural cooperation through UNESCO, moves from the local specifics of intercultural interaction to theoretical generalizations and vice versa. Cooperation for UNESCO is a part of a comprehensible picture of the world, which consists of clusters of meaningful joint actions. Analytical knowledge produced by UNESCO contains, along with categorical-terminological coordination of communicative acts, the formulation of proposals-visions, which are the result of a systematic concentration of different types of theories from different fields of knowledge. Such integrative activity allows to find different ways and means of answers to civilizational challenges and, most importantly - to anticipate, as far as possible in a very dynamic and unstable world, and to take advanced steps to organize socio-cultural space, which would seek and find connections between different phenomena, that is more important that a stable sameness among similar ones (ibid.). Moreover, the presence of the latter is problematized by the reality of cultural diversity.

In this regard, UNESCO, as a global player in strategic management, needs to produce and transmit not only specific information that relates to specific forms and means of cooperation. It is also important to transfer knowledge of the fundamental factors and the general cultural meanings of this cooperation, which are hidden behind this particular diversity. And this is much more important and complex issue. The complexity is caused by the fact that cooperation in the field of culture is directly carried out in a reality that is

not universal for all actors of cultural interaction. The final result of any collaboration depends precisely on how effective it is the knowledge about the ways to harmonize the many realities that are the basis and, at the same time, the result of the experience of creating and representing historically different systems of cultural values. It is the involvement of the constituent structures of local cultures in the creation of a common world that allows to balance the "compression" of the social space by expanding the common cultural space.

The question is: how and thanks to what does this involvement take place?

First of all, due to the development of scientific-analytical and expert knowledge, research and evaluation not only of the potential opportunities to meet the unity of local and global needs, but also the threats that are hidden behind the proposed actions. It is clear that predicting possible threats and identifying risks to the implementation of the "projected reality" is a "thankless task" due to the nature of the objects of the operating environment (cultural product in particular). But it is analytical work that allows to objectify the diversity of local experiences of cooperation and thus provide knowledge on the development of procedural, organizational and instrumental levers of sustainable development of culture in general.

Cooperation in the field of culture is much more difficult than it seems at first glance. The alignment of social worlds, for all its complexity, is still easier than maintaining conformity in the space of culture, mastering the meanings of "other" cultural experiences, the value of "Others'" attitude to "cultural capital" (in the terminology of P. Bourdieu).

Finding the points of coincidence of the coordinates that different cultural worlds with their own spatio-temporal characteristics have, is difficult at least because there is no single objective reality (according to Blumer). As a product and as a subject of the creation of subjective reality, a person necessarily needs significant Others. If, according to J. G. Mead, the presence of significant - parents, friends, teachers, spiritual authorities (in the process of internalization of the world) is important, we can say that the problem of intercultural cooperation is to create significant Others.

International cultural cooperation, based on the actions proposed within the projects, involves the involvement of knowledge about the schemes of typification of socio-cultural interaction, specific to a certain possible reality that is projected, in which the actors live directly. These schemes define typical actions in typical situations of interpersonal interaction at a certain time and in a certain cultural space. The "language" of such schemes of typification (Berger & Luckmann, 1967: 47) provides an opportunity to understand Others, to communicate with them in the fullness of their manifestations in a situation of direct contact. At the same time, it is the specific moments of interaction that enrich these generalized schemes with empirical knowledge of the procedural and final results of the interaction of specific subjects. Knowledge of these components of subjective realities (typical schemes of perception of interaction with others) allows to understand "others" not only as partners in the modern context, but also as representatives of experience of past and future generations of "others". Thus, international cooperation becomes a kind of practice of exchanging "mind-maps", mental schemes of meaningful interactions. That's why the programs, projects contain not only algorithms of joint actions and projected results. In their program basis the schemes of typical reception of a certain experience are put. Its expansion is due to direct "access" to the diversity of the repository of other experiences, other "realities", the life worlds of other "authors".

If we consider programs, projects, various forms of international institutions in the field of culture as a specific multilevel communication "language", which is a form and way of objectifying the historical experience of cultural interaction, its organization and management, the desire for systemic and adequate elements becomes clear. Such "language" allows to divide the experience into broader categories. It is important not only for the carriers but also for the other cultural actors, because the typified experience can in principle be reproduced by everyone (Berger & Luckmann, 1967: 53). In this way, the subjects of cultural interaction will get a productive real tools to align the coordinates of their own and other realities.

Such schemes of typification of cultural experience become a reality of everyday cooperation under certain conditions. On the one hand, it depends on the content of specialized knowledge, its demand by the practice of intercultural interaction and its potential ability to respond to the challenges of empirical reality. On the other hand, from time to time the practice itself, with its often unpredictable logic, signals the limited available reserve of socio-cultural knowledge (in a certain cultural institution, such as UNESCO). And it is not catastrophic if this "signal" becomes an occasion for self-reflection, for meaningful adjustments of the

most projected reality and mechanisms (programs, projects) of its creation.

It is also important that in the process of cooperation, its actors are given the opportunity to "capture" not only "other realities". In a situation of direct action and interaction, which is always a unique opportunity to understand the carriers of other cultures, the value of such cooperation is to expand "access" to their own culture, its capabilities, which become more real, because self-determination and self-expression is possible if the interaction with Others takes place. Thus, international cooperation is understood as a constructed and organized process of self-determination and self-realization of identities (Checkel, 1999).

In the process of cooperation, interests are coordinated and various forms of identities are constructed. But no less important is the fact that this construction deals with "entities". Its ideological content is a driver of action, and already acquired empirical knowledge is the "internal coordinator" of the process. Many misunderstandings in the process of project implementation arise precisely because of ignorance of the specifics of cultural worlds, their resources, the manager has been deals with from the very beginning. If cultural cooperation is understood as the exchange of experiences that are locally felt (Der Derian, 1988: 189), understood and mediated by socio-cultural practices, it becomes clear that the condition of its productivity is equal access not only to universal achievements of human culture, "adsorbed", for example, by UNESCO, but also - to the resources of local cultures.

Regarding the latter, it should be mentioned that the internal dynamics of socio-cultural development at the local level is determined not only by the peculiarities of various aspects of local life. The development of each autonomous cultural entity takes place in the context of general civilizational tendencies, which adjust, directly or indirectly, this internal dynamic. This is the adjustment, which, in turn, emphasizes the identity of the cultural face of a particular community, association, a particular local form of cultural institution. This impact is multifaceted. In the process of interaction of cultural experiences, new formations - common worlds of different meaningful algorithms and results (desired and unexpected) of civilizational projects of human development are formed.

UNESCO is one of the active actors in the process of supporting the sustainable development of mankind, taking into account their own experience of both constructive factors focused on the positive dynamics of socio-cultural development (from economic to artistic spheres) and other, destructive, factors that provoke misunderstandings and conflicts. UNESCO formed a system of international cooperation, which is created and maintained by standardized interactions and the relevant intersubjective interests of specific actors. The creation of such a system became a tool for counteracting the reification of the world. The space of this world, thanks to direct actions and their results, ceases to be inert and permanent for people. These changes acquire meanings for them as results and - in general - an intentional characteristic of human coexistence.

Focusing on the real results of its own activities, UNESCO takes into account that the reality of modern person is a world where practical competence, pragmatic meanings and motives prevail. In this context, the problem of "instrumental and the significatory uses" (Berger & Luckmann, 1967: 50-51) of knowledge, experience, which is being offered for adapting within the implementation of specific program tasks, arises. And here again the following question arises: to what extent the mechanisms for adaptation to local opportunities and needs are provided in the content of global proposals and common goals?

Not only key messages are localized. Consciously or not, but - all the content, the information on how and what to do, is being localized, the amount of information resources directly or indirectly is offered to the actors of interaction for direct cooperation. This applies to both specialized information, which is the basis of international management in the field of culture as an element of professional activity of relevant institutions, and the another one, which is aimed at a wider and, accordingly, more diverse target audience.

The next question arises: how to make this stock available for investigation, effective interpretation and implementation, how to ensure equal access to it? It requires a change in the ways to represent the knowledge experience, the creation of a system of conceptual and instrumental-organizational forms of communication.

Using certain concepts, its previous specific organizational and managerial experience, UNESCO moves not from one theory to another, but through the justification of strategic goals and ways of achieving them to justify the timeliness and effectiveness of activities in a particular period. Programs, strategic plans, projects, reports and other documents, which are a kind of generalized projects of the desired reality, are elements of a global system. This is the system aimed at coordinating priorities of human interaction, encouraging the diversity of actors to build partnership for solidarity and sustainable peaceful development.

This cognitive-organizational system, in turn, is a way to operationalize the conceptual knowledge accumulated throughout the theoretical and practical discourse of intercultural cooperation and interaction.

These documents are a kind of conceptual scenario, linguistic fixation and retransmission of cultural meanings of cooperation between different actors at different stages. The development and organization of its implementation relies on cultural managers (from organizations, communities - as "collective managers" to individual professionals). Their professional competence includes the qualities of "discursive technologist" who works in dialogue with a complex system of interaction of different experiential knowledge (theoretical and practical), different cultural worlds, ideas, situational interests.

If we consider the relevant knowledge and information as a subject area of cultural management, the important element is the message, the form of presentation of information. Using the definition of G. Ryle and C. Geertz (Geertz, 1973), the efforts of the managers of cultural cooperation should also be aimed at ensuring that each text has a "thick description", a message. It should contain generalizations along with the definition of values and description of specific procedures, norms and actions, to perceive, understand and implement them in accordance with the cultural context, to create conditions for meaningful participation in cooperation.

The mentioned texts are a system of coordinates of cultural interaction, which allows its process and results to be "put" in a clear and meaningful context. The description of the cultural context involves a transversal analysis of cultural meanings of procedural, behavioral, institutional, regulatory and motivational features of the cultural architecture. The experience of cooperation shows that its effectiveness depends both on the quality of managerial efforts regarding the forms and mechanisms of direct cooperation of cultural entities (communities, organizations, individuals) and complex interaction to create a cultural context. The creation of a cultural context involves the accumulation not only specialized, but also background knowledge, in which and through which the meanings of specific interaction arise. The ability of actors to reach the potential and essence of the proposed ways of interaction and mutual understanding depend on this background knowledge (cultural traditions, rhythms of life, symbolic features of language representation, the specifics of common social ties). Strategic management, in this regard, deals with creating a system of conditions, context, which

encourages the participants of this interaction to such activity. This activity necessarily provides a meaningful character of formation inclusion in new connections.

The next problematic issue of ways and resources of building societies, that share knowledge (UNESCO, 2005), concerns not only the technical side of free access to knowledge resources. The issue is to promote the formation and development of value motivation, the interest of participants in cooperation to use this openness and freedom, "construction" of such knowledge, which would be "motivating dynamics of institutionalized conduct" (Berger & Luckmann, 1967: 83). Cooperation involves the presence of interests shared by the participants. Their coincidence is important for the implementation of certain collective actions of solidarity, for the effective organization of cooperation. Common interests, "collective meanings", as well as a common reality arise in the process of cooperation (although, unfortunately, it is not guaranteed).

The transcultural nature of international cooperation in the field of culture requires professional managers with cross-cutting competencies. They will allow to construct relationships and interactions that are due to the existing conditions of human coexistence, its harmonization. Therefore, an important element of the effective functioning of UNESCO and other international organizations is the system of trainings for managers, improving their professional and, what is even more important – social competences. The manager's culture involves the ability to flexibly maintain a sequence of actions at all stages of the project. Flexibility involves the effective use, of appropriate material and human resources: creativeness, critical thinking, pragmatism in the implementation of innovative tools of cultural cooperation. Without such a practice of balanced pragmatism, it is not possible to achieve real progress on a road to the goal. The incorporation of pragmatism as one of the fundamental components of administrative and managerial activities in the field of culture for the manager means the choice of such a way and form of action in which a balance will be found between their own interests, cultural values, and focusing (as a manager and coordinator) on achieving a common goal.

This instrumental and regulatory dimension, which lies in the basis of cultural management, in particular in the field of international cooperation, does not mean the absence of axiological, cognitive parameters of the effectiveness of both the process and the end result of cooperation. Real life itself, with its informal logic, protects managerial activity in the field of culture from

the schematism. It is impossible to remain neutral in cultural cooperation at least because it is a "dialogue" of identities, interests, motives. In addition, it should be noted that our vision of culture for international cooperation, strategic management as the most complex one in terms of technology (contrary to popular belief), does not reject its vision as "the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the funda- mental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs" (UNESCO, 1982: 41). We understand that value actions and standards that are neutral are not possible in this space. Within the framework of defining the concept of sustainable development as a mechanism for managing the processes of globalization at the conferences and the UN summit (1992, 2002, 2012) the value priorities of the future society were formulated. International cooperation, in this context, has become a form and a way to implement a system of global humanistic values and a corresponding way of life at the local level. In the texts that represent the strategy of development of the common world, the normative-value component is always the basic element of the informational message. In turn, an important element of the latter is the principle of responsibility, which should be the basis of any strategic projects of the "communicative action" (Habermas,1984): "act so that the effects of your action are compatible with the permanence of genuine human life, …so that the effects of your action are not destructive of the future possibility of such life" (Jonas,1984: 11). Strategy is always value-oriented, while procedural tactics works with interests. Therefore, by giving the initiative to the actors of cultural cooperation, the global strategic manager - UNESCO – is responsible for the management of the general trajectory of the movement of constructing a common sustainable space.

CONCLUSION

Thus, the expanded (but not completely exhausted) delineation of problematic issues related to international cultural cooperation in ordering the "different" and finding the "common" is possible by a constructive exchange of knowledge of different typologies. The ability to self-organized and self-determined cultures in a system of global and local interactions depends on the use of knowledge - scientific, conceptual and experiential - as a tool for

direct cooperation. Joining such forms of cooperation is not an easy task. The inertia was the result of the tendencies of unification and massification of public and individual consciousness. To unite and organize the carriers of culture for activity cooperation requires large-scale research, expert-analytical and financial-economic "investments". With regard to the latter, the world community must be ready to increase the logistical support for the growth of such intellectual "costs" (even in the current crisis in the pandemic and post-pandemic periods). But the problem of creating a "mobilization theoretical and analytical resource", which helps to respond more quickly to the challenges of today and develop a strategy and forms of its implementation that would "give us the ability to address problems before they become" (OSCE, 1999:10) – becomes even more important.

In this context, the essence of management in the field of culture is the organization of production, accumulation and exchange of joint cultural capital. An important element of the latter is knowledge. Management and administration, assimilation and translation of such specific and complex knowledge is possible if there is an understanding of its content, forms and methods of representation, the specifics of functioning and, accordingly, its exchange. It should be clarified that knowledge management is impossible in the usual sense of administration and management. It is possible to manage knowledge by directing it. Methods of cooperation between different cultural actors, which are based on "softpower" (Nye, 2004). (The tools of the latter are education, religion, art, traditions, language) have become the effective mechanisms in the organization of a common strategic direction.

The space of cooperation is an exchange of cultural experience, values, ideas, as a result of which a common reality is created. Conditions under which the actors of interaction find for self-expression those forms of culture that allow in the process of communication not only to better understand others, but also to better understand themselves are formed. (This applies not only to national, state and ethnic actors, but also to the activities of the institutions themselves, such as UNESCO and its partners). This understanding contributes to the improvement of management of the processes and results of cooperation, increase the level of professional and social competence, freedom and responsibility.

This approach to the exchange of knowledge allows to timely reorganize the instrumental and legal systems of practical implementation of policy in the

field of culture at all levels. Also, the important is the constant evolution of the very basis of conceptualizing the experiential knowledge and reinterpretation of the effectiveness of theoretical knowledge. It is the basis of the conceptual basis of managerial activities in the field of cultural cooperation. This does not apply to the traditional guidelines of the humanitarian direction of a globalized society. It is about clarifying the priorities of strategic development, the adjustments made in real life. It is impossible to form a panoramic vision both at the level of strategy and tactics of international management without conceptualization, finding a meaningful theoretical potential for the interaction of different scientific fields and approaches. And this is one of the defining conditions for the possibility of thinking globally and acting locally.

The discursive space of international cultural cooperation is the mechanism through which shared knowledge of different cultural experiences is formed. In this context, cultural management is legitimized as a fundamental organizational and practical component of universalization of accumulated new knowledge.

The world of international cooperation is a specific balance between knowledge and information. Due to this system, text documents are information about the projected reality, opportunities and conditions of participation in the common movement in a certain direction. At the same time, practical embodiment, realization is knowledge which is received by own efforts. Modern realities urgently need the formation of new institutional ties, organizational and analytical structures that would be generators of joint efforts to construct a common (not a single) reality. In this context, the resource for such changes can be the experience of international cultural management as a type of self-perception of the world community, due to which it requires the most constant innovation (Luhmann, 2000: 78). In this sense, international cooperation in the field of culture becomes the experience of the birth of issues, "problems" that require common "solutions", which, in turn, give rise to common "problems" that require "solutions" (ibid.).

In the first section of the paper, the analysis of the literature on cultural heritage highlighted a holistic approach that connects policy, governance and management, indicating strong links between these domains. In particular, it emerged in the analysis that there was a shift from an initial approach based on preservation, to a more open approach based on the intersection between governance and policies, that lately focused on participatory approaches that

could potentially engage the different actors of cultural ecosystems.

In the subsequent section of the paper, the focus was on the EYCH: secondary and primary data (documents and research interviews) were collected, analyzed and discussed. The analysis of these data highlighted that the EYCH was interpreted as an opportunity to change European policy mindsets as well as the perception and role of European cultural heritage in the long term. In particular, the EYCH promoted a different interpretation of cultural heritage as a cross-sectoral field and unifying element that could help to create shared perspectives with other key sectors for the European Union, such as research and innovation, agriculture or tourism. One of the key themes emerging in the investigation is that of participatory governance. Indeed, in line with the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (1957) and respecting the fact that cultural policies are competence of member states, the European Union tried to promote its role as facilitator, providing guidelines for a common approach to cultural heritage policies. These common policy guidelines are based on engagement and stakeholders' involvement, sustainability alongside protection and preservation of cultural heritage.

However, the guiding principles for a new management model that could facilitate the participatory governance and the other ideas promoted by the EYCH policy initiatives are not sufficiently identifiable. As a result, the necessary future steps of the EYCH could stimulate a new approach to management of cultural heritage.

In conclusion, the research highlights that the EYCH does not propose a new model of management for cultural heritage. The initiative remains mainly focused on promoting policy actions and participatory governance approaches that are nonetheless difficult to implement without a proper managerial model. These results underline the need for the European Union to take a step forward and indicate a potential future development of this research: identifying a path that could create firmer links between policy, governance and management could be an interesting investigation, in addition basing the research on the analysis of case studies and best practices already implemented in European countries. This could indeed enable the cultural heritage sector to rethink how to fulfill its potential as cross-sectoral, transversal and unifying field.

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Representation Of Women In Art Museums: How Can We Improve Gender Balance In Exhibition Practice?

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ABSTRACT

This paper is a summary of my master thesis from 2019. The paper examines the obstacles that artists, who are women, face in their artistic practice and opportunity to have their works exhibited in a Danish context. The paper is the result of a study into the representation of women artists in Danish state art museums; a study stemming from the observation that the prestigious Charlottenborg Spring Exhibition in Copenhagen always exhibits as many (if not more) women than men. Given the well documented imbalance of men and women artists in museum exhibitions around the world, the paper offers some inspiration for curators and museums to look at their own exhibition practice in order to foster gender equity and engage in active history-making.

''We will need all our wit and courage to make sure women's voices are heard, their work seen and written about. That is our task for the future'' - Linda Nochlin 1972

Introduction

The balance between the representation of men and women artists has always been heavily skewed in men's favor ever since the establishment of the first art museum. This makes sense considering the fact that women were not allowed to study at the Danish Royal Academy of Art alongside men until 1908, and for a very long time, women were not allowed to be artists. The Danish architect Vilhelm Klein is cited to have said "The fact that women have the same abilities as men is no one likely to claim" in 1876 (cf. The Royal Danish Academy of Art, website). Today the Danish Royal Academy of Art (hereafter 'The Academy') enrolls an equal amount of men and women every year (cf. The Academy's website and 2019 Global Art Market Report) but the representation of men and women artists in Danish state art museums still exhibit far more artworks by men than by women.

Over the years, the lack of exhibition and acquisition of art made by women has been criticized and questioned, but one counter argument has often been, that we can not base our exhibition practice on gender; it should be based on quality (Hans Bonde, 2015, Poul Erik Tøjner, 2005). The research of my master thesis is based on an observation made in 2016, that out of 129 artists, the annual Charlottenborg Spring Exhibition in Copenhagen exhibited 59 men and 70 women. This was compelling considering the debate on gender inequality in art museums at the time. At the Charlottenborg Spring Exhibition, an independent jury is selected every year to represent different genres, and they are not aware of the artists genders or identities, before they have chosen which pieces to exhibit. During this research, data was collected on previous and following years showing the same result; that women and men artists were represented equally.

The question of the research then became "What stands in the way for representation of women artists in the state art museums, and what can be done to change the imbalance? To this end, I will begin by explaining my methodology used during this research, then I will provide a brief overview of the feminist and constructivist theory underlining my thesis, and finally I will sum up the result of the research and the suggestions for action that these findings uncovered.

Method and Analysis

From a methodological standpoint, this article aligns itself with feminist critical voices, which have been analyzing the position of women within the world of art for the last 50 years. The research is carried out following grounded theory and situated analysis (Adele E Clarke, 2013) in which empirical or theoretical data is gathered and organised into situational maps, that were categorized in order to identify categories and make connections between the data. In grounded theory, data can consist of human elements, non-human elements, invisible elements (such as social, political, historical or relational factors), discursive elements, unspoken elements (such as concepts or cultural factors), or positionalities (ie. how are people positioned regarding power, authority, opposition etc.) (Clarke 2013). For this research, data includes the statistics of men and women artists exhibited at the four museums, interviews based on these statistics, concepts and arguments in literature and debate articles, the museum law and literature on cultural politics.

The scope of the research is narrowed down to the four biggest art museums in Denmark: The National Gallery, Arken Museum of Modern Art, ARoS Aarhus Art Museum and Louisiana Museum of Modern Art. The museums keep a record of previous exhibitions, so from here all men and women artists were counted, as well as the artists from the Spring Exhibition in Charlottenborg in order to compare the differences in gender representation. This became the starting point of the interviews. Erlend Høyersten, director of ARoS Aarhus Art Museum, Camilla Jalving, Deputy Director of The National Gallery, and Anna Krogh, former member of the jury of the Spring Exhibition 2019 have all three been interviewed.

Neither Christian Gether, director of Arken Museum of Modern Art nor Poul Erik Tøjner, director of Louisiana Museum of Modern Art didn't agree to an interview.

While it is important to overcome the gender imbalance, not everyone identifies with either of these genders, so to a certain extent a research like this is flawed and unnuanced. This paper uses a definition of gender coined by Barbara Risman (2004), who sees gender as a social structure in the same analytical plane as politics and economics, so it can be analyzed and discussed in the same manner. Women and men are two different structural categories, and women and men often choose their gendered path. Actors within a structure often compare themselves to similarly situated individuals when making choices, meaning that women don't normally consider men's options open for themselves. Actions are chosen out of

interest, but the structure often constrains the choices made available (Risman 2004). I use the term 'woman artist' well aware that artists who are women have complained for the last hundred years about this term, because it puts them in opposition to the man as the 'natural' artist. I don't believe in the inherent nature of the woman artist as a particular thing, but I use the term for political reasons, to showcase the fact that artists, who are women, face certain systemic inequalities and continually face biases in their work.

Charlottenborg Spring Exhibition 2011-2019	No. Of artists	No. Of male artists	No. Of women artists	Ratio of women
2019	49	25	24	48,9%
2018	40	17	23	57,5%
2017	70	27	43	61,4%
2016	129	59	70	54,2%
2015	81	31	50	61,7%
2014	51	17	34	66,66%
2013	76	36	40	52,6%
2012	69	29	49	57,9%
2011	49	25	24	48,9%
Total	**614**	**266**	**348**	**56,66%**
Average/year	**68,22**	**19,55**	**39,66**	**58,13%**

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN ARTISTS EXHIBITED AT THE CHARLOTTENBORG SPRING EXHIBITION (2011-2019)

Source: Aspegren (2019).

National Gallery (SMK) Exhibitions 1999-2018	No. of Exhibitions	No. of artists	No. of male artists	No. of women artists	Ratio of women
2018	6	15	12	3	20%
2017	9	35	30	5	14,28%
2016	8	37	33	4	10,8%
2015	5	31	18	13	41,9%
2014	6	6	6	0	0%
2013	3	9	8	1	11,11%
2012	-	-	-	-	-
2011	7	21	19	2	9,5%
2010	7	15	12	3	20%
2009	7	17	9	8	47%
2008	11	25	20	5	20%
2007	4	4	3	1	25%
2006	7	24	23	1	4,16%
2005	3	3	3	0	0%
2004	8	8	5	3	37,5%
2003	5	9	6	3	33,33%
2002	8	17	14	3	17,64%
2001	4	21	21	0	0%
2000	6	10	10	0	0%
1999	7	22	22	0	0%
Total	**121**	**329**	**274**	**55**	**16,7%**
Average/year	**6,36**	**19,55**	**14,42**	**2,89**	**16,69%**

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN ARTISTS EXHIBITED AT THE NATIONAL GALLERY (SMK) (1999-2018)

Source: Aspegren (2019).

Arken Exhibitions 1996-2018	No. of Exhibitions	No. of artists	No. of male artists	No. of women artists	Ratio of women
2018	6	32	19	13	40,62%
2017	5	42	36	6	14,28%
2016	5	27	21	6	22,22%
2015	5	14	7	7	50%
2014	5	9	9	0	0%
2013	6	24	21	3	12,5%
2012	5	42	28	14	33,33%
2011	4	4	3	1	25%
2010	7	27	21	6	22,22%
2009	3	19	19	0	0%
2008	5	43	31	12	27,9%
2007	3	25	19	6	24%
2006	4	20	16	4	20%
2005	4	4	4	0	0%
2004	5	28	21	7	25%
2003	5	12	10	2	16,66%
2002	6	18	8	10	55,55%
2001	6	43	38	5	11,62%
2000	5	22	13	9	40,9%
1999	7	27	15	2	7,4%
1998	6	13	13	0	0%
1997	8	23	22	1	2,34%
1996	9	27	22	5	18,5%
Total	**124**	**545**	**476**	**119**	**21,8%**
Average/year	**5,39**	**23,69**	**18,52**	**5,17**	**21,8%**

TABLE 3. DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN ARTISTS EXHIBITED AT ARKEN EXHIBITIONS (1996-2018)

Source: Aspegren (2019).

ARoS Exhibitions 2005 -2018	No. of Exhibitions	No. of artists	No. of male artists	No. of women artists	Ratio of women	
2018	6	28	21	7	25%	
Triennalen	3	87	73	14	16%	
2017	5	59	33	26	44%	
2016	9	18	9	9	50%	
2015	7	32	27	5	15,62%	
2014	6	8	5	3	37,5%	
2013	6	9	7	2	22,22%	
2012	6	12	12	0	0%	
2011	5	7	6	1	14,28%	
2010	8	25	17	8	32%	
2009	6	44	31	13	29,54%	
2008	6	18	16	2	11,11%	
2007	5	3	3	0	0%	Uncertain data
2006	3	5	5	0	0%	
2005	3	14	13	1	7,1%	
Total	**84**	**369**	**278**	**91**	**24,66%**	
Average/year	**5,78**	**26,35**	**19,85**	**6,5**	**24,66%**	

TABLE 4. DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN ARTISTS EXHIBITED AT ARoS EXHIBITIONS (2005-2018).

Source: Aspegren (2019).

Louisiana Exhibitions 2009-2018	No. of Exhibitions	No. of artists	No. of male artists	No. of women artists	Ratio of women
2018	7	72	50	22	30,55%
2017	10	35	24	11	31,42%
2016	8	26	18	8	30,76%
2015	13	53	48	5	9,43%
2014	11	53	40	13	24,5%
2013	6	20	16	4	20%
2012	7	45	31	14	31,11%
2011	7	7	6	1	14,28%
2010	6	20	17	3	15%
2009	4	50	39	11	22%
Total	**79**	**328**	**289**	**92**	**28%**
Average/year	**7,9**	**38,1**	**28,9**	**9,2**	**24,14%**

TABLE 5. DISTRIBUTION OF MEN AND WOMEN ARTISTS EXHIBITED AT LOUISIANA EXHIBITIONS (2009-2018).

Source: Aspegren (2019).

A Feminist Genealogy

This section is a brief summary of the theoretical background of the thesis, this paper is based on. It covers some feminist art- and culture historic voices from 1972 to the present.

Linda Nochlin wrote a famous essay in 1972 in which she questioned why there had been no great women artists. (Nochlin, Linda: "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?",1972) This question needs clarification. The concept of greatness in art history is tied with the myth of the Artist with a capital A, as someone who has an inherent genius which makes him able to create masterpieces, and that this is always a man, never a woman (Nochlin 1972). Nochlin disregards the idea that there is something inherent in the masculine body that makes the man by definition a better artist.

She presents a threefold argument to this case: First, even after women were admitted to the Academy of Art[1], they were not permitted to study the nude body, as it was found inappropriate. This put women at a disadvantage, because the nude was considered one of the highest forms of art, and women were prevented from learning this technique. The second part of Nochlin's argument she calls 'The Lady's Accomplishment' referring to the sociocultural idea that existed at the time, that the woman should not excel at anything but rather tend to art as a hobby. A woman should spend more time being generally attractive and useful, which would not be possible if she were to spend too much time learning only one skill. The third part of the argument is called 'Success', and here Nochlin argues that the only women artists who have truly gained success have done so by being closely related to male artists, such as their fathers or husbands. (Nochlin 1972)

Laura Mulvey is, on the other hand, a feminist film theorist, and one of the main points of her 1975 essay (Mulvey, Laura: "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" Screen vol. 16, issue 3, 1975) is the representation of sexual difference in cinematic films: "*In a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female. The determining male gaze projects its phantasy on to the female figure which is stylized accordingly.*" (Laura Mulvey, 1975, p. 808) The differentiating of the active/male and the passive/female can be translated into the myth of the artist-as-man. The man is the subject artist, whereas the woman is oftentimes depicted as the object of male desire – we see the man as artist and the woman as muse. This is exemplified in numerous categories such as the nude painting, pin-ups, strip-tease, in which the woman is sexualized (Mulvey, 1975).

Griselda Pollock asked the question, if "adding women to art history the same as producing feminist art history "22 in her essay collection "Vision and Difference" from 1988. She discusses how, or if, we can write a satisfactory art history that places women just the same as men. This, she argues, is not done by merely discovering the female geniuses of art history, because we would still only add feminist interventions into the existing male dominated social order and thus accepting the status quo (Pollock, 1988). She makes the case for a paradigm shift in which we would look at art not as objects to be received or consumed, but as practice. She then diverts the question of why there are no great women artists to "what is problematic for feminist artist practice" (1988). In Pollock's argument, a woman's gender has always been used against her to justify her societal role as the wife and mother as the natural feminine. The man is neutral and the woman is in opposition. What is problematic for feminist artist practice is part of a broader problem for women in general: "*Feminist interventions demand recognition of gender power relations, making visible the mechanisms of male power, the social construction of sexual difference and the role of cultural representations in that construction*" (Pollock, 1988, p. 9)

Kvinder på værtshus (Women Down the Pub) is group of feminist visual artists who work with representation and gender in art. In a 2004 publishing, they present essays and examples of feminist strategies in artist practice that they have experienced since the 1970s. In it, art historian Sanne Kofod Olsen (who would go on to be appointed Rector for the Royal Academy of Visual Arts in 2014) makes the case for a new art history. In her essay (Olsen, Sanne Kofod: "En ny kunsthistorie" (English: "A New Art History") 2004), she reflects on the prior years of feminism in art history, which she sees divided into two categories: a linguistic, constructivist category and an essentialist category. Griselda Pollock

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[1] In Denmark, the Royal Academy of Art was established in 1754, but at the time only men were allowed. In 1976, architect Vilhelm Klein (who didn't believe women could have artistic talent) established a private drawing- and craft school for women. This private school was supported by the womens' movement, but it was eventually used as an excuse not to establish an actual art school for women. In 1888, after some debate, an Art school for women was established by painter Johanne Krebs. In 1908 the art school for women was merged with the Academy, but women were not allowed to study the nude before 1924: https://kunstakademiet.dk/da/billedkunstskolerne/billedkunstskolernes-historie/undervisning-kvinder-1870erne-1920erne

is an example of an art historian that dismissed the essentialism of gender and saw all history as a social construction. Others believed in a separate woman art history, because they argued that a woman is essentially different from a man, and her space of experience differs from that of the man's (Kofod Olsen 2004).

Kofod offers four strategies of feminist artist practice: language, narrative, space and action. Feminist artist practice includes media such as film, happening, performance, and the body. The use of the body is particularly feminist, because it brings attention to the female body, which is often a site of political or social conflict (Kofod Olsen 2004). She offers an explanation of why women at this point still are under-represented in art exhibitions, and points to the ecosystem of art which include private galleries, cataloguing, museum acquisitions, scholarships, funding etc. Art is still in large part bound to the artist, which is traditionally a man (2004). Kofod Olsen emphasizes the importance of action in contemporary art, because the exhibition practice of today shape the art history of tomorrow: ''It is not the art that has to change, it is the representation of it'' (Sanne Kofod Olsen, 2004, p. 12)

According to art historian, Ellen Yoshi Tani, there is a distinction in feminist art practice from the 1960s and 1970s, and 21st century feminist artist practice in the role of 'beauty'. Feminist arts practice now and then champion themes such as social, political, and economic equality and women's control of their own bodies, but where the 1970s feminist artists rejected the objectifying beauty norms, feminist artists of today embrace beauty and brains as a combined power agency. (Tani, Ellen Yoshi: ''What Makes Contemporary Art Feminist? An Art Genome Project Case Study'' Artsy for Education, Jan 16th, 2015).

Quality Is Not Objective Fact

''*The world as-it-is is more than objective fact, it includes consciousness. When an image is presented as a work of art, the way people look at it is affected by a whole series of learnt assumptions about art. Assumptions concerning: Beauty, truth, genius, civilization, form, status, taste, etc*.'' (Berger, 1972 p 11)

Berger speaks to the idea of situatedness – the way one person perceives an image may not correspond to the way another person perceives that same image. More than that, situatedness is affected by the current strata of our social and historic time. The 'etc.' in the quote makes room for other types of learned assumptions, and I find it appropriate in this case to add

'quality'. We make assumptions on quality based on the current standards of our time. The criticism of 'new ways' is triggered because the art goes against established assumptions about these concerns (listed by Berger with my addition of 'quality'), and these assumptions are established through the social negotiating processes, which are always won by the ruling classes. Historically, the consumption of art has been available for a privileged minority, always belonging to the ruling classes, and in this social mechanism a hierarchy and a narrative of reality is constructed. Who benefits from this narrative? The ruling class, the privileged few. Vision is never neutral, and assumptions of beauty, truth, genius, civilization, form, status, taste and quality are ever changing through historic periods, and it is problematic for these assumptions to be established by a privileged few. Combining voices of differently situated people gives us a better understanding of global experiences. The acquisition and exhibition of art in our museums should be based on quality, yes, but it is unsatisfactory to let this judgement be up to the few. The ecosystem of art consists of many factors, such as private galleries, critics, publications, exhibitions and now also social media, and it is within this ecosystem, that 'quality' is defined. This is why the ecosystem has to be inclusive so as to not reproduce itself and exclude people from situating themselves in their own past, present and future.

What Stands in the Way for Women Artists' Practice?

The following is a summary of the results based on the grounded theory research. After having worked with the data, categorizing it into situational maps, seven connections were drawn. The following seven headlines are all examples of different obstacles that stand in the way of women artists' ability to practice their work and become exhibited and acknowledged.

Quality, Availability And Relevance

Access to The Academy is not the only condition to become an artist. Former headmaster of the Royal Academy of Art, Sanne Kofod criticized the unequal representation of men and women and referenced the entrenched inequality in traditional arts practice (Kofod 2014). She called for a yearly report detailing the museums' inclusion and exclusion politics. This idea was challenged by the argument that the museums should only exhibit and acquire art based on quality,

not gender. Historian Hans Bonde argues that "Instead of actively fighting a potential discrimination of women, we presently implement favoritism systems based on a mistrust to the social systems' ability to secure a fair case management." (Hans Bonde 2015) Christian Gether, Director of Arken was asked about this approach in an article in Information in September 2014, and he replied the following:

"*We exhibit and acquire the art which we find best in line with the direction we have laid out in Arken*"

- "*Is male art just better?*"

"*I don't know if it is better. We don't acquire based on statistics. It is the artistic quality, that decides it.*"

An example of how quality can't be determined by gender is the censored exhibition of the Artists' Fall Exhibition at the Art Gallery Den Frie in Copenhagen. Artist Trine Rytter Andersen has examined the exhibition practice over the years, and she recalls an episode in the late 1980s where she describes the tone among the male jury members:

"*That year they made a separation of the exhibited objects into a women- and men division, because the jury members believed that by merely looking at the art they could determine the artists' gender. Afterwards, when they were allowed to see who had made what, they learned that the 'most horrible and women-like' artworks were in fact made by men.*"

(Trine Rytter Andersen, interviewed by journalist Torben Sangild, 2015)

Andersen argues that anonymity has helped professionalize these exhibitions that openly favored men and called women artists ridiculous. But quality has nothing to do with gender, and gender cannot determine what kind of art a person makes. Gender is socially constructed (Risman 2004), and it is an unfortunate way to look at an artist.

The concepts of availability and relevance are also relevant in exhibition practice. Erlend Høyersten, Director of ARoS argues that they have to look at 'what art is out there'. In exhibitions about historical art, it makes sense to say that the field is narrower, but in contemporary art, it is clear that women are 'out there'. But of course, being 'out there' is not enough, you also have to say something relevant:

"*We also discuss attention. Statistics is one thing, but we also look at whether it is a man or a woman who says something particular about a current theme that the exhibition is about. Then it becomes a different parameter, we are choosing from.*" (Erlend Høyersten,

2019, interviewed by Astrid Aspegren)

This becomes more interesting if we look at a statement by Anna Krogh, former jury member of the Charlottenborg Spring Exhibition:

"*I have often been in a context where I could ascertain that when something is actually really interesting and groundbreaking and something that wasn't just a repetition of all the things we have seen before in contemporary art, it was made by a woman. Look at Jeanette Ehlers – she has this agenda about decolonization. And if you asked me now to mention 4 or 5 relevant artists who actually do something and make us think differently, it would be women.*" (Anna Krogh, 2019, interviewed by Astrid Aspegren)

Force of Habit

Linda Nochlin takes this up in her essay 'Why have there been no great women artists?' from 1972, and to the force of habit 'The question of the nude' is especially interesting. The question of the nude is a reference to the institutional exclusion of women in classes studying nude models. It took a long time for women to fully be accepted as artists and not just an 'other', so the habit and tradition of promoting men over women is not a simple random habit, it is deliberate and institutional.

Socializing is the process of internalizing and externalizing the current values of society, and if these are not actively challenged by law and activism, we will perpetuate the belief that men are worth more than women. The power of habit comes from the socialized power mechanism, that men are true artists, and women artists represent the 'other' (Nochlin 1972). When galleries and museums continue to represent men, art made by men will continue to be considered more qualified and relevant than art made by women.

The inequality in representation happens in spite of museum staff being made up of primarily women. Høyersten (Interview by Aspegren, 2019) acknowledges the visual rhetoric that convinces you of a certain aesthetic which becomes the norm, and this rhetoric is enforced by the power of habit, when galleries etc. reproduce the narrative of the male artist.

"*You don't necessarily think about how important balance is, because you are concerned with the artists coming through the art galleries. At a certain point, you are convinced of the visual rhetoric.*"

This observation is one of the key points in this issue. The habit of choosing men goes back all the way to antiquity. Anna Krogh (Interview by Aspegren, 2019)

has made that same observation:

"When we enter the aesthetic world, it is as if there is an entrenched and written-in-stone tradition that goes all the way back to the ancient Greeks, and that is not something you just throw away. It is a long and tough tradition."

The Modern & The Contemporary

During the interview, Camilla Jalving, deputy director of the National Gallery, points to their collection of 700 years of art, when asked why women are less exhibited than men. And it is definitely a valid point, that women artists from before the modern period didn't exist. But that is not the whole story. While it is fair to expect a skewed representation in modern art, it is also fair to expect active work done to highlight women artists from the modern era. Camilla Jalving agrees:

"*When we have to do with older materials - which to a long extent is the case for (The National Gallery's) collection and exhibitions the challenge is that historically there have been less women artists and among them, fewer women artists have been described and preserved. This is of course something that we regularly try to correct through research (we have, among other things, research in women artists from the 1800s), through acquisitions (we have for instance a neat collection of Elizabeth Jerichau Bauman, of which the latest 'An Egyptian clay salesperson in Gizeh' has been purchased in 2016), and through exhibitions (in the spring of 2020 we open a large exhibition of Anna Ancher)*." (Camilla Jalving, 2019, interviewed by Astrid Aspegren)

Camilla Jalving provides a strategy in three steps: research, acquisition and exhibition. This is a practice that doesn't just exhibit contemporary artists and lets the past be, it

uses research to disseminate different aspects of art history than the existing canon.

The Monographic Exhibition

According to Camilla Jalving, "The best we as a museum can do is to place artists, who are women, in the monographic format, which is typically reserved for the man, who is an artist. (...) Is it a group exhibition/themed exhibition or the monographic? That also matters to representation." (2019, interviewed by Aspegren)

Høyersten argues, that it is one thing to count the number of women, and another thing to account for how many mono exhibitions a museum makes with women artists compared to men artists. A mono exhibition is a format in which one single artist's oeuvre is exhibited, as opposed to a group exhibition that often has a more thematic approach. This has significance, because it speaks to the tradition and the so-called force of habit in art history, because the monographic exhibition in a way is an homage to the great artist (always a man), and it is an exhibition format that highlights the work of the artist and focuses the audience's attention. In the same period, The National Gallery exhibited 66 male artists in a monographic format vs 15 women; Arken exhibited 60 men and 10 women in a monographic format; ARoS 47 men and 11 women; Louisiana 38 men and 12 women.

The Myth of The Artist

The Myth of the Artist is an element that frequently reoccured in the data. It was first presented by Linda Nochlin, when she challenged the idea, that the male body should somehow inherently be better equipped for making quality art:

"*Underlying the question about woman as artist, then, we find the myth of the Great Artist—subject of a hundred monographs, unique, godlike—bearing within his person since birth a mysterious essence, rather like the golden nugget in Mrs. Grass's chicken soup, called Genius or Talent, which, like murder, must always out, no matter how unlikely or unpromising the circumstances*." (Nochlin, 1971)

John Berger, whose book was written around the same time as Nochlin's essay, defines the great the artist as such:

"*The great artist is a man whose lifetime is consumed by struggle: partly against material circumstances, partly against incomprehension, partly against himself. He is imagined as a kind of Jacob wrestling with an Angel.*" (Berger, 1972, p. 110)

In Berger's definition we see the biblical parallel being drawn, associating the great artist with something God-like, something mythical, which ever since the antique, as Anna Krogh observes, has been reserved to the male body (interview by Aspegren 2019). The myth of the artist is so closely tied to the masculine, the 'natural', and the woman is seen as the 'other' – a role women so often confirm by externalizing a behavior learned through socialization. Høyersten (interview 2019) highlights the responsibility of the private galleries in the perpetuation of this habit, because they continue to choose men. And as he says, whereas museums exhibit established artists, galleries can be more experimental, and they create the conditions that make it possible for artists to live off their own work and become established.

Prestige of Established Artists

When the myth of the artist is so defining for the great artist, it is not very odd to suggest that there is more prestige in exhibiting male artists, especially from historic periods of particularly great artists. But Anna Krogh suggests that it is not just prestigious to exhibit icons of art history, but male artists in general, and that there is something unserious about choosing a woman artist over a male artist. (2019, Interview by Aspegren)

How can prestige be determined? One way is to look at a museum's blockbuster exhibitions – defined by revenue and visitors (John Andreasen and Ane Hejlskov Larsen, 2005). This type of valorization is significant of the newer, market-oriented museology in which the audiences' experience is the focal point. Oftentimes, a blockbuster exhibition is a monographic one. Why are these exhibitions of a single artist's oeuvre so popular? An answer to this lies in the prestige and 'fame' certain artists have obtained, which is tied to the artist persona and the myth of the artist. The bigger the persona, the more prestige and chances of blockbuster exhibitions. This adds monetary as well as ideological value to a museum (John Andreasen and Ane Hejlskov Larsen, 2005).

Systemic Inequality Within an Ecosystem

Museums exhibit the artists that are established, and they become established by gaining success in private galleries or exhibitions like the Charlottenborg Spring Exhibition. They are, in other words, part of an ecosystem of artistic practice and exhibition practice. Add to this the foundation of the art museum in an elitist, white, male art view, that has always valued men over women. The ecosystem goes well beyond museums and galleries; research and education are part of the system as well.

The things-as-is has been observed as something natural, and through repetition of patterns, and institutional and political resistance, the privileged minority have been able to keep the habit going (Berger 1972). The private galleries' exhibition practice is market oriented, because their existence rationales are primarily monetary, so they exhibit what is established in our culture as qualified and popular. This in turn affects the museums, who exhibit artists who have gotten the seal of approval from the private galleries.

What are the Means of Change?

Following this research, there are four options for immediate steps toward balance and diversity. Concrete steps towards gender mainstreaming and diversity are suggested by Camilla Jalving, deputy director at the National Gallery. During the interview, she laid out three tools for including more women artists. A fourth tool is added here, based on an argument by Griselda Pollock (1988).

Research

Discovering and disseminating overlooked women artists of the past can influence our perception of art history. Looking back, it is helpful to learn that women have in fact always been artists, but have for various reasons been neglected. Placing women artists in art history is somewhat criticized, because it doesn't do enough to change the institution, but lifting women artists out of oblivion nuances the image of the past. It seems a better alternative to research and disseminate historic women artists rather than repeatedly exhibiting the same artists over and over. For a museum to exhibit modernist women painters, or women painters from even earlier periods, would be a way to challenge the audience by not just exhibiting the things they expect.

Acquisition

Museums need to acquire more art from women artists. It is unlikely that the National Gallery will achieve a diverse collection anytime soon, but this is not the ultimate goal. The goal is to engage in active history making, so that future generation museum goers will see, that in the 21st century, museums contested previous exhibition practice and became more aware of discriminating mechanisms and worked towards institutional change. Hans Dam Christensen's research shows that museums still favor men in their acquisition policy, which contributes to the structure that men are allowed to live off their art and become well-known, established artists, and women artists' work is presented as interventions into the mainstream narrative.

Exhibition

It is not enough to just exhibit women artists because the format of the exhibition is important, and a monographic exhibition shows much more prestige than a group, because there are more square meters

to unfold the artist's oeuvre and narrative. One thing is, that men artists are much more represented than women artists, another thing is, that when women artists are exhibited, they are mostly part of larger group exhibitions. Group exhibitions generally operate with a current theme, to which the exhibited artists contribute one or a few works that speaks specifically to the overall theme, and they are not themselves being highlighted. These exhibitions can have great value to the audience, but they do little to present the involved artists.

Education

Griselda Pollock (1988) brings attention to a different crisis in art history as a field taking place at the university. She argues that art history books tend to present a linear narrative of art, without paying much critical attention to connections between artistic movements and societal conditions. This neglect contributes to the perpetuation of the habits and traditions in the ecosystem, and students of art history will become schooled to repeat the same practices. Art history is a field studied by many women, and many women are employed in artistic and cultural institutions, but in all four museums of this study, the directors are men, the exhibited artists are mostly men, and the museums acquire art works by male artists. In the field of education, there is a grand potential for a restructuring of the curriculum and the methods that could challenge the institutions and their exhibition practice.

Concluding remarks

The UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expression 2005 recognizes the need to take measures to protect the diversity of cultural expression (UNESCO 2005, website), and the Danish Museum Law states that publicly funded art museums must collect and uphold a representative collection (The Danish Museum Law, chapter 3, paragraph 7.2, website).

Here in Denmark, the debate about representation of women in art museums is ongoing, and since this research was conducted in 2019 there have already been a number of interventions in the museums and progression in the public debate. This paper offers a contribution to the debate as well as suggestions for concrete tools for change, however it is not exhaustive. It also only offers the perspective of gender inequality, while social inequality in general is intersectional, and the debate of gender itself is ongoing.

At this point, feminism is ideologically divided, and some feminists – particularly white, middle-upper class women – consider their objective to transform within the capitalist system (Dimitrakaki, Angela "Gender, Artwork and the Global Imperative: A Materialist Feminist Critique" Manchester: University of Manchester Press. 2013) The oppression of women stems from a patriarchal and capitalist system – a system that also oppresses some men and a system in which women are also sometimes the oppressors (Dimitrakaki 2015). For a future feminist artist practice, Dimitrakaki calls for a paradigm shift from the aesthetic to the political; a transformation of the objective of feminist artist practice. Feminist artists should be less concerned with making and disseminating feminist aesthetics and more with bringing about social change. Dimitrakaki brings forth three themes to this point: 1) the need to rethink the priorities of feminist art history; the objective should not be to add women to the long line of men but go about it critically. 2) The need to analyze gendered division of labor in a globalized society & 3) the need to reinvestigate women's and feminist's relationship to the institution of art, power and resistance. Feminist artist practice has always been connected to feminist social issues. (Dimitrakaki 2015).

Dimitrakaki wrote in a position paper in 2015 citing statistics from the World Bank from 2009: "'Women perform 66% of the world's work (excluding unpaid domestic labor), produce 50% of the world's food, but earn 10%of the income and own 1% of the property" (Brown, 2012, 2)

"T*hese statistics (Brown 2012) provide the framework in which feminism has to formulate and actualize its programme of action. Being involved in the art world as a feminist requires an understanding of how feminism and capitalism relate to each other beyond the realm of art. The first thing that needs to be contested is an art-world feminism that takes the art world as its exclusive point of reference. This would not just justify criticisms about art as an ivory tower cut off from popular struggles but would also indicate a profound inability of grasping how art as a terrain of production is connected with the general regime of production that generates such devastating data for women. In 2015, feminism in art cannot be about making more women visible in the art world (as in the 70s) but about understanding the terms of women's participation in the art world and what this illuminate about women and production at large.*" (Angela Dimitrakaki 2015, p 25)

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