COORDINATOR OF THIS ISSUE

GiannaLia Cogliandro Beyens, ENCATC

AIM & FOCUS

The objective od the *European Journal of Cultural Management and Policy* is to stimulate debate on the topics of cultural management and cultural policy among scholars, educators, policy makers and cultural managers. The Journal is based on a multidisciplinary perspective and aims to connect theory and practice in the realm of the cultural sector.

FRECUENCY

This journal is a yearly publication. However, depending on the number of articles accepted for publication, an extra issue could be considered.

ARTICLE SELECTION

All articles considered for publication in the *European Journal of Cultural Management and Policy* have gone through a double-blind review process.

ASSISTANT EDITOR

Isabel Verdet Peris
Aylin Michel

OPEN ACCESS

The *European Journal of Cultural Management and Policy* publishes fully open access journals, which means that all articles are avaliable on the internet to all users immediately upon publication. There are no author charges prior to publication.

PUBLISHER

RIGHTS

Copyright for articles by the authors.

LICENSE

COVER PHOTO

Photo by John Schaidler on Unsplash

LAYOUT

Margarita Mitella

WEBSITE

www.encatc.org

DISCLAIMER

ERIHPLUS
EUROPEAN REFERENCE INDEX FOR THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Clarivate Analytics
A NEW EDITION OF WEB OF SCIENCE
EMERGING SOURCES CITATION INDEX

Table of contents

Continuing Professional Development (CPD) in Uncertain Times: Insights from the Italian Actors' Response to the COVID-19 Crisis

Gemma Grau Pérez
Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Spain
ggraup@uoc.edu

ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the Continuing Professional Development (CPD) experiences of performing arts professionals during the COVID-19 pandemic in Italy. The research is aimed at examining actors' approaches and challenges to inform current and future CPD strategies, better suited to address the uncertainties of the social and economic juncture. The following four main themes are elicited by the research: the renewed need for self-directedness in CPD, the struggle to overcome the decrease in CPD opportunities in the workplace environment, the intensification of the use of social media for CPD purposes, and the role of CPD in the diversification of competencies. The investigation shows that CPD is still a relatively underdeveloped subject in the performing arts sector and that the attitudes towards, environments of, platforms for and focus on CPD will benefit from a critical re-evaluation in the postdigital context. Implications of these results for practitioners, policymakers, and public and private organisations are discussed.

Keywords:

Continuing Professional Development

Performing Arts Professionals

COVID-19 Pandemic

Postdigital

Cultural and Creative Sector

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Continuing Professional Development, Performing Arts Professionals and the Postdigital in Pandemic Times

Within the Cultural and Creative Sectors (referred to as CCS hereafter), the entertainment and arts sub-sector has been massively disrupted by the unprecedented social and economic consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic (Banks, 2020; Harper, 2020; Pratt, 2020). As a result, the job opportunities supporting the professional livelihoods of the agents, which were already challenged by the structural market uncertainties, have been severely impacted by the stagnation of the sector and by the new safety restrictions (Comunian & England, 2020; Zahidi & Schwab, 2020). Professional actors are faced with a particularly challenging situation as the COVID-19 pandemic amplified and further exposed the precarious 'system of flexible and pluralised underemployment' (Beck, 1992, p. 140), which pre-dated the current crisis.

In this context, structural investment in human capital is of critical importance in overcoming the current crisis and in developing greater resilience (World Bank, 2020). Continuing Professional Development (referred to as CPD hereafter) is considered a key measure for skill building, to appropriately respond to short-term shifting market requirements and to efficiently address evolving long-term sectorial needs (Blundell et al, 2005; Martinaitis, 2021), especially for those at a greater risk of unemployment and work displacement, such as performing professionals. Notwithstanding the multiple challenges, the crisis has caused an accelerated transition towards postdigital and technology embedded strategies, as a result of the disruptions on access to and provision of traditionally designed and face-to-face opportunities (Ryberg, 2021). The COVID-19 crisis has evidenced the relevance and the need of forward-looking evaluation of traditional CPD tools and practices, with regards to the attitudes, environments, platforms and focus of professional development in the postdigital. This collective effort may provide performing professionals with a sizeable impulse to attain future modalities of work.

The present paper is aimed at understanding how Italian actors experienced CPD under the COVID-19 circumstances. The overarching objective of this investigation is to contribute to the comprehension of CPD approaches and challenges in the postdigital, and at the identification of the emerging solutions enacted by the professionals of performing arts during the pandemic juncture. In turn, these solutions may allow a more informed and stronger response by cultural agents to current and future shocks. They may also reinforce to develop tailored policies, which may support CCS workers more effectively.

To that end, a first section is set out to briefly outline the state of the literature, followed by the methodological approach leveraged in the investigation. The next section will present the outcomes of the research and the discussion, which will inform the conclusions of the paper.

Continuing Professional Development in the Postdigital Era

The work environment has undergone a mighty transformation over the last few decades. Globalisation, transition to a green economy, and an all-pervading spread of technological innovations have been largely discussed as important factors driving the changes in the work environment (Kurer & Gallego, 2019). In the postdigital, entry-level knowledge is no longer sufficient to fulfil the requirements of lifetime employment (Dymock et al, 2009; Maurer, 2002). Collin et al (2012) acknowledged that 'effective participation in contemporary, technology-based, knowledge society implies an increasing importance for voluntary learning and development' (p. 155). In this context, the COVID-19 induced recession has raised important questions on how occupational capabilities should be transformed to optimise employability. The crisis accelerated the need for new and updated skills and competencies to fulfil the changing demands of the market and to attain personal and professional goals. At the same time, the circumstances of the pandemic produced an important impact on the long-lasting technology and society debate (Knox, 2019).

Technology-enabled social practices have seen a renewed impulse also for the CCS (Green, 2020; Jandrić, 2020; Zhu & Liu, 2020), as significant amounts of professional developmental provisions were shifted online. Coeckelbergh (2020) adverted that the dualism between physical and virtual dimensions is only apparent and advocated for an integrated conceptualisation of online and face-to-face experiences in the postdigital. In this sense, the postdigital, understood as the "profound and far-reaching socio-technical relations" (Knox, 2019: 357), fully frames the ways in which the digital systems may critically influence the society also in the practices of knowledge acquisition. Different CPD forms, media, spaces, and modes of interactions

co-exist in the current "postdigital hybrid settings" (Partington, 2021: 104), in which the CCS professionals structurally redesigned and adapted their preferences, priorities, and expectations of CPD to the rapidly evolving conditions. Beyond the initial emergency response, the COVID-19 outbreak contributed to blur the traditional boundaries dividing the online and offline developmental experiences and evidenced the opportunities for a more synergetic approach, which could be characterised as a postdigital CPD.

CPD is considered as a powerful mechanism to enable workers to achieve incremental updates of competencies, capabilities, aptitudes, and understandings (Brekelmans et al, 2013; Saville, 2008). According to Friedman and Phillips (2004), CPD is largely understood as the maintenance, improvement, and broadening of 'professional and technical competencies together with personal qualities' (p. 363). It is also considered a structured and reflective process that aims to positively enhance one's present and future professional practices (Ryan, 2003; Shibankova et al, 2019). Irrespective of the digital, physical or hybrid context in which CPD is performed, the existing literature tends to group CPD activities into two broad categories, namely, formal and informal professional development activities (Cross, 2007; Dabbagh & Kitsantas, 2012; Eraut, 2000).

In formal professional development, learning is considered as a primary motivation for participants, and it comprises structured activities that are generally institutionalised, conducted in a prescribed environment, and developed with a specific educational aim (Avidov-Ungar & Herscu, 2020; Karagiorgi et al, 2008). Formal professional development includes the provision of professional knowledge and may generate a certificate or qualification upon successful completion. Conversely, informal professional development may be defined as the result of 'observation, trial and error, asking for help, conversing with others, listening to stories, reflecting on a day's events, or stimulated by general interests' (Dabbagh & Kitsantas, 2012, p. 4). Depending on the professional context, it is commonly less structured than formal development practices, and is intrinsically related to the learner's drive (Hall, 2009). Attwell (2007) confirmed the increasing recognition of the importance of informal learning, and Cross (2007) highlighted that 80% of the development in professional environments is elicited by informal activities. In spite of this distinction, Hall (2009) advocates for the merging of formal and informal learning environments in a continuum to optimise the outcomes of professional

development efforts and the overall self-development effectiveness. Furthermore, the emerging postdigital perspectives highlight the importance and relevance of digital information in a boundaryless understanding of CPD environment (Fawns, 2019)

A number of organisations and institutions advocated for placing postdigital CPD at the centre of the debate. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) urged governments and organisations to develop widely accessible CPD opportunities to increase the quality of people's working lives and to reduce the gender gap and inequality at the workplace (Kühn, 2019). In 2019, the World Economic Forum (WEF) launched "The Reskilling Revolution" initiative and insisted on the importance of upskilling and reskilling for professionals and called for an effectively leveraging of the opportunities in both physical and virtual environments. Considering the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, the European Parliament's Committee on Culture and Education (CULT) indicated that utmost importance needs to be placed on the establishment of programmes for skills development and retraining of the CCS workforce to ensure their future employability (KEA & PPMI, 2019). Additionally, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) recognised that "these atypical forms of employment necessitate specific policy responses to ensure social protection, career development and skills upgrading pathways for creative workers in general, and in particular in the face of a crisis such as COVID-19" (2020, p: 10).

Despite the relevance of postdigital learning and CPD in the context of the COVID-19 circumstances, remarkably scarce scholarly attention has been paid to these subjects in the context of the CCS.

Continuing Professional Development, and Unexploited Resources for the Cultural and Creative Sector

In the international economy, cultural and creative industries are reputed sources of economic growth and competitiveness. They operate in a fast and dynamic environment in which professional practices, market trends, and business models are constantly challenged by the rapid pace of the social and economic transformations (Bakhshi & Cunningham, 2016; Campbell et al, 2019). The convergence of technological advances and the widespread access to the Internet is profoundly reshaping the sector's products, services, and business models (Peukert, 2019).

This paper adopts the definition of CCS outlined by the Regulation (EU) No 1295/2013, which encompasses all the sectors that are fuelled by creative and artistic expression, tangible and intangible heritage and cultural values, irrespective of the structure, financing, and orientation of cultural and creative organisations. CCS are also characterised by the fact that they are largely underpinned by the individual creativity and self-expression of the cultural and creative workers. In spite of their heterogeneity, and of the fact that some professional profiles are more exposed to the impact of the changes in technology that others, the cultural and creative workers share singular "occupational cultures" (Campbell et al, 2019: 350) and rank as the CCS most important assets.

Professional actors can be considered as a paradigmatic example of the cultural and creative workforce, which faces distinct struggles to thrive (Caves & Jones, 2001; Cunningham, 2002). In comparison with professionals of other cultural and creative sectors, such as those employed in digital and technical positions, actors display remarkably lower rates of career success and income levels (Higgs & Cunningham, 2008). In the field of professional acting and performance, freelancers, self-employed individuals, sole traders, and micro-enterprises account for an increasingly significant portion of the workforce that navigates amongst an ever-changing market (Creigh-Tyte & Thomas, 2001; McRobbie, 2016). Volatile working patterns and periods of unemployment or underemployment are frequent in the careers of actors. In these conditions of "new self-employment" (Pongratz & Voß, 2003), the responsibilities and expenses for CPD are transferred to and supported by the creative workers to a large extent (Gill & Pratt, 2008).

From among the few studies dedicated to CPD practices of cultural and creative workers, Anderson (2007) underscored the relevance of learning for music practitioners to acquire and refine the principles sustaining their professional practice. The author also devised a conceptual continuum between graduate knowledge acquisition and CPD in which the former "provides the information-seeking skills and encourages a reflective habit that underpins independent lifelong learning" (p. 94). Scholars have also considered CPD in the CCS as an important means to extend professional competencies beyond the entry-level qualification (Bridgstock, 2011), master the elements of cultural and creative competencies (Blix, 2004), acquire work readiness capabilities and soft skills (Munro, 2017), and address low graduate employability rates (Ball et al,

2010). It remains remarkable the limited attention to the acquisition of digital literacy and skills in the CCS literature. Amongst the few authors that engaged with this subject, van Laar et al (2019) concluded that cultural and creative organizations did not display sufficient levels of attention to digital skills in spite of their crucial importance for the workforce.

Noonan (2015) highlighted the importance of networking and exposure to professional development resources for forging successful cultural and creative career paths. Additionally, a number of studies concluded that purposeful discussions on a regular basis between mentor and mentees enhanced the transmission of know-how and tacit knowledge in the performing arts industry (Kane, 2014; Krzepkowski, 2010; Morley, 2011; Navalinsky, 2016). Another study that is particularly relevant to this research is Prior's (2013) exploration of actors' knowledge transfer mechanisms. Prior (2013) concluded that while graduate training is generally acknowledged as necessary, it appears to be insufficient for aspiring actors to professionalise. Actors are expected to refine and update their skills by engaging with post graduate learning and leveraging job opportunities. Finally, the author acknowledged the increasing relevance of the opportunities for actors' development in the virtual world, which in his opinion may not be fully exploited in the traditional acting curricula.

The Difficult Path of Professional Actors in Italy

The Italian performing arts sector presented highly volatile patterns long before the outbreak of the pandemic. The material changes in legislation, pressure from the economic downturns, the rapid shift in audiences' preferences and the disruption of digital technologies increased the complexity of the market and imposed additional burdens onto the heavy subsidised business models of the performing arts organisations (Slavich & Montanari, 2009). The capacity and readiness of the sector to embrace digital technologies remain endemically limited. In a situation where precarity and instability of work is the norm, especially for workers in non-standard or atypical work (Murgia, 2014), the livelihoods of the CCS workforce and of the performing artists became more challenging.

In spite of the undisputed importance of arts and culture in the development of society and economy, in Italy the CCS dynamics highlight the problematic status of cultural workers and unsatisfactory governmental

provisions dedicated to these categories. The investigation Vita da artisti (Di Nunzio et al, 2017), unveiled a generalisation of a highly concerning low-income situation amongst professional actors. For professional performers, work engagements are to a large extent intermittent and unpredictable. Precarity was indicated to be widespread, and contractual guarantees constituted the exception. The authors argued that stable job opportunities were a rare event in the careers of actors and performers, and that they face fragmented engagements in a variety of heterogeneous contractual formulas. Moreover, unpaid working hours and irregularities in the acknowledgement of effective working periods were also reported to be significantly consolidated practices across the sector (Ibidem, 2017: 21).

With reference to CPD practices, the study concludes that performing artists in Italy valued the necessity of skills enhancement, and that 60% of the study respondents had participated in one or more CPD activities during the 12 months antecedent to the research. Even though formal training was recognised as a necessary step towards professionalisation, informal development actions, such as networking, were considered to be the one of most contributing factors towards enhancing employability and ensuring a successful career progression. Nevertheless, actors who commonly engaged in intensive work settings were offered little or no possibilities to benefit from organisation driven CPD programmes, as are available in other traditional business settings. The limitations of time and resources were determined as additional hindrances in the professional actors' participation in CPD activities. This was due to the actors' need of complementing their income with other occasional employment to boost individual sources of income and secure subsistence.

As mentioned, the COVID-19 crisis and the induced recession adversely impacted the Italian CCS, and more specifically the performing arts sector and the associated workforce. In the attempt to afford some relief from the sudden effects of the crisis, Italy became a pioneer in implementing sector specific support provisions, which were approved through the decree known as Cura Italia (D.L. n.18/2020). Amongst other measures, the decree established a fund for the performing arts, film, and audio-visual sectors and included the extension of unemployment benefits, the suspension of social security payments, and the grant of allowance for specific categories of cultural workers and non-profit organisations. Professionals, unions, and organisations welcomed the relief measures even if they were largely deemed insufficient (Sanfelici, 2020).

Research Design and Methods

This research employed qualitative research methods since the aim of this research was "to answer questions about experience, meaning and perspective, from the standpoint of the participant" (Hammarberg et al, 2016: 499). The qualitative approach served the purpose of gathering nuanced information on how actors experienced postdigital CPD during the COVID-19 pandemic and the resultant recession in Italy. The participants of this study were selected based upon the predefined inclusion criteria consistent with the objectives of the research, namely, (a) self-identified professional actors, (b) having sustained professional experience in the performing arts sector for the past three years in Italy, and (c) having experienced the COVID-19 pandemic in the Italian territory, in Florence (F), Rome (R) and Milan (M). All participants received all the relevant information regarding the purpose of the research and the research conditions prior to the interview.

Initially, eight actors were selected as participants for this study, and they were sent invitations to participate in this study via social media. From the original participants gatekeepers, a snowball sampling method was deployed. This process assisted in identifying "cases of interest from people who know people who know what cases are information-rich" (Patton, 1990: 182). A gradual referral chain (Valdez & Kapplan, 1999) amongst the participants' acquaintances led to the recruitment of additional subjects, and a total of 34 actors consented to participate in this study. Every effort was made to overcome the limitations of homogeneous affiliation and representation by establishing parallel snowball networks (Cohen & Arieli, 2011; Peterson & Valdez, 2005; Vogt, 2005).

Considering the limited amount of research on the subject under study, the investigation was carried out by using inductive research mechanisms (Yin, 2009). Theoretical concepts and patterns from observed data were inferred, and the data retrieved from the research led to the emergence of key conceptual categories (Bhattacherjee, 2012; Tracy, 2010). To that end, semi-structured interviews of the participants were conducted via video conference. The duration of these interviews was between 45 and 90 minutes, and the interviews were securely recorded over the period between the months of May 2020 and August 2020.

This method was considered especially relevant in the context of the health and safety limitations resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic (Gray et al, 2020).

The collected data were subjected to a process of thematic analysis. The investigation was conducted within a realist/essentialist epistemological paradigm, considering a direct relation between the verbalisation and the meaning of a given experience (Wooffitt & Widdicombe, 2006). A semantic approach to the analysis was undertaken. Through an iterative process, four representative themes were identified in relation to the attitudes towards environments of, platforms for and focus on postdigital CPD.

The Attitude Shift: Renewed Need for Self-Directedness

Self-directedness appeared as a recurrent theme to characterise the attitude towards postdigital CPD processes during the COVID-19 pandemic. As emphasised by Raemdonck et al. (2017), "self-directedness is considered a key characteristic for workers both in relation to work and career as in lifelong learning" (p. 401) and a central part of everyday professional practices. Self-directedness was defined as a domain-specific characteristic (McCrae & Costa, 2003) where individuals are responsible for evaluating their individual learning needs; selecting appropriate goals, paths, and strategies; implementing the CPD process; evaluating outcomes; and reformulating the goals when necessary (Knowles, 1975; Saks & Leijen, 2014).

Actors reported an outstanding level of responsibility in relation to the self-management of the acquisition of individual skills and the overall design of their individual CPD trajectory. The crisis faced by CCS as a result of the recession due to COVID-19 incremented the actors' sense of responsibility and urgency in the planning and enactment of CPD schemes as a means to reach their personal and professional goals under the new circumstances.

"Acting is my life, and I know if I want to be able to work in the future, I have to learn new things. Working is becoming very difficult. Everything is cancelled or postponed. So, I must focus and work harder to reach my goal. What is needed to work as an actor is (…) changing so quickly, I cannot stay behind. Now is [sic] the moment to take the lead or I may lose it all" (Actor, R25).

In order to achieve a desired degree of self-directedness in postdigital CPD, the respondents highlighted the importance of personal initiative. The respondents declared that a high level of motivation, proactive behaviour, and personal initiative was necessary in the postdigital development context. To be attained, the CPD goals required significant self-directedness over the deployed strategies, the tactical choices, and the operational timelines. It also required a remarkable capacity to preview and to anticipate changes in the definitions of employability in the markets.

"Some organisations offer seminars or courses that may be interesting. They are good but may not come at the right moment or not be exactly what I need. Every actor is different … [I] have to search for what is right in this [sic] moment of my career. What drives me closer to my ideal … to my goal" (Actor, R06).

The previous literature already established a relation between CPD and personal initiative, defined as the "active approach that is characterised by its self-starting and proactive nature and by overcoming difficulties that arise in the pursuit of a goal" (Frese & Fay, 2001: 89). Consistent with the findings regarding this relation in other economic sectors (Frese et al, 1996), the actors reported that personal initiative supported self-directed CPD was useful in addressing gaps in individual knowledge; sustaining and updating professional competencies; attaining the highest level of proficiency in particular skills; and in anticipating and reacting to future knowledge requirements.

"I consider development a highly personal process. I'll need to find the right path for me to grow, otherwise I am out of the market." (Actress, R12).

Notwithstanding the described attitude shift, the formulation of CPD goals was unprecise and lacking progressive milestones. The definition of goals was found to depict an overarching framework of learning than an actionable plan towards the acquisition and refinement of skills. The development of tactical learning plans was deemed to be implied in the definition of the strategic learning goals. The respondents did not consider the definition of intermediate milestones to be necessary. Respondents did not express substantial interest in setting CPD impact evaluation mechanisms, and the adjustments to their learning plans were generally enacted as a result of changes in personal interests or due to restrictions in access to learning activities.

"You learn what you feel will enrich you as a person and as actor … It is impossible to evaluate. How you can measure what is useful for art?" (Actress, M12).

Scouting for Alternative Environments: Struggle to Overcome the Decrease in CPD Opportunities in the Workplace

In the CCS, the primary function workplace is the production of cultural and creative goods and services. However, the workplace was also considered as an environment that supports CPD, as it presented distinct occasions for learning and knowledge acquisition. In Italy, the widespread decline in job opportunities, lockdown and accentuated social distancing restrictions derived from the pandemic negatively impacted the capacity of actors to develop in the work environment (Zahidi & Schwab, 2020). These limitations appeared to be particularly distressing for live performers.

"If theatres, bars, hotels, and entertainment venues are closed I cannot perform in front of an audience, I cannot learn from my fellow actors, the director, from the interaction with the spectators, from the exchange with the people, from the silences, from their feelings, from the magic of having a community participating in a play together. [It] is a disaster" (Actor, M22).

CPD activities in the workplace constitute important opportunities especially for non-codified knowledge acquisition (Chisholm, 2003; Saint-Onge, 1996), which was considered by the respondents as particularly relevant to the development of their professional practice.

"What you find in the books is only a part of what matters to develop as an interpreter, is about learning from feelings, experiences and personal baggage of others" (Actress, M,13).

In order to surmount these restrictions, actors actively sought to further develop their personal and professional networks and to invest in informal social relation. The involvement in virtual working groups and the participation in professional online networks was recognised in previous literature as an effective mechanism for knowledge transfer in previous literature, specifically in terms of the mobility of tacit knowledge (Schostak et al, 2010; Sadeghi Avval et al, 2019; Zhang et al, 2010). Sparks (2002) concluded that effective network collaborations and peer-to-peer (P2P) interactions are to be considered the highest indicators of CPD effectiveness.

The respondents also cultivated and developed novel socialising environments to sustain interactions which are not formally governed and do not entail formal recognition, previously enacted in the workplace. The development of close ties supported the actors

in the acquisition of advantageous knowledge, enabling their social and functional integration into the creative ecosystem. To build these relationships, the respondents primarily targeted other members who appeared particularly accessible and willing to engage in the process of knowledge sharing, as claimed in previous investigations (Tuttle, 2002; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). Most of the respondents actively participated in online discussion circles and joined domain specific social network groups and online discussion fora in the postdigital space.

"A lot of online working groups have been created since the COVID-19 lockdown. I feel that actors are finally connected, … understanding each other and working towards a solution of the current situation" (Actress, F01).

Even if a significant number of interviewees participated in these processes primarily to maintain and enhance personal relationships and friendships, most actors confirmed the convenience and the adequacy of these informal activities in the comprehensive CPD postdigital framework. The participation in shared social activities, such as collaborative entertainments or virtual lunches, were reported by respondents as a useful to increase personal exposure to new knowledge streams.

"We have started discussing with some friends and colleagues from [sic] about the aspects of a particular film, what we learned from the screening, the dialogues, the narrative… what we liked about a particular film or about an actor. We discussed and learned from others' comments. There were no rules. At first it was a small [group], but after a few days it started growing and more and more people were interested in participating [in these discussions] … Wild" (Actress, F17).

Repurposing Well-known Platforms: The Intensification of the Use of Social Media for CPD

As physical distancing measures became necessary in response to the COVID-19 crisis, computer-mediated communication expanded as a mechanism for facilitating social connectedness. All the respondents declared to regularly engage in social media before the outbreak of COVID-19 also, to source new ideas, upcoming trends, and interesting concepts. This finding appears to be consistent with investigations prior to the shock, which considered the relevance of social media in activating learning and

professional development opportunities (Alsobayel, 2016; King, 2011; Markham et al, 2017).

Beyond previous participation in social media platforms, actors declared that the pandemic context triggered a more intentional approach to the use of social media as an instrument for CPD. The physical restrictions and the limitations of face-to-face training revealed new possibilities for embracing previously untapped online repositories of tacit and explicit professional knowledge. The respondents felt empowered after participating in previously unexplored multiple formal and informal activities spanning beyond their immediate individual circumstances, which in turn fostered novel cooperative learning through social media. The native capacity of social media to facilitate learning was highlighted during the COVID-19 circumstances and actors believe that this trend may continue to grow in the future, albeit only for the acquisition of certain competencies.

"There is no way back. Learning about how to better market yourself in LinkedIn is too convenient" (Actress, F17).

The access, the sharing, and the exchange of user generated content, notably in Facebook, YouTube, Instagram and to a lesser extent, TikTok, Twiter and LinkedIn, was evidenced as increasingly pertinent to the respondents' upskilling and reskilling needs.

"YouTube videos are amazing to get to know other actors' proposals from all-over the world. Now, the work I see online definitely impacts my own work" (Actor, M22).

In this regard, the actors' experiences are compatible with the findings of Bruguera et al. (2019) regarding social media as effective platforms for CPD in a postdigital context. Moreover, and in line with studies prior to the pandemic (Magnifico et al, 2013; Vromen et al, 2015), actors declared that the participation in social networks increased the motivation to develop professionally. Ito et al. (2019) concluded that "learning is most resilient and meaningful when it is tied to social relationships and cultural identities" (p. 291) and that social networks played a crucial role in the effective pursuit of developmental goals. This was also confirmed by the respondents, since the management of the feedback process in the frame of social media contributed to enhancing their reflective and reflexive CPD practices (Creta & Gross, 2020; Trust, 2012; Van Den Beemt et al, 2020).

Actors generally perceived social media as a positive and useful resource to attain their CPD goals and considered postdigital social interaction within these platforms a novel component of their overall CPD strategy. Furthermore, certain specific benefits were highlighted by interviewees when referring to professional skills acquisition and refinement, notably concerning the development of a better cross-cultural understanding of diverse audience as a result of the broadening of their interactions. Social media dialogues and personal accounts also provided a privileged access to a variety of life experiences, which were considered extremely useful to inform a more nuanced and well-constructed acting repertoire. Cost-efficiency was also mentioned as a driver for postdigital CPD via social media platforms. Ethical and sustainability concerns were specifically highlighted.

Actors considered that social media supported their CPD also in formation of their professional identity by providing a shared understanding and important insights on current challenges and upcoming needs for the actors' community. Social media platforms were deemed instrumental in retrieving practical information, shared attitudes and common believes amongst actors. "Facebook groups for professionals are becoming very useful. You can be updated about what is going on, you can have access to the latest initiatives, and participate actively in discussions of the effects of the pandemic and the situation of actors.

They [Facebook groups] also facilitate discussions with casting agents where you can learn what people feel" (Actress, R33).

The respondents recognised that the high frequency of interactions amongst professionals in social media allowed interviewed actors to explore enhancers to their professional identities.

"I have been watching a number of Instagram live sessions, as interviews with actors and some discussions with film directors. I especially learned from [sic] the live sessions of musicians. You can immediately see from the comments what works and what doesn't…… You understand what people think" (Actress, M15)

Lastly, the respondents acknowledged that the COVID-19 crisis increased their need to reflect on issues concerning their practice, to share their views and make them known, and to discuss and gather feedback regarding their work from fellow professionals and the general public. To that end, they regularly monitored comments on their social media profiles as a means of gathering valuable feedback from their audiences, without necessarily engaging in online conversations. The respondents stated that they reflected on these types of feedback more systematically and that they incorporated the outcomes of these reflective

processes into their CPD strategies during the lockdown and the subsequent period of COVID-19 induced recession.

"I now have more time to read and to think on people's comments on my social media posts … some comments are useful for my growth… People point out stuff that I had never thought before" (Actor, R09).

Expanding the Focus: The Role of CPD in the Diversification of Competencies

The accelerated precarity of CCS under the COVID-19 circumstances drove the actors to seek to incrementally expand their opportunities for employment and income generation. Consistent with earlier findings (Jones & De Fillippi, 1996), the respondents admitted to having re-evaluated their core competencies with respect to the needs of the evolving market. The actors integrated their baseline skills with additional competencies that presented different degrees of contextual distance (Djumalieva & Sleeman, 2018). They engaged with a range of CPD activities to diversify their competencies. By acquiring and incorporating competencies from disparate knowledge domains, cultural workers sought to further their creative practice and identify new professional opportunities. In consonance with the trends reported in other business sectors (Lee & Meyer-Doyle, 2017; Mom et al, 2007), competency diversification became a strategic choice for creative workers to thrive in an extremely volatile environment.

The respondents repeatedly stated that a bulk of their postdigital CPD efforts during the COVID-19 pandemic were dedicated to acquiring diversified competencies. They devoted a significant amount of time and resources to gain a number of diverse skills from a variety of knowledge domains with the aim of increasing the versatility of their skillset and to operate more efficiently under the new COVID-19 pandemic-induced constraints and the resultant market uncertainties. As employment opportunities have stagnated due to COVID-19 restrictions, the respondents examined the possibilities of acquiring diversified skills to incorporate emergent and more fruitful endeavours in their portfolios.

"My father was a theatre actor, and he did not consider working in film. Now, if you want to work, you must learn skills in many areas … you need different skills to work in radio, and to record audiobooks as well as podcasts. Live streaming performances are very different from real theatre performances… we have to

look beyond traditional acting [in these circumstances]" (Actress, R31).

In a context of generalised self-employment, mastering sector-specific entrepreneurial skills such as commercial awareness and audience building were considered important by the respondents. Most of the respondents also referred to the need to master functional business skills, such as the projection of cash flow, financial management, fundraising, taxation, and legal notions related to copyrighting. They also perceived an increasing need for digital literacy and technological capacitation. The respondents considered that acquiring entrepreneurial competencies positively broaden their capacity to control their career progression.

"It is not enough to be a good actor. You need to know about many other things to be able to develop your projects and get some income out of it… Like a business" (Actress, M19).

The respondents also declared their willingness to develop a range of artistic, aesthetic, and creative skills that were considered complementary to the primary acting and performance competencies. They regarded the acquisition of interrelated skills as contributory to their core artistic expertise. Furthermore, the integration of new knowledge was believed to improve their professional reputation, obtain societal acknowledgement, and strengthen their competitive position in the marketplace. The acquisition of these wide-ranging skills was framed by the respondents in an overall CPD effort to their increase professional versatility and resilience. The respondents stated that they primarily undertook postdigital CPD efforts during the research period to develop, amongst others, the skills of poetry writing, script writing, and music composition. Actors also expressed the preferences for competencies that could be coherently integrated into their predominant occupational identities.

"I am not a composer, but I am learning by ear because I gave up the piano when I was a child (…). I started studying by hearing the music, searching what was available out there and trying and trying again. I wanted to produce something personal and a piece of mine came out on Spotify. It felt great. Music if fundamental for an actor" (Actor, R23).

Lastly, the interviewed actors considered the engagement in formal and informal postdigital CPD activities also as a means to sustain their professional status and to enhance their reputation and social recognition. In a comparable manner, Bain (2005) related the process of CPD competency acquisition

to the construct of artistic identities in the field of visual arts. The risk of fragmenting their identity as professional performers was a recurrent concern for the actors, which partially hindered their CPD efforts. The actors acknowledged the relevance and urgency of enlarging their individual skill base, but also considered that, on specific occasions, the output of this process could be detrimental to their deliberately crafted occupational identities. Far from being contradictory, these findings are largely consistent with Kokkodis's (2019) investigations of skills diversification, in which professionals carefully balanced reputation losses from a perceived reduced specialisation with opportunity gains derived from the mastered diverse skills.

Embracing Postdigital CPD: a Collective Journey

This paper aims to contribute to the current body of knowledge in several ways. The research provides further insight into the responses to postdigital CPD of the Italian performance professionals in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. Furthermore, the investigation evidences the specific attitudes displayed towards postdigital CPD, the non-traditional environments where to enact professional development activities beyond the workplace, the ways in which actors embraced online social media platforms for novel CPD purposes and the renewed CPD focus on expanded and more fruitful competencies in postdigital context. The findings presented here have practical implications for the players in the performing arts ecosystem, including, but not limited to, actors and cultural workers, advocacy groups, institutions and organisations, social partners and policymakers.

Italy was selected for the study as it presents interesting dualities. On the one hand, Italy shows a sharp contrast between the social and economic relevance of performing arts sector and the situation of structural precarity of its workforce. On the other hand, Italian creativity and innovation is a main driver of its economy, but its digital capabilities remain behind most the comparable geographies. The paper focuses on actors, who constitute a cohort particularly vulnerable to the long-term effects of the postdigital unfolding and of the COVID-19 consequences. The insights highlighted by this investigation also advance our understanding of CPD patterns and practices for freelancers and self-employed professionals, who share characteristics with creative workers such as multiple job holding, career intermittence, and employment insecurity. Lastly, this research provides informed insights to extend our current knowledge of the impacts of COVID-19-induced recession in non-traditional organisational structures.

The insights of this study may support the design and deployment of an innovative postdigital CPD approach for the performing arts community, which would be specifically tailored to overcome the challenges of the COVID-19-induced crisis and of the technology-embedded social context. In times of uncertainty, professional performers may require the support of the cultural and creative community to define and fully embrace the most relevant post digital CPD strategies.

In this joint journey, actors would benefit from the support of educational institutions and training organisations in the development of self-directed CPD strategies. Open-learning programmes, non-traditional educational initiatives, and sector-specific designed innovative training activities may help actors to effectively achieve CPD goals and may lessen their stress regarding the acquisition of new and updated skills. Instructors, coaches, and mentors are in a position to channel the collective transition to postdigital education models by anticipating the learners' needs and by remodelling the CPD content, the tools and the means. Organisations appear to be instrumental in shifting the focus from the dissemination of doctrinal knowledge to the building of professional competencies relevant to the evolving work environment. They also can play a major role in the negotiation of the overarching diversity, ethics, and sustainability frameworks of governance for postdigital CPD. Institutions and social partners may also contribute to enhancing the postdigital CPD of actors by structuring accredited learning environments and fostering formal and informal networks for collaborative learning.

The development of alternatives to CPD in professional settings would sustain the continuity of actors' CPD efforts during periods of recession, lockdown, inactivity between projects or more prolonged times of unemployment. Moreover, the consolidation of further opportunities for informal CPD in the physical, digital and hybrid spaces would significantly sustain the actors' developmental efforts. Institutionally led intra-sectorial knowledge sharing, exchange, and transfer programmes and initiatives can provide incremental opportunities for the skills diversification of cultural and creative workers. A wider

range of inclusive and accessible CPD opportunities may also contribute to legitimising and sustaining actors' diverse artistic identities and occupational status during the period of the COVID-19-induced recession and in the contemporary postdigital settings. The design and implementation of new and updated skills and competencies may open new avenues for creativity and innovation, which may in turn lead to new and enriched forms of cultural expression.

Traditional state aids and other forms of support appear ill-suited to addressing the specific needs of self-employed and portfolio workers in CCS. In the shifting landscape, robust and informed policies for facilitating CPD are required to support the cultural workforce in the transition to a more sustainable future. Evidence-based postdigital CPD programmes should be made available to actors in order to secure more regular employment patterns and to develop an internationally competitive workforce to generate social and economic growth. The relevance of upskilling and reskilling is a central aspect to ensure that the skills of the cultural and creative professionals correspond to the present and future needs of the market, and to enhance the resilience of the cultural and creative ecosystem in the postdigital landscape. A novel approach to technology enabled formal and informal CPD should be considered within sector-specific support measures and recovery plans.

This investigation presents certain limitations inherent to the definition of the research topic, such as the limited sample size; the limited body of literature regarding postdigital CPD for actors; and the lack of prior research studies with regard to the Italian actors' experience of CPD during the COVID-19 circumstances. The findings of this qualitative study are not automatically generalisable to workers of other cultural and creative sub-sectors that may have been impacted to a different extent by the COVID-19 crisis and by the postdigital. These limitations should be addressed in future studies. Further investigation may seek to understand the longitudinal effects of the COVID-19-induced recession on the CPD activities of professional actors. Additional investigation may be required to evaluate whether the issues and responses of this study's sample group are consistent with the issues and responses of professionals operating in other cultural and creative sectors. Moreover, a broader investigation may contribute to the assessment of whether the findings of this study may also be applicable to other workforce groups of the gig economy beyond that of the CCS. Further studies may also provide a comparative analysis with regard to the situation of the workers of CCS in other countries and regions under different cultural policies and regulations.

REFERENCES

ALSOBAYEL, H. (2016) Use of social media for professional development by health care professionals: a cross-sectional web-based survey. *JMIR medical education*, 2 (2), 15.

ANDERSON, K. (2007) Education and training for records professionals. *Records Management Journal*, 17 (2), 94 106.

ATTWELL, G. (2007) Personal Learning Environments-the future of eLearning. *Elearning papers*, 2 (1), 1-8. ISSN 1887-1542.

AVIDOV-UNGAR, O.; HERSCU, O. (2020) Formal professional development as perceived by teachers in different professional life periods. *Professional Development in Education*, 46 (5), 833-844.

BAIN, A. (2005) Constructing an artistic identity. *Work, Employment and Society*, 19 (1), 25-46.

BAKHSHI, H.; CUNNINGHAM, S. (2016) Cultural policy in the time of the creative industries. *Cultural Trends*, 26 (1), 86-88.

BALL, L.; POLLARD, E.; STANLEY, N. (2010) Creative graduates. *Creative futures.* London: Institute for Employment Studies.

BANKS, M. (2020) The work of culture and C-19. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 23 (4), 648-654.

BECK, U. (1992) *Risk Society.* London: Sage.

BHATTACHERJEE, A. (2012) *Social science research: Principles, methods, and practices.* Textbooks Collection. USF Tampa Library Open Access Collections

BLUNDELL, R.; DEARDEN, L.; MEGHIR, C.; SIANESI, B. (2005) Human capital investment: the returns from education and training to the individual, the firm and the economy. *Fiscal Studies*, 20 (1), 1–23.

BRAUN, V.; CLARKE, V. (2006) Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3 (2), 77–101.

BREKELMANS, G.; POELL, R. F.; VAN WIJK, K. (2013) Factors influencing continuing professional development: A Delphi study among nursing experts. *European Journal of Training and Development*, 37 (3), 313–325.

BRIDGSTOCK, R. (2011) Skills for creative industries graduate success. *Education+ Training*, 53 (1), 9-26.

BRUGUERA, C.; GUITERT, M.; ROMEU, T. (2019) Social media and professional development: A systematic review. *Research in Learning Technology*, 27 (0), 1–18.

CAMPBELL, P.; O'BRIEN, D.; TAYLOR, M. (2019) Cultural engagement and the economic performance of the cultural and creative industries: An occupational critique. *Sociology*, 53 (2), 347-367.

CAVES, R. E.; JONES, C. (2001) Creative Industries: Contracts between Art and Commerce. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 46 (3), 567.

CHISHOLM, C. (2003) The role of tacit knowledge in continuous professional development of work based practitioners. In Proc. *Work Based Learning Network of the Universities for Continuing Educ.*

COECKELBERGH, M. (2020) The postdigital in pandemic times: A comment on the Covid-19 crisis and its political epistemologies. *Postdigital Science and Education*, 2(3), 547-550.

COHEN, N.; ARIELI, T. (2011) Field research in conflict environments: Methodological challenges and snowball sampling. *Journal of Peace Research*, 48 (4), 423–435.

COLLIN, K.; VAN DER HEIJDEN, B.; LEWIS, P. (2012) Continuing professional development. *International Journal of Training and Development*, 16 (2) 155-163.

COMUNIAN, R.; ENGLAND, L. (2020) Creative and cultural work without filters: Covid-19 and exposed precarity in the creative economy.

Cultural Trends, 29 (2), 112-128.

CREIGH-TYTE, A.; THOMAS, B. (2001) Employment. In Selwood, S. (ed.) The UK cultural sector: Profile and policy issues. London. *Policy Studies Institute.*

CRETA, A. M.; GROSS, A. H. (2020) Components of an Effective Professional Development Strategy: The Professional Practice Model, Peer Feedback, Mentorship, Sponsorship, and Succession Planning. *Seminars in Oncology Nursing*, 36 (3), 151024.

CROSS, J. (2007) *Informal learning: Rediscovering the natural pathways that inspire Innovation and Performance.* San Francisco: Pfeiffer.

CUNNINGHAM, S. (2002) From cultural to creative industries: theory, industry and policy implications. *Media International Australia incorporating Culture and Policy*, 102 (1), 54-65.

DABBAGH, N.; KITSANTAS, A. (2012) Personal Learning Environments, social media, and self-regulated learning: A natural formula for connecting formal and informal learning. *The Internet and higher education*, 15 (1), 3-8.

DI NUNZIO, D.; FERRUCCI, G.; TOSCANO, E. (2017) *Vita da artisti. Ricerca nazionale sulle condizioni di vita e di lavoro dei professionisti dello spettacolo.* Italy: Fondazione di Vittorio

DJUMALIEVA, J.; SLEEMAN, C. (2018) An Open and Data-driven Taxonomy of Skills Extracted from Online Job Adverts. *Developing Skills in a Changing World of Work*, 425–454.

DYMOCK, D.; BILLETT, S.; KLIEVE, H.; JOHNSON, G. C.; MARTIN, G. (2012) Mature age "white collar" workers' training and employability. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 31 (2), 171–186.

ELLINGER, A. D. (2004) The concept of self-directed learning and its implications for human resource development. *Advances in developing human resources*, 6 (2), 158-177.

ERAUT, M. (2000) Nonformal learning and tacit knowledge in professional work. *British journal of educational psychology*, 70 (1), 113-136.

FAWNS, T. (2019) Postdigital Education in Design and Practice. *Postdigital Science and Education,* 1 (1), 132-145

FRESE, M.; KRING, W.; SOOSE, A.; ZEMPEL, J. (1996) Personal initiative at work: Differences between East and West Germany. *Academy of Management journal,* 39 (1), 37-63.

FRIEDMAN, A.; PHILLIPS, M., (2004) Continuing professional development: Developing a vision, *Journal of Education and Work,* 17 (3), 361-376.

GILL, R.; PRATT, A. (2008). In the social factory? Immaterial labour, precariousness and cultural work. *Theory, culture & society,* 25 (7-8), 1-30.

GRAY, L. M.; WONG-WYLIE, G.; REMPEL, G. R.; & COOK, K. (2020) Expanding qualitative research interviewing strategies: Zoom video communications. *The Qualitative Report,* 25 (5), 1292-1301.

GREEN, B. (2020) In pursuit of an 'ethos of community': Postdigital education in the age of Covid-19. *Postdigital Science and Education,* 2 (3), 681-689.

HAMMARBERG, K.; KIRKMAN, M.; DE LACEY, S. (2016) Qualitative research methods: When to use them and how to judge them. *Human Reproduction,* 31 (3), 498–501.

HARPER, G. (2020) Creative industries beyond COVID-19. *Creative Industries Journal,* 13 (2), 93-94.

HIGGS, P.; CUNNINGHAM, S. (2008) Creative Industries Mapping: Where have we come from and where are we going?. *Creative industries journal,* 1 (1), 7-30.

ITO, M.; MARTIN, C.; RAFALOW, M.; TEKINBAŞ, K.; WORTMAN, A.; PFISTER, R. (2019) Online Affinity Networks as Contexts for Connected Learning. In K. Renninger & S. Hidi (Authors), *The Cambridge Handbook of Motivation and Learning* (pp.291-311). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

JANDRIĆ, P. (2020) Postdigital research in the time of Covid-19. *Postdigital Science and Education,* 3 (1), 102-119.

JONES, C.; DE FILLIPPI, R. (1996) Back to the future in film: Combining industry and self-knowledge to meet the career challenges of the 21st century. *The Academy of Management Executive,* 10 (4), 89-103.

KARAGIORGI, Y.; KALOGIROU, C.; THEODOSIOU, V.; THEOPHANOUS, M.; KENDEOU, P. (2008) Underpinnings of adult learning in formal teacher professional development in Cyprus. *Journal of In-service Education,* 34 (2), 125-146.

KEA; PPMI (2019) Research for *CULT Committee: Culture and creative sectors in the European Union- key future developments, challenges, and opportunities*, Policy Department for Structural and Cohesion Policies. Brussels: European Parliament.

KING, K. (2011) Professional learning in unlikely spaces: Social media and virtual communities as professional development. *International Journal of Emerging Technologies in Learning (iJET),* 6 (4), 40-46.

KNOWLES, M.S. (1975) *Self-directed learning: A guide for learners and teachers.* New York: Association press.

KOKKODIS, M. (2019). Skillset Diversification in Online Labor Markets: Reputation Losses and Opportunity Gains. Available at *SSRN 3444363.*

KOSNIK, C.; MENNA, L.; DHARAMSHI, P.; MIYATA, C.; CLEOVOULOU, Y.; BECK, C. (2015) Four spheres of knowledge required: an international study of the professional development of literacy/ English teacher educators. *Journal of Education for Teaching,* 41 (1), 52-77.

KÜHN, S. (2019) Global employment and social trends. *World Employment and Social Outlook,* International Labour Organisation 2019 (1), 5-24.

KURER, T.; GALLEGO, A. (2019) Distributional consequences of technological change: Worker-level evidence. *Research & Politics,* 6 (1).

LEE, S.; MEYER-DOYLE, P. (2017) How performance incentives shape individual exploration and exploitation: Evidence from microdata.

Organization Science, 28 (1), 19-38.

MAGNIFICO, A. M.; LAMMERS, J. C.; CURWOOD, J. S. (2013) Collaborative Learning Across Space and Time: Ethnographic Research in Online Affinity Spaces. In *CSCL* (2), 81-84.

MARKHAM, M. J.; GENTILE, D.; GRAHAM, D. L. (2017) *Social media for networking, professional development, and patient engagement.* in American Society of Clinical Oncology Educational Book, (37), 782-787.

MAROUF, L.; DOREIAN, P. (2010) Understanding information and knowledge flows as network processes in an oil company. *Journal of Information & Knowledge Management*, 9 (02), 105-118.

MARTINAITIS, Ž., CHRISTENKO, A., & ANTANAVIČIUS, J. (2021) Upskilling, Deskilling or Polarisation? Evidence on Change in Skills in Europe. *Work, Employment and Society*, 35 (3), 451–469.

MAURER, T. J. (2002) Employee learning and development orientation: Toward an integrative model of involvement in continuous learning. *Human resource development review*, 1 (1), 9-44.

MCCRAE, R. R.; COSTA, P. T. (2003) *Personality in adulthood: A five-factor theory perspective.* New York: Guilford Press.

MCROBBIE, A. (2016) Towards a sociology of fashion micro-enterprises: Methods for creative economy research. *Sociology*, 50 (5), 934-948.

MOM, T. J.; VAN DEN BOSCH, F. A.; VOLBERDA, H. W. (2007) Investigating managers' exploration and exploitation activities: The influence of topdown, bottomup, and horizontal knowledge inflows. *Journal of management studies*, 44 (6), 910-931.

MONTALTO, V.; SACCO, P. L.; ALBERTI, V.; PANELLA, F.; & SAISANA, M. (2020) European Cultural and Creative Cities in COVID-19 Times: Jobs at Risk and the Policy Response. Publications Office of the European Union.

MURGIA, A. (2014) Representations of Precarity in Italy. *Journal of Cultural Economy*, 7 (1), 48-63.

NAUDIN, A. (2018) *Cultural entrepreneurship: The cultural worker's experience of entrepreneurship.* New York: Routledge.

NOONAN, C. (2015) Professional mobilities in the creative industries: The role of "place" for young people aspiring for a creative career. *Cultural Trends*, 24 (4), 299–309.

NOORDERHAVEN, N.; HARZING, A. (2009) Knowledge-Sharing and Social Interaction within MNEs. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 40 (5), 719-741.

OECD (2020) Culture shock: COVID-19 and the cultural and creative sectors. OECD Policy Responses to Coronavirus (COVID-19).

PARTINGTON, A. (2021) Developing Inclusive Pedagogies in HE through an Understanding of the Learner-Consumer: Promiscuity, Hybridisation, and Innovation. *Postdigital Science and Education*, 3 (1), 102–119

PATTON, M. Q. (1990) *Qualitative evaluation and research methods.* UK: Sage, Thousand Oaks.

PEUKERT, C (2019) The next wave of digital technological change and the cultural industries. *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 43(2), 189–210.

PONGRATZ, H. J.; VOß, G. G. (2003) From employee to 'entreployee': Towards a 'self-entrepreneurial' work force?. *Concepts and Transformation*, 8 (3), 239-254.

PRATT, A.C. (2020) COVID – 19 impacts cities, cultures and societies. City, *Culture and Society*, 21. 100341.

PRIOR, ROSS W. (2013) *Teaching Actors: Knowledge Transfer in Actor Training.* Intellect Books Ltd. Kindle Edition.

RAEMDONCK, I.; THIJSSEN, J.; DE GREEF, M. (2017) Self-directedness in work-related learning processes. Theoretical perspectives and development of a measurement instrument. In *Agency at work.* Springer, Cham.

RYAN, J. (2003) Continuing professional development along the continuum of lifelong learning. *Nurse*

education today, 23 (7), 498-508.

SAKS, K.; LEIJEN, Ä. (2014) Distinguishing self-directed and self-regulated learning and measuring them in the e-learning context. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 112, 190-198.

SANFELICI, M. (2020). The Italian response to the COVID-19 crisis: Lessons learned and future direction in social development. *The International Journal of Community and Social Development*, 2(2), 191-210.

SCHOSTAK, J.; DAVIS, M.; HANSON, J.; SCHOSTAK, J.; BROWN, T.; DRISCOLL, P.; STARKE, I.; JENKINS, N. (2010) Effectiveness of continuing professional development project: A summary of findings. *Medical Teacher*, 32 (7), 586–592.

SHAHR, H. S. A.; YAZDANI, S.; AFSHAR, L. (2019) Professional socialization: an analytical definition. *Journal of Medical Ethics and History of Medicine*, 12.

SHIBANKOVA, L.; IGNATIEVA, A.; BELOKON, I.; KARGAPOLTSEV, S.; GANAEVA, E.; KOZLOVA, E.; (2019) Institutional mechanisms of university teacher professional development, *Humanities & Social Sciences Reviews*, 7 (4), 1061-1068.

SLAVICH, B.; MONTANARI, F. (2009). New trends of managerial roles in performing arts: Empirical evidence from the Italian context. *Cultural Trends*, 18 (3), 227-237.

TRACY, S. J. (2010) Qualitative quality: Eight "big-tent" criteria for excellent qualitative research. *Qualitative inquiry*, 16 (10), 837-851.

TRUST, T. (2012) Professional learning networks designed for teacher learning. Journal of Digital *Learning in Teacher Education*, 28 (0), 133–138.

TUTTLE, M. (2002) A Review and Critique of Van Maanen and Schein's "Toward a Theory of Organizational Socialization" and Implications for Human Resource Development. *Human Resource Development Review*, 1 (1), 66-90.

UN (2015) Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. General Assembly 17th Session, Agenda.

UNCTAD (2019) Creative economy outlook: Trends in international trade in creative industries 2002–2015. Country Profiles: 2005–2014. In *United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.*

UNESCO (2020) Culture in crisis. Policy guide for a resilient creative sector. France: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

VAN DEN BEEMT, A.; THURLINGS, M.; WILLEMS, M.; (2020) Towards an understanding of social media use in the classroom: a literature review, *Technology, Pedagogy and Education*, 29 (1), 35-55.

VAN LAAR, E.; VAN DEURSEN, A. J.; VAN DIJK, J. A.; DE HAAN, J. (2019) Twenty-first century digital skills for the creative industries workforce: Perspectives from industry experts. First monday.

VOGT, W.P. (2005) *Dictionary of Statistics and Methodology. A Nontechnical Guide for the Social Science*, UK: Sage, Thousand Oaks.

VROMEN, A.; XENOS, M. A.; LOADER, B. (2015) Young people, social media and connective action: From organisational maintenance to everyday political talk. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 18 (1), 80-100.

YIN, R K (2009) *Case study research: Design and methods.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

ZAHIDI, S.; SCHWAB, K. (2020) *The future of jobs report 2020.* In Geneva: World Economic Forum.

ZHANG, Y.; LI, H.; LI, Y.; ZHOU, L. A. (2010) FDI spillovers in an emerging market: the role of foreign firms' country origin diversity and domestic firms' absorptive capacity. *Strategic Management Journal*, 31 (9), 969-989.

ZHU, X.; LIU, J. (2020). Education in and after Covid-19: Immediate responses and long-term visions. *Postdigital Science and Education*, 2(3), 695-699.

ZURLO, F. (2019) Io sono cultura, L'Italia della qualità e della bellezza sfida la crisi. Fondazione Symbola – Unioncamere, Io sono Cultura.

Cultural diversity in Finland: Opening up the field for foreign-born artists

Emmi Lahtinen
Center for Cultural Policy Research Cupore
emmi.lahtinen@cupore.fi

ABSTRACT

In 2018, around 7% of the population of Finland was born outside Finland, and this proportion is rising. Specifically, foreign-born artists have sparked discussion about the difficulties they experience in gaining entry to the cultural field as well as funding opportunities in Finland. This article reports on the 'Opening' research project (2017–2019), which investigated the situation of foreign-born artists in the Finnish arts and cultural sector. The major factors creating inequality for all artists in Finland are insufficient funding, fierce competition, and different forms of discrimination. The foreign-born artists face additional difficulties due to language issues, merits, such as educational degrees, gained from outside Finland, closed networks, and ethnicity-based discrimination. The research was financed by the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture, and it was carried out by the Center for Cultural Policy Research Cupore.

Keywords:

Cultural diversity

equality

foreign-born artists

Introduction

The issue of the status of foreign-born artists is becoming increasingly severe in Finland. As of 2018, there were 335,414 individuals (6% of the whole population of Finland) of first generation (i.e., born abroad) with a foreign background[1] living in Finland, and around 7% of all Finnish residents were foreign-language speakers (Official Statistics of Finland)—referring to a native language other than Finnish, Swedish, or Sámi languages. The share of foreign-language-speakers in Finland is expected to increase to up to 28% in the capital area by 2035, reaching as high as 34% in the city of Vantaa (Helsingin kaupunki, 2019). The total number of artists in Finland is estimated to be around 20,000[2], but the share of foreign-born among this population is currently unknown, and there is also little research regarding them, such as their socioeconomic status. Thus, the main question guiding this article is the following: Do the structures, attitudes, and practices of the Finnish art and cultural field welcome foreign-born professionls?

The Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture emphasizes cultural diversity and equality in its cultural policy, with the aim of promoting equal opportunities and participation for all—not only as audiences and consumers but also as producers and decision-makers (MinEdC 2017; 2019). Foreign-born artists have sparked discussion about the difficulties in gaining entry to the cultural field as well as funding opportunities in Finland. This is argued to diminish diversity and representation, especially in leading positions at arts and culture institutions.

This article reports on a research that was part of the wider 'Opening' project (2017–2019) which investigated the status of foreign-born artists in Finland. As a part of the project, the Center for Cultural Policy Research Cupore carried out a research that examined the competence, attitudes, and willingness of the Arts Promotion Centre Finland (Taike), the Finnish arts and culture institutions within the central government transfers system[3], and the national art institutions (the Finnish National Museum, Finnish National Theatre, Finnish National Opera and Ballet, and Finnish National Gallery) to recruit foreign-born artists and take diversity into account in their practices. Taike works under the Ministry of Education and Culture and is a national funding, expert and service agency for promoting the arts.

The 'Opening' project was initiated by Center for Cultural Policy Research Cupore, Culture for All Service[4], and the Globe Art Point association (G.A.P.) that was founded in 2016 by Finnish and non-Finnish-born artists and culture workers to promote and support the status and working conditions of international professionals living in Finland. The project was financed by the Ministry of Education and Culture.

In this article, the term 'cultural diversity' refers only to foreign-born artists. It is important to note that the same challenges faced by the foreign-born artists can also be faced by others; however, Finnish artists with culturally diverse backgrounds, such as indigenous people (e.g., Sámi), native cultural minorities (e.g., Roma), and Finnish-born artists of colour, are difficult to unequivocally define, address, and research. Finnish legislation prohibits compiling statistics based on ethnic background; for example, Statistics Finland, which produces the vast majority of official Finnish statistics, compiles statistics based on nationality, language, and country of birth. Moreover, many of the challenges presented in this article are widely recognized in the arts and culture sector in Finland; thus, making structural barriers visible ultimately benefits all individuals within the sector.

Implementation of the research

Research data and methods

The research data was comprised of two web surveys carried out in 2018 and 2019. The first survey (later referred to as the "Directors Survey") targeted the directors of the museums, theatres and orchestras in the central government transfers system as well as the directors of the national art institutions. The second survey (later referred to as the "Artists Survey") was targeted at foreign-born artists and cultural workers. Both surveys mainly featured multiple-choice

---

[1] Persons whose both parents or single known parent were born abroad are considered to be persons with a foreign background.

[2] This estimate is based on information gathered from different 2-17 statistics of the Finnish artist associations and unions of Cupore as a part of a research project that mapped the development of the number of artists, their education, and the labour market situation in Finland.

[3] The the central government transfers system is part of the cultural policy management programme. The system covers around 40% of the operating costs of the museums', orchestras' and theatres' in the system (Hirvi-Ijäs & Sokka, 2019). See: https://minedu.fi/en/state-subsidies [accessed 13.12.2021].

[4] The Culture for All Service promotes inclusive cultural services by offering information and tools for workers in the cultural field on how to improve accessibility and knowledge of diversity. The Service was founded in 2003 and is financed by the Ministry of Education and Culture. See: http://www.kulttuuriakaikille.fi/en.php [accessed 13.12.2021].

questions along with the option to comment for each question further.

The Directors Survey (2018) addressed the year 2017 when there were 208 art and culture institutions in the central government transfers system: 123 museums, 57 theatres, and 28 orchestras. In addition, the survey was sent out to the directors of the Finnish National Museum, Finnish National Theatre, Finnish National Opera and Ballet, and Finnish National Gallery (which consists of three different museums; the Museum of Contemporary Art Kiasma, the Ateneum Art Museum, and the Sinebrychoff Art Museum). In total, 99 institutions responded to the survey: 58 museums, 27 theatres, and 14 orchestras.

The number of respondents for the Artists Survey (2019) was 126. Just over half of the respondents were female, while 37% were male; additionally, 10% preferred not to say their gender or identified themselves as "other". Around a third of the respondents were aged between 25–34, while 44% were 35–44 years-old. The respondents' median number of years lived in Finland was nine years, while their median professional work history in Finland (also measured in years) was seven years.

The Artists Survey was mainly answered by artists rather than cultural workers, and, therefore, this article concentrates only on this group. The total number of foreign-born artists in Finland is unknown. G.A.P. has estimated the number to be between 1,000–2,000, but this number cannot be validated by statistics. Due to the number of respondents, the results of the Artists Survey do not necessarily present a comprehensive description of the status of foreign-born professionals in Finland; however, many of the issues addressed by the respondents are quite convergent with those found in previous research (see e.g. Karhunen, 2013; Roiha, 2016; Saukkonen et. al, 2007).

In this article the results of the Artists Survey are compared with the results of the Arts and Culture Barometer surveys from 2017 and 2018. A collaboration between Cupore and Arts Promotion Centre Finland Taike since 2015, the Barometer is an annual report based on an annual survey that maps the current values and attitudes in the arts and culture field in Finland.

Additionally, 28 interviews were conducted to deepen the understanding and findings of the Directors Survey. These interviews focused on personnel of the Finnish National Museum, Turku City Theatre, Kuopio City Orchestra, and Taike. The institutions were selected based on the following criteria: the representation of different art forms, geographical characteristics, and number of personnel. Taike was selected due to its significance in enabling and supporting artists in Finland[5].

This article specifically focuses on the Artists Survey and the Directors Survey. It should be stressed that personal experiences may contradict the overall survey results, and some forms of discrimination can be invisible when reporting statistics. Moreover, in terms of discrimination, when the subject of a study are personal experiences, it can result in over- as well as underestimations of the level of discrimination (Ministry of Employment and the Economy, 2012: 56). To increase the understanding on the topic, and for the sake of representation, the aim was to collaborate with foreign-born representatives throughout the research and the survey implementation, with the interview questions formulated in cooperation with this group as well.

Country of birth				
EU or EEA	%		Outside the EU or EEA	%
Nordic countries	9		Russia or the USSR	24
Western Europe	35		North America	15
Central and Eastern Europe	28		South America	17
Southern Europe	28		Africa	10
			The Middle-East	20
			Asia and Oceania	15

TABLE 1. RESPONDENT PLACE OF BIRTH.
Source: Artists Survey (2019).

[5] In addition to Taike, municipalities, private foundations, and organisations, among others, award grants for artists. This research focused only on Taike.

Research target: foreign-born artists

Regardless of the difficulties in defining the actual numbers, the fact that the total share of foreign-born persons residing in Finland has doubled since 2000 from 3% to 6% indicates a corresponding rise in the number of foreign-born artists. According to the Artists Survey, foreign-born artists who live in Finland form an extremely heterogeneous group of individuals in terms of ethnic background, representing 34 different nationalities. Just over half (53%) of these artists are originally from European Union or European Economic Area (EAA) (Table 1). Russia (including former USSR) represent the most common birth country among the respondents, followed by, in order, the United Kingdom, Portugal, Peru, Spain, and Mexico.

The survey results are in line with previous research. Russian-, English-, and Spanish-speaking artists are over-represented among the foreign-language-speaking artists in Finland, whereas, in general, the some of the largest foreign-language groups, Somali- and Estonian-speakers, are under-represented (Karhunen, 2013, 110). In 2018, the five largest foreign-born population groups in Finland were Russians (including former USSR) (72,012, representing 19% of foreign-born persons), Estonians (46,206, 12%), Swedes (32,654, 8 %), Iraqis (17,889, 5%), and Somalians (11,797, 3%) (Official Statistics of Finland).

A majority of the Artists Survey respondents (80%) reported living in the capital area of Finland, which consists of the cities of Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa, and Kauniainen. This appears as higher than the share of artists or foreign-born persons in general in the area. In 2018, the region of Uusimaa, containing the capital area, had the highest number of foreign-born people in the whole country (52.4%) (Official Statistics of Finland) while in 2010, nearly 60 percent of all artists lived in the same region (Rensujeff 2014: 38–39).

Nearly half of the respondents reported working in the visual arts, followed by, in order, media art, performance art, cinema, and photographic art (Table 2). On average, each respondent reported working within 2.5 art fields. It needs to be stressed that the results will not necessarily correspond with the actual share of foreign-born artists within the different art fields in Finland.

A majority of the respondents reported a high level of professional education, with 52% having earned

Art field	N	%
Visual arts	45	48%
Media art	26	28%
Performance art	21	23%
Cinema	20	22%
Photographic art	19	20%
Music	17	18%
Theatre	15	16%
Literature	13	14%
Dance	11	12%
Design	11	12%
Art criticism	8	9%
Environmental art	8	9%
Illustrations and comics	6	6%
Circus art	2	2%
Other	14	15%

TABLE 2. RESPONDENT ART FIELDS.
Source: Artists Survey (2019).

up to a master's degree and 17% up to a bachelor's degree. An additional 9% reported having a degree from a university of applied science. Only five respondents had no formal education or degree related to art and culture. Moreover, the majority of the respondents (76%) had received professional education from outside Finland. Of all respondents around half had obtained also a professional degree from Finland. Education received from outside Finland was most often from elsewhere in Europe (64%), North America (10%), South America (9%), or the Middle East (9%). Moreover, the female respondents had a higher level of education on average than the male respondents and were much more likely to have obtained their professional degrees from Finland.

The respondents were asked to rate their Finnish- and Swedish-language skills based on a self-evaluation. Finland is a bilingual country with two official national languages: Finnish and Swedish[6]. Forty-two percent rated their Finnish-language skills "very or fairly good", while 32% rated them "very or fairly poor".

Cultural diversity in the Finnish cultural policy

The realization of cultural rights is an important foundation of and strategic goal for cultural policy in Finland. The opportunity to participate in the arts and express oneself freely are basic rights secured by, among others, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the Non-Discrimination Act (2014), and the Constitution of Finland (1999). The realization of these cultural rights can be advanced by ensuring that all people have the equal opportunity to engage in art and culture services and participate in the cultural life in Finland both as recipients and creators (Lahtinen et al, 2017).

The Ministry of Education and Culture's Strategy for Cultural Policy 2025 sets the framework and direction for the Ministry's development efforts, generating a vision in which "Finland is open and international, rich in languages and cultures, and a country that encourages renewal, creativity and interest in new ideas" (MinEdC, 2017: 3). The 2025 target areas regarding cultural policy and related strategic objectives are: 1) creative work and production; 2) inclusion and participation in arts and culture; and 3) cultural basis and continuity. There is no mention of cultural diversity as a part of the first target area, instead, the emphasis is placed on audience development while the target area concerning inclusion and participation refers to differences between population groups. At the beginning of 2020, the Ministry created a working group to prepare guidelines on how to consider cultural diversity in cultural policy while bearing in mind the future population development in Finland. The working group published it's final report in 2021 with recommendations on, for example, how to improve the working possibilities of artists of a foreign background (MinEdC, 2021).

Another working group appointed by the Ministry of Education and Culture stated in their report, Indicative Guidelines for Arts (2019), that art itself, the fields of art, and the operating environment of the arts are in constant flux. Since the current support structures for the arts and artists in Finland were created, the number of artists in Finland has increased and diversified, and the making of art has taken on new forms of expression, work, and production. At the same time, the social status of artists has not improved, and the support structures for promoting the arts have not been able to respond the aforementioned changes. This working group also emphasized that, in the future, more effort must be directed toward improving such funding and support systems as well as the social security of artists in order to secure the freedom, diversity, and equality of art; foster educational and cultural rights; and prevent inequality and social exclusion. (MinEdC, 2019.)

Migration and inclusion have been significantly discussed in Finnish cultural policy, but the associated resources and concrete actions have not fully kept pace with the societal changes and growing migration and there is often no legal demand for financial resources to improve the situation. Also, cultural policy documents in Finland tend to be fairly abstract without adequate accountability or resources to fully realize the objectives. Therefore, these policies have often not been effectively implemented in the arts and culture sector, or in the operations of the arts and culture institutions in Finland. (Pyykkönen & Saukkonen, 2015: 394−395.)

Working in Finland as a foreign-born artist

Work history, current work situation, and income formation

According to the Artists Survey, most of the

---

[6] The Swedish-speaking population percentage in Finland in 2018 was 5%. In addition, the Sami language users' rights are defined in law. In 2018, the number of Sami-speaking individuals was 1,995 (Official Statistics of Finland).

foreign-born artists' professional work history in Finland is varied and over-lapping: 71% described working mostly as a freelancer, one third had been mostly employees, one third grant recipients, and just under a fifth had done mostly internships. Permanent contracts appeared to be rare, with only 12% reporting such. For a clear majority, their work had been paid, but many had also done unpaid work at some stage of their professional career.

The Artists Survey results apply to the work history of most artists in Finland and currently, the artist's position in the labour market is typically a patchwork, with multiple simultaneous income sources, only some of which relate to their artistic practice (Hirvi-Ijäs et al, 2020). In general, this is undesirable from the perspective of Finnish society and the artists themselves. The competence of artists and the investments made in their education, by themselves and by the society, are not sufficiently made use of, and the lack of work opportunities creates difficulties in earning income for the artists. (MinEdC, 2019: 42.)

Half of the respondents reported having worked

Current work situation within arts and culture field

Free artist or working grant recipient

Artists Survey	Free artist 29% — Working grant recipient 15%
Barometers 2017-2018	Free artist 37% — Working grant recipient 18%

Employee or wage-earner

Artists Survey	Fixed term contract 20% — Permanent contract 10%
Barometers 2017-2018	Fixed term contract 23% — Permanent contract 14%

Freelance or Entrepreneur

Artists Survey	Freelancer 31% — Entrepreneur 18%
Barometers 2017-2018	Freelancer 27% — Entrepreneur 21%

Unemployed job applicant

Artists Survey	Unemployed job applicant 24%
Barometers 2017-2018	Unemployed job applicant 17%

Other

Artists Survey	Full-time student 10% — 1% — Parental leave 3% — Other 6%
Barometers 2017-2018	Full-time student 14% — Pensioner 4% — 2% — Other 6%

0% 5% 10% 15% 20% 25% 30% 35% 40% 45%

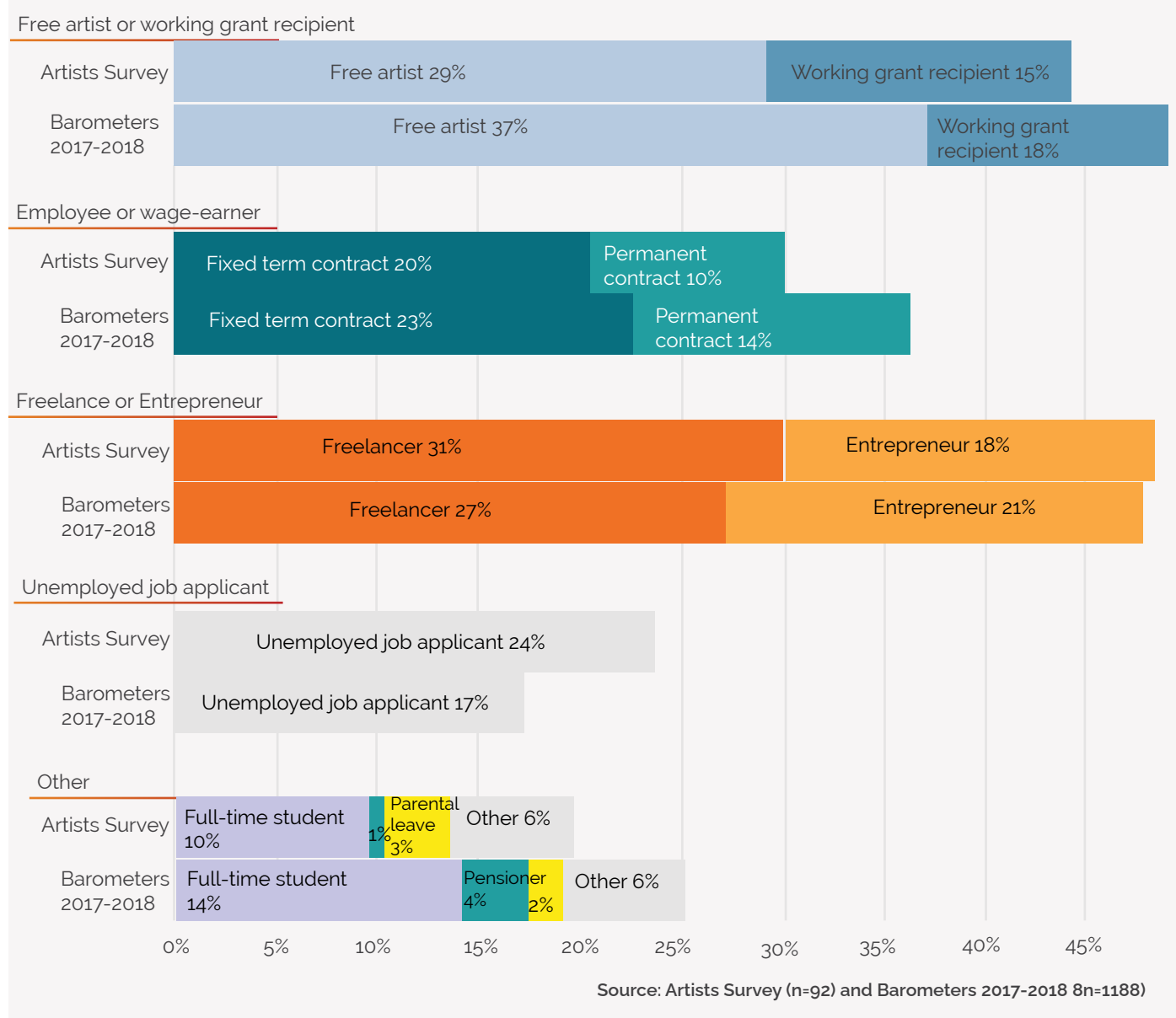Source: Artists Survey (n=92) and Barometers 2017-2018 8n=1188)

FIGURE 1. ARTISTS' WORK SITUATION WITHIN THE CULTURAL FIELD IN FINLAND.

*Respondents were able to select more than one option. Artists Survey respondents selected an average of 1.6 options, while respondents in the Barometer surveys selected 1.8 options.

at Finnish arts and culture institutions. For most (86%), the job had been paid. A majority (62%) had worked in a position where they had been able to take part in the decision-making process or otherwise influence the work, program, or practices of the institution. However, many of the respondents described a lack of suitable positions in museums, theatres, or orchestras in relation to their own artistic practice, with many also assuming they would not be chosen because of their poor Finnish language skills or ethnic background.

No major differences were found between the foreign-born artists' current work situation and the overall situation of all artists in the cultural field in Finland (Figure 1). However, there is a higher unemployment rate of the foreign-born artists according to the Artists Survey. The number of Artists Survey respondents, however, should be kept in mind when comparing the results of the Artists Survey and the Barometer Surveys.

Also, Artists Survey respondents' current work situation can be seen to correspond quite well with the level of education among 54% of the foreignborn artists; this does not differ from the overall situation (55%) among all artists in Finland (Hirvi-Ijäs et al, 2018; 2019). In general, however, artists' high level of education is not evident in their position in the labour market, and the unemployment rate in the art sector is considerably high (MinEdC, 2019: 41). The results of the 'Opening' research describe a similar situation.

English was the most common work language currently used by the respondents (83%). In addition, over half also reported using Finnish as their current work language. Artists living in the capital area reported English as their work language more often than artists

living elsewhere in Finland.

Seeking employment and recruitment practices

Foreign-born artists reported actively seeking work and employment via open calls, open applications, and networks, i.e. via their professional contacts. Networks were considered to be the most successful method, being used significantly more by men (84%) than women (48%). It can be speculated whether men have more professional networks or if they use them more actively. The significance of networks can represent a problem for newcomers or for those who received their professional education and merits from outside Finland. The interviews revealed that, while permanent positions are always announced publicly, information regarding short, fixed-term positions is often distributed through unofficial channels, and, in these cases, networks and references play an important role.

There seems to be problems in the encounter between open positions at the art and culture institutions and the foreign-born artists. The directors reported receiving very few applications and contacts from foreign-born professionals. This had created an assumption that the number of competent foreign-born professionals in Finland is very low. In response, some of the foreign-born respondents reported that the open calls be interpreted as addressing native Finns only. The majority of the directors (79%) did not possess any training on how to reach or address foreign-born persons or people with culturally diverse backgrounds

How important do you consider Finnish- or Swedish-language skills when recruiting a person to a leading position requiring substantial knowledge of art and culture?	Very or fairly important
Cultural history museums	91%
Specialized museums	86%
Art museums	82%
Theatres	57%
Dance theatres	50%
Orchestras	38%

TABLE 3 THE IMPORTANCE OF NATIVE LANGUAGE SKILLS FOR ART AND CULTURE INSTITUTIONS' LEADING POSITIONS IN FINLAND.

during the recruitment process.

Closer analysis of the recruitment processes revealed that the majority of the open calls are made only in Finnish and, in some cases, also in Swedish. This can thus affect the ability of foreign-born artists to obtain relevant information. There are significant differences in the matter between museums, theatres and orchestras. Orchestras may handle all their recruitment via international recruitment channels and the selection process can be based mostly on applicants' musical skills, whereas theatres are strongly linked to the Finnish national languages.

When recruiting new personnel to a leading position, according to the directors, the most important factors are the diversity and quality of the applicant's previous work experience, relevant education and degree, good attitude and motivation, and strong team-working skills. The majority of the directors stated that leading position requires an understanding also of cultural diversity. Moreover, Finnish work experience was regarded more highly than international work experience, explaining, in part, what is considered by the directors as "the diversity and quality of previous work experience". In general, most of the directors stated that they consider proficient Finnish- or Swedish-language skills very or fairly important for leading positions, but in this regards there were major differences between the institutions (Table 3). Some of the less frequently mentioned factors were networks, other language skills, a Finnish degree, and references.

Receiving grants from the Arts Promotion Centre Finland

Grant application and decision-making process

Arts Promotion Centre Taike is a national funding and service agency working under the Ministry of Education and Culture. Taike's national arts councils, appointed by the Central Arts Council, make decisions regarding grants and awards for artists, artist groups, and organisations based on peer reviews. The members of the national arts councils are appointed for two-year terms based on the recommendations of recognised expert bodies in the Finnish cultural field. The members of the Central Arts Council are appointed by the Ministry of Education and Culture for a three-year term and are recognised experts in the field of arts and culture. All of Taike's decision-makers concerning grants and awards are publicly announced on their website.

Taike's grant statistics are based on the information provided in the grant application form: gender, language, county, and age. Each applicant marks their native language in the application form, with all languages other than Finnish and Swedish comprising the category, "other"; such applicants are referred to as "foreign-language applicants/recipients". This category can include persons with a Finnish background but whose language is "other" (e.g., Sàmi).

In 2018, Taike received nearly 11,600 grant applications. When looking at the grants in total, the ratio between the foreign-language applicants (5% of all applicants) and the foreign-language recipients (5% of all recipients) was the same, meaning the awardance rate was the same when studied the applicants and recipients by different language. The amount of grants (in Euros) awarded to foreign-language applicants was a bit lower (4%) (Karhunen, 2018). For the different grant categories, in 2018, working grants were applied for in total by fewer foreign-language applicants (4%) compared to project grants (6%). In many cases, the ratio between the foreign-language applicants and the recipients was almost the same. Compared to before 2018, there had been a rise in the number and share of foreign-language recipients in many grant categories; most notably, the share of recipients now exceeds the share of applicants for artist grants.

The reported reasons of the foreign-born artists by the Artists Survey for not applying for grants included not being familiar with the procedure, not being aware of relevant grants, not feeling like a potential successful candidate, and not finding anything suitable for personal artistic specialization and focus. Language was not mentioned once as a reason for not applying regardless of the respondents raising criticism regarding the lack of English information available. Taike only has application forms in Finnish and Swedish despite it being possible to apply in English.

In general, the respondents reported that they were pretty satisfied with the information available on existing grants, slightly less satisfied with the information on how to apply, and strongly dissatisfied with the lack of information available on the funding decision-making criteria and the decision-makers. Many of the respondents specifically complained about the lack of feedback on grant decisions. Some saw it as a valuable source of information to improve future applications, but, for others, it indicated a lack of transparency. This led to assumptions of favouritism and relationships between the applicants and evaluators; these were similar to assumptions reported by the Barometer

Survey respondents (Hirvi-Ijäs et al, 2018; 2019).

Grant for cultural diversity

Taike awards grants for promoting cultural diversity for artists, working groups, and private persons working as entrepreneurs. The purpose of these grants is "to enhance the opportunities of artists with immigrant backgrounds or who belong to other cultural minorities to carry out artistic activities and to participate in Finnish art life on an equal basis and to support art and cultural projects in Finland that promote cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue and combat racism" . The total grant amount awarded in 2018 was 130,000 euros divided between 36 recipients, out of which 28% were foreign-language speakers.

The majority of the Artists Survey respondents considered the grant important, though many identified problems with it. The grant was seen important in promoting diversity and intercultural dialogue—especially in the current political climate—and as an important stepping stone for foreign-born artists to gain entry in the grant system in Finland. However, the grant was also seen to segregate foreign-born artists from others and label them as "immigrant artists". Criticism addressed whether the existence of the grant was seen by Taike as a sufficient measure for dealing with cultural diversity versus taking it into accound in the criteria of all grants. Similar remarks have been made previously, suggesting that the grant does not seem to have functioned as an entry point for other grants and that special measures targeted towards minorities often actually segregate rather than prevent isolation from the dominant culture (see Karhunen, 2013: 113; Saukkonen, 2013: 33).

Taike has taken measures to improve this situation and has included ´equality and fair treatment´ in the decision-making criteria of operational subsidies and grants for artists. This specific criteria is, however, not elaborated further. In addition, following the objectives stated in Taike's current performance agreement, during the period of 2017–2019, Taike aimed to increase the percentage of foreign-language applicants and recipients up to 6%. There has also been effort to increase understanding of cultural diversity among the national art councils by seeking more recommendations regarding persons with culturally diverse backgrounds.

Despite these measures, however, the issue of representation remains, and it is impossible to cover all fields of artistic expertise in the art councils. Karhunen states that in a qualitative evaluation process of Taike's grant applications, the individuals' backgrounds cannot be determined and conclusive, and the decision-making cannot simply follow the share of applicants (Karhunen, 2013: 72). However, it is obvious that, when the decision-making is based on previous artistic merits, such as in Taike's case, the way in which the applicant's professionalism and quality of their previous artistic activities are assessed is crucial. Furthermore, it is essential to recognize how different artistic practices are assessed and valued and what kind of expertise is needed in the decision-making process.

Cultural diversity in the art and culture institutions in Finland

Diversity of the personnel

In the Directors Survey the directors of the art and culture institutions were presented with statements and asked to evaluate how much they agreed or disagreed with them. The museum, theatre, and orchestra directors all identified cultural diversity as a strength in their work community. However, most museum and theatre directors felt that non-Finnish- or Swedish-speaking professionals do not have equal opportunities at their institution. Orchestra and dance theatre directors felt strongly that the opportunities are equal and appeared more likely to employ foreign-language-speaking professionals compared to museums and drama theatres.

According to a report of the Swedish Agency for Cultural Policy Analysis (2017), the representation of employees with a foreign background is the largest among performing arts institutions and orchestras in all Nordic countries. Meanwhile, museums typically exhibit the lowest percentage of persons with a foreign background (Kulturanalys Norden, 2017: 11). In total, the share of foreign-born employees at government-funded cultural institutions in Finland in 2015 was around 6% (ibid: 25). About 3% of the employed managers had a foreign background, and this percentage decreased during the study period (2000–2015). In other words, the diversity of the Finnish population is not reflected in the cultural institutions' personnel, and, in 2015, the cultural sector was estimated to be moving further away from reflecting the actual population (Ibid: 10–12.)

Based in the Directors Survey, in 2017, all dance theatres had at least one or more non-Finnish, Swedish, or Sámi languages speaking member on their staff, whereas majority of the museums had

Number	Museums, n=58	Theatres, n=27	Orchestras, n=13	Total, n=98
None	69%	37%	23%	54%
1–2	26%	33%	23%	28%
3–5	3%	22%	15%	10%
5-10	2%	7%	15%	5%
10-20	0%	0%	15%	2%
Over 20	0%	0%	8%	1%

TABLE 2. NUMBER OF FOREIGN-LANGUAGE-SPEAKING STAFF IN THE ART AND CULTURE INSTITUTIONS 2017.

none (Table 4). It needs to be noted that many of the museums in Finland are small and only have a few members of staff. The dance theatre directors agreed more frequently than others that the members of their staff should reflect the diversity of society. There was no clear opinion mentioned by most of the museum, drama theatre, and orchestra directors. The theatre and orchestra directors agreed more strongly than the museums that bringing about cultural diversity in their operations requires members of staff with culturally diverse backgrounds.

Other notable differences were also found between the museums, theatres, and orchestras. All disagreed more than agreed that a Finnish degree and/or education would lead to the greatest work competence at their institution. The orchestras and dance theatres disagreed with this statement more strongly than the others. The interviews, however, revealed that the professional level of Finnish degrees was considered easier to assess than foreign ones.

Many of the directors identified challenges in a culturally and linguistically diverse work environment. Of those who had worked in such a work environment, only 16% had not faced any problems. The most frequently faced challenges were communication difficulties, misunderstandings, and different work practices. The respondents who had not worked in such a work environment predicted to face more challenges than had been faced in reality when comparing to the number of those respondents who had faced challenges. The directors had faced challenges related to different artistic perceptions, however, more often than had been suspected. In total, a fourth of the respondents had never worked in culturally and linguistically diverse work environments.

Competence and practices

Many museum and theatre directors felt that they do not have the competence to take cultural diversity into account in their practices and operations, whereas the orchestra directors were much more optimistic in this regard. Less than a third of the institutions had received training on cultural diversity; these were mostly cultural history museums and other museums. Moreover, 44% of the orchestra directors saw no need for such training, and 64% of the theatre directors could not say if it was needed. This could indicate that, due to the lack of encounters with cultural diversity within these institutions' operations, the required knowledge and skills have not yet been identified (see Saukkonen et al, 2007: 25).

On a strategic level, cultural diversity was most commonly linked to audience development, audience work, events, programs, and exhibitions. Only every tenth directors stated that there was no mention of cultural diversity in their strategic documents, such as in their operation plan. At the same time, however, only a few of the directors reported that cultural diversity was linked to their human resources management or the development of the organization.

In the institutions' practices, cultural diversity was faced most often, in the following order, in relation to audience work, exhibitions, events, program, and networks. Around a fifth of the directors reported that they had never faced issues or questions related to cultural diversity within their institution's practices.

According to the directors, the biggest general challenges in taking cultural diversity into account in the institutions' practices and operations were insufficient resources and allowances for recruiting

new personnel. As such, the central government transfers system does not require taking cultural diversity into account in the institutions' practices. However, the system has recently been reformed, with the new Museums Act as well as the act on promoting performing arts being established in 2020. The purpose of the Museums Act is to strengthen individuals' and communities' understanding of and participation in culture and history; advance communality, continuity, and cultural diversity; and further well-being, equality, and democracy (Museums Act, 2019). The aim of the state contribution to the operating costs of performing arts units is to promote, from an artistic point of view, the diversity and cultural diversity of performing arts, among others (Laki esittävän taiteen edistämisestä, 2020).

Experiences of discrimination

Personal experiences do not always provide a positive picture of foreign-born artists' situation in the cultural field in Finland. A clear majority (86%) of the respondents had faced hardship (most often economical) in their professional career in Finland. This is, as stated previously, a common problem in the cultural field in Finland and evident in multiple studies (see, e.g., Hirvi-Ijäs et al, 2019; Rensujeff, 2014). In addition, foreign-born artists experience hardship due to prejudice and discrimination based on ethnicity, leading to, in extreme cases, mental health problems. In general, artists in Finland experience their work as more mentally stressful and draining than other workers in Finland, the reasons for which include discrimination and harassment in the arts and culture field (Houni & Ansio, 2013: 149–163).

Of those who had worked in Finnish arts and culture institutions (60 Artists Survey respondents), 83% of men and 55% of women had faced challenges or problems. The country of their professional education did not affect the likelihood of encountering problems, but those who had lived in Finland only a short while faced more challenges and problems. Moreover, those using English as their work language encountered significantly more challenges than those who spoke Finnish. These challenges were caused most often by insufficient Finnish language skills, leading to limited work assignments, an inability to take part in decision-making, feelings that others were favoured, and a lack of transparency. Other mentioned problems included differences in work practices and an unwillingness to change or re-evaluate existing practices. This led to

respondents feeling like an outsider.

One study showed that the highest ethnic discrimination rates can be found at the recruitment stage (Ministry of Employment and the Economy, 2012: 72). Fortyone per cent of the Artists Survey respondents felt that their professional expertise was recognised and respected when applying for work or grants in Finland, while 39% felt the opposite. Respondent age, gender, or country of professional education did not affect the responses. A third of those who were born inside the EU or EEA area and 43% of those born outside the EU/EAA felt that their expertise was recognized and respected. Grant recipients and persons in employment relationship felt most strongly that their expertise was recognised, whereas entrepreneurs and unemployed persons felt the opposite.

The reported reasons for respondents not feeling their professional expertise was recognised and respected included the need to prove their professional skills and expertise repeatedly and more often than Finnish-born artists, a lack of recognition of the degrees or expertise gained outside Finland, and different artistic practices. One example of this was the response that artists' associations might not accept a foreign degree as proof of professionalism. The respondents presented a number of assumptions regarding discrimination without concrete examples, although recent reports and studies have shown that many Finns believe in the occurrence of discrimination based on ethnicity and that an applicant's name takes on a significant role when applying for work, especially in the case of Iraqi and Somali applicants (Eurobarometer, 2019; Ahmad, 2019).

Just over half of the Artists Survey respondents did not feel they are treated as equals with Finnish-born artists. The major reported reason for this was the inability to speak the Finnish language. Other mentioned reasons included, again, a lack of networks, closed circles, assumption regarding favouritism, a lack of recognition of professional merits gained from outside Finland, the system being created to support Finnish-born artists, discrimination, racism, and harassment. A strong sense disbelief and disappointment in Finnish society and the cultural sector was evident in some of the responses.

Some of the Artists Survey respondents reported that they felt being seen as a representative of only their native country or ethnicity. The question of racialization cannot be adequately discussed based on the research data here, but there is evidence that it should be taken seriously. Aminkeng Atabong (2016) suggested that the

existence of race is often ignored in Finland. Replacing race with culture makes it difficult to understand the concept of race and racialization. Using culture and ethnicity to mark differences between population groups silences the racial experiences of the racialised people (Aminkeng Atabong, 2016: 16–17.) In a society like Finland, whiteness is an unquestioned norm that all others are compared with and valued against (ibid., 28–29). Ultimately this has an effect in how those who do not represent the white Finnish population are seen in society—whether they are seen as representatives of their own ethnic group only or whether they are represented in diverse individual roles in the Finnish society.

Conclusions

This article aimed to address the status of foreign-born artists and study their experiences working and operating in the cultural field in Finland. According to the research, a majority of the challenges and problems faced by the foreign-born artists living in Finland are linked to economic difficulties. Grants are difficult to obtain and often too small to fully cover living expenses. A lack of permanent or long-term employment relevant to artists' specific practices creates uncertainty for many. Discrimination and harassment are also common. These are all generally identified problems in the Finnish cultural field. In addition, foreign-born artists face a number of challenges in their professional career due to language problems, merits gained outside Finland, and discrimination based on ethnicity. When the factors pile up and a person meets with discrimination on multible counts, it is clear that the possibilities for equal treatment become substantially lower.

All the addressed challenges by the foreign-born artists recognised in this research have been identified in previous studies (MinEdC 2012; Karhunen 2013; Saukkonen 2010; Lammi & Protassove 2011). Therefore one can ask why have the previous observations have not led to better improvements. The directors of the art and culture institutions identified cultural diversity as a strength of a work community but the directors of museums and theatres specifically reported hesitating in hiring people who have not mastered any of the national languages. Their positive attitudes towards cultural diversity are too often deflated by lack of financial resources, time, and skills. Differences in work practises, quality conceptions, and artistic perceptions were also mentioned as challenges in culturally diverse environments.

At times, the research findings indicates a certain protectiveness by native Finns as well as an apparent openness towards cultural diversity. This is evident, for example, when professional Finnish degrees are valued more highly than foreign ones. The central government transfers system has recently undergone a reform, and it will remain to be seen if this reform will place any demands on institutions or introduce new tools for measuring and evaluating their operations and practices. Based on the present research, there is a recognized need to encourage these institutions to more explicitly integrate cultural diversity in their everyday operations.

It appears that the structures, practices, and attitudes in the cultural field of Finland do not fully support the employment and work possibilities of foreign-born artists, especially those lacking sufficient Finnish- or Swedish-language skills. Working in English can also have negative effects on, for example, career development. While the possibility of working in English may increase one's work opportunities, it may also prevent future career development due to the national language requirements. The higher the position, the more likely it is to require Finnish- and/or Swedish-language skills.

Although language is an important factor in creating inequality, concentrating on it bypasses the complex issues of race and racialization. More research in the Finnish context is needed regarding the mechanisms of racial discrimination not only concerning foreign-born persons but all persons who find it difficult to enter the Finnish art and culture sector for such reasons.

The report by the working group appointed by the Ministry of Education and Culture (2019) emphasises the importance of diversity and equality and highlights that more effort must be focused on improving the funding and support systems as well as the social security of artists. The working group also acknowledges that the funding and support system of Taike has been criticised for its lack of transparency. These are all similar issues addressed by the Artists Survey respondents. A major obstacle regarding the grants of Taike is the lack of accessible information regarding the decision-making process, which causes assumptions and reduces accountability.

What is needed to advance the situation of foreign-born artists in Finland is the sufficient implementation and the willingness of everyone in the arts and culture sector to advance cultural diversity and equality in their practices. So far, it is unclear

whether there will be set mechanisms for monitoring the new acts and terms and whether sanctions will be installed. Overall, training, mentoring, and re-evaluation of established practises are endorsed as steps towards greater inclusion. The results of this research show that the majority of the Finnish arts and culture directors would welcome a more culturally diverse cultural field in Finland but lack an understanding of how to identify and dissolve practices and structures fostering inequality.

REFERENCES

AHMAD, A. (2019). When the Name Matters: An Experimental Investigation of Ethnic Discrimination in the Finnish Labor Market. *Sociological Inquiry.* Volume 90, Issue 3. 468–496. doi: 10.1111/soin.12276.

AMINKENG ATABONG, A. (2016). *Is There Such a Thing...? A Study of Antiracism Education in Finland.* Helsinki: University of Helsinki.

Constitution of Finland (1999). Access method: https://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/kaannokset/1999/en19990731.pdf

Eurobarometer (2019). Discrimination in the European Union. Special Eurobarometer, 493. Brussels/Luxembourg: European Commission.

Helsingin kaupunki (2019). *Helsingin seudun vieraskieliset väestön ennuste* 2018–2035. Helsinki: Helsingin kaupunki, kaupunginkanslia, kaupunkitutkimus- ja tilastot. Tilastoja 2019:3 [Accessed on 15.8.2019]. Access method: https://www.hel.fi/hel2/tietokeskus/julkaisut/pdf/19_03_14_Tilastoja_3_Vuori.pdf

HIRVI-IJÄS, M., KAUTIO, T., KURLIN, A., RENSUJEFF, K. & SOKKA, S. (2020). *Taiteen ja kulttuurin barometri 2019. Taiteilijoiden työ ja toimeentulon muodot.* Cuporen verkkojulkaisuja 57.

HIRVI-IJÄS, M.; RENSUJEFF, K.; SOKKA, S.; KOSKI, E. (2018). Taiteen ja kulttuurin barometri 2017. Nuoret taiteentekijät. Cuporen verkkojulkaisuja, 47.

HIRVI-IJÄS, M.; SOKKA, S.; RENSUJEFF, K.; KURLIN, A. (2019). *Taiteen ja kulttuurin barometri 2018. Taiteilijoiden ja taiteen liikkuvuus. Cuporen verkkojulkaisuja,* 51.

HIRVI-IJÄS, M.; SOKKA, S. (2019). *Suomen taide- ja taiteilijapolitiikka 2019.* Tietovihko 2. Kulttuuripolitiikan tutkimuskeskus Cupore.

HOUNI, P.; ANSIO, H. (eds.) (2013). *Taiteilijan työ. Taiteilijan hyvinvointi taidetyön muutoksessa.* Helsinki: Työterveyslaitos.

KARHUNEN, P. (2013). *Maahanmuuttajataiteilijat taiteen tukijärjestelmässä.* Helsinki: Taiteen edistämiskeskus.

KARHUNEN, P. (2019). *Taiken tuki taiteen ja kulttuurin edistämiseen.* Taiteen edistämiskeskus. Access method: https://www.taike.fi/documents/10162/52418/Vuositilasto+2018.pdf/4adfaaa3-1ed7-592e-c434-7e68eeca01df

Kulturanalys Norden (2017). Kultur med olika bakgrund. Utländsk bakgrund bland anställda vid statligt finansierade kulturinstitutioner i Norden. Stockholm: Kulturanalys Norden.

LAHTINEN, E.; JAKONEN, O.; SOKKA, S. (2017). *Equality and accessibility in cultural policy.* Fact sheet – Center for Cultural Policy Research.

Laki esittävän taiteen esittämisestä (2020). Access method: https://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/alkup/2020/20201082

LAMMI, A. & PROTASSOVA, E. (2011). *Suomen venäjänkieliset kulttuuripalveluiden käyttäjinä ja tuottajina.* Helsinki: Venäjän ja Itä-Euroopan Instituutti.

Ministry of Education and Culture (2021). *Art, Culture and Diverse Finland: Final Report of the Working Group for Cultural Policy, Immigrants and Promotion of Cultural Diversity.* Finland: Publications of the Ministry of Education and Culture, 2021:5.

Ministry of Education and Culture (2019). Indicative Guidelines for Arts ¬– Proposal by Working Group on the Key Objectives for Arts and Artist Policy. Finland: Publications of the Ministry of Education and Culture, 2019:5.

Ministry of Education and Culture (2017). Strategy for Cultural Policy 2025. Finland: Publications of the Ministry of Education and Culture, 2017:22.

Ministry of Education and Culture (2014). Taiteen ja kulttuurin saavutettavuus. Loppuraportti. Opetus- ja kulttuuriministeriön työryhmämuistioita ja selvityksiä 2014:15.

Ministry of Employment and the Economy (2012). Discrimination in the Finnish Labor Market. An Overview and a Field Experiment on Recruitment. Publications of the Ministry of Employment and the Economy, 16/2012.

Museums Act (2019). Access method: https://www.finlex.fi/en/laki/kaannokset/2019/en20190314.pdf

Non-discrimination Act (2014). Access method: https://www.finlex.fi/en/laki/kaannokset/2014/en20141325

Official Statistics of Finland (OSF). Foreign-Language Speakers [e-publication]. Helsinki: Statistics Finland [referred: 9.8.2019]. Access method: https://www.stat.fi/tup/maahanmuutto/maahanmuuttajat-vaestossa/vieraskieliset_en.html

Official Statistics of Finland (OSF). Population structure [e-publication]. ISSN=1797-5395. Annual review 2018. Helsinki: Statistics Finland [referred: 20.6.2019]. Access method: http://www.stat.fi/til/vaerak/2018/02/vaerak_2018_02_2019-06-19_tie_001_en.html?ad=notify

PYYKKÖNEN, M.; SAUKKONEN, P. (2015). Vähemmistöt, monikulttuurisuus ja kulttuuripolitiikka. In Heiskanen, I.; Kangas, A.; Mitchell, R. (eds.) Taiteen ja kulttuurin kentät: perusrakenteet, hallinta ja lainsäädäntö (pp. 375–402). Helsinki: Tietosanoma.

RENSUJEFF, K. (2014).Taiteilijan asema 2010. Taiteilijakunnan rakenne, työ ja tulonmuodostus. Helsinki: Taiteen edistämiskeskus.

ROIHA, T. (2016). Suomeen pakolaisina ja turvapaikanhakijoina vuosina 2011–2016 saapuneet taiteilijat. Helsinki: Taiteen edistämiskeskus.

SAUKKONEN, P.; RUUSUVIRTA, M.; JORONEN, T. (2007). "Tulossa on jotain juttuja". Kyselytutkimus pääkaupunkiseudun taide- ja kulttuuritoimijoiden suhteesta maahanmuuttoon ja monikulttuurisuuteen. Cuporen verkkojulkaisuja, 2/2007.

SAUKKONEN, P. (2010). *Kotouttaminen ja kulttuuripolitiikka. Tutkimus maahanmuutosta ja monikulttuurisuudesta suomalaisella taiteen ja kulttuurin kentällä.* Cuporen julkaisuja,, 19/2010.

SAUKKONEN, P. (2013). *Monikulttuurisuus ja kulttuuripolitiikka Pohjois-Euroopassa.* Cuporen verkkojulkaisuja, 19.

State of the Art Fair Post-Covid: Audience Development Strategies in a Post-Digital Context

Alexandra Zagrebelnaia (6i-DIRS COFUND MSCA Fellow)
University of Deusto, Spain
a.zagrebelnaia@deusto.es

ABSTRACT

This paper presents an overview of the audience-oriented initiatives implemented by art fairs during the confinement. As in other spheres of art and culture, significant growth of digital activities has been offered to the audience of the fairs. However, due to the 'experience nature' of the event, not all of these strategies were equally successful. Based on the qualitative thematic analysis of the articles written by the representatives of the art world, this paper identifies audience development strategies for the art fairs in a post-digital context. The first section introduces the classification of the strategic areas of audience development covered by the art fairs during confinement. The second section discusses which of these strategies can be implemented in the post-pandemic context. In conclusion, an overview of the audience development strategies and main trends is presented, opening the discussion on the contribution of these strategies to the development of the new art fair's model.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Introduction

Cultural events are one of the most important tools for social development and engagement. At the beginning of 2020, due to the spread of Covid-19 and all the consequences that followed, the cultural sphere became one of the most seriously damaged. It can be specially noted on the venue and events-based activities, that had to search for new ways of engagement with their audience (OECD, 2020: 13; Council of Europe, 2020: 4).

Art fairs, typically held in big exhibition venues, gathering thousands of visitors and participants, was one of the industries that had to rapidly adapt to the new circumstances. On account of the cancellation of the most important art fairs in 2020 (The Art Market Report 2021: 174), the future of these events became one of the most discussed topics in the art market.

Not only the art fairs play a key role in the contemporary art market, presenting the most commercially promising artworks, selected by art dealers and sometimes curators (Vermeylen, F., 2020; Stocco, D., 2019; Baia, C. S., 2012) and stimulating competitiveness among the collectors, who want to be the first ones to purchase new artworks (Thornton, 2008), they also provide networking opportunities, increasing visibility and building a reputation of both artists and the galleries (Kapferer, 2010, Morgner, 2014; Yogev, 2010; Yogev and Grund, 2012). Besides that, art fairs facilitate discussions by organized conferences and panel talks; collaborate with museums and private art foundations, thus they cannot be approached only as commercial events. Changes in their usual routine have undoubtedly affected other artistic spheres and actors: galleries, artists, art collectors.

During the confinement, art fairs' organizers had to develop creative solutions to stay connected with their audience and provide visibility to the galleries. Reinventing their usual forms of organization, they were testing diverse strategies, developing digital tools, organizing de-centralized smaller events, or promoting international cooperation with galleries and public spaces.

It is important to add, that the need to change the existing art fair's model has been widely discussed even before the pandemic (Baldacci, Ricci, & Vettese, 2020;

Barragan, 2020; Saltz, 2018), but this issue became even more urgent in the post-pandemic post-digital context. Although lately several studies focused on development, networking and the general role of the art fairs have been published (Baldacci, Ricci, & Vettese, 2020; Barragan, 2020; Vermeylen, 2020; Stocco, 2019; Baia Curioni & Garutti, 2014), far too little attention has been paid to the role of the audience and audience development strategies.

Based on the qualitative thematic analysis, this paper aims to provide a comprehensive overview of the most widespread audience-oriented activities implemented during the confinement and to identify which of them can be possibly used in the post-pandemic future, contributing to the development of the new art fair's model[1].

Theoretical Framework

Place of the Art Fairs in the Art World

According to Howard Becker (1982), the art world represents a complex network of people that includes everyone involved in producing, commissioning, presenting, preserving, promoting, chronicling, criticizing, buying, and selling fine art. This idea is supported by Sarah Thornton (2008), noting that overlapping subcultures of the art world can be held together only by a belief in art. Although the presentation of the art fair as an important actor of the art world is not new (Morel, 2013: 355; Smith, 2020: 25), it seems impossible not to consider it, researching the fairs. It is crucial to understand the phenomenon of the art fair as an important tool for the presentation, promotion, and distribution of art and to consider it only in interaction with other participants of this big network. In this regard, all the actors involved in the art fair, including art fairs' organizers, curators, artists, art dealers, art critics, and collectors are the participants of the same network, playing their roles by contributing to the art world's dynamics. However, speaking about such a big public event as the art fair, it shouldn't be forgotten that among the visiting audience, there are also ordinary visitors who are coming to see the art fair as a leisure activity or touristic experience and they don't share the same degree of knowledge and

---

[1] Present paper has been elaborated as a part of the doctoral thesis, on which the author is working at the moment. The main goal of the thesis is to find socially-oriented audience development strategies for the emerging art fairs in Spain and Italy. Starting the research during this unusual historical moment, it is important to take into consideration initiatives and creative solutions implemented by the art fairs' organizers in the given context, because they will likely shape the changes in the future model of the art fairs in the post-digital times. Preliminary findings of this research have been presented online during the 15th Max Weber Fellows' June Conference "Healing and Renewal", organized by the Max Weber Programme, and held on 16, 17, and 18 June 2021.

familiarity with the art world or, in a broader sense with the art field, as it was theorized by Bourdieu (1993).

Being responsible for the distribution of the art, at the same time, art fairs represent an important meeting point for various actors of the art world. (Yogev & Grund, 2012: 27). Accordingly, they are the key events in the market, as they serve as the unmissable society events (Vermeylen, 2015: 56) and provide significant networking opportunities to their participants (Ruiz, 2021; Morgner, 2014; Yogev & Grund, 2012; Yogev, 2010).

According to Catherine Morel (2014), art fairs can be perceived as the real metaphor of the art world. She suggests studying them from different perspectives: as a field configuring event; in comparison with other creative industries; as gatekeeper to the art world; as a map of the art world; as a site for re-enactment of the art world; and as a place for selected encounters; concluding that as "cyclical events that concentrate important actors of the art world in specific locations, art fairs go far beyond commercial transactions: they facilitate and support knowledge exchanges, network and reputation building" (Morel, 2014: 360).

Art dealer and author Nacho Ruiz (2021: 25) went further, suggesting placing art fairs in one of the central places within the concept of the art system, originally coined by Lawrence Alloway and Achile Bonito Oliva in 1972. Additionally, speaking about art as a social and perceptual system, it is important to mention major work by Luhmann (1971: 13), who claimed that art was a special kind of communication that used perceptions instead of language, which should be considered regarding the representative function of the art fairs.

Art Fairs in the Pre-Covid Context

Although various predecessors of the art fairs in the shape of art festivals, fairs of artisanship, or biennials (Barragan, 2008) have been witnessed throughout history, the model of the art fair closest to its contemporary shape has been first held only in 1967 in Cologne (Morgner, 2014). Planned as a place of gathering and exchange for dealers, collectors, artists, and art enthusiasts, today this exhibition-based event has grown into an international phenomenon.

Although some of the fairs claim that their mission is to "bring art closer to the audience" (Art Cologne) or "to discover new talents, on one side, and to support the rediscovery of the overlooked ones on the other" (Artissima), the fact that they provide an enormous commercial potential is clear and shouldn't be forgotten. According to Mehring (2008), during its most

productive years, Art Cologne was largely responsible for "generating the most public and open discussion about the contemporary art market in history" (p.328). Thompson (2011), named the art fairs "tournaments of value" (p. 71) in the art market; Heiser (2020) went further, claiming that art fairs are "market events" and that they are "like bazaar" (p.125), emphasizing that even the seemingly non-commercial parts such as talks or educational programs serve to a purpose of brand-building, as a part of the overall business.

The success of the art fairs can be traced to the growth of art fairs' amount worldwide. According to Thompson (2008), the number of established art fairs had risen from 55 in 2001 to 205 in 2008. Since then, the significance of the fairs has been gradually increasing: the 2020 Art Basel & UBS Art Market Report includes 300 established international art fairs in 2019. Due to the growing interest in the art fairs' phenomenon, the current era has been even described as "the age of the art fair" (Barragan, 2008, Bankowksy, 2005), "the decade of the art fairs" (Thompson, 2008) and the "artfairisation" of the art world (Barragan, 2008).

Assessment of the art fairs in the period right before the pandemic (UBS Art Market Report 2020) proved that they remained a key method for galleries to reach a higher volume of new clients from local and international markets. It has also revealed high interest shared between groups of visitors. Although only a small part of them turns into real clients, according to participating galleries and art fair organizers, these events serve as a starting point for education and familiarization of new collectors with galleries, artists, and the art market.

Despite the increasing number of attendees as well as growing public engagement, in the last decade, there could be noticed a tendency to complain about the oversaturation with the art events (Micheala Neumeister cited in Thompson, 2011: 45). Tiredness from the need to attend numerous art fairs, excessive traveling, and the urge to attend a variety of side events during the art fair's week, became such a common topic, that they even coined a special term for it: Fairtigue (Schneider, 2018; Heiser, 2020). It was widespread in 2019, together with similar comments on the fact that there were "too many fairs", and "overload" with the art events (Adam, April 1, 2020).

The tendency of *fairtigue* and cancellation of the art fairs, as well as some other organizational and ethical problems, have raised a debate on the efficiency of the existing art fair's model. In his major research on the history and development of the art fairs, Paco Barragan

(2020) claims that the present moment is a perfect time to reshape the existing art fair's model. He believes that methods and strategies working during the booming economy may not work at present and that now the art fairs need more practical/financial changes rather than theoretical/curatorial ones.

The fact that from a trade show with cultural impact (Frost, W., & Laing, J., 2018), art fairs have transferred into real experiences raised another debate among the researchers. Based on the notion of the "experience economy", first introduced in a 1998 article by B. Joseph Pine II and James H., Barragan (2008: 67) suggests that art fairs represent a paradigm of that experience economy: a center where a limited offer of artworks on sale allows to transcend from the category of simple "spectator" into a "role-player", a real participant of the art world. He then adds that art fairs are praised not only for the quality of the art displayed but also for the quality of the "experience they offer" (p. 88). Moreover, according to Velthuis (2012: 32), within this event culture, the whole concept of consumption of contemporary art is represented as a social and cultural experience.

Although the main goal of the organization of "experimental" and non-commercial events (Ricci, 2020: 66), including artists' talks, lectures, workshops, bookshops, and additional curated exhibitions (Smith, 2020; Altshuler, 2020), may be questionable, after all, they offer a diverse cultural program to the public. For instance, as a part of the VIP Program, art fairs are organising presentations and breakfasts in the galleries, visits to the collectors' houses, cocktails, and parties in museums (Dalley, 2013). Therefore, for the experienced collectors, who have a personal invitation from the Art Fair or participating gallery and are included in the VIP Program, the idea of attending an art fair includes the whole experience package. Unfortunately, it is not the case for the visitors who come to the art fair for the first time or attend it "by surprise" (Bollo et al., 2018). They may be confused by the chaotic structure of the Art Fair, and not informed of any side events happening around the city during the fair, although some of them are free to attend and don't require a special invitation.

In this regard, it is interesting to distinguish the types of audience typically attending the art fairs. At first glance, it may seem that, as an industry event, it is aimed exclusively at the people from the art industry: "galleries, collectors, curators, museums' directors, art critics, journalists…" (Yogev and Grund, 2012). Some of the fairs even list the "desired" categories of visitors. For instance, Art Cologne invites "museums (directors, curators), collectors (institutional, investment and private), auction houses, cultural and educational services, artists, art curators and art consultants, banks and insurance, companies, architects, private people interested in art" (Art Cologne website: For Visitors). However, the latter group "private people interested in art" remains unclear, and raises many questions. An interesting reflection on it was made by Schultheis et al. (2015): doing major ethnographical research on the Art Basel, they suggested the division between customers, who can be called "art lovers", and general visitors, who can be called "interested in art" (p.16). This division can be noticed starting from an allocation of the special days of the art fairs dedicated to Professionals or VIP guests only (by invitation/accreditation only) and the general public (free or paid entrance during the last days of the fair, usually on weekend). Thus, typically during the first two-four days, art fairs are open exclusively to a selected group of people, and "general audience" or people "interested in art" can come only on the last days of the fair. Therefore, talking about the audience development of the art fairs, this functional distinctions should be taken into account.

Art Fairs and Audience Development

As a starting point, it should be stated that audience development is not a scientific discipline, but rather a management approach within cultural institutions. There are several definitions of this term, shaped in different countries based on their specific contexts (Cuenca-Amigo & Makua, 2018).

However, most of these definitions agree on the *transversality* of the Audience Development (Cuenca-Amigo, & Makua, 2018). Starting from the first research and discussions on the subject, Rogers (1998) argued that audience development was the result of the combination and collaboration of programming, education, and marketing, wondering if the professionals from such different fields would ever be able to work together towards the common goal of developing audiences. Supporting this idea Kotler and Scheff (2004) highlight the complications connected to collaboration between art directors and employees from the administrative departments, including marketing.

Although it was created ten years ago, a comprehensive definition of Audience Development from the Arts Council of England (2011: 2) is still widely used: "activity which is undertaken specifically to meet the needs of existing and potential audiences

and to help arts organizations to develop ongoing relationships with audiences. It can include aspects of marketing, commissioning, programming, education, customer care, and distribution". This definition then emphasizes the importance of AD, concluding that: "As an ethos audience development places the audience at the heart of everything the organization does". Colomer (2013), who instead of using this term refers to it as *audience training*, also highlights the idea of confluence of different areas, stating that audience training is multidisciplinary and that various disciplines converge in it such as marketing, sociology, economics, pedagogy or social dynamization, which just confirms the idea of the importance of the comprehensive collaboration.

However, in the case of this study, the social aspect of Audience Development, focused on accessibility, inclusivity, and education is more relevant. The most illustrative for it is the definition given by the European Commission (2012: 1): "Audience development is a strategic, dynamic, and interactive process of making the arts widely accessible. It aims at engaging individuals and communities in experiencing, enjoying, participating in and valuing the arts through various means available today for cultural operators, from digital tools to volunteering, from co-creation to partnerships".

Additional findings can be encountered in a study conducted by Bollo et al., (2017). It is mainly focused on the organizational part, proposing eight strategic areas of intervention: programming, audience participation, and co-creation, digital transformation, use of data, place, collaboration and partnership, organizational change, capacity building.

Besides that, at present, several cultural organizations start to take into account local communities of their interest. Regarding this, Borwick (2012) delves into the relationship of cultural organizations with their local communities and defends the need to focus on creating communities instead of audiences in the first place. The term strictly associated with this practice is then *community engagement.*

Post-Digital Context

In the introduction to his forthcoming book *Shout for Joy! The Plague has Passed: Biblical Insights for Life in a Post-corona Era*, artist, and art educator Mel Alexenberg claims that "the Post-corona Era is a Postdigital Age". The term explains a wide dependence on the process of digitalization and refers to: "technical condition that followed the so-called digital revolution and is constituted by the naturalization of pervasive and connected computing processes and outcomes in everyday life, such that digitality is now inextricable from the way we live while forms, functions, and effects are no longer perceptible" (Albrecht, Fielitz & Thurston, 2019:11).

The first discussion on the related topic can be found in the article written by Nicholas Negroponte back in 1998. The main idea behind it was that oversaturation with digital techniques and experience may bring surprising changes to the rest of culture and society in general. Thus, speaking about post-digitalization, the focus should be made not only on the technical side of the process, but also on the social, cultural, and political effects of this normalization.

Interestingly, the term is widely used in connection to artistic practices (Alexenberg, 2011; Benayoun, 2008; Bolognini, 2008), referring to the focus on "being human, rather than with being digital" (Alexenberg, 2011:14). It is concerned with constantly changing relationships between digital technologies and art forms. However, it does not mean that the digital part will disappear or will not be needed anymore. On the contrary, digital transformation will continue its way to produce innovative approaches and experiences. At the same time, the importance of social interaction and the human aspect will be highly praised and promoted in the post-digital context.

Methodology

Aimed at providing a structured overview of the audience-oriented initiatives and strategies, this research is based on a qualitative thematic analysis of relevant online resources and newspaper articles.

To describe trends in communication and to trace the development of scholarship (Krippendorff & Klaus, 2004: 45), the online version of The Arts Newspaper [https://www.theartnewspaper.com/] has been chosen as a reliable source of information, recognized, and supported by the key actors of the art world. Among reviewers and commentators for the paper are museum directors, curators, artists, and art critics (The Art Newspaper: About, accessed: 2021, May 15), which provides an opportunity to make a reliable overview of their vision, opinion, and predictions. Additionally, a few articles from other online sources: Artnet [http://www.artnet.com/] and DataArt [https://www.dataart.com/], have been added to confirm certain theories and trends.

A pre-selection criterion based on the timeframe (01/03/2020 – 31/05/2021) and search by the key-words combination 'Art Fair'+ 'Covid' helped to identify 34 relevant articles, which contained reflections and interviews on the dynamics in the art fairs' industry, changes, and initiatives.

After the first revision, articles that contained irrelevant information have been eliminated. To answer the question: "What audience-oriented strategies and activities were implemented by the art fairs during confinement and which of them are more likely to be used in the future?", inductive coding was implemented. Instead of assigning the pre-selected categories, they were formed naturally during the content screening. Following Gioia's approach to inductive research designed to develop new concepts and to generate persuasive new theories (Gioia & Pitre, 1990; Gioia et al., 2012), these initiatives were later grouped in the second-order themes.

Interestingly, after grouping of categories, it has been observed that they generally correspond to the key strategic areas of audience development identified by the EngageAudiences Project (Bollo et al., 2017).

Additional qualitative analysis in its explanatory nature helped to make predictions on the trends that most likely will remain in the art fair's industry in the post-covid context.

Art Fairs in Confinement: Strategies, Activities, and Ways of Engagement with the Audience

Starting from the cancellation of Art Basel Hong Kong in March 2020, major art fairs started to cancel their events, due to the pandemic (Art Market Report 2021; Brady, 2020, Schneider, 2020, March 16; Artnet News, 2020, March 16).

According to the Art Market report 2021, 61% of global art fairs planned for 2020 were canceled, and only 37% managed to have live events, although in a restricted format and with rescheduled dates. The remaining 2% of fairs were held in an alternative way, such as a smaller, modified live event, a hybrid art fair, appointment-only fair in another venue, or some other decentralized event held across different locations within a city or internationally.

Although organizers of the events were trying to implement creative and non-standard solutions, the research has shown that most of those initiatives were rather similar in nature. The table below presents all the first-order categories and second-order themes that have been formed out of these categories. Representative quotations serve to illustrate the raw material, out of which the categories were identified. The most frequently identified themes are further discussed in detail.

First-Order Categories	Second-Order Themes	Representative quotations
Online Viewing Rooms (OVR)	Digital Transformation	"Although the circumstances are quite exceptional today, it can be a rewarding experience, a kind of testing ground for analyzing how digital technology can be successful in the art market. Online platforms could provide an additional channel of audience engagement for fairs and art galleries in the future". (Pablo del Val, Art Dubai art director) "At least 75% of the conversations we are having right now are brainstorms about how best to present art online". (Sam Orlofsky, [former] director of Gagosian Gallery)
New technologies: VR, AR	Digital Transformation	"What is absent from current online fair platforms is the 'element of discovery' that wandering the aisles of a physical event engenders. The 'experience factor' is what makes fairs fun and, using video game technology, Untitled, Art Online visitors will be able to browse booths leisurely, or jump directly to where they want to go on the floor plan, rather than just clicking through a couple of static pages". (Jeffrey Lawson, Untitled, Art Fair's founder)

Other online initiatives	Digital Transformation	"Still, my favourite digital solution so far has been more old-school: an easy-to-navigate, searchable PDF catalogue for April's Artmonte-carlo fair. It came complete with breaks to get you away from your screen, along with links to a classical music concert and a recipe for a grapefruit and asparagus starter, courtesy of a three-Michelin-star chef. Some welcome reminders of the joys of IRL". (Melanie Gerlis, Art Market editor of The Art Newspaper)
Online side events: conferences, talks, performances	Digital Transformation	""Art Basel webinar was devoted to New Gallery Collaborations During the Crisis. On the Zoom panel were David Zwirner (in his Montauk bedroom), Sadie Coles (with guest appearances from her son and cat) and Jeffrey Deitch (and his bookshelf), moderated by Art Basel's global director Marc Spiegler". (Louisa Buck, British art critic)
Adaptation of the artworks to a digital context	Digital Transformation	"In the absence of the flesh-pressing, glass-clinking fervour of real-life art fairs, many artists are embracing the seclusion of lockdown and readily adapting to the art world's newfound digital status, creating works specifically with virtual fairs and online viewing rooms in mind". (Anny Shaw, art journalist for The Art Newspaper)
De-centralization: gallery weekends, different small locations around the city	Place	"By concentrating on just a few days, gallery weekends can recreate the excitement and buzz of an art fair. The increased footfall gives the feeling of a popular event, better than the experience of visiting an exhibition alone, in an echoing white space. Meeting up with like-minded people and discussing what is on also reinforces the event's interest and relevance". (Georgina Adam, journalist, public speaker, art market expert)
New location specifically built for the purpose	Place	"We have done some very aggressive modelling on the basis of only having 300 people in there, but it could be more. In terms of capacity, we will work with whatever limit is imposed at that time". (Michael Benson, Photo London's co-founder)
Longer duration of the art fairs	Time	"The extensive length of the event [NADA Fair] —four weeks — also offers dealers ample time to make sales …" (Margaret Carrigan, Deputy Art Market Editor at The Art Newspaper)
All-year-long events	Time	"In June 2020 Design Miami/ announced Design Miami/ Shop after it was forced to cancel its already-postponed Basel edition, which will be accessible 365 days a year and is open to galleries who have exhibited with the fair previously". (Margaret Carrigan, Deputy Art Market Editor at The Art Newspaper)

Smaller events for local audience	Community Engagement 41	"I don't think fairs are going away any time soon, but I don't know how many people will be traveling for fairs soon. Post-pandemic, I think we'll see the cultural landscape become much more spread out across the US, away from the major international cities, and I think buyers will embrace localism". (Margaret Carrigan, Deputy Art Market Editor at The Art Newspaper)
Focus on local galleries	Community Engagement	"This online initiative launches today with 81 of the city's galleries large and small, emerging and established, joining together to promote engagement with a local and international art audience. Every week there is a rotating presentation of ten gallery platforms along with one curated project, with each gallery appearing on the platform once every eight weeks. There's also an archive section devoted to LA's rich gallery history, with Deitch stressing that the platform is not exclusive but open to "every serious gallery in the city." (Louisa Buck, British art critic)
Collaboration with technological companies	Collaboration and Partnership	"The event [NADA Fair] is produced in partnership with the art-focused technology company Artlogic, which is donating its online viewing room platform for Nada's use". (Margaret Carrigan, Deputy Art Market Editor at The Art Newspaper)
Collaboration with online Marketplace platforms	Collaboration and Partnership	"As part of its #ArtKeepsGoing initiative, Artsy has also launched separate collections of works dedicated to non-profit institutions and others focused on galleries and artists that were due to show at art fairs that have been cancelled or postponed, such as ArteBA. It will also host some MFA graduate shows". (Gabriella Angeleti, art journalist for The Art Newspaper)
Collaborative Support Model	Collaboration and Partnership	"FAIR is NADA's response to the current situation, in line with our commitment to supporting a global community of galleries and artists. While many of these art spaces have been temporarily closed to the public, this new model provides an opportunity to showcase the best of contemporary art, while demonstrating our collaborative spirit and fostering mutual support for one another". (Heather Hubbs, NADA executive director)

TABLE 1. AUDIENCE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES AND ACTIVITIES OF THE ART FAIRS DURING THE CONFINEMENT

Source: Authors' own elaboration.

Interestingly, five themes that emerged from the thematic analysis broadly correspond with the strategic areas of intervention for audience development, elaborated by Bollo et al. (2017). Thus, digital transformation, change of place, collaboration and partnership became functional solutions for the art fairs in times of crisis. However, it is important to mention that categories within each theme can be varied, and don't imply the same approach for all the cultural events. Thus, in the present case, digital transformation included the implementation of new technologies, such as virtual and augmented reality, the development of online viewing rooms and alternative ways to present the program online; organization of online side and educational events, such as webinars, talks, and presentations, as well as adaptation of these artworks to a digital context. The need for a change of usual locations was justified above all by the covid restrictions. In some cases, external highly ventilated pavilions were built to fulfill the sanitary requirements and to be able to host an appropriate number of visitors. Another solution was the organization of de-centered events around the city (ZONAMACO in Mexico City) or even around the region (CHART 2020, that simultaneously took place in Copenhagen, Helsinki, Oslo, Reykjavík, and Stockholm).

Additionally, Borwick's (2012) idea of creating communities instead of audiences, and general focus on the local communities has found its way in a community engagement, promoted by the art fairs' organizers during the times when international travel was restricted.

Finally, based on the tendency of changing the usual duration of the Art Fairs from five days/one week to longer, sometimes "all-year-round" events have emerged into the category of "Time", giving more options to the visitors and participants. This option was successfully implemented especially in the online format. Instead of short-term exhibitions, art fairs offered different options and time slots to the visitors.

The analysis shows that not all the identified strategies have had the same impact on the art fairs' industry. Thus, only the most representative examples are discussed in detail.

Digital Transformation

In general, the process of digitization and digital transformation can be explained through the digital organizational forms, digital infrastructure, and digital activities which increase productivity and growth or generate a competitive advantage for the organization (Brynjolfsson & McAfee, 2013; Ancarani & Di Mauro, 2018; Hinings et al., 2018; Svahn et al., 2017).

Before 2020, a big part of the art fairs did not pay enough attention to their digital strategies. The need to engage with the audience and exhibitors during the times of confinement has unsurprisingly turned them in a way to digital transformation. According to the engagement manager of DataArt, Doron Fagelson (2020) this development directly reflected the slow trend that had been noticed even before the COVID-19 pandemic: the digital transformation of the art trade in general.

Besides the goal to get commercial viability, they faced a serious challenge - to craft a virtual experience in such a way that it can be engaging and socially stimulating, although this experience is incomparable to social interactions and dynamics in real life.

The discourse on the importance of rapid digital transformation was especially widespread among the gallery directors. Sam Orlofsky, [at that moment] director of Gagosian Gallery claimed that starting from March 2020 majority of the conversations were brainstorming on what was the best way to present art online (Orlofsky cited in Gerlis, 2020, May 5). At the same time, the director of the homonymous gallery, Thaddaeus Ropac, was initially not in favor of "going online" (Ropac cited in Gerlis, 2020, May 5), thinking it could be distractive. However, launching their Online Viewing Room, he managed to embrace it, claiming to have hundreds of people engaged from the first day (Ropac cited by Gerlis, 2020, May 5).

Online Viewing Rooms (OVRs) were probably the most widespread format for online art fairs. According to the art portal Munchies Art Club, they provide an exclusive look at the work of an artist in a three-dimensional setting; they are globally accessible allowing the art dealers and artists to present their works to a large number of collectors and art lovers.

Unlike many other fairs, Art Basel has had a long way towards digital transformation, launching its first website back in 1995 (Bodick, 2014, June 17). They also have been among the first ones to launch an online alternative to their fair, when the spring edition of Art Basel Hong Kong got canceled. Although it provided visibility to the galleries and artists and guaranteed free access to the wider audience, the marketplace-like display suggested that it was a commercial, rather than a cultural experience. The abundance of the content represented there was initially not curated and was too numerous and exhausting to an unprepared uneducated audience. However, despite the evident

disadvantages, the format was quickly appropriated by the majority of the international art fairs, including Frieze, Artissima, FIAC, and others (Carrigan, 2020, March 31).

Acknowledging the not visitor-friendly format of the OVRs, some of the fairs developed more innovative digital initiatives, using, for example, Virtual or Augmented Reality. To better the user experience, Miami-based fair Untitled.art has launched an online edition using VR technology. According to official communication (Untitled.art, 2020), a platform used video game technology to imitate the IRL art-fair feel of the art fair's aisles. Claiming that the majority of the online art fairs were lacking an "element of discovery" and the "experience factor", the fair's founder, Jeffrey Lawson said that visitors of the Untitled.art VR would be able to browse booths leisurely or jump directly to where they want to go on the floor plan, "rather than just clicking through a couple of static pages" (cited in Carrigan, 2020, May 15).

Additionally, digital format was used to substitute a wide range of side events and activities, typically running together with the fairs. Starting from zoom webinars and panel talks, continuing with specifically made videos about artists, online performances, and increased engagement through social media. (UBS Art Market Report 2021).

Community Engagement

Although lately the key idea behind the art fairs was to provide international visibility and to foster globalization of art galleries (Quemin, 2008), during the times when borders remained closed and international traveling became a difficult challenge, art fairs' organizers have focused their interest on local galleries and audiences. According to the director of Art Cologne, Daniel Hug (2020, May 18), precisely "local" galleries and collectors from the surrounding regions can help the art market to survive. This idea is shared by the director of the Dallas Art Fair, Kelly Cornell: reflecting on the potential future of the fair and collectors/audience, she believes they would "embrace localism" (cited in Carrigan, 2020, July 9).

To prove it, in July 2020 Dallas Art Fair had launched Culture Place, Inc., a permanently working website that hosted a rotating group of 44 Texas-based galleries, to provide them visibility and to encourage a local audience to buy from local galleries. (Carrigan, 2020, July 9).

Not only localism became the priority of established art fairs, but it also has encouraged the development of totally new projects. Thus, the Hong Kong Art Gallery Association had launched a small local art fair, Unscheduled, featuring 12 local galleries (Movius, 2020, July 1). Despite the small dimension of this event and impossibility to bring an international audience, participating galleries remained extremely satisfied, claiming that they have met new audience and potential collectors at the fair (Arman Lam, the director of Hanart TZ Gallery; Katie de Tilly, the 10 Chancery Lane Gallery owner; Willem Molesworth, director of de Sarthe Gallery Hong Kong, all cited in Movius, 2020, July 1). This can be logically explained by two main reasons: first, the inability to travel to big international fairs, as well as their cancellation, has encouraged big collectors to pay attention to the local initiatives and events around them, typically ignored due to the lack of time and oversaturation of the cultural agenda. Second, the same limit of cultural offer has encouraged non-attendees to explore a new type of cultural events, coming to the art fairs for the first time.

Collaboration and Partnership

It is evident that during crisis times, it is important to join forces and to work cooperatively and collaboratively. In the case of the art fairs, it is possible to witness some major directions of collaboration and partnerships developed in the past year.

First, in the need for digital transformation, a significant part of the art fairs has created their online platforms in partnership with technology companies and startups. Among the most representative examples is the VR platform of the Untitled,art developed in collaboration with the Danish art-and-tech startup Artland (Carrigan, 2020, May 15). Another art-focused technology company, Artlogic, has been working in partnership with NADA Fair to develop a custom-made online viewing room platform. It is interesting that in this case, the company has donated the platform to the exclusive use of the fair to contribute to its visibility online (Carrigan, 2020, May 14).

Artlogic was not the only company that decided to help the art fairs. As part of its #ArtKeepsGoing initiative, the online art marketplace platform Artsy has launched separate collections of works dedicated to shows and art fairs that had been canceled or postponed, helping to introduce their program to wider audiences.

In a less-evident way, a tendency for collaboration can be noticed among the clusters of the galleries, participating in the art fairs. Thus, organizing

a gallery week, as an alternative to ZONAMACO fair in Mexico-city, its founder, Zelika García has emphasized the importance of a "spirit of collaboration and strengthening of the connections with collectors, professionals and the general public" (cited in Cassady, 2021, April 27). In the programming of the gallery week, a partnership among the galleries became a central theme, presenting programs of emerging galleries in the spaces of well-established ones and fostering joint exhibition projects and collaboration. Among other benefits, this initiative has helped to diversify the audience, bringing new visitors, especially from the local communities, to re-invented exhibition spaces.

Despite the relative success of these initiatives during the period of crisis, it remains questionable whether they represent temporary solutions, or can be perceived as "good practices". Although the need for the new art fair's model has been actively discussed, it is difficult to change a long-established concept with a long historical tradition.

Searching for a Model of the Art Fair of the Future

Starting from the times of confinement and cancellation of the cultural events, through the period of lightweight precaution measures, the art fairs' organizers have been trying to reinvent a model of the art fair functionally. Although a time of crisis was fruitful for creative solutions, it is possible to predict now that not all the proposed initiatives will remain in the post-covid future. A deeper analysis of the opinion of the key artworld's players, supported by reviews and commentary provided at the panel talks, and evidence of the experience from the art fairs held in the second half of 2021, helps to make predictions on what trends are more likely to continue their development in the future.

It is interesting to confront these audience development tendencies with the key points of the audience behavior and trends survey conducted in June 2021 by the Audience Agency. According to it:
- Audiences are slowly showing the will to return, with a continuing sense of risk to health and only slow rises in engagement.
- There are already indications that audience behavior will be different in the 'new-normal' after the pandemic, particularly in relation to more local attendance, greater digital engagement (alongside, and in some cases replacing, live

attendance), and openness to changes in event formats from significant minorities of the population (The Audience Agency, 2021).

In terms of the art fairs, similar behavioral patterns, that can predict future trends, can be noticed. Acknowledging travel difficulties, both art fair organizers and participating galleries acknowledge the importance of community engagement and localization of their initiatives. This does not apply, however, to the choice of the exhibiting artists. On the contrary, the idea behind it is to provide the platform to the local galleries, to show their international offer of the artists to the local audiences. It is diversification of the exhibition program that can help to attract local audiences that previously were not interested to attend the events.

Despite the short-term existence of the online art fairs, this experience was enough for the audience to proclaim a "digital fairtigue" (Gerlis, 2020, June 15), caused by oversaturation with online activities. It became a popular topic at the dedicated webinars and panel talks. Market observer and dealer Josh Baer has even posted a #sorrynotsorry statement on his newsletter: "I apologize—I looked at no-one's online viewing rooms" (cited in Gerlis, 2020, June 15), which can serve as an illustration of the art world's attitude towards the growing number of online art fairs and exhibitions. One year later, at the panel talk "Art Fairs in the Times of Change", held during the ARCOMadrid 2021, director of the art fair Artissima, Ilaria Bonacossa, raised a question of outdated and "not-user-friendly" display of most of the online fairs, suggesting that it is something that needs to be improved in the future. It shouldn't be forgotten that contemporary art fairs are widely based on the "experience nature" (Barragan, 2008: 67), which is impossible to recreate online.

It seems logical, that finding themselves in a post-digital context, art fairs' organizers should focus on the in-real-life activities and human interaction as an essential part of the art trade experience greatly missed by the audience. Art journalist Georgina Adam (2020, April 1) suggested that a break from the fairs and reduction in their number would be beneficial in terms of the visitors' numbers: "after a long break, collectors finally will be looking forward to attending, instead of complaining about fairtigue". Press releases of the major art fairs of 2021 (ARCO, Art Basel, FIAC, Art Basel Miami Beach) have shown that indeed, after a long absence, people are coming back to the fairs and reports show a steady growing number of visitors. However, it is too early to proclaim the full recovery, as the number of

visitors is still far from the pre-covid times. A significant reduction in the number of international visitors is especially noticeable. Thus, despite the global nature of the art fairs, focusing on the local communities and local public may be a long-term priority and a way to reinvent their model. Perhaps in the current conditions, it is more relevant to talk about glocalization (Roudometof, 2016) rather than globalization of the art fairs.

However, it is also evident that digitization of the art fairs will continue. According to the Art Market Report 2021, digital initiatives appear to have had a lasting impact on plans, with dealers planning to exhibit at least one OVR in the following years. Undoubtedly, online fairs provide an additional channel of audience engagement and make access to them easier and more convenient. Thus, even when it became possible to organize in-real-life events, most of the art fairs have been held in a hybrid virtual and physical form. This provides choice to both galleries and audience, to participate only online, in-real-life, or in both forms, and helps to diversify the audience. Additionally, online art fairs can serve as a supplement to the live events, giving the audience a chance to get access to additional information. Thus the latest hybrid art fairs of 2021 have witnessed an increase of new young entrants, joining the art fairs online and buying the artworks for the first time (Gerlis, 2021, November 8).

Conclusions

The spread of Covid-19 and all the sequences that followed has greatly damaged the cultural industry in general and the art fairs' industry in particular. The need for the art fairs to reinvent their audience development strategies applicable to the new circumstances became crucial not only for the event organizers but also for many representatives of the artworld. Although, at the first glance it may seem, that the fairs were developing unique creative solutions for their events, a closer thematic analysis helped to establish five strategic areas, around which these initiatives were developing, namely digital transformation, place, time, community engagement, collaboration and partnership.

However, not all these initiatives have had the same degree of success among the audience and exhibitors. It is important to remember, that art fairs have always attracted a wider audience for their "experience" nature (Barragan, 2008) and social aspect (Thornton, 2009), providing opportunities for networking and social interaction. Therefore, it is impossible to base their audience development strategies exclusively on

innovation and digitalization. In fact, until the last few years, most of the art fairs' organizers had been focused on the development of in-real-life experiences and strategies, rather than the development of digital ones. Although during the lockdowns art fairs had to go online, there is no doubt that the "post-covid" context will continue to be human-oriented for the majority of the fairs, as they are seeking to provide more experience, engagement, and human connection greatly missed during the time of confinement.

Analysis of the opinion of the representatives of the art world, including art journalists, critics, art dealers, and art fair's organizers has shown that the hybrid form of the fair seems to be the most appropriate solution, which embraces the idea of the post-digital context: focus on the human interaction, but at the same time, preservation of the benefits brought by digital transformation.

It is evident that the opportunity to personally see the artworks, interact with galleries and artists, as well as to attend collateral events around the city, cannot be substituted by an online program. However, an online alternative seems very useful, for those who are unable to travel, but still want to participate and possibly even buy the artworks. Through the last two years, the online offer of the art fairs has been developing and now includes personalized virtual tours around the exhibition halls, video calls with the gallerists, and live storytelling on social media aimed at the re-creation of the art fairs' atmosphere at least partially. Adjusting in-real-life programs of the fairs to the needs of local communities, and at the same time diversifying them to be relevant for the international online audience, art fairs are embracing glocalization as the first step to the new art fair's model.

Based on the qualitative thematic analysis of the articles and interviews, this paper has provided a comprehensive overview of the most widespread audience-oriented activities implemented during the lockdowns, selecting digital transformation (especially in its hybrid form), and community engagement will be the focus areas that will be most probably promoted by the art fairs' organizers in the near future. In its turn, it opened a discussion on which of these activities can contribute to the development of the new art fair model, so needed in the industry.

REFERENCES

ALBRECHT, S., FIELITZ, M., & THURSTON, N. (2019) The Post-digital cultures of the far-right; Online actions and offline consequences in Europe and the US.Wetzlar: Transcript.

ALEXENBERG, M. (2020, October 7). *Shout for Joy! The Plague has Passed: Biblical Insights for Life in a Post-corona Era.* Postcoronaera. https://postcoronaera.blogspot.com/2020/10/shout-for-joy-plague-has-passed.html

ALEXENBERG, M. (2011) *The Future of Art in a Postdigital Age: From Hellenistic to Hebraic Consciousness.* Bristol and Chicago: Intellect Books/University of Chicago Press; ISBN 978-1-84150-377-6.

ALLOWAY, L. (1972) Network: the art world described as a system. *Artforum.*11, 28-32.

ALTSHULER, B. (2020) The Art Market and exhibitions of the avant-garde. In Baldacci, C., Ricci, C., & Vettese, A. (first ed.). *Double trouble in exhibiting the contemporary: Art fairs and shows* (pp. 47-55). Milan: Scalpendi Editore.

ANCARANI, A., & DI MAURO, C. (2018). Successful digital transformations need a focus on the individual. In F. Schupp & H. Wöhner (Eds), *Digitalisierung im Einkauf* (pp. 11-26). Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer Gabler.

Arts Council of England. (2011) *Audience development and marketing, and Grants for the Arts - Information sheet.* Manchester: Arts Council of England. Retrieved from: http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/sites/default/files/down- load_file/Audience_development_and_marketing_and_Grants_for_the_Arts_Jan2016.pdf (last access: 17 June 2021).

BAIA CURIONI, S., & GARUTTI, F. (2014) *Fairland: Explorations, Insights and Outlooks on the Future of Art Fairs.* Rome: Koenig Books & Mousse Publishing.

BAIA CURIONI, S. (2012) A Fairy Tale: Art System, Globalization, and the Fair Movement. In Lind M. and Velthuis O. (eds.). *Contemporary Art and its Commercial Markets. A report on Current Condition and Future Scenarios.* (pp. 115-51). Berlin: Sternberg Press.

BANKOWSKY, J. (2005, Oct.) *Tent Community: Art Fair Art.* Artforum. https://www.artforum.com/print/200508/tent-community-art-fair-art-9500

BARRAGAN, P. (2020) *From Roman Feria to Global Art Fair / From Olympia Festival to Neo-Liberal Biennial: On the 'Biennialization' of Art Fairs and the 'Fairization' of Biennials.* RTIUM Media LLC / ARTPULSE Editions.

BARRAGAN, P. (2008). *The Art Fair Age.* New York: Charta.

BECKER, H. S. (2008). Art Worlds (2nd. ed.). California: University of California Press. ISBN 978-0-520-25636-1.

BENAYOUN, M. (2008), Art after Technology in *Technology Review* - French edition, N°7 June–July 2008, MIT, ISSN 1957-1380.

BODICK, N. (2014, June 17). *A Brief History of Art Basel, the World's Premier Contemporary Fair.* Artspace. https://www.artspace.com/magazine/art_101/art_market/a-brief-history-of-art-basel-52350

BOLLO, A., C. DAMILANO, A. GARIBOLDI, AND C. TORCH. (2017) *Study on Audience Development - How to Place Audiences at the Center of Cultural Organizations:* Final Report. Last accessed August 16, 2021. http://engageaudiences.eu/files/2017/04/NC0116644ENN_002.pdf.

BOLOGNINI, M. (2008) *Postdigitale*, Rome: Carocci. ISBN 978-88-430-4739-0

BOURDIEU, P. (1993) *The Field of Cultural Production.* New York: Columbia University Press.

BRYNJOLFSSON, E., & MCAFEE, A.P. (2011) *Race against the machine: how the digital revolution is accelerating innovation, driving productivity, and irreversibly transforming employment and the economy.* Digital Frontier Press.

Council Of Europe - Steering Committee for Culture, Heritage and Landscape (CDCPP), *Culture in times of Covid-19 or how we discovered we cannot live without culture and creativity. Impressions and lessons learned from Covid-19,* CoE, Strasbourg, 24 Feb. 2021, 114 p.

COLOMER, J. (2013). *La formación y gestión de públicos escénicos en una sociedad tecnológica.* Madrid: Fundación Autor.

CUENCA-AMIGO, M., AND A. MAKUA. (2018). *Cómo Situar al Público en el Centro de tu Gestión. Guía Para Implantar un Enfoque de Desarrollo de Audiencias en Las Organizaciones Culturales.* Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto.

DALLEY, J. (2013, May 3) *Fairground spin-offs.* Financial Times. https://www.ft.com/content/b9cb4f66-b279-

DUMAZEDIER, J. & LATOUCHEL, N. (1962) Work and Leisure in French Sociology. *Industrial Relations: A Journal of Economy and Society,* 1, 13-30 https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-232X.1962.tb00657.x

European Commission. (2012). *European Audiences: 2020 and beyond.* Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

European Commission. (2017). Final Report Study on Audience Development - How to place audiences at the centre of cultural organizations. *ADESTE.* Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. Retrieved from: http://engageaudiences.eu/files/2017/04/Final-report-NC-01-16-644-EN-N.pdf (last access: 15 June 2021).

FAGELSON, D. (2020, July 2) Virtual Art Fairs and the Impact of COVID-19 on the Art Trade. *DataArt.* Retrieved from: https://blog.dataart.com/virtual-art-fairs-and-the-impact-of-covid-19-on-the-art-trade

FOR VISITORS. Participation and Planning. *Art Cologne.* Retrieved from: https://www.artcologne.com/participation-and-planning/for-visitors/

FROST, W., & LAING, J. (2018). Exhibitions, trade fairs and industrial events (Routledge advances in event research series).

GERLIS, M. (2021, November 8). Fairs get an A-plus for enthusiasm while auction houses receive a B for initiative (but a D for digital art): an art market half-term report. Art Market. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2021/11/08/a-for-effort-a-school-report-art-fair-return

GIOIA, D.A., CORLEY, K.G., & HAMILTON, A.L. (2012). Seeking qualitative rigor in inductive research: notes on the Gioia methodology. *Organ. Res. Methods* 16 (1), 15–31.

GIOIA, D. A., & PITRE, E. (1990). Multiparadigm perspectives on theory building. *Academy of Management Review*, 15, 584-602.

HEISER, J. (2020) The Exhausted Spectator: Criticism Amidst Mega Exhibitions in the 21st Century. In Baldacci, C., Ricci, C., & Vettese, A. (first ed.). *Double trouble in exhibiting the contemporary: Art fairs and shows* (pp. 125-140). Milan: Scalpendi Editore.

HININGS, B., GEGENHUBER, T., & GREENWOOD, R. (2018) Digital Innovation and Transformation: An Institutional Perspective, in *Information and Organization*, 28 (1), 52-61.

KAPFERER, J. (2010) Twilight of the Enlightenment. The Art Fair, the Culture Industry, and the 'Creative Class'. *Social Analysis*, 54 (1), 9–27.

KOTLER, P. & SCHEFF, J. (2004). *Marketing de las artes escénicas.* Madrid: Fundación Autor

KRIPPENDORFF, K. (2004) *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. ISBN 9780761915454.

LUHMANN, N. (2000) *Art as a Social System*, trans. Eva M. Knodt. Stanford, CA: Stanford UP.

MCANDREW, C., DR. (2019). T*he Art Market 2019, An Art Basel and UBS Report.* Switzerland, Basel: Art Basel and UBS.

MCANDREW, C., DR. (2020). *The Art Market 2020, An Art Basel and UBS Report.* Switzerland, Basel: Art Basel and UBS.

MCANDREW, C., DR. (2021). *The Art Market 2021, An Art Basel and UBS Report.* Switzerland, Basel: Art Basel and UBS.

MEHRING, C. (2008) Emerging Market: The Birth of the Contemporary Art Fair. *In Art Forum International.*

MOERAN, B., & PEDERSEN, J. (2011) Introduction. In

B. Moeran & J. Strandgaard Pedersen (eds.). *Negotiating Values in the Creative Industries: Fairs, Festivals and Competitive Events* (pp. 1-35). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MOREL C. (2014) The Fair as a Metaphor of the Art World. In O'Reilly, D., Rentschler, R., & Kirchner, T. The Routledge companion to arts marketing (Routledge companions in business, management and accounting). (pp. 353 – 363). Routledge; 1st ed.

MORGNER, C. (2014) The Art Fair as Network. The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society, 44:1, 33-46.

NEGROPONTE, N. (1998, January 12) Beyond Digital. Wired. Retrieved from: https://www.wired.com/1998/12/negroponte-55/

OECD. Policy Response. Culture shock: COVID-19 and the cultural and creative sectors. Paris (7 Sep. 2020) https://read.oecd-ilibrary.org/view/?ref=135_135961-nenh9f2w7a&title=Culture-shock-COVID-19-and-the-cultural-and-creative-sectors

QUEMIN, A. (2013). International Contemporary Art Fairs in a Globalized Art Market. European Societies.15:2, 162-177.

QUEMIN, A. (2008). International Contemporary Art Fairs And Galleries: An Exclusive Overview. Contemporary Art Market. Artprice Annual Report. 78-88. http://imgpublic.artprice.com/pdf/fiac08en.pdf

RICCI, C. (2020) Between A Fair and a Biennial… . In Baldacci, C., Ricci, C., & Vettese, A. (first ed.). *Double trouble in exhibiting the contemporary: Art fairs and shows* (pp. 55-72). Milan: Scalpendi Editore.

ROGERS, R. (1998). *Audience Development: Collaborations Between Education and Marketing.* London: Arts Council of England.

ROUDOMETOF, V. (2016). *Glocalization: A Critical Introduction.* New York: Routledge.

RUIZ, N. (2021). ARCO: Una historia de arte y mercado. Primera edición. ed., Madrid: Contextos.

SALTZ, J. (2018, May 1) Modest Proposal: Break the Art Fair. Vulture. Retrieved from: https://www.vulture.com/2018/05/jerry-saltz-break-the-art-fair.html

SCHNEIDER, T. (2018, December 31) From 'Fairtigue' to 'AI Art,' Here Are 13 Terms That Changed the Art World This Decade. Art World. Artnet. Retrieved from: https://news.artnet.com/art-world/13-art-world-terms-1422691

SCHULTHEIS,F., SINGLE,E., EGGER,S., & MAZZURANA,T. (2015). When Art Meets Money: Encounters at the Art Basel. WaltherKönig.

SMITH, T. (2020). Biennials/Fairs in the Exhibitionary Complex, In Baldacci, C., Ricci, C., & Vettese, A. (first ed.). *Double trouble in exhibiting the contemporary: Art fairs and shows* (pp. 23-46). Milan: Scalpendi Editore.

STOCCO, D. (2019) The Art Fairs in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo - Democratization and Access to Art as a Marketing Strategy. In *H-ART. Revista de historia, teoría y crítica de arte*, 4, 198 – 210.

SVAHN, F., MATHIASSEN, L., LINDGREN, R., & KANE, G. C. (2017). Mastering the digital innovation challenge. *MIT Sloan Management Review* (58:3), 14-16.

The Arts Newspaper. (n.d.) The Art Newspaper and its network. About. *The Arts Newspaper*. (accessed: 15 May, 2021) Retrieved from: https://www.theartnewspaper.com/information/about

THOMPSON, D. (2011) Art Fairs: The Market as Medium˙ in Negotiating Values. In Moeran B., & Strandgaard Pedersen J, (eds.). *The Creative Industries: Fairs, Festivals and Competitive Events* (pp. 59-72). UK: Cambridge University Press.

THOMPSON, D. (2008) *The $12 Million Stuffed Shark: The Curious Economics of Contemporary Art.* 1st ed. London: Aurrum Press Ltd.

THORNTON, S. (2009) *Seven Days in the Art World.* W. New York: Norton & Company Inc.

VELTHIUS, O. (2012) The Contemporary Art Market

Between Stasis and Flux. In *Contemporary Art and Its Commercial Markets: A Report on Current Conditions and Future Scenarios*, ed. Maria Lind and Olav Velthuis, 17–50. Berlin: Sternberg.

VELTHUIS, O. (2007) *Talking Prices: Symbolic Meanings of Prices on the Market for Contemporary Art* (Princeton Studies in Cultural Sociology). New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

VERMEYLEN, F. (2015) The India Art Fair and the market for visual arts in the Global South. In Velthuis, O. & Baia Curioni, S. *Canvases and Careers in a Cosmopolitan Culture. On the Globalization of Contemporary Art Markets.* Oxford University Press.

YOGEV, T. (2010) The Social Construction Of Quality: Status Dynamics In The Market For Contemporary Art. *Socio-Economic Review*, 8(3), 511-536.

YOGEV, T. & GRUND, T. (2012) Network Dynamics and Market Structure. The Case of Art Fairs, *Sociological Focus* 45, 23-40.

ARTICLES USED FOR THEMATIC ANALYSIS:

ADAM, G. (2020, April 1) Will coronavirus-related cancellations spell the end of 'fairtigue'?. Coronavirus. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/comment/socially-distant-the-end-of-fairtigue

ADAM. G. (2021, May 20) Will gallery weekends replace art fairs?. Art Market. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/comment/will-gallery-weekends-replace-art-fairs

ANGELETI, G. (2020, April 8) Artsy donates 10% of proceeds from new series of 'collections' to the World Health Organisation's coronavirus response fund. Coronavirus. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/artsy-world-health-organisation-coronavirus

Art Fairs in the Times of Change. Foro ARCOMadrid – 9 de julio. Youtube. Uploaded by Feria ARCO. 29 Jul, 2021. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RkHbVUJu7IY (03:15)

Artnet News. (2020, March 16). Coronavirus Cancellation Watch: An Up-to-the-Minute Guide to How the Global Health Crisis Is Rewriting the 2020 Art Calendar [UPDATED]. Art World. Artnet. Retrieved from https://news.artnet.com/art-world/coronavirus-art-events-canceled-postponed-1797126

BRADY A. (2020, March 6) Fairs in a time of coronavirus: trepidation turns to relief at a quieter—but not disastrous—Tefaf Maastricht. Art Market. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/fairs-in-a-time-of-coronavirus-trepidation-turns-to-relief-as-tefaf-maastricht-opens-to-smaller-crowds-but-no-disasters

BRADY A. (2020, March 13) Here are the art fairs and auction houses that have been canceled or closed (so far) due to coronavirus. Art Market. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/here-are-all-the-art-fairs-that-have-been-cancelled-or-postponed-due-to-coronavirus

BRADY A. (2020, April 27) Will Art Basel actually happen in September? A letter to exhibitors suggests potential for more delays. Art Fairs. *The Art Newspaper*. Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/will-art-basel-actually-happen-in-september

BUCK L. (2020, May 15) Mega art dealers talk collegial spirit against a backdrop of Montauk bedrooms and cats. The Buck Stopped Here. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/blog/basel-webinar

CARRIGAN, M. (2020, July 9) Online marketplaces proliferate as the coronavirus pandemic continues. Online Sales. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/dallas-art-fair-launches-culture-place

CARRIGAN, M. (2020, March 31) Frieze offers full refunds to exhibitors after cancelling its New York fair due to coronavirus. Art Fairs. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/frieze-offers-full-refunds-to-exhibitors-after-cancelling-its-new-york-fair-due-to-coronavirus

CARRIGAN, M. (2020, May 14) Nada launches new collaborative fair model to help support galleries. Art Fairs. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/nada-launches-profit-

sharing-fair-model

CARRIGAN, M. (2020, March 5) New York's Armory Show sees solid sales despite coronavirus risk. Art Fairs. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/armory-show-2020

CARRIGAN, M. (2020, May 15) Untitled, Art turns to virtual reality to improve the online fair experience. Art Market. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/untitled-online

CARRIGAN, M. (2020, Sep. 2) Art Basel cancels Miami Beach edition in December. Art Fairs. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/art-basel-miami-beach-cancels

CASSADY, D. (2021, April 27) Mexico City galleries come together for homegrown Zonamaco Art Week. Art Market. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/zonamaco-art-week-features-collaborative-projects-in-galleries-across-mexico-city

CHOW, V. (2020, May 25) Untitled, Art turns to virtual reality to improve the online fair experience. Art Market. The Art Newspaper. Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/new-hong-kong-art-fair-unscheduled

DAWSON, A. (2021, Feb. 17) Amid Covid-19 surge in UAE, Art Dubai fair moves dates and venue. Art Fairs. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/art-dubai-moves-dates-and-venue

DORAN, K. (2020, April 3) South American galleries face steep challenges as the region's biggest fairs shutter due to the spread of coronavirus. Art Market. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/analysis/latin-american-art-market-coronavirus

GERLIS, M. (2020, June 15) Who are the art market's virtual winners?. Art Market. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/comment/who-are-the-virtual-winners

GERLIS, M., (2020, May 5) How Covid-19 has forced the art market's speedy digital conversion. Art Market. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/analysis/how-covid-19-forced-the-art-market-s-speedy-digital-conversion

HUG, D. (2020, May 18) Brand-Name Art Fairs Won't Save the Art Market in This Crisis, But Regional Ones Might. Opinion. Artnet. Retrieved from https://news.artnet.com/opinion/daniel-hug-art-cologne-fair-system-1855086

KALLIR J. (2020, June 22) What's the ideal post-pandemic art market? One that's no longer a Disneyland for the rich. Art Market. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/comment/where-do-we-go-from-here

MOVIS, L. (2021, April 29) Busy Gallery Weekend Beijing brings city's art scene back to life. Art Market. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/analysis/gallery-weekend-beijing

MOVIS, L. (2020, July 1) Undeterred by looming National Security Law, Hong Kong's newest art fair draws nearly 3,000 visitors. Art Market. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/review/unscheduled-hong-kong

MOVIS, L. (2020, Sep. 16) The fairs are back in town: greater China reopens for business. Art Market. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/analysis/the-shows-must-go-on-fairs-unroll-in-greater-china-despite-travel-restrictions-shipping-woes-and-covid-fears

Online Talks | "The Future of Art Fairs, Post-Covid". Youtube. Uploaded by TALKINGGALLERIES. 22 Sep., 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gyno8CTrDX0

SCHNEIDER, T. (2020, March 16) The Gray Market: Why a Slew of Postponed Art-Market Events Will Trigger a Reckoning in an Overcrowded Field (and Other Insights). Opinion. Artnet. Retrieved from https://news.artnet.com/opinion/postponed-events-coronavirus-1805184

SEYMOUR, T. (2020, August 24) Photo London abandons socially distanced fair to go online. Art Market. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/photo-london-abandons-socially-distanced-fair-to-go-online

SHAW, A. (2021, March 16) Art Basel/UBS report: global art market shrinks by almost a quarter to $50.1bn during Covid-19 crisis. Art Basel Art Market Report. The Art Newspaper. Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/art-basel-ubs-report-global-art-market-shrinks-by-almost-a-quarter-to-usd50-1bn-during-covid-19-crisis

SHAW, A. (2021, March 18) First London Gallery Weekend to feature a whopping 87 galleries including David Zwirner, Gagosian and Sadie Coles. Art Market. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/white-cube-david-zwirner-gagosian-sadie-coles-goodman-gallery-among-nearly-90-galleries-taking-part-in-first-london-gallery-weekend-in-june

SHAW, A. (2020, June 17) How artists are adapting their work to virtual fairs and online viewing rooms. Art Market. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/art-basel-ovr

SHAW, A. (2020, May 14) Photo London plans to open in tent this October with social distancing. Art Market. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/photo-london-to-open-in-early-october-to-coincide-with-frieze

SHAW, A. (2020, March 20) Muted sales in Art Basel's online viewing rooms as art market turns to technological solutions amid coronavirus crisis. Art Market. *The Art Newspaper.* Retrieved from https://www.theartnewspaper.com/analysis/muted-sales-in-art-basel-s-online-viewing-rooms-as-art-market-turns-to-technological-solutions-amid-coronavirus-crisis

The Audience Agency (2021, June 20) Covid-19 Cultural Participation Monitor Wave. Evidence.

The Audience Agency. Retrieved from https://www.theaudienceagency.org/evidence/covid-19-cultural-participation-monitor/first-findings-from-the-cultural-participation-monitor-wave-3?utm_source=The%20Audience%20Agency&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=12489963_TAA%20Newsletter%20June%202021&utm_content=Wave%203%20Key%20Findings&dm_i=1X0O,7FPBF,3Y468G,U7O4J,1

The Munchies Art (n.d.) What is Online Viewing Room? The Munchies Art. Retrieved from https://www.munchiesart.club/artnews/what-is-an-online-viewing-room

┌─ To cite this article: ─────────────────┐

ZAGREBELNAIA, A. (2021). State of the Art Fair Post-Covid: Audience Development Strategies in a Post-Digital Context. *European Journal of Cultural Management and Policy*, 11 (2), pp. 34-51.

└───┘

Incredible Edible Todmorden: Impacts on Community Building, Education, and Local Culture. A Case for the Operationalization of a Sustainability-led Discourse.

Michelle Brener Mizrahi
Universidad Anáhuac México, Mexico
michelle.brenermi@anahuac.mx

ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes how Incredible Edible Todmorden (IET), a community-led project, operated notions of sustainability, through permaculture and urban farming, to focus on community building and the impacts it had on education and local culture. The research is informed by a framework encompassing Robin Hambleton's notion of place and place-based identity, as well as notions of sustainability, discourse, and culture. The paper puts forth the argument that the discursive operationalization of sustainability, framed as a process of directed change, can produce important effects in community building, education, and local culture at a local level and suggests that the application of the framework may also yield results in the study of other sectors.

Introduction

The emergence of permaculture and urban farming projects is contextualized within the realities of post-industrial decay, the effects of the 2008 economic crisis, and the threats posed by climate change. Taking this into account, the analysis of urban farming and permaculture projects can focus on assessing the improvement in food security and overall living conditions due to economic renewals and shifts in consumption cycles brought about by these projects. These, however, are not the only positive impacts. In fact, as the case of Todmorden, a small post-industrial town in North West England, shows, community-led urban farming and permaculture projects can also serve as means for a broader reworking of the locality, having an effect on community building, education and local culture.

The objective of this research was to analyze how Todmorden's community-led project, called Incredible Edible Todmorden (IET), operated notions of sustainability, through permaculture and urban farming, to focus on the bringing together of the community and the impacts it had on education and local culture. This was done, first, through the analysis of documents belonging to IET in order to identify the ways in which sustainability has been used within their discourse and, second, through the revision of an evaluation report on the impacts of IET to establish a connection between the effects the project has had in Todmorden and the way its discourse has been operationalized.

The research is informed by Robin Hambleton's notion of place and place-based identity, which proposes that places are symbolically constructed by its inhabitants, and so, they become a reflection of them, creating a link between place and identity. The conceptual framework also encompasses the definitions for sustainability, sustainability-led discourse, and culture through which the case was analyzed. These notions can help understand why sustainability projects that target local needs can also double as means for community building and as means to promote local culture and education.

The conceptual framework is followed by an overview of Todmorden and Incredible Edible, as well as permaculture and urban farming. These background sections are then followed by the case analysis, namely the analysis of the impacts IET has had in terms of community building, education and the promotion of local culture through the use of a sustainability-led discourse. The paper concludes by stating that the mise en action of a sustainability-led discourse through permaculture and urban farming or similar projects can produce positive effects on the areas chosen for this study and suggests that the framework explored here can be applied to encompass a wider range of human practices and structures.

Methodology

The analysis was carried out in two main parts. The first to determine the ways in which a sustainability

Codename	Document title & author	Type of document	Date
D1	"Incredible Edible pamphlet. INCREDIBLE: HOW ONE TOWN PROVED CHANGE IS POSSIBLE", IET	Pamphlet (Online)	Posted May 23, 2011.
D2	"How we can eat our landscapes", Pam Warhurst	TEDTalk (Online)	May 2012.
D3	"IET Newsletter November 2014", IET	Newsletter (Online)	
D4	"Incredible North. Growing health, wealth and happiness for all", IET	Presentation document (Online)	Posted May 27, 2016
D5	"Annual Report and Financial Statements for the period 27th October 2015 to 30th September 2016", IET2014", IET	Report (Online)	Posted November 19, 2016

TABLE 1. DOCUMENTS

Source: Michelle Brener M.

discourse has been employed by IET and the second to analyze the impacts IET has had in Todmorden. This is followed by a discussion that examines the conjunctions between the two parts in order to show that, through a sustainability-led discourse, IET has impacted the locality in terms of community-building, education, and the promotion of local culture.

The first part consisted in applying discourse analysis to a sample of four documents published by IET in their website[1] and a TEDTalk given by Pam Warhurst, co-founder of the project, at the TEDSalon in May, 2012, all of which are enlisted below. The documents were selected taking into account the amount of content (many documents in the site are very short), and the nature of the content (many documents address very specific events that are not useful for this research). The selection also contemplated having different kinds of documents to gain a clearer perspective on their use of discourse.

The objective was to identify the ways in which IET includes notions of sustainability within their discourse: directly or indirectly, on a scale of importance given to sustainability in the accomplishment of their objectives, and the registers and discursive devices they employ

to reference sustainability. These three categories were designed to identify the inclusion of sustainability in the documents, each with its set of classifications. The logic for these categories was inspired by Dryzek's (2005) elements for the analysis of discourses: basic entities recognized or constructed; assumptions about natural relationships, agents and their motives, key metaphors and other rhetorical devices. His approach allows to stress the link between the environment and discourse, particularly on how actors can "sponsor discourses of environmental concern conductive to their own interests" (p.13); in this case, how IET has employed the environment (through the notion of sustainability) within their discourse as a means to tackle issues related to community-building and its impact on education and local culture. Here, the categories have been adapted to focus on sustainability as the central category of analysis and not just as a type of discourse within the broader range of environmentalist discourses, which would follow Dryzek's work more closely (p.16) but which might prove confusing for this research's purpose.

With this in mind, Table 2 shows the description of each category and the relation it holds with Dryzek's

Category	Mode or Degree	Relation to Dryzek's original elements
1. Appearance of the term in the discourse *(whether IET recognizes sustainability as an entity within their own discourse)*	a. Direct mentions (DM): when the terms sustainability, sustainable, sustainable development are directly employed.	Basic entities recognized or constructed
	b. Indirect mentions (IM): when the terms sustainability, sustainable, sustainable development are not directly used but elements of its definition or application are employed.	
	c. No mentions (NM): neither the direct term nor elements of its definition or application are employed.	
2. Scale of importance *(how the notion of sustainability relates naturally to the IET project as presented discursively)*	a. High (H): sustainability, whether mentioned directly or indirectly, is considered a key element in the accomplishment of the project's objectives. The objectives are tied to sustainability.	Assumptions about natural relationships
	b. Medium (M): sustainability, whether mentioned directly or indirectly, is considered relevant but not crucial to the accomplishment of the project's objectives. The objectives are not exclusively tied to sustainability.	
	c. Low (L): sustainability, whether mentioned directly or indirectly, is not considered relevant in the accomplishment of the project's objectives.	
3. Discursive devices *(how the discourse is constructed to cater to IET's target audience)*	This category considers the use of rhetorical language and discursive devices to describe the overall construction of the documents.	Key metaphors and other rhetorical devices

TABLE 2. DESCRIPTION OF CATEGORIES

Source: Michelle Brener M.

[1] All four documents are available at Incredible Edible Todmoren: https://www.incredible-edible-todmorden.co.uk

Category 1: Appearance of the term	Relevant instances
DM (DIRECT MENTION)	EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT
IM (INDIRECT MENTION)	EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT
NM (NO MENTION)	EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT
Category 2: Scale of importance	Relevant instances
H (HIGH)	EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT
M (MEDIUM)	EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT
L (LOW)	EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT
Category 3: Discursive devices and rhetorical language	
SPECIFIC KIND OF RHETORICAL FIGURES AND DISCURSIVE DEVICES	
EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT	
EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT	
EXTRACTS FROM THE TEXT	

TABLE 3. DOCUMENT CATEGORIZATION AND CLASSIFICATION
Source: Michelle Brener M.

elements, while Table 3 shows the way in which each document was categorized and classified for analysis.

The second part consisted in reviewing a document titled "Propagating Success? The Incredible Edible Model Final Report", a report commissioned by IET. The research was conducted by Dr. Adrian Morley (Manchester Metropolitan University), Dr. Alan Farrier (University of Central Lancashire), and Professor Mark Dooris (University of Central Lancashire), and published in July 2017. The data contained in this document is highly valuable given that the research was carried out in situ, using a mixed-method approach that included, among others: community surveys, volunteer surveys, semi-structured one-to-one interviews, and focus groups to samples of key stakeholders in the town, some members of IET and others belonging to the community, business, and learning sectors. The report assesses the social, economic, and environmental impacts IET has had in Todmorden in terms of community, learning, and business (the project's three spheres of action), which falls within the scope of what this paper set out to study.

Due to resource constraints at the moment this research began to be carried out, the choice was made to use existing data to assess the impacts the IET project has had with regards to community-building, education, and the promotion of local culture and whether the sustainability-led discourse employed by IET was reflected in the perceptions of community members regarding said impact. Primary data is, of course, needed to complement the findings of this stage of the research. However, a preliminary approach to the impacts of the project in the three spheres mentioned was necessary to assess the operationalization of IET's discourse and the "Propagating Success?" evaluation report proved most useful given its scope, methods, and timeframe.

Sustainability, Discourse, Culture & Place: A Conceptual Framework

This section presents the conceptual framework that has guided the research, namely the definitions of sustainability and culture that have been used and the ways in which they are linked, what is meant by sustainability-led discourse, and Robin Hambleton's notion of place and place-based identity.

Sustainability

Two of the main issues when it comes to defining sustainability are ambiguity and instrumentalization. Ever since the definition produced by the 1987 Brundtland Report of sustainable development as "development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs," (WCED, 1987: 43) the term has been instrumentalized by numerous actors to fit their needs and purposes (Johnston et al, 2007; Isar, 2017; De Beukelaer & Freitas, 2015) and misused to the point where it is "almost devoid of meaning" (Hambleton, 2014:16). Moreover, it has tied the notion of sustainability almost inextricably to that of development, which in itself is problematic given that it, too, is polysemic (Isar, 2017) and subject to vested interests.

Johnston et al (2007) suggest using the four TNS[2] System Conditions coined by Karl-Henrik Robèrt (Robèrt et al, 2002 in Johnston et al, 2007: 62) as guiding principles in defining sustainability:

In the sustainable society, nature is not subject to systematically increasing…

1. … concentrations of substances extracted from the Earth's crust
2. … concentrations of substances produced by society
3. … degradation by physical means and
4. people are not subject to conditions that systematically undermine their capacity to meet their needs

According to them, this is a definition that includes both the biosphere and human societies and it can be subject to operationalization and governance through precautionary ethics, meaning that the co-existence between humans and the natural world, so often problematic, must be defined and guided by "a new understanding of what is 'right' and what is demonstrably 'wrong' with respect to policy, technology and economic instruments brought to bear on the environment." (Johnston et al, 2007) This series of principles, they argue, draw on the Brundtland Report's original definition providing scientific backing to the notion of sustainability so that it can be the one to guide development (or any other issue for that matter) and not the other way around.

This is backed by Dessein et al (2015) who argue that the disassociation of sustainability from development suggests that the former could be a term with "a more reaching set of objectives and values, one that can support de-growth and no growth agendas as well as growth, one that might have social equity and justice not economic prosperity as its goal." (Dessein et al, 2015: 23) This does not mean that economic factors must be left aside but it does imply that sustainability surpasses the economic and, therefore, is harder to co-opt by certain connotations of the term development, bringing us back to the TNS System Conditions and its ethical concerns.

Sustainability-led discourse

Now, in spite of the efforts above to define sustainability, it is important to note that the entire discussion on the meaning of the concept is framed within discourse (Hugé et al, 2013). The very concept of discourse is also subject to a wide array of conceptualizations; however, given that space is limited, it is not possible to dive into a full discussion on the matter, so I will frame these concepts as they are understood and employed in the upcoming analysis.

According to Hugé et al (2013), "[d]iscourses are structured ways of representation that evoke particular understandings and may subsequently enable particular types of actions to be envisaged." (p.188) They also draw on Hajer's (1995) definition: "discourse is (…) a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts and categorizations that are produced, reproduced and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities." (p.188) Both of these definitions are relevant precisely because they highlight the link between what is being discussed, in this case sustainability, and, very importantly, the actions that derive from such content; in their words, the social practices. Of particular relevance to this paper is the argument that it is possible, through discourse analysis, to expose the manner "in which responses to sustainability challenges are reflected in ideas about the respective responsibilities of government and citizens" (Hugé et al, 2013: 189).

So within the multiplicity of meanings attached to sustainability, its meta-discourse (Hugé et al, 2013), there are different sub-discourses that emerge. Hugé et al (2013:190) propose a synthesized typology of three sustainability[3] discourses:

1. Sustainability as the pragmatic integration of development and environmental goals
2. Sustainability as limits
3. Sustainability as a process of directed change.

---

[2] Short for "The Natural Step Framework"
[3] The authors use the terms sustainable development and sustainability interchangeably.

It is the third one that applies to this case, as it will be shown in the analysis. This sub-discourse understands sustainability as a process of change where conventional notions and practices are challenged; it refutes the "business as usual" approach by emphasizing the need for human lifestyles and practices to change, including the socio-economic structure (Hugé et al, 2013). "Sustainable development requires social transformation processes or 'transitions' (Rotmans et al. 2001) that can be realised through new types of learning and management practices (networking, interactive governance)." (Hugé et al, 2013:192).

The intersection of the TNS System Conditions and the sub-discourse of sustainability as a process of directed change can offer a definition of sustainability as a process of transformation of lifestyles and practices that leads away from the degradation of nature and the increasing concentration of extracted resources from the Earth and of substances produced by society, and where people are not subjected to conditions that systematically undermine their capacity to meet their needs. When such a discourse that harnesses this understanding of sustainability is constructed and put into action, it can impact on a series of different spheres and practices in any given locality, as will be seen through the work of Robin Hambleton and the case of IET.

Culture

As with sustainability, or perhaps even more so, culture is a concept that has been worked on extensively from different fields of study. The concept as it is used in this paper refers to culture as a way of life, much in the manner that Raymond Williams (2011) defined it:

> The analysis of culture (...) is the clarification of the meanings and values implicit and explicit in a particular way of life, a particular culture. Such analysis (...) will also include analysis of

elements in the way of life (...): the organisation of production, the structure of the family, the structure of institutions which express or govern social relationships, the characteristic forms through which members of the society communicate.

Certainly, this does not reduce the validity of other definitions nor other elements associated with culture, such as arts and heritage (UNESCO, 1982, UNESCO, 2005); it simply seeks to outline a wider understanding of the concept. This definition of culture as a way of life was chosen because it can be more closely linked to a sustainability-led discourse[4]. In their critique to the 2005 Convention on Cultural Diversity regarding the relationship between cultural diversity and sustainable development, De Beukelaer & Freitas (2015) argue that a reductionist view of culture that does not contemplate it also as a way of life has limited potential for transformative action. This is related to the same issue discussed above regarding the instrumentalization of sustainability in the sense that, in discussions regarding the relationship between sustainable development and culture, the focus on culture tends to be on the cultural industry (De Beukelaer & Freitas, 2015; Isar, 2017)[5] which makes it subject to utilitarian conceptions (De Beukelaer & Freitas, 2015) and prey to sectorial interests. When speaking of promotion of local culture in this case study, it is to be understood as the promotion of Todmorden's particular way of life (as perceived by its inhabitants).

By understanding culture as a way of life and sustainability as a process of directed change, where conventional practices are challenged and human lifestyles are encouraged to change, then both the conceptual and the practical link between the two becomes evident. The shift towards sustainability requires a shift in our ways of life, our culture. A shift that can be integrated into the values and structures of each group (or which can highlight those values and structures already prone to foster sustainability) and, therefore, operated in ways that will make

---

[4] In the explorations of the culture-sustainability interface presented by Soini & Dessein (2016), of the three representations of culture in sustainable development, perhaps the closest to the way the relationship is conceived here is the second representation, "culture for sustainability", especially in how culture plays a mediating role, is a resource, to achieve other forms of sustainable development (p.3). The issue with the way the interaction is framed in their work and the overall discussion on the matter that has led them to propose this theoretical framework is that it contemplates how culture acts on sustainability and not how sustainability, framed within a discourse, can act on culture-as-a-way-of-life (or community building or education, for that matter), which is what is being studied here.

[5] The relationship between culture and sustainability can point to numerous debates and conceptualizations, like those proposed by the discussion on cultural ecosystems and ecology of culture that address the interactions of culture with its environment and the impact the creation of these networks can have socially or economically in the communities involved at varying scales (see the 2015 CHCfE report or, in a more specific case study of the Po Delta in Italy, Borin and Donato, 2016); however, these approaches tend to focus more particularly on the cultural sector and, therefore, on creative industries, the arts or heritage and, while the environmental metaphor (ecosystems, ecology) fits in well with the underlying philosophy of IET, as it does with permaculture, for example, IET as such does not target the cultural sector. Its impact on local culture needs to be framed within the broader understanding of culture (Soini & Dessein, 2016) as a way of life (Williams, 2011); this does not mean that their activities could not encompass the cultural sector but it has not been the case yet.

sense for them. As De Beukelaer & Freitas (2015) propose: "sustainable development can be seen as transformative (…) not [as] a universal blueprint, but rooted in cultural contexts" (p. 203). This is precisely the effect that will be analyzed with regards to IET's use of sustainability within their discourse and the promotion of local culture.

Notion of place and place-based identity

Both the notions of place and place-based identity as are understood and applied in this paper stem from the work of Robin Hambleton (2014). He defines place as "somewhere somebody cares about" (Hambleton, 2014: 83) encompassing several ideas, the first of which is that people assign meaning to places. For many people, this meaning is loaded with "a sense of attachment to their city and/or their 'home area', in some cases a strong sense of attachment, and it often forms part of their identity." (Hambleton, 2014: 84) This is what Hambleton calls place-based identity.

This identity is constructed on the basis that the place a person lives in greatly shapes the way they see and relate to the world. In other words, places are important because they are constructed by people (Castello, 2010 in Hambleton, 2014:82) in the sense that they are more than simple geographical spaces; they reflect the communities that inhabit them. "The place could not be separated from people who make places and invest meanings in them." (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015: 710)

Moreover, Hambleton stresses the importance that leadership has in generating change within the framework of what he calls New Civic Leadership, a model that shifts towards the inclusion of other sectors besides the state in decision-making processes, such as civil society, and where a local sense of identity is key to the creation of solutions (Hambleton, 2014). These place-based leaders are "those exercising decision-making power [who] have a concern for the communities living in a particular place" (Hambleton, 2014:109) and who operate in the public, private, and community/voluntary sectors at different geographical levels. Thus, community leaders under the place perspective are those members of the community interested in contributing to their localities in a wide variety of activities; they are independent from government and voluntarily engaged (Hambleton, 2014). It is my contention that the community leadership embodied by Incredible Edible fits into this model, given that the project was born out of the direct involvement of

citizens with their place and who, in turn, promoted the inclusion of their fellow citizens in the transformation. The birth of Incredible Edible cannot be separated from Todmorden, and can therefore be studied as place-based.

Finally, a lot of research has been done regarding the need to integrate the urban and natural spheres, from Green Theory and ecocentrism (Barry, 2014; Eckersley, 2013) to resilience (Wilkinson, 2012) and biophilic cities (Beatley, 2011). Hambleton (2014) follows these lines and calls for such an integration when studying place since it can be positively reflected in place-based loyalty, understood as the emotional attachment and commitment to a locality. The latter is relevant because "place-based loyalty and commitment can provide a particularly important contribution to the achievement of the environmental objectives of local governance" (Hambleton, 2014: 72). This means that there is a strong connection between the attachment to one's place and the way environmental issues are approached, which, in turn, might suggest that a strong sense of place-based loyalty and place-based identity can also be linked to culture and notions of sustainability.

Introducing the Incredible Edible Town of Todmorden

Located about 27km north of Manchester in the Upper Calderdale Valley in West Yorkshire, Todmorden is a small English town with a population of approximately 15,500 people and an area of 51.7 km2 (Office for National Statistics, 2011); in other words, 0.02% of England's population and 0.05% of its area. In terms of economic activity, in 2011, the majority of the 7,310 economically active people worked in education (927 people); human health and social work activities (1063 people); wholesale, retail trade and motor vehicle repair (975 people); manufacturing (1048 people); and construction (636 people). Only 51 worked in the agriculture, forestry, and finishing sector (Office for National Statistics, 2011).

Historically, Todmorden lived off a textile industry that has virtually disappeared in the post-industrial world, leaving a lot of underutilized land and positioning the town in the top 10 most deprived communities in the North West of England (Thompson, 2012). The junction of land availability and deprivation was the perfect scenario for the creation of Incredible Edible Todmorden, a project started by Pam Warhurst, Mary Clear and Estelle Brown.

It all began in 2007 with the guerrilla planting of herbs, fruit trees and vegetable plants in any crevice or piece of land they could find (Thompson, 2012) with the purpose of catching people's attention and getting them involved in their local food growth project. Pam Warhust and her team called this sort of actions "propaganda planting", in the sense that it encouraged "storytelling about what was happening and what might be possible. [It was] a twin approach of direct action and communicating a vision and purpose" (Thompson, 2012). This vision and purpose was that of seeking a safer, greener and kinder future for the next generations (Warhurst & Dobson, 2014).

They expressly avoided involving the local authorities at first because the aim of the project was to get citizens involved in their own communities without the pressures and commitments associated with politics and bureaucracy. Inclusiveness and community involvement are the main reasons why Incredible Edible started working with food. "Our project is all about finding the lowest common denominator, which is food, and then speaking in a language that everyone can understand," Pam Warhurst said in an interview published by Independent (Moorhead, 2009). They are not interested in growing food- that is the excuse, the vehicle. The real objective is growing as a resilient community. A community of kind people, who model kindness, and who collaborate and share resources (M. Clear, phone interview, July 30, 2019).

So, through food, they began to knit the community closer together. Their model is based on "three spinning plates": community, learning, and business. The community plate contemplates growing food in public spaces that people can take for free (Morley, Farrier & Dooris, 2017), changing "how we live our everyday lives together" (Warhurst & Dobson, 2014: 27); the learning plate includes offering training and informal education "both in school and out" (Warhurst & Dobson, 2014: 27); and through the business plate "IET aspires to strengthen the local economy, creating a clear 'brand' that can be adopted by local businesses." (Morley, Farrier & Dooris, 2017: 8). A place needs all three plates "spinning" together in order to thrive (Warhurst & Dobson, 2014).

Today, there are numerous, herb, vegetable and fruit patches around the town –in public parks, schools, in front of the police station, outside city hall, and even in the local graveyard- where people can freely take whatever they need. There are also foraging, farming, and cooking courses, and what they call "vegetable tourism", people from all over the world that come to Todmorden to see what IET has done (Warhurst, 2012).

Its success has led them to expand, setting up a limited company (Incredible Edible Ltd.), an Incredible Edible Farm, and Incredible Edible Network to support other groups, an AquaGarden that functions as an educational resource, and Incredible North, an initiative to reach other areas in the north of England (Morley, Farrier & Dooris, 2017).

The Role of Permaculture and Urban Farming

Although Incredible Edible was built upon its founders' decision to simply act (Warhurst & Dobson, 2014), its underlying ideas are part of a broader movement that is taking hold in many places, that of permaculture and urban farming.

The term permaculture was coined in the 1970s by Mollison and Holmgren, who joined the words "permanent" and "agriculture" (Pèzres, 2010) to create a system that could benefit all life forms, especially human beings, by providing "a sustainable and secure place for living things on this earth (Mollison, 1988 in Hathaway, 2015). In practice, permaculture is applied to the process through which humans create habitats that mimic the natural world, both in patterns and relationships (Hathaway, 2015). It fuels sustainability in the sense that its focus is on the relationships between the elements that make up an ecosystem and the way they work together as a whole.

In the agronomy sector, permaculture is evident in the design of forest gardens where trees, shrubs and other plants are mixed in such a way that they mimic the natural order found in a forest. This allows for better resource management seeing as every living creature has its purpose, thus reducing water usage, optimizing the role of sunlight, and rendering the use of harmful pesticides unnecessary. It is important to state, however, that even if permaculture is mostly known for its application in fields like agroecology, as seen with forest gardens, it can be applied anywhere human inventiveness is employed (Hathaway, 2015). The term has evolved to signify a culture in and of itself, where even urban environments can be designed to function as ecologically as possible. Applied to Incredible Edible, permaculture can be seen in the way every productive element in the town (farms, dairies, vegetable patches, shops) can be part of the food production chain; everything works as part of a whole that benefits the entire community. It is also evident in the way space is used. By planting fruits and vegetables in unused, empty places the community is benefiting not only

from the access to produce but also from better-looking public spaces. In this sense, permaculture can be applied in almost every case where the different elements in a town, city or garden combine to form a wholesome and functioning system.

The other movement present in Todmorden and closely related to permaculture is urban farming. The term urban farming or urban agriculture is defined as "the growing, processing, and distribution of food and other products through intensive plant cultivation and animal husbandry in and around cities" (Urban Agriculture Committee of the CFSC, 2003 in Tornaghi, 2014); in other words, it is the transference of the farming system to the urban context. Currently, with the rising concerns regarding population growth and climate change, urban farming represents a sustainable, community-oriented solution to the problem of food supply in cities, seeing as transportation needs and costs are low, the use of heavy machinery is avoided, and citizen involvement in the farming projects contributes to the improvement of community relations. The latter translates to less pollution, the optimization of resources, and the strengthening of social ties as opposed to the more traditional models of industrial agriculture and mass consumption.

Analysis

The data for each of the four analyzed documents and the TEDTalk was collected and catalogued in a table (see Table 3). Each classification is illustrated by an extract from the text. Space constraints do not allow for the tables to be included here (but they are available in the Annex), so a recapitulation of the most relevant findings is presented below. Afterwards, the findings for the second part of the analysis will be presented, followed by a discussion.

Sustainability-led discourse: findings

Overall, the analysis shows consistency throughout the documents and the video. Regarding Category 1, Appearance of the term, the great majority of mentions[6], are indirect (IM) with phrasing such as "ensuring a secure future", "securing a better legacy" in D1; "building resilience", "responding creatively (...) to what Rio demanded", "new way of living" in D2; "a kinder form of prosperity" in D4; "protecting and enhancing local biodiversity", "supporting local

businesses to source food locally and reduce food miles", "encouraging reuse, upcycling and repurposing of goods and thereby reduce landfill" in D5. On the other hand, direct mentions included "Pam could see that ideas like (...) sustainability sounded more like academic concepts than something people could engage with in their everyday lives." in D1; "building on this sustainable success" and "creating a sustainable future for all" in D4. This extract from D1 sheds light as to why indirect mentions predominate: as it will be seen further along, IET prefers to avoid technical or "academic concepts", favoring colloquial language or circumventions, so as not to push people away and be consistent in their inclusiveness.

The extracts shown above share notions of needing a better future, change (doing things differently or finding new ways of doing things), and locality (protecting and supporting that which is local), all of them constants throughout the discourse as will be seen shortly. D3 had no mentions, either direct or indirect, of sustainability; this can be explained due to the fact that it is a newsletter which focused on specific events that had taken place during the months it covered.

The data for Category 2, Scale of importance, shows an important link between the project's objectives and sustainability, even if the term was not always directly addressed. In D1, classified as High: "But this isn't just about self-sufficiency. What is being achieved is far bigger. Through the shared language of food, the people of a small market town (...) are engaging in the biggest challenge facing the human race: how to ensure a secure future for the planet", "The simple, shared language of food is uniting the community in its efforts to create a kinder, greener world in and around their town", "It's about finding better ways to live that create opportunities for the future and avoid harm to our environment." In D2, classified as High: "If we want to inspire the farmers of tomorrow, then please let us say to every school, create a sense of purpose around the importance to the environment, local food and soils." In D3, classified as Medium: "It calls on each and every one of us, in times of crisis, and here they are discussing the global environmental crisis, to stand up and be counted (...) That, in or [sic] own, and many varied ways, is what IE is all about." In D4, classified as High: "Incredible North goes way beyond growing and eating locally produced food (although that's really important to us). It's also about creating a sustainable future for

---

[6] Extracts have been edited for brevity and grammatical uniformity. Not every extract was included given space constraints.

everyone". And in D5, classified as High: "Protecting and enhancing local biodiversity", "Encouraging and supporting local businesses to source food locally and reduce food miles", "Encouraging reuse, upcycling and repurposing of goods and thereby reduce landfill."

As it can be observed, the extracts show that sustainability is a key element in IET's objectives; according to the documents, the purpose of IET and their network is to use what they call the language of food or the story of food to work towards a future that takes into account social and environmental wellbeing. Again, the writing circumvents around the direct word but the link is apparent enough.

As for Category 3, Discursive devices and rhetorical language, the data shows a consistent use of simplified and colloquial language: "stop passing the buck and waiting for someone else to save the world" and "And it's a story of having a lot of fun in the process" in D1; "Now, none of this is rocket science", "We've got a real show there, we've got some action theater" in D2; and "As they put it 'go down to the forum'" and "Well knock me down with a feather" in D3. This is consistent with their informal approach (the same that avoids "academic concepts"), seeing as what they want is to involve entire communities and, by employing this type of language, they make sure its appeal is universal. As Pam Warhurst says in her TEDTalk: "We are not daunted by the sophisticated arguments."

Furthermore, there are several allusions to victimhood, powerlessness and to overcoming them through food growing, which as has been said, is the vehicle to get people interested in working towards a sustainable future. "Could growing food be the catalyst to stop us thinking like disempowered victims and start taking responsibility for our own futures?" (D1), "We are starting, at last, to believe in ourselves again, and to believe in our capacity, each and every one of us, to build a different and a kinder future, and in my book, that's incredible." (D2), "The sense of not being powerless starts with that first step." (D3), and "We're starting to believe in ourselves again and in our capacity to shape an alternative, kinder future." (D4). These allusions can be related to Todmorden's state of deprivation and the role IET has played in fighting it as well as how projects like this can help lift the hopelessness brought about by climate change and environmental issues.

On a similar note, words like "unloved", "disused" (D4), and "clone" (D1) are used to describe the land and town, which are at the same time opposed by "kindness", "richness", "thriving· and "magic". In D1: "Incredible Edible can help keep independent local shops and markets open and thriving, creating a distinctive town rather than a clone town". In D2: " (...) to build a different and a kinder future" In D4 "encouraging ordinary individuals to transform disused plots into rich sources of healthy food." In D5: " (...) "between all of this and magic we are able to achieve what we want", "We have shopkeepers, café owners (...) Weavers of magic", "Kindness will carry us through any difficulties", and "Kindness keeps us going, kindness has been shown to us in buckets."

The data from all five documents show that IET has constructed their discourse with sustainability at its center. This is not done directly but rather through the use of terms and formulations that allude to sustainability but that can be perceived as less technical yet more appealing to Todmorden residents. By opposing bleakness to richness, and powerlessness and victimhood to empowerment, IET presents its sustainability-led initiative as an answer to Todmorden's issues in which everybody is encouraged to contribute. This strengthens attachment to place and community building.

IET's impact on community building, education, and the promotion of local culture: findings

The second part of the analysis is based on the revision of "Propagating Success? The Incredible Edible Model Final Report" (Morley, Farrier & Dooris, 2017). The data collected in this report was quite useful to assess the impacts IET has had in Todmorden. The focus of this section will be its findings regarding community building, education and the promotion of local culture and whether the sustainability-led discourse employed by IET and analyzed above has permeated in survey respondents and interviewees.

In terms of community, Morley, Farrier & Dooris (2017) report that "IET made an immediate and visible impact on the use of space in Todmorden" (p.20). These spaces include the old Health Center, the police and trains stations, a care home, schools, and outdoor spaces like the now-called Pollination Street. This focus on public space has "begun to change people's perception of their locality and relationship to their local environment, creating a greater sense of ownership and positivity" (p. 20). The data from the community surveys also suggest that IET has infused residents with a sense of pride (including pride to belong to IET) and a new sense of community, developing connections within the community that might not have taken place

otherwise; for example, when the town flooded in 2012 and 2015 and people came together to provide assistance to others, actions where IET had influence (p. 22). Furthermore, "the notion that IET had brought people together for the shared purpose of improving the local community permeated both the one-to-one interviews and focus groups." (p.21) There has also been a perceived reduction in vandalism, on which one survey respondent commented that it might not be attributable entirely to IET but it could be attributed to this sense of ownership of place that has permeated in the community (p.22).

As for education, the authors report that IET has had an apparently stronger impact on young children, who have developed an interest in growing and gardening as well as on the provenance of food, nature and the environment (p. 26). Intergenerational work has also helped strengthen the efforts by encouraging parents and children to learn together about food growing and cooking (p.28) and the AquaGarden and Incredible Farm have contributed importantly as centers of didactic and informal training, respectively (p. 29). For instance, the AquaGarden has received children from local schools, from reception to year six, for lessons that had been woven into the curriculum (p. 29).

The impact on local culture can be seen in an enhanced sense of local distinctiveness and awareness attributable to the changes brought about by IET culture (p.22), with a survey respondent highlighting that Todmorden has differentiated itself from other northern towns (p.22), and another stating that the awareness of the value of buying locally-sourced food was already culturally present in Todmorden but that IET made people even more aware (p.25). The data in the report also indicates IET's approach has "resonated with Todmorden's residents, reflecting its particular history and culture, and galvanising deep and sustained community action in the town" (p. 69).

On another note, even though the views on IET's impact in the community have been overwhelmingly positive (p. 63), the report shows that the project has faced some challenges. These are basically articulated in dissenting views from some members of the community, especially older and long-term residents. Some have shown a degree of resistance to change; some have questioned IET's underlying motivations, in particular after the project began to gain massive media coverage due to the high degree of exposure and because the organization could not always keep

up with what was being reported (p. 41). There have also been tensions with stallholders from the local market who have felt threatened by IET's offer of free food, either via propaganda gardening or during planned events, or who perceive that IET is not bringing much trade to the market during the visitor tours (p.42). Fear of gentrification is also an important issue discussed in the report. Some residents have expressed concern regarding Todmorden's increased desirability, to which IET has contributed, considering as well the town's low housing prices compared with Manchester and Leeds (p. 3, 42). However, there is no real evidence of gentrification as of yet, these are merely perceptions, and, in the event that evidence was found, it could not be attributed entirely to IET as there are several other factors that would need to be taken into account.

Discursively, there are certain resonances between the IET documents and the responses provided by interviewees and survey respondents in the "Propagating Success?" report. The report contemplated IET members as well as representatives of the community, learning and business "plates". Here, only those responses which did not imply IET direct membership have been considered to better reflect the ways in which their discourse seems to have permeated to other members of the community. This was done by excluding those answers in which respondents refer to IET as "we". Given space constraints only a fraction of the replies will be analyzed here[7]; however a more detailed chart can be found in Annex II.

In line with the results of the previous section, some of the replies appeal to a need for a better future where the local element is of importance: "It grows kindness and sharing and makes us feel like we are in a great place to live" (p.21); "I didn't move to Todmorden because of it, but now that I'm here it's like, this makes sense why I would live in this town […] there's this wonderful community, there's people who are really trying to make a better world, you know, their little corner at a time" (p.22); "That is very much where something like IE will come in... we have a wonderful ... natural environment here, and we want to have a...sustainable future around […]" (p.27); "I find climate change and all of that...huge...issues that you feel, individually, quite powerless about...We know that there are things we can all do about energy saving and stuff, but you need somehow to get some 'glue'[…] This 'small action thing' appealed to me" (p.27); and "All our children, […] accessed at least one, if not two, lessons down at the Aquaponics Centre, and again, that was

[7] Edited for brevity.

woven into the curriculum. So it has really enhanced learning for children because, obviously, it's hands on and it's there in their community" (p.29).

The element of using the language of food to build a better future was also present: "It's so important to our future, to start to think about our food...It's a communication tool, it's a 'breakdown barriers' tool, it's a lovely thing we share for fun and for love. But it's massively important to our future health and wellbeing of ourselves...[and] the planet" (p.21); "Bringing families together for cooking classes at high school...that's great... across the generations and getting children to think about food" (p.28); and in this particular case, a member of the business plate directly ties the ways in which IET promotes local production to a positive impact on his business: "Joining IE does help us to a certain degree because we're standing out as being a local producer... I think they are buying it from the market because they do tours for tourists [...] so they buy [our product]" (p.24).

Finally, some of the answers even allude to the encouragement to use simplified concepts and colloquial language, and there are examples of opposition of negative and positive imagery being used: "It's respected as being an organisation that does a lot of things....you don't need any sort of education except to be observant and to be prepared to get your hands dirty to participate...in that sense, it's sort of a leveller really. (p.40)"; and "They've put a big board up, 'Welcome To Our Town', great. It was, I don't know if you saw it before, the old Health Centre?...Derelict building, looked a total mess. Tidied it all up" (p.20).

Discussion

The analysis shows, first, that IET has constructed its discourse around sustainability understood in terms of the sub-discourse described by Hugé et al (2013), as a process of change that requires a shift in conventional notions and practices, and where human lifestyles can be transformed by new ways of doing things. The basic premise of IET rests on securing a better, greener and kinder future by taking responsibility and acting to change a discouraging reality. The articulation of terms like kindness and green also points towards the idea that sustainability needs to conjoin both the human and the natural spheres, which relates to the TNS System Conditions.

Furthermore, the use of colloquial language and the avoidance of technical terms suggest that the discourse, and therefore the operationalization of sustainability, aims at being inclusive and of universal appeal. This, plus the allusions to victimhood and powerlessness, seems to point towards Todmorden's population. By alluding to Todmorden itself and presenting a possibility of overall improvement in social and environmental terms, IET is putting in motion Hambleton's (2014) notion of place-based identity and loyalty. The latter is also supported by the fact that IET built on Todmorden's particularities, to its distinctiveness as a place and by the ways in which their discourse is reflected in the language used by survey respondents and interviewees.

Perhaps the strongest link between IET's sustainability-led discourse and community building, education and the promotion of local culture can be found in the argument that, for IET, growing food (through permaculture and urban farming) is a discursive vehicle to get people to come together as a community. Morley, Farrier & Dooris's report (2017) suggests that IET has had an overall positive impact in Todmorden. With respect to community building, the data shows that, among those interviewed, there is an increased sense of ownership and pride regarding Todmorden and IET as well as a sense of shared purpose. If seen through Hambleton's notion of place (2014), the latter indicates that these positive conceptions of the town, this rallying together of people with their town, reflects the way its inhabitants relate to each other as well.

The signs of cohesion seen with community building are transferred into education and local culture. IET's incursion into formal and informal education, as seen by the participation of school children and adults in the different activities and lessons, speaks to the impact the project has had and can have in this sector. Through teaching food growth and cooking, IET is also imparting their vision of sustainability, potentially influencing the development of young people and effecting change in the general population. Finally, if IET has played a role in bringing the community together and is making incursions in education and learning, then it is also having an impact on the town's way of life. The enhanced sense of local distinctiveness and heightened awareness regarding practices that were already in place in Todmorden, as was reported by survey respondents and interviewees, suggests, then, that the organization has also had an effect on the promotion of local culture.

Conclusions

This research has shown that IET's use of a sustainability-led discourse articulated around the need to secure a "better, greener, and kinder" future and put into action through their permaculture and urban farming projects, has had a positive impact on community building, education, and local culture in Todmorden. This stresses the argument that sustainability operates as a process of directed change that encompasses human lifestyles, practices, and structures aimed at ensuring an ethical co-existence between humans and between them and the natural world, which, in the end, is the underlying principle of IET's discourse. The focus here was on community building, education, and local culture but this framework can be applied to study other areas and sectors.

Further research in situ is, of course, necessary to collect more data to add to this line of inquiry and to properly assess the impact of this discourse in the community since, as it has been said, Morley, Farrier & Dooris's report addresses the overall impacts of the project although not through the lens of discourse. It is also necessary to conduct research on other localities where similar projects have been carried out, both within the Incredible Edible network and elsewhere. However, this paper presents an initial approach as to the range of effects of the use of a sustainability-led discourse can have on localities and their potential to devise solutions to social and environmental issues at a time when outlooks for the future seem to be increasingly challenging.

REFERENCES

BARRY, J. (2014) Green Political Theory. In Geoghegan, V.; Wilford, R. (eds.). *Political Ideologies: An Introduction.* London: Routlege.

BEATLEY, T. (2011) Biophilic Cities Integrating Nature into Urban Design and Planning. Washington, DC: Island Press.

BORIN, E.; DONATO, F. (2015) Unlocking the potential of IC in Italian cultural ecosystems. *Journal of Intellectual Capital*, Vol. 16 Iss 2, 285 – 30

CHCfE Consortium (2015) The CHCfE Report. 297 p.

CLEAR, M. (2019, July 30) Phone Interview.

DE BEUKELAER, C.; FREITAS, R. (2015) Culture and Sustainable Development: Beyond the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. In De Beukelaer, C.; Pyykkönen, M.; Singh, J.P. (eds.) *Globalization, Culture, and Development. The UNESCO Convention on Cultural Diversity.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

DESSEIN, J.; SONI, K.; FAIRCLOUGH, G.; HORLING, L. (eds) (2015). Culture in, for and as Sustainable Development. Conclusions from the COST Action IS1007 Investigating Cultural Sustainability. University of Jyväskylä, Finland.

DRYZEK, J. (2005) *The Politics of the Earth: Environmental Discourses.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

ECKERSLEY, R. (2013) Green Theory. In Dunne, T.; Kurki, M. & Smith, S. (eds.). *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

HAJER, M. (1995) *The Politics of Environmental Discourse: Ecological Modernization and the Policy Process.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

HAMBLETON, R. (2014) *Leading the Inclusive City: Place-Based Innovation for a Bounded Planet.* Bristol: Policy Press.

HATHAWAY, M. (2015). The Practical Wisdom of Permaculture An Anthropoharmonic Phronesis for Moving toward an Ecological Epoch. *Environmental Ethics*, 37, 445-463.

HUGÉ, J.; WAAS, T.; DAHDOUH-GUEBAS, F.; KOEDAM, N.; BLOCK, T. (2013)

A discourse-analytical perspective on sustainability assessment: interpreting sustainable development in practice. Sustain Sci, 8, 187-198.

Incredible Edible Todmorden. Available at: https://www.incredible-edible-todmorden.co.uk

ISAR, Y. (2017) 'Culture', 'sustainable development' and cultural policy: a contrarian view. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 23(2), 148-158

JOHNSTON, P.; EVERARD, M.; SANTILLO, D.; ROBÈRT, K. (2007) Reclaiming the Definition of Sustainability.

Environmental Science and Pollution Research, 14(1), 60-66

MOORHEAD,J.(2009).Todmorden'sGoodlife:Introducing Britain's greenest town. *Independent*. Available at: http://www.independent.co.uk/environment/green-living/todmordens-good-life-introducing-britains-greenest-town-1830666.html

MORLEY, A.; FARRIER, A.; DOORIS, M. (2017) Propagating Success? The Incredible Edible Model. Final Report. Manchester Metropolitan University; University of Central Lancashire.

Office for National Statistics (2013) Industry 2011 in *Neighbourhood Statistics.* Available at: http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/LeadTableView.do?a=7&b=11129755&c=todmorden&d=16&e=62&g=6370497&i=1001x1003x1032x1004&m=0&r=1&s=1489535926602&enc=1&dsFamilyId=2538

Office for National Statistics (2013) Population Density, 2011 in *Neighbourhood Statistics.*

Available at: http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/LeadTableView.do?a=7&b=11129755&c=todmorden&d=16&e=13&g=6370497&i=1001x1003x1004&m=0&r=1&s=1489536817321&enc=1&dsFamilyId=2491>

Office for National Statistics (n.d) Population estimates. Available at: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates#timeseries>

PÈZRES, E. (2010). La permaculture au sein de l'argiculture urbaine: du jardin ay projet de societé. *VertigO*, 10(2), 1-12.

THOMPSON, J. (2012). Incredible Edible – social and environmental entrepreneurship in the era of the 'Big Society'. *Social Enterprise Journal*, 8(3), 237-250

Todmorden Information Center Trust (n.d). "About Todmorden". Consulted at http://www.visittodmorden.co.uk/shop/custom.

asp?cpid=custom31

TORNAGHI, C. (2014) Critical geography of urban agriculture. *Progress in Human Geography*, 38(4), 551–567.

SOINI, K,; DESSEIN, J. (2016) Culture-Sustainability Relation: Towards a Conceptual Framework. *Sustainability*, 8, 167, 1-12

UJANG, N.; ZAKARIYA,K. (2015) The Notion of Place, Place Meaning and Identity in Urban Regeneration. Procedia - *Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 170, 709-717

UNESCO- *World Conference on Cultural Policies*, Mexico City, 26 Jul.-6 Aug., 230 p.

UNESCO- *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*, Paris, 20 Oct. 2005, 52 p.

WARHURST, P. (May, 2012) How we can eat our landscapes. [Video file] Available at: https://www.ted.com/talks/pam_warhurst_how_we_can_eat_our_landscapes

WARHURST, P. & DOBSON, J. (2014) *Incredible! Plan Veg Grow a Revolution.* Leicestershire: Matador. Electronic Edition.

WILKINSON, C. (2012) Social-ecological resilience: Insights and issues for planning theory. *Planning Theory*, 11(2), 148-169

WILLIAMS, R. (2011) *The Long Revolution.* Cardigan: Parthian. Electronic Edition.

World Commission on Environment and Development (1987) *Our Common Future.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

ANNEX 1

D1 "Incredible Edible Pamphlet. INCREDIBLE: HOW ONE TOWN PROVED CHANGE IS POSSIBLE"

Description: Eight-page document posted to IET's website on May 23, 2011. General presentation of IET and its history.

Category 1: Appearance of the term	Relevant instances
IM	"secure a better legacy for their grandchildren"
IM	"self-sufficiency"
DM	"Pam could see that ideas like (…) sustainability sounded more like academic concepts than something people could engage with in their everyday lives."
IM	"how to ensure a secure future for the planet"

Category 2: Scale of importance	Relevant instances
H	"But this isn't just about self-sufficiency. What is being achieved is far bigger. Through the shared language of food, the people of a small market town in Yorkshire are engaging in the biggest challenge facing the human race: how to ensure a secure future for the planet."
M	"The vision was for children to know how to feed themselves in the future"
H	The simple, shared language of food is uniting the community in its efforts to create a kinder, greener world in and around their town"
H	"In Todmorden, it's all about spreading food and food production through the whole school curriculum and beyond, growing a generation of young people who understand the importance of good soil, sustainably grown products and connecting with local farmland."
H	"It's about finding better ways to live that create opportunities for the future and avoid harm to our environment."

Category 3: Discursive devices and rhetorical language
Allusion, simplified language, colloquial language, metaphor, simile, use of opposition
"stop passing the buck and waiting for someone else to save the world"
"It takes small things that capture the imagination (…) a vegetable plot with a revolutionary sign."
"And it's a story of having a lot of fun in the process."
"Could growing food be the catalyst to stop us thinking like disempowered victims and start taking responsibility for our own futures?"
"They know that, like a baby growing from infancy to adulthood, it is a long game."
"Incredible Edible can help keep independent local shops and markets open and thriving, creating a distinctive town rather than a clone town."

D2 "How we can eat our landscapes"
Description: TEDTalk by Pam Warhurst, IET co-founder, May 2012. Duration: 13:21 minutes.

Category 1: Appearance of the term	Relevant instances
IM	"We're starting to build resilience ourselves."
IM	"They know it's time to take personal responsibility and invest in more kindness to each other and to the environment."
IM	"We are responding creatively at last to what Rio demanded of us, and there's lots more you could do."
IM	"new way of living, see spaces around them differently, think about the resources they use differently"

Category 2: Scale of importance	Relevant instances
H	"We tried to answer this simple question: Can you find a unifying language that cuts across age and income and culture that will help people themselves find a new way of living, see spaces around them differently, think about the resources they use differently, interact differently?"
M	"This is about us going to the people and saying, "We are all part of the local food jigsaw, we are all part of a solution."
L	"This is about sharing and investing in kindness."
H	"If we want to inspire the farmers of tomorrow, then please let us say to every school, create a sense of purpose around the importance to the environment, local food and soils."

Category 3: Discursive devices and rhetorical language
Metaphor, simplified language, colloquial language.
"We're doing it because we want to start a revolution."
"And what we did was we put people on our egg map"
"Now, none of this is rocket science"
"More than 30 towns in England now are spinning the Incredible Edible plate"
"we are starting, at last, to believe in ourselves again, and to believe in our capacity, each and every one of us, to build a different and a kinder future, and in my book, that's incredible."
we've got a real show there, we've got some action theater.
"we are not daunted by the sophisticated arguments that say, "These small actions are meaningless in the face of tomorrow's problems,"
"People are ready and respond to the story of food."

D3 "IET Newsletter November 2014"
Description: Four-page document organized in text boxes with images. Posted to the IET website.

Category 1: Appearance of the term	Relevant instances
NM	
The newsletter does not mention sustainability as such. It discusses happenings during the months it covers. The terms that could be related to sustainability are ambiguous and therefore, not to be included in this category.	

Category 2: Scale of importance	Relevant instances
H	"This bed is part of the Green Route and is particularly aimed at supporting the bees and other pollinators so vital for our growing."
M	"It calls on each and every one of us, in times of crisis, and here they are discussing the global environmental crisis, to stand up and be counted (...) That, in or own, and many varied ways, is what IE is all about."
M	"And from those small actions we can see some of the simple things that could change to help even more people be part of the solution to a happy, healthy, dare I say, less money fixated future."
M	We have seen the effect land planted with food around our health centres has made."

Category 3: Discursive devices and rhetorical language
Colloquial language, allusion
"the rain had started to fall and just did not stop – but neither did our volunteers."
"As they put it 'go down to the forum'."
"The sense of not being powerless starts with that first step."
"Well knock me down with a feather."

D4 "Incredible North. Growing health, wealth and happiness for all"
Description: Nine-page document detailing the Incredible North initiative, an expansion of Incredible Edible in the north of England. Posted to the IET website on May 27, 2016.

Category 1: Appearance of the term	Relevant instances
DM	"Building on this sustainable success, Incredible North is a wider partnership of individuals, businesses and organisations, coming together to unlock the power of food and small actions, invest in collaboration and inspire a generation to believe just how amazing they are."
IM	"A kinder form of prosperity for all"
DM	"Creating a sustainable future for everyone"
IM	"It's all about what we as individuals can do to sustain our local food economy."

Category 2: Scale of importance	Relevant instances
M	"Eight years ago, in my home town of Todmorden, me and a couple of like-minded friends threw ourselves into an experiment, to see if we could create a kinder form of prosperity through the power of local food."
M	"We did it because we wanted to put an end to just talking about the future and start doing something, however small the actions."
H	"Through the creation of Incredible North, we want to build capacity across the northern territories and connect all who understand the value and potential of local food."
H	"Incredible North goes way beyond growing and eating locally produced food (although that's really important to us). It's also about creating a sustainable future for everyone – from Liverpool to Hull and all points in between!"

Category 3: Discursive devices and rhetorical language
Metaphor, opposition
By growing and sharing, teaching and buying, we got on with doing things in a different way.
We created edible plots on unloved land with food for everyone to share
Incredible North is home to all who know things don't have to be like yesterday –they can be much, much better!
"encouraging ordinary individuals to transform disused plots into rich sources of healthy food."
"we're starting to believe in ourselves again and in our capacity to shape an alternative, kinder future."
"Fuelled by the power of food, we can inspire, invest and light the blue touch paper for a future worthy of our children."

D5 "Annual Report and Financial Statements for the period 27th October 2015 to 30th September 2016"

Description: Seven-page document posted to the IET website on November 19, 2016.

Category 1: Appearance of the term	Relevant instances
IM	"Protecting and enhancing local biodiversity."
IM	"Encouraging and supporting local businesses to source food locally and reduce food miles"
IM	"Encouraging reuse, upcycling and repurposing of goods and thereby reduce landfill."

Category 2: Scale of importance	Relevant instances
L	"Building a strong local community by developing and offering volunteer opportunities and skills development"
H	"Protecting and enhancing local biodiversity."
L	"Offering workshops and demonstrations to local residents to develop skills in cooking tasty, nutritional food on a budget."
H	"Encouraging and supporting local businesses to source food locally and reduce food miles."
H	"Encouraging reuse, upcycling and repurposing of goods and thereby reduce landfill."

Category 3: Discursive devices and rhetorical language
Synecdoche, alliteration, metaphor, personification
"Incredibles could be seen cooking, shopping, helping rip up carpets and empty equipment from cellars, fetching and carrying, washing clothes and generally helping townsfolk wherever we could."
"It never stops, the talks, the tours and the presentations."
"So we have freedom and routines, because between all of this and magic we are able to achieve what we want."
"We have shopkeepers, café owners, bakers and makers, artists, drummers and dancers who we support and who we know will support us in all we need. Weavers of magic. And our door is always open to new people and new ideas."
"we are starting, at last, to believe in ourselves again, and to believe in our capacity, each and every one of us, to build a different and a kinder future, and in my book, that's incredible."
"Our boldness has no boundaries"
"Kindness keeps us going, kindness has been shown to us in buckets."
"Kindness will carry us through any difficulties."

ANNEX II

Needing a better future and importance of the local

It grows kindness and sharing and makes us feel like we are in a great place to live (p.21)

That actually is the biggest thing because that sense of place that is positive, allows a shift in mindset in your relationship with the place. It just, that to me, is the most significant thing. (p.20)

I didn't move to Todmorden because of it, but now that I'm here it's like, this makes sense why I would live in this town...because this is a town where this happens...there's a lot of northern towns...in England, where there isn't anything like this. And the High Street's really...deadly boring and...samey. And then suddenly, you come to...Hebden Bridge and Todmorden and there's this, there's this wonderful community, there's people who are really trying to make a better world, you know, their little corner at a time. (p.22)

That's what it's about, resilience. The floods were... a gift to us, because we're a natural group that can respond. We've got communication systems, we've got devoted people, passionate community...so it's great (p.22)

The crime rates for criminal damage came down. Whether you can attribute it all to IE I don't know, but...what you can attribute it to, is that there was, like, an ownership. So this is our town and this is our police station and we're not going to smash it up, we're going to take ownership of it. And if you walk round, it's not just at the police station, at the railway station, the community college, the fire station, at the health centre...it's all around the town...If you live here, look after it, treat it right, treat it with respect and be part of it...And yes...crime did go down. I think [IET] helped, I think it played a contributory factor in that. (p.22)

That is very much where something like IE will come in... we have a wonderful ... natural environment here, and we want to have a...sustainable future around, things like our air quality is an issue, our transport is a problem, and our rates of obesity and...health and wellbeing. (p.27)

I find climate change and all of that...huge...issues that you feel, individually, quite powerless about...We know that there are things we can all do about energy saving and stuff, but you need somehow to get some 'glue' and get people to [believe they can make a difference]...This 'small action thing' appealed to me. (p.27)

All our children, right from reception through to year six, accessed at least one, if not two, lessons down at the Aquaponics Centre, and again, that was woven into the curriculum. So it has really enhanced learning for children because, obviously, it's hands on and it's there in their community. (p.29)

Language of food leads towards a better future

Looking at air miles, looking at packaging, you know, looking at environment pollutions, fossil fuels, factories, all that sort of stuff – it's so important to our future, to start to think about our food...It's a communication tool, it's a 'breakdown barriers' tool, it's a lovely thing we share for fun and for love. But it's massively important to our future health and wellbeing of ourselves...[and] the planet. (p.21)

Joining IE does help us to a certain degree because we're standing out as being a local producer... I think they are buying it from the market because they do tours for tourists. And [IET tour organisers] do stop off in the market and they want to buy something local and there's not very much available, so they buy [our product]. (p.24)

I think there's definitely been a positive impact on the thing about local food, the understanding of the importance of it. (p.25)

They've made people aware...it's always been there but because of IE, they're more aware. (p.25)

Bringing families together for cooking classes at high school...that's great...across the generations and getting children to think about food. (p.28)

Encouragement of the use of simplified and colloquial language
It's respected as being an organisation that does a lot of things....you don't need any sort of education except to be observant and to be prepared to get your hands dirty to participate...in that sense, it's sort of a leveller really. (p.40) [If] IE see a job that needs doing, they'd roll up their sleeves and do it...If you wait for somebody to do it for you, it'll never get done. (p.40)

Opposition of negative and positive imagery
[People in]...Todmorden...feel as though they're on the outside...they're on the edge of Calderdale, they're on the edge of Burnley, they're on the edge of Lancashire, and they do feel as though they're being sort of squeezed out of all of those areas...so they do feel on the periphery quite a bit. […] But […] They have their own groups, which are strong, you know, the market traders and, you know, they do stick up for themselves. So the sort of double-edged sword I think it is. (p. 16-17) They've put a big board up, 'Welcome To Our Town', great. It was, I don't know if you saw it before, the old Health Centre?...Derelict building, looked a total mess. Tidied it all up. (p.20)

Presence of discursive elements in survey responses and interviews
Source: MORLEY, A.; FARRIER, A.; DOORIS, M. (2017) Propagating Success? The Incredible Edible Model. Final Report. Manchester Metropolitan University; University of Central Lancashire.

Valuing cultural diversity? A plea for a receptive cultural policy

Özlem Canyürek
University of Hildesheim, Germany
oezlemcanyuerek@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The promotion of immigration-generated diversity has been on the agenda of the cultural policy in Germany for an extended period. Integration-oriented objectives primarily determine the policy discourse on cultural diversity, often supported through intercultural funding programmes. Parallel to this, the long-standing debate on improving access conditions to publicly funded cultural institutions for immigrants compels cultural policy to introduce measures to accommodate cultural diversity in the cultural sphere. In this article, I explore the interplay between the values, reflexes and habits of cultural policymaking on the lack of immigration-related diversity in the cultural landscape. Through dispositive strategy as a methodical tool of discourse analysis, I first examine the conduct, motives and concepts of cultural policy shaping the discourse on immigration-generated diversity. Then, I introduce a constructive policy approach for reducing access imbalances to the cultural scene, and, lastly, I propose an equality-based cultural policy framework.

Keywords:

Migration

Diversity

Interculturality

Integration

Germany

Introduction

Since the mid-2000s, enhancing the inclusion of citizens with a *migrant background*[1] into the cultural sphere and responding to the absence of cultural diversity within public cultural institutions are among the main objectives of cultural policy in Germany. These goals are mainly carried out through various additional funding programmes oriented towards the cultural integration of immigrants[2] and, lately, refugees.

In the last decade, cultural diversity debates on the diversification of the personnel and audience structure and programming of the public cultural institutions have accelerated as their social role increasingly put into question, given that they are almost entirely publicly funded. In 2015, the public sector provided a total of 10.4 billion euros for culture, and 35.4% of the total federal, state, and municipal cultural expenditure was in the theatre landscape (Statistische Ämter des Bundes und der Länder, 2018: 29)[3]. Parallel to these discussions, cultural policies at three levels of government have been introducing numerous funding programmes concerning diversity development in cultural institutions, albeit with varying diversity-related concepts and approaches. Interculturality is the most employed concept in this context and is often used synonymously with intercultural dialogue.

In 2019, 21.2 million people with a *migrant background* were living in Germany, representing 26% of the total population, while 52% of them were German citizens (Statistiches Bundesamt, 2020). Although one in four people have a *migrant background* as described by the Federal Statistical Office, immigrants as artistic workforce as well as audiences are underrepresented in the cultural field. Despite the lack of sufficient cultural statistics on the different facets of diversity, by observation, Whiteness, masculinity, heterosexuality, and able-bodiedness are known to be the dominating features in the German cultural landscape, particularly in municipal and state theatres. A recent study, which surveyed the federally funded 67 cultural establishments and institutions for the first time on diversity between 2018 and 2020 in terms of staff, programming and the audience, indicates that people with a migrant background and disabled people are the most underrepresented groups as employees (Zimmermann, 2021)[4].

One of the hypotheses put forward in this paper is that the focus of German cultural policy is to strengthen social cohesion through intercultural-focused subsidiary incentives to deal with the problem-defined immigration than to create framework conditions for the diversification of the staff composition, programming and audience profile of cultural institutions. I argue further that the ideas, values, habits and aesthetical perceptions of cultural policymaking are firmly effective in the absence of immigration-related diversity in the cultural landscape. There has been a relationality between the systematic exclusion of immigrants from the cultural sphere and the concept of *Kulturnation* (cultural nation), where the ideals of cultural politics are crystallised.

In the subsequent sections, first, I examine the concept of *Kulturnation*, to shed light on the role of the underlying "normative ideals, values and beliefs" (Béland, 2009) of cultural politics, implemented through policy, for confining the position of people with a *migrant background* to a cultural integration framework. Then, I outline the interplay between intercultural policy approaches and the objective of cultural integration. In this exploration, I employ the dispositive strategy of discourse analysis (Bührmann & Schneider, 2008, 2012; Caborn, 2007; Jäger, 2001; Keller, 2005; Schneider, 2015). Dispositive is understood as a strategically linked, heterogeneous ensemble of discursive and non-discursive practices, norms, measures, power

---

[1] Since the 2005 Microcensus, the Federal Statistical Office (Statistiches Bundesamt) defines people with a migrant background (Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund) as all immigrants who came to Germany after 1949 as well as foreigners, born in Germany from immigrant parents. The following groups have a migrant background according to this definition: Foreigners, naturalised people, (late) resettlers and the children of these three groups (Statistiches Bundesamt, n.d.). This term is widely used in the cultural field by policymakers in Germany. The article applies this problematic term in order to refer to the German cultural policy and use it in italics to identify it as a stigmatising and discriminating category: a) it silences the war-related immigration of Germans; b) it is exclusionary: even if these people are Germans, their belonging to Germany is questioned by an official category, and they are othered through their separation from the German natio-ethno-cultural mainstream; c) it is bound to "inherited citizenship" which values German descent over other descent (Will, 2019: 553).

[2] I use the phrase immigrant, aware of the fact that second and third generations are no longer immigrants; they are rather 'migrantised' people by cultural politics. However, cultural integration measures often aim at all generations; thus, within the context of this article accurate and differentiated usage of the terms, 'immigrant' and 'migrantised' is not applicable.

[3] Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from German to English were done by the author.

[4] The study analysed the proportion of four diversity characteristics in cultural institutions. These were gender, age, migrant background and disability. According to the survey, Turkish descent employees are significantly underrepresented in cultural institutions, although these are the largest group among people with a migrant background in Germany.

relations, and knowledge in a given field (Foucault, 1980: 194). Following Foucault, the methodology utilised in this article reflects on the question of how the interrelation of discourse, non-discursive practices (actions), the institutional manifestation (outcomes) of immigration-related diversity can be examined as a dispositive. Through dispositive strategy, the article aims to pinpoint the association between the form of discourse concerning immigration-related diversity and the historically grounded embodied system of beliefs, attitudes, and reflexes of cultural-political actors to delineate how decisive this interconnection, leading to structural exclusion in the cultural landscape.

A culture-defined nation

Considering "the intertwinement of policy and the politics of culture in Germany which refers to the production and distribution of policies and their representation of ideas, symbols and values" (Wesner, 2010: 435), an examination of one of the central concepts of cultural politics, *Kulturnation*, is essential as it is substantially reflected in cultural policy.

Culture has always been at the heart of Germany's self-definition (van der Will & Burns, 2015). The notion of *Kulturnation* is a reflection of a culture-defined nation. The concept represents particular ideas and beliefs which stem from a value system belonging to an intellectual, progressive, and democratic society. Even though the substance of *Kulturnation* was revised over time and the term gained new meanings, "values leave traces as finger-prints do; they change but remain recognisable over centuries" (Wesner, 2010: 433).

The manifestation of ideals of cultural politics in cultural policy provides valuable knowledge on the underlying principles of the cultural values implied. German cultural policy acknowledges the arts and culture as progressive instruments that have transformative powers on individuals and society; hence, cultural policy acts as keeper/organiser/developer of cultural values of a certain kind (Wesner, 2010: 434). The Kulturnation is one of these prevailing principles firmly emphasised in the key national policy documents.

The *Kulturnation* signifies the German unification, a cultural unity through history, language, and cultural heritage. It is considered a commitment to Germany as it replaces the lack of state unity, and the Federal Republic of Germany adhered to this tradition during its aspirations for reunification (von Beyme, 2012: 107). The

concept of *Kulturnation* -in different forms- signifies cultural unity and is still solidly influential in cultural policymaking in Germany (Bloomfield, 2003; van der Will & Burns, 2015; Wesner, 2010).

The first sentence of Article 35 of the Unification Treaty states that in the years of division, the arts and culture - despite the different development of the two states in Germany - were the basis for the continuing unity of the German nation (Bundesverfassungsgericht, 1991). The arts and culture were foundational to the reconciliation of the two German states before 1990 and also seen as the remedy in the coming decades to overcome difficulties that had emerged from different cultural traditions, cultural politics, and cultural policy approaches in East and West Germany (Canyürek, 2022: 110).

In 2007, the parliamentary working group, *Enquete-Kommission* (Enquiry Commission), published an extensive report, *Kultur in Deutschland* (Culture in Germany), on the cultural landscape. The report is still considered one of the most important documents in the inventory of cultural policy, expressively strengthening the role of federal cultural policy (Council of Europe, 2016; Deutscher Kulturrat, 2017). The spirit of a unified cultural identity as the binding bond of the nation is prevalent in the report. In the introduction of this document, it is underlined that "the Federal Republic of Germany sees itself as a *Kulturnation*" (Enquete-Kommission, 2007: 43). In Germany, 'culture' has historically been a central element of the self-image of the state (Klein, 2018). Although their distinct regional and local cultures and traditions, sixteen federal states are seen as belonging together through the arts and culture that engender *Kulturnation* (Wesner, 2010; Wöhlert, 2009).

The report of the *Enquete-Kommission* repeatedly stresses the significance of culture as a national goal (2007: 148–200–202–209). It particularly mentions the *Kulturnation* in the context of European integration. The *Kulturnation*, the idea of culture as a unifying entity, represented another dimension in 21st century Germany. While many European countries focus on their rich cultural diversity, Germany seeks a unifying European conceptual framework that arises from the concepts of enlightenment, the occidental-Christian tradition, and the humanitarian idea of man (Wesner, 2010: 442). In this ideological construction of European culture, portrayed as a 'culture of cultures', the underlying assumption is that there is a consensus for a 'European model' of society, a model that does not exist in practice (Shore, 2001: 115). Moreover, in this view, the migration history of European countries and

how Europe is culturally impacted by migration are not taken into account.

The tendency of focusing on a European identity and culture is explicit in the *Enquete-Kommission* report. It discusses cultural diversity and identity in terms of the 'roots of European culture' and 'European integration'. In the introduction section, under the sub-heading of 'cultural education', one can find an obscure reference to immigrants in Germany. Cultural education is understood as a key to social development in order to "strengthen awareness towards cultural diversity and cultural differences between regions, milieus, ethnicities and genders" (Enquete-Kommission, 2007: 45).

Norbert Lammert, who served as president of the *German Bundestag* (Parliament) from 2005 to 2017, criticised the consensus of the members of the *Enquete-Kommission* on the declaration of Germany as a *Kulturnation* without having any doubt about its relevance for the future of the country and asked whether it might be a "dusty formula in a globalised world" (2016: 144). Lammert expressed reservations about attaining an 'agreeable' definition of the term, its suitability as a concept or fact that adequately described the frameworks and conditions of our world, given that they have undoubtedly changed quite radically in the last few decades (2016: 143).

The implicit application of the revised concept of *Kulturnation* defines top-down the culture in a disguised manner and operates as a distinctive marker for the construction of hierarchised diversity between Germany after unification (the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic) and Germany after labour migration from the 1950s (Canyürek, 2022: 110). While national, federal state and local cultural policies continuously support the ideals of Kulturnation, reflected in the organisational structure and programming of White public cultural institutions, they introduce cultural integration measures in the form of intercultural dialogue programmes for immigrants. Hence, labour migration, this second layer of cultural diversity, is treated otherwise, "being included differently to the nation" (Puwar, 2004).

The notion of *Kulturnation* does not recognise the post-war demographic changes through immigration and displacement. It disregards various ethnic and religious identities and traditions and fails to consider these citizens as its own. It overlooks the intellectual and artistic contribution of immigrants to German society. In this understanding, perception of the arts and culture is rigid and not open to negotiation. The concept raises doubts about a fair promotion of cultural diversity, particularly concerning the diversification of knowledge production. Without a transparent discussion about and consensus on support through cultural policy with diverse stakeholders, the task of *Kulturnation* carries the risk of turning into "structural conservatism" (Klein, 2009). In such a situation, preserving and supporting a specific culture would endanger cultural pluralism. This is especially true for post-immigrant Germany, in which we witness the rise of right-wing extremism and xenophobia[5]. In its current interpretation, the *Kulturnation* is prone to contributing to the ongoing structural inequalities and exclusions in the cultural field.

Interculturality as a diversity concept for cultural integration

In cultural policy terms, the concept of interculturality started to be discussed in the early 2000s. The *kulturpolitische Gesellschaft (KuPoGe)* (Cultural Policy Association) and its organisation, the *Institut für Kulturpolitik (IfK)* (Institute for Cultural Policy), are actively involved in shaping the discussions around immigration-generated diversity[6]. In 2003, The *KuPoGe*, in its publication, Cultural Policy Yearbook, introduced a wide-ranging collection of texts on the concept of interculturality, including promotion of intercultural work as a task of cultural policies at different levels of government and a part of cultural integration strategies (KuPoGe, 2003).

The report of the *Enquete-Kommission* is another illustrative example of linking cultural integration and social cohesion with one another and presenting interculturality as a concept for successful integration. Given that the report was produced around the time when immigration started receiving attention from cultural policy, the document exhibits noticeable

[5] A survey by the University of Leipzig reveals the severity of the increase in racist views in Germany. According to the study, extremist ideologies have become more acceptable in mainstream German society, leading to growing support for the radical right-wing, the Alternative für Deutschland (Alternative for Germany, AfD) and the anti-immigration and anti-Islam PEGIDA (Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the Occident) movement (Decker et al, 2016).

[6] The KuPoGe is a platform for cultural policy discussions in theory and practice. It stands for the principle 'cultural policy is social policy' and partly independent nationwide association and partly subsidised by the federal government. The IfK is entirely funded by the Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media.

ambivalent views regarding immigration-related diversity. Already in the introduction of the report, where culture and identity are discussed, one cannot find a single sentence about immigration from the 1950s onwards or how society was marked by the cultural impact of labour migration. Instead, labour migration was mentioned under a separate subsection where "immigrant cultures" and the concept of interculturality were paired up (Deutscher Bundestag, 2007: 210). The experts of the *Enquete-Kommission* considered that immigration, interculturality, and intercultural education have a cross-sectional character; therefore, they should be handled jointly as areas of particular importance (Deutscher Bundestag, 2007: 210).

Intercultural dialogue was recognised as a key for strengthening social cohesion and a good integration policy concept by the members of the parliamentary working group (Deutscher Bundestag, 2007: 211). The tasks of promoting cultural diversity and integration are intertwined within a discourse that calls for social cohesion and policy measures that respond to the urgency of the 'integration problem' or 'integration deficit' (Deutscher Bundestag, 2007: 211). In this regard, intercultural dialogue is proposed as a remedy for a democratic model of integration and social cohesion to deal with the issues and challenges of immigration (Deutscher Bundestag, 2007: 211–215). The ethnicity and religious dimensions of diversity were continuously highlighted through examples, which were expressed as central parts of the integration problem and deficits in the sub-section where immigration was reviewed separately on six pages in an over 500-pages-long report (Canyürek, 2022; Terkesssidis, 2010). Such controversial perspectives on intercultural dialogue are not constructive for dismantling the existing othering approaches that marginalise ethnic and religious differences of some citizens of the German society. Furthermore, it assumes that people hold no individual identities; they are seen solely as members of some communities, in which cultures are perceived static, insulated and impermeable. In this context, intercultural dialogue serves as a reconciliatory concept that allows contact between fundamentally different cultures.

Although the concept has been employed in various modes by different actors of policymaking bodies, it is still employed as a part of an inclusion/ integration strategy aimed to be achieved through intercultural dialogue, addressing residents with a *migrant background* and, lately, refugees (Canyürek,

2021). Correspondingly, cultural diversity and interculturality are understood as part of the field of immigration and cultural education, and these programmes are designed for immigrants and refugees within cultural education strategies, frequently interrelated with the socio-culture[7] practice (Sharifi, 2011; Terkessidis, 2010). For instance, the recently updated national cultural policy document indicates that interculturality remains at the level of discourse as a commitment to intercultural dialogue than a structural intercultural action plan. Intercultural dialogue is understood as a vital element of promoting cultural diversity at the national and international level by the federal government (Association of the Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends, 2020: 28). National intercultural dialogue is referred to conversations with groups of the population who have a *migrant background* (Association of the Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends, 2020: 29). The programmes and activities, listed as examples, not only link intercultural dialogue with ethnicity but also with religion, which is evident in announcing the first German Islam Conference in 2006 as an example of internal intercultural dialogue with Muslims in Germany (Association of the Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends, 2020: 32–33).

In line with this approach, the national government has been introducing intercultural funding programmes or programmes with intercultural features to foster intercultural awareness, dialogue, and exchange. Moreover, federal funding programmes, interconnected with intercultural education, are understood to enhance intercultural dialogue, which enables respecting different cultural traditions and values of other ethnic or religious groups, and contributes to combating racism, xenophobia, and right-wing extremism (Association of the Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends, 2020: 31). Be that as it may, there is still no comprehensive national policy planning to promote internal intercultural dialogue.

Regardless of how well-intentioned, the pathways for cultural integration into German society often present explicit conditionalities based on cultural differences. Furthermore, in most integration-oriented intercultural programmes, the concentration is more on the obligations of immigrants than the requirements of a cultural policy that seeks to tackle structural inequalities for accessing the cultural landscape. Cultural policies at different levels fail to provide an intercultural framework with corresponding action plans and strategies.

---

[7] The concept of socio-culture refers to the democratisation of culture, emerged in the 1970s as a part of the new cultural policy objectives of access to and participation in culture for all.

Promoting the diversification of knowledge production

Despite the enormous intercultural experience and knowledge gained within the last two decades, to this date, there is no structured intercultural policy perspective that goes beyond intercultural dialogue with immigrant communities. Efforts related to the migration-focused diversification of cultural institutions run almost parallel to the establishment of dialogue-led intercultural project funding. On the contrary, these objectives are interconnected. Participation in culture does not only refer to the reception of culture by a broader section of society, but more importantly, it denotes having access to the means of cultural production. Hence, consolidated strategies are required to broaden the meaning of culture to envision the *Kulturnation* as an inclusive concept in a migrant society. Such strategies also strengthen both the ability of cultural institutions to internalise and reflect the diversity of society and enable dismantling institutional structural barriers preventing or limiting access conditions for underrepresented artists and other cultural workers, so-called with a *migrant background*.

The *Interkultur Ruhr*, in the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, is a promising example of dedicated work for the pluralisation of the cultural scene in the Ruhr region. It is an initiative of the Ruhr Regional Association and the Ministry of Culture of North Rhine-Westphalia, established in 2016 to support intercultural development. The *Interkultur Ruhr* plays an important intermediary role between intercultural actors, initiatives, organisations and cultural policymakers. The prominent engagement areas of the *Interkultur Ruhr* are managing intercultural funding and supporting networking and cooperation with various cultural actors. The project aims to strengthen the visibility of different intercultural artistic agencies and jointly create a regional cultural and artistic structure in which heterogeneity of perspectives, experiences, and knowledge can be represented.

In 2020, the *Interkultur Ruhr* published a document on cultural policy recommendations based on the committed network meetings with actors of the independent scene in the Ruhr region, concentrating mainly on networking, visibility and funding. First, in 2019, a focus group from artists and other cultural creators was established. The formation of working groups followed this intense exchange with independent actors, cultural practitioners and initiatives, migrant associations, municipal administrations and

politicians to further the discussions on the three main topics of visibility, networks and funding processes (Interkultur Ruhr, 2020: 6). The policy recommendation document firmly recognises the contribution of the extensive expertise and knowledge of immigrants to the development of policy proposals.

The recommendations pinpoint various crucial action areas relevant not only for the Ruhr region but all municipal and federal-state cultural policies. The document stresses that across all genres, existing programmes and formats do not consider the specific needs of immigrant artists (Interkultur Ruhr, 2020: 7). To strengthen the visibility of immigrant artists, a vast set of interrelated aspects were described as areas that must be taken into account. These are focused mainly on data collection, revision of programmes and marketing (Interkultur Ruhr, 2020: 7–8–9):

- Quantitative data to outline the existing independent venues, the number of collectives and their share of municipal funding compared to municipal houses,
- further qualitative data, supported with focus groups involving people exposed to various forms of exclusion,
- promotion of continuing academic research, seeking to generate practice-based knowledge to identify precarious conditions of and structural exclusion mechanisms for particularly immigrant and marginalised actors of the independent scene,
- a needs-based orientation of current formats and programmes,
- a review of funding procedures (e.g., criteria for juries and selection committees, criteria for a broad understanding of artistic quality including non-western canons),
- further development and establishment of residency programmes that engage with the representation of critical artistic positions and perspectives,
- development of an intercultural festival,
- introduction of a trade fair with diverse curatorial perspectives to make the region's different artistic work contexts and production visible,
- marketing support for small associations, collectives and initiatives that have limited public relations resources of their own.

The development of networking opportunities was identified as a vital cultural policy instrument, on the one hand, to empower marginalised immigrant artists and create solitary spaces. On the other hand, it

was understood as partaking in the formation of cultural policy plans and measures. The networking approach was also firmly linked to the objective of improving visibility. Recommendations related to networking are (Interkultur Ruhr, 2020: 10¬–11):

- Peer-to-peer counselling, offered by and for independent immigrant artists and cultural workers,
- a mentoring programme for marginalised art and culture professionals,
- sectoral meetings for the exchange of ideas between associations, groups, initiatives and individuals,
- thematically-focused working groups to generate impulses, concrete proposals and demands for cultural policymaking,
- actively being involved in cultural decision-making processes and representing concerns and needs of the independent intercultural scene in the region.

Lastly, the suggestions concerning funding processes draw attention to the lack of transparency, fairness and marginalised perspectives in the funding structure. In this context, the *Interkultur Ruhr* demands the followings (Interkultur Ruhr, 2020: 12–13):

- Diversity in jury appointments and committees through a quota system,
- an inclusive and sensible language in calls for tender (e.g., redefinition of the term intercultural, colonial-critical reflection on the usage of concepts and terms, sensitive interaction with each other at eye level),
- optimisation of highly bureaucratic application processes (e.g., introducing a counselling service, bundling funding offers, establishing multi-year and structural funding programmes, expanding the current intercultural funding formats).

The list of recommendations reads like a cultural policy manifestation revealing several essential points. First of all, it shows the necessity of a committed engagement to build, maintain and nurture communication channels with groups of artists, initiatives, associations, etc., who are members of this society and have the right to co-shape the cultural landscape of the region. Second, it acknowledges that cultural policy plans and strategies cannot be formulated top-down in the offices of cultural administrations; they must hinge on local problems and needs and sufficiently respond to these demands. Third,

it indicates that a neutral cultural policy is responsible not only for creating dialogue and exchange spaces for excluded artists, groups and organisations but also should listen and benefit from the experiences and knowledge of these marginalised positions for an inclusive cultural sphere.

Conclusions

In 2019, cultural institutions funded by the state of North Rhine-Westphalia were surveyed on the relevance and implementation of diversity. Among 262 institutions, 64% participated in the survey, while performing arts institutions had the highest response rate of 56% (Zukunftsakademie NRW, 2019: 5). Evaluation report of the study indicates that diversity plays an important role for more than three-quarters of the respondents, and changes that have already taken place are most visible in the field of cultural education, followed by audience diversity but rather at a low level when it comes to measures related to the diversity of personnel (Zukunftsakademie NRW, 2019: 2–3). Similarly, a new federal funding program, 360˚ – Fund for New City Cultures, promotes immigration-related diversity in public cultural institutions shows that audience development and programming measures are more easily implemented than those concerning staff appointments (Kulturstiftung des Bundes, 2020). Conversely, diversity in programming and audience profile are mutually dependent on the diversity of cultural creators.

This article reiterates that "diversity discourse has to address the aspect of inequality in order not to remain a depoliticised management technique; for that, it needs to be grounded in both civil society, as a set of socio-moral resources of citizenship, and citizenship rights to become a politically legitimate approach" (Faist, 2009: 173). A pluralistic cultural sphere entails democratic equality, which aims "to create impartial institutions in the public sphere and civil society where this struggle for the recognition of cultural differences and the contestation for cultural narratives can take place without domination" (Benhabib, 2002: 8). To this end, cultural policy has the responsibility to generate framework conditions that advocate for an inclusive cultural landscape. As Klein questions, "where, if not within the framework of the arts and culture - and accordingly within the framework of a committed cultural policy, can a society enter into a permanent dialogue with itself, 'reconsider' itself again and again?" (2009: 245).

For cultural diversity to lead the way to the pluralisation of the cultural field, policy should deal with the conservative conception of the historically rooted idea of *Kulturnation* and the static and monolithic perception of "the Culture". In this regard, cultural policy requires a change in mindset to catalyse processes for supporting accessible cultural institutions so that bottom-up diversity-led approaches can be the driving force of change in cultural institutions. However, dismantling exclusionary structures in cultural institutions cannot be thought of separately from the transformation of the ideals, values, and habits of decision-making cultural-political bodies. A paradigm shift in cultural policy entails taking diversity as a departure point and a cross-cutting theme in all policy planning and funding decisions. For this to happen, first and foremost, political will, commitment, and cooperation between all levels of policymaking actors, partnership with civil society organisations, and flexibility in decision-making processes are required. Thus, coordinated and connected approaches between decision-makers are essential for shaping a forward-thinking, receptive, and dynamic cultural policy. Interconnected governance between different levels of policymaking involves an explicit definition of the conditions and scope of cross-divisional cooperation and coordination of action areas, as well as the distribution of competences between cultural-political actors and funding institutions.

Furthermore, generating impulses for a progressive cultural sphere call for diversity planning with clearly defined objectives, priorities, strategies, and corresponding funding criteria to reduce access barriers. Efficient structural measures concerning diversity planning include the introduction of all-encompassing diversity guidelines, transparent jury selection procedures and diversity-reflected jury panels to offer equal access opportunities both to cultural institutions and funding mechanism.

REFERENCES

ASSOCIATION OF THE COMPENDIUM OF CULTURAL POLICIES AND TRENDS (2020) *Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe (20th ed.). Country Profiles.* Available at: https://www.culturalpolicies.net/database/search-by-country/country-profile/?id=15

BÉLAND, D. (2009) Ideas, Institutions, and Policy Change. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 16(5), 701–718. https://doi.org/10.1080/13501760902983382

BENHABIB, S. (2002) *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv346pnd

BLOOMFIELD, J. (2003) Made in Berlin. Multicultural Conceptual Confusion and Intercultural Reality. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, Vol. 9(2), 167–183. *https://doi.org/10.1080/1028663032000119215*

BUNDESVERFASSUNGSGERICHT (1991) *Headnotes to the judgment of the First Senate of 24 April 1991* (1 BvR 1341/90, paras. 1–101). Available at: https://www.bverfg.de/e/rs19910424_1bvr134190en.htm

BÜHRMANN, D. A., SCHNEIDER, W. (2008) Mehr als nur diskursive Praxis? Konzeptionelle Grundlagen und methodische Aspekte der Dispositivanalyse. Historical Social Research, 33(1), 108–141.

BÜHRMANN, D. A., SCHNEIDER, W. (2012) *Vom Diskurs zum Dispositiv. Eine Einführung in die Dispositivanalyse*. 2. Aufl. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag. https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839408186

CABORN, J. (2007) On the Methodology of Dispositive Analysis. *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines* 1(1), 115–123.

CANYÜREK, ÖZLEM (2021) Promoting cultural diversity in the German theatre landscape. In Letunić, A., Karaulić, J. (eds.). *Performing Arts between Politics and Policies: Implications and Challenges* (pp. 38–50) Belgrade: Faculty of Dramatic Arts; Zagreb: Academy of Dramatic Art.

CANYÜREK, ÖZLEM (2022) *Cultural Diversity in Motion: Rethinking Cultural Policy and Performing Arts in an Intercultural Society*. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.

COUNCIL OF EUROPE (2016) *Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe. Country Profiles.* Available at: http://www.culturalpolicies.net

DECKER, O., KIESS, J., & BRÄHLER, E. (eds.) (2016) *Die enthemmte Mitte: Autoritäre und rechtsextreme Einstellung in Deutschland* (2. Aufl.). Psychosozial Verlag.

DEUTSCHER BUNDESTAG (2007) Kultur in Deutschland. Schlussbericht. Deutscher Bundestag 16. Wahlperiode. Drucksache 16/7000. Available at: https://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/16/070/1607000.pdf

DEUTSCHER KULTURRAT (2017) *Enquete Bericht „Kultur in Deutschland": Zehn Jahre Referenzdokument.* Available at: https://www.kulturrat.de/presse/pressemitteilung/enquete-bericht-kultur-in-deutschland-zehn-jahre-referenzdokument/

FAIST, T. (2009) Diversity - A New Mode of Incorporation? *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 32(1), 171–190. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870802483650

FOUCAULT, M. (1980) The Confession of the Flesh. In Gordon, C. (ed.). *Power/Knowledge. Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977* (pp.194–228). Brighton: Harvester.

JÄGER, S. (2001) Discourse and Knowledge: Theoretical and Methodological Aspects of a Critical Discourse and Dispositive Analysis. In Wodak, R., Meyer, M. (eds.). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 32–62). London: Sage.

KUPOGE (Ed.) 2003 *Jahrbuch für Kulturpolitik 2002/03, Band 3, Thema: Interkultur.* Essen: Klartext Verlag.

INTERKULTUR RUHR (2020) *Kulturpolitische Handlungsempfehlungen. Interkulturelle Arbeit in Ruhr Gebiet.* Available at: https://interkultur.ruhr/sites/default/files/public/uploads/IKR_Handlungsempfehlung_web.pdf

KELLER, R. (2005) Analysing Discourse. An Approach from the Sociology of Knowledge [33 paragraphs]. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 6(3), Art. 32. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781473957640

KLEIN, A. (2009) *Kulturpolitik. Eine Einführung.* 3. Aktualisierte Auflage. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-91677-4

KLEIN, A. (2018) Kulturstaat. In Voigt, R. (ed.). *Handbuch Staat* (pp.329–338). Wiesbaden: Springer VS. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-20744-1_29

KULTURSTIFTUNG DES BUNDES (2020) *360°- Akademie 2020: Session I. Reise ins Innere: Diversitätsprozesse in Kultureinrichtungen*. Available at: https://www.kulturstiftung-des-bundes.de/de/projekte/transformation_und_zukunft/detail/360_akademie_2020_session_i.html

LAMMERT, N. (2016) Kulturnationen in einer globalisierten Welt. In Institut für Kulturpolitik der Kulturpolitischen Gesellschaft (ed.). *Jahrbuch für Kulturpolitik 2015/16, Band 15, Transformatorische Kulturpolitik* (pp. 143–148). Bielefeld: transcript Verlag. https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839435120-018

PUWAR, N. (2004) *Space Invaders. Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place.* Oxford and NY: Berg Publishers.

SCHNEIDER, W. (2015) Dispositive ... - überall (und nirgendwo)? Anmerkungen zur Theorie und methodischen Praxis der Dispositivforschung. In Othmer, J., Weich, A. (eds.). *Medien-Bildung-Dispositive: Beiträge zu einer interdisziplinären Medienbildungsforschung* (pp. 21–40). Wiesbaden: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-07186-8_2

SHARIFI, A. (2011) *Theater fur Alle?: Partizipation von Postmigranten am Beispiel der Bühnen der Stadt Köln.* Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang. https://doi.org/10.3726/978-3-653-01216-3

SHORE, C. (2001) The Cultural Policies of the European Union and Cultural Diversity. In Bennett, T. (ed.). *Differing Diversities. Transversal Study on the Theme of Cultural Policy and Cultural Diversity* (pp.107–122). Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.

STATISTISCHE ÄMTER DES BUNDES UND DER LÄNDER (2018) *Kulturfinanzbericht 2018*. Available at: https://www.destatis.de/DE/Themen/Gesellschaft-Umwelt/Bildung-Forschung-Kultur/Kultur/Publikationen/Downloads-Kultur/kulturfinanzbericht-1023002189004.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=4

STATISTICHES BUNDESAMT (n.d.). *Migration und Integration: Migrationshintergrund.* Available at: https://www.destatis.de/DE/Themen/Gesellschaft-Umwelt/Bevoelkerung/Migration-Integration/Glossar/migrationshintergrund.html

STATISTICHES BUNDESAMT (2020) *Population with a migrant background up 2.1% in 2019: lowest increase since 2011*. Available at: https://www.destatis.de/EN/Press/2020/07/PE20_279_12511.html

TERKESSIDIS, M. (2010) *Interkultur*. Berlin: Suhrkamp.

VAN DER WILL, W., BURNS, R. (2015) Germany as Kulturnation: Identity in Diversity? In Colvin, S. (ed.). *The Routledge Handbook of German Politics & Culture* (pp. 198–217). New York: Routledge.

VON BEYME, K. (2012) *Kulturpolitik in Deutschland. Von der Staatsförderung zur Kreativwirtschaft.* Wiesbaden: Springer VS. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-19403-5

WESNER, S. (2010) Cultural Fingerprints - the Legacy of Cultural Values in the Current Cultural Policy Agenda in Germany. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, Vol. 16, No. 4, 433–448. https://doi.org/10.1080/10286630903302758

WILL, A.-K. (2019) The German Statistical Category "Migration Background": Historical Roots, Revisions and Shortcomings. *Ethnicities*, 19(3), 535–557. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796819833437

WÖHLERT, T. (2009) P*articularly in Berlin. Cultural Policy in the Unified Capital*. The American Institute for Contemporary German Studies (AICGS). Available at: https://www.aicgs.org/site/wpcontent/uploads/2011/10/woehlert.atp09.pdf

ZIMMERMANN, O. (2021) *Diversität in Kultur-institutionen 2018-2020*. Berlin: Initiative kulturelle Integration.

ZUKUNFTSAKADEMIE NRW (2019) *Vielfalt im Blick: Diversität in Kultureinrichtungen.* Available at: http://www.miz.org/downloads/dokumente/961/2019_zak_nrw_vielfalt_im_blick.pdf

ENCATC IS THE EUROPEAN NETWORK ON CULTURAL MANAGEMENT AND POLICY.
It is an independent membership organisation gathering over 100 higher education institutions and cultural organisations in over 40 countries. ENCATC was founded in 1992 to represent, advocate and promote cultural management and cultural policy education, professionalise the cultural sector to make it sustainable, and to create a platform of discussion and exchange at the European and international level.

ENCATC holds the status of an NGO in official partnership with UNESCO, of observer to the Steering Committee for Culture of the Council of Europe.

Avenue Maurice 1

1050 Brussels,

Belgium

T + 32 (0)2 201 29 12

info@encatc.org

www.encatc.org

eNCATC