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Neocolonialist Practices in Cultural Governance in Malta as an EU State

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ABSTRACT

The case of cultural governance in Malta will be discussed to throw light on neocolonialist practices persistent in the field of culture in the European Union (EU) today. A sense of continuity between British rule and current cultural governance in Malta will be explored and assessed in relation to EU support of socially progressive policies yet liberal economic approaches to culture. It will be argued that this tension has allowed nationalistic tendencies and the instrumental use of the sector to grow. The term 'culture' is interpreted following Edward Said with regard to the acknowledgment of general social practices together with the struggle for the assertion of identities.

This paper will argue that the adherence of the EU to the principle of subsidiarity in culture combined with the prioritisation of economic principles has compromised cultural development in Malta through the dilution of a critical approach towards cultural practice. This neoliberal approach has prolonged the colonial framework by enabling the subtle yet pervasive dominance of culture by the state elite.

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1 Introduction: Malta and the EU

As widely documented in the field of cultural studies, the word 'culture' is one of the most problematic in the English language (Williams, 1976: 76). The term 'culture' will be interpreted in the light of Edward Said's understanding of the word. On the one hand, this will refer to the popular practice that enables the expression of people's interpretation of their social experiences. On the other, attention will be paid to the spaces where people related to different demographics struggle to assert their values and identities (Said, 1994: xii-xiii).

The European Union (EU) adopts what may be described as a double approach towards culture: on the one hand it takes a generic angle at cultural policy; on the other it shows deference to the subsidiarity principle at Member State (MS) level. In describing cultural governance as practiced by national authorities and safeguarded by international convention, the supranational agency for the United Nations on education, science and culture (UNESCO) affirms '[t]he sovereign right of States to adopt and implement policies to promote the diversity of cultural expressions that are based on informed, transparent and participatory processes and systems of governance' (UNESCO, 2017: 18). However, the continuation of colonial practices in cultural governance in Malta adds complexity to the neutral, prescriptive nature of this observation. In this paper, cultural governance is assessed in relation to British rule, officially ended in 1964 and EU membership, commenced in 2004.[1]

This paper argues that an assessment of cultural governance in Malta exposes a neocolonial social structure that throws interesting light on relations between the small island state and the EU. It may be argued that tensions between culture, economics and politics in the former are a reflection of those in the Union.

It has been increasingly observed by critics that the EU attempts to bridge neoliberal economic priorities with social concerns through various means within its competence. Efforts at achieving a balancing act across different policy areas have led the EU to practice free market regulation while concurrently attempting to address aspects of social inequality and disaggregation through socially progressive policy. This tension between EU economic and social policy is structural. It spans across different territories, both internal as well as external to the Union (Cafruny, 2016: 9-27). The EU approach towards its economic, financial and political survival and expansion is of an aggressive nature (Marsili & Varoufakis, 2017: 14-17). Instances that illustrate this include its approach to those Europeans that suffered critically from the havoc of the 2008 economic and financial crisis and its irresolute alternation between austerity and solidarity. Another example consists of the programme of economic bilateral trade agreements promoting free trade with third countries, as well as the drive towards securing and securitising neighbouring territories to the east and south of Europe through economic, intelligence and military tools (Bilgin, 2004).

The cultural remit of the EU is of particular interest amidst this conflictual scenario. European cultural initiatives illustrate contradictions that are inherent to the wider EU approach. Therefore, on the one hand, the EU agenda for culture has highlighted the humanist aspect of the Union that promotes collaboration inspired

[1] Xuereb C. (2014: 297) claims that '[a]mid fears of political and economic survival, the Island set out to rediscover its identity only to find itself at a crossroads in the first decade of the new millenium merely forty years later [...] joining the European Union in 2004, after centuries of protectionism, seemed a natural step for the Islanders.'

by interculturality, innovation, and creativity. Moreover, the acceptance of cultural diversity outside as well as within the EU have been portrayed as key elements in all its relations (European Commission, 2018). On the other hand, the emphasis on global engagement on a cultural basis, encompassing different policy areas seeking to achieve economic ends as set out in the Europe 2020 Strategy for growth and jobs, has become a main pillar of the European project (European Commission, 2010).

2 Neocolonialism in cultural governance in Malta

The analysis of neocolonial practice in cultural governance in Malta in relation to the EU needs to acknowledge the Mediterranean colonial context, of which Malta is part. European influence, in particular British and French, on various societies that may be identified as also European, as well as not, has been pervasive. Effects today may be witnessed with regard to the management of various fields of culture, including heritage, nation branding and tourism. Ernest Gellner (1983) and Benedict Anderson (1991) claim that nationalism may use heritage in exploitative ways even if this means selecting and creating particular traditions while rehabilitating some aspects but not others. An important element in the development of such trends is nation branding in the age of globalisation, when easier travel and the development of common markets have become relatively more common globally.

From a historical perspective, British rule in Malta from the early nineteenth century gave way to Independence in 1964, concurrent with the divesting of the Empire of many of its territorial possessions to various degrees. Early efforts to maintain close links to the West during this treacherous period of the Cold War, particularly with regard to the UK, the US and NATO, gave way to non-alignment and warmer relations with emerging Third World countries including Arab neighbouring states like Libya. The late 1980s saw Malta seeking fresh ties with Europe, and a distancing from political affiliations with Arab states, while attempting to capitalise on the neutrality and geo-strategic position of the Island (Frendo, 2012). Membership of the EU was sought and eventually achieved in 2004. Since then, Malta has tried to galvanise its role in a global context; it has arguably exceeded economic and financial expectations through the provision of several services such as gaming, financial investment and passport sales schemes. These have somewhat tarnished Malta's reputation through suspected episodes of corruption and nepotism that are under investigation (Briguglio, 2017).

An analysis of cultural governance throws interesting light when considered in relation to the apparatus of the Maltese state. Its governance structures have been heavily influenced by colonial experience. Two years prior to joining the EU, in view of membership, Malta undertook significant legal changes to these structures. These mainly consisted of the Cultural Heritage Act which has since then regulated the heritage sector, and the Arts Council Act, which established a government agency for the arts.

However, this passage from structures dating to colonial rule to emancipated ones is troubled in the following ways. The Cultural Heritage Act led to the establishment of the Superintendence of Cultural Heritage. Nominally this is the watchdog for heritage. Unfortunately, faced by the onslaught of construction branded by the state as development and regeneration essential to Malta's modernising project, factors such as its

chronic understaffing, sidelining and over-ruling in relation to the dominant Planning Authority, the conveyor of construction permits on behalf of the state, result in the severe curtailment of its function in the defence and promotion of Maltese heritage (Debono, 2017).

The same act led to the formation of Heritage Malta, the national agency for heritage. Its name is only in English, belied by another trend wherein non-governmental cultural organisations tend to identify themselves with a single name in Maltese.[2] On an operational level, the chair of the organisation is often granted to business or political appointees with little experience of heritage management; for instance, in 2018, the chairperson is a former demoted minister, and is accompanied by the current head of the civil service in a covert position of executive leadership (Micallef, 2018; *The Times of Malta*, 2018a). This method of management is common across government agencies including and not exclusive to the cultural sector, and recalls the experience of postcolonial territories around the world (Nkrumah, 1965).

The influence of the British colonial experience that formed the civil service is evident in the cultural sector. This is particularly true with regard to the continued presence of the classic role of the "governor", traditionally appointed by the government and to whom allegiance by his staff was owed.[3] In the case of MUŻA, the Museum of Art scheduled to open in 2018 as part of the European Capital of Culture (ECOC) in Malta, the level of success it will attain in delivering its set vision remains to be seen. On the one hand, curatorial preparation has been ground in contemporary reference points spread widely across European experience as well as other non-European bases. Most notable is the association with NEMO, the network of European museums, and other museums like MuCEM, which like MUŻA acted as a flagship project for its own ECOC in Marseille in 2013. However, the museum seems to be considered as an extension of the heritage agency by its own governance hierarchy, reproducing a civil service mentality loyal to customer care service and political priorities rather one dedicated to innovation and interactivity with the community it strives to represent (Grech, 2015).

On establishment in 2002, the governance mechanism of the Malta Council for Culture and the Arts (MCCA) sought to forge international links and follow such practices. One such practice adopted was the UK-driven and widely recognized principle in Europe of operating at arm's length. Together with the membership of and close relations with the International Federation of Arts Councils and Cultural Agencies (IFACCA), which brings together arts councils from mostly the Anglophone part of the world, one can observe the recent membership of the European Network of Cultural Institutes (EUNIC), the pan-European collection of cultural institutes. However, as with heritage, it is unfortunate that much progress has been curtailed by the tendency to assert the traditional governor's role in ensuring a somewhat familiar circle of influence and exposure favouring allegiance and rewarding loyalty (Pace, 2017).

The political exploitation and co-option enabled by greater degrees of state funding of the arts has been accompanied by a strategic emphasis on the economic aspect of cultural initiatives, as can be witnessed by

[2] *Din l-Art Ħelwa, Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti, Fondazzjoni Wirt Artna* and *Flimkien għal Ambjent Aħjar* are interesting examples dating from the 1990s, and hence predating Heritage Malta, on a non-governmental organization (NGO) level. The most recent example refers to the rebranding of St James Cavalier Centre for Creativity to *Spazju Kreattiv*.

[3] This point was elaborated upon by Charles Xuereb on the Maltese national radio *Radju Malta* programme *Ħadd u Kulħadd*, broadcast on 4 March 2018: https://soundcloud.com/john-mallia-44205791/hadd-u-kulhadd-john-mallia-ma-dr-charles-xuereb-pt-1 [accessed 17 July 2018].

the cultural strategy spanning 2016-2020 and the new cultural policy aimed to extend till 2025. In recent years Arts Council Malta, as MCCA was later rebranded, has followed the EU emphasis on the generation of economic activity, and employment, as part of its funding remit. In so doing it seems to have reinforced an instrumental approach to culture and the arts that seems to accentuate dependence on state funds rather than help nurture an entrepreneurial spirit (Xuereb, 2017).

Therefore, a focus on economics seems to be infiltrating civil society activities in a way that is contributing to a growing dependence on the state and a lessening of critical approaches towards it (Pulè, 2018; Flask, 2018). Cultural operators seem to perform and fulfil a double function that matches neocolonial functions in cogent ways: they act as extensions of the state in terms of cultural purpose, and refrain from distancing themselves critically from government apparatus. Cultural actors caught up in and benefiting, financially, from this situation, seem to have become part of a process such as that reflected upon by Gramscian and Foucauldian perspectives on state co-option of non-governmental players through governmentality and self-censorship (Bennett, 2004).

3 European Islands of Culture

As noted, the EU operates subsidiarity with full respect to the notion that ‘national cultures […] have, of course, been the primary frame of reference in which cultural policy agendas have been elaborated in modern Europe’ (Meinhof & Triandafyllidou, 2006: 3). Cultural matters dealt with by the Council of the EU and related bodies respect the competences of MS on the basis of national identity in order to allow them all the necessary room within which to implement and monitor progress in ways that safeguard national priorities. While understandable and even laudable in its intention as a mechanism of the cultural governance of such a complex reality as is the EU, the subsidiarity principle may be contributing to a disaggregation of cultural practice and the formation of disconnected islands of culture. This is so because MS are known to shape guidelines, funding and mobilise resources to achieve primarily nationalistic aims. Such a trend is arguably on the rise (Leydolt-Fuchs, 2018). The results may thus only partially match expectations harboured at the outset as well as justify nationalistic action that contradicts goals for greater cohesion through culture in Europe.

The example of the ECOC in Malta in 2018 is indicative of this scenario. The ECOC was established in 1985 by the Greek Minister for Culture and star performer Melina Mercouri, together with her French counterpart, Jack Lang, aiming to highlight European cultural expression in line with Said’s dual definition described above. The ECOC sought to bring those elements that can be identified as common, relevant and hence representative of European identity to the fore through the title chosen cities were granted. In preparing for Valletta 2018 as ECOC, a great deal of programming and reporting to the European Commission focused on delivering this vision. However, later developments led to ‘significant concerns’ (Ebejer, 2018: 11).

Only a few weeks after the title was conferred in May 2017, and the Melina Mercouri prize of EUR1.5m settled, significant changes to the European dimension of the preparatory phase started taking place. Matters took a turn for the worse during the year itself, with various international figures in the cultural and political fields challenging the claim on European values professed by the Maltese authorities in the light of a

disparaging and divisive attitude fomented by the leadership of the Valletta 2018 Foundation with regard to the murder of investigative journalist Daphne Caruana Galizia, known to be critical of government authorities, in October 2017. Perversely, a former Prime Minister of Malta who had opposed EU membership for Malta, then a Member of the European Parliament (MEP) at the time of the incident described here, claimed the it was the Valletta 2018 leadership that was practising European values in expressing its views on the matter, and took critics to task for not respecting the concept of freedom of speech. The invocation of freedom of expression, accompanied by others for the moderation of language and tolerance of opinion, were repeated by the current Prime Minister and the Minister for Culture in a concerted governmental effort to reclaim a European dimension (Xuereb, 2018a). It is pertinent to note that while several members of the selection and monitoring committee appointed by the European Commission to oversee the development of ECOCs expressed their criticism publicly, as did 72 MEPs (*The Times of Malta*, 2018b) and Leeuwarden, the Dutch ECOC for 2018, and regional and national authorities representing The Netherlands, implemented an official boycott of Valletta 2018, the EU itself did not adopt any official position (Xuereb, 2018b).[4]

This episode, and the shadow it cast on the rest of the ECOC programme in Malta, contributes to expose some of the limits of the EU on matters of cultural significance. It may be correct to assert that 'values or conceptions of what is good may vary according to cultural or social contexts' (Sjursen, 2006: 247) and that the practice of normative power cannot be anything other than 'the EU promoting its own norms in a similar manner to historical empires and contemporary powers' (Manners, 2002: 240). However, this example from Malta uncovers some of the severe tensions that the EU faces when promoting programmes that take place on a national level the value of which it seems not to be able to safeguard. Hardwick notes that the idea of a 'global common good' (Aggestam, 2008: 1) is tied up in unachievable cosmopolitanism and falls foul to accusations of cultural imperialism, an issue that discredits the EU as a normative power. However, in this case, his claim to 'discount the EU as a normative power as it contradicts itself' may not be due to too much influence, but to too little.

It is noticeable that while the majority of projects submitted to the monitoring panel during the preparatory phase were maintained, the communication and logistical efforts during the ECOC year were shifted towards the celebration and glorification of popular crowd-pulling commemorations and rituals with relatively easy appeal, accepted nationalistic narratives and parochial interests. As may be observed by the publicity material produced during the year, the main items of the programme consisted of the opening ceremony featuring a series of light shows illustrating historic episodes of national, rather than European, importance, such as the commemoration of the Great Siege battle against forces of the Ottoman Empire in 1565, and Independence from the British in 1964 (Frendo, 2012: 43). A series of mimetic exercises were also engaged with in the form

[4] Jordi Pardo, who was an international member of the evaluation and monitoring panel for the ECOC in Malta was quoted as saying the actions of the chairperson of the Valletta 2018 Foundation "reflect a bigger democratic problem." Pardo noted he signed PEN's open letter expressing its concern to the European Commission in this spirit: http://www.independent.com.mt/articles/2018-04-26/local-news/Jason-Micallef-situation-reflects-a-bigger-democratic-problem-V18-selection-committee-members-6736188817 [accessed 17 June 2018].

of the recreation of the procession of boats marking royal anniversaries in Great Britain and the flower carpet, or *infiorata*, of Sicilian tradition, among others.

This shallow transposition of a set of island traditions, those of Great Britain and Sicily, to Malta, recalls what contemporary cultural critic Shannon Jackson stated in April 2018 during her keynote speech at Aarhus University referring to Stefan Kaegi's analysis of historical re-enactments.[5] Kaegi says that on such occasions the signifier may be greater than the signified or, in other words, where the event creating the representation of tradition is the meaning of itself, there is little actual value to be found in the way people may relate to the event as a vector of intangible heritage in relation to a historical happening, or context, of recognised importance. Furthermore, an authority in heritage interpretation, David Lowenthal, accepts that heritage is 'not a testable or even plausible version of our past; it is a *declaration of faith* in that past' (1998: 7-8). Therefore, if crafting the means of celebrating a recreation of the past comes through others' heritage models, particularly colonial, Lowenthal's claim that 'heritage fosters exhilarating fealties' points us towards neocolonial allegiances being reinforced, rather than assessed or even challenged (7).

4 Communitarianism, or *divide et impera*

It is ironic that the concept of community has been exploited by initiatives trumpeted by instruments of cultural governance in Malta in order to achieve the opposite effect. Divide and rule, as per the Latin maxim, has been one of the effects of a celebration of community along the lines of communitarianism, seeking to forge alliances on the basis of traditions and politics, rather than seek novel ways of engagement. In a glaring omission of a sense of identity of place, running counter to the 'environment of exchange' professed at bidding stage, the ECOC in Malta organised a large-scale reunion of the four traditional, local, religiously-inspired feasting communities in Valletta in an event called *Il-Festa I-Kbira*, literally translated as "the big feast." (Valletta 2018 Foundation, 2011). On this occasion, no gesture of recognition or inclusion and sense of welcome along lines of co-existence and collaboration was forthcoming as the rituals and cultural expressions of so many more, including the Greek, Russian, Serbian, Eritrean, Somali and Italian communities was simply ignored as if not being part of Maltese cultural identity today.[6]

Insightfully, Pia Leydolt-Fuchs (2018) commented on the risk of the political take-over of cultural initiatives like ECOC in a city like Valletta. In an article addressing the limits of how much politics can culture take before risking malfunction and subservience, she notes how certain political behaviour can be very shrewd in exploiting cultural initiatives and titles related to the EU or UNESCO in order to promote, at the end of the day, what is little more than strategic propaganda. Moreover, by being silent about such behaviour, the EU risks endorsing it, and contributing to the devaluation of its own programmes.

5 Culture as political convenience/connivance

[5] http://conferences.au.dk/culturesofparticipation2018/keynote-speakers/ [accessed 17 July 2018].

[6] It is ironic to note that this is stark contrast to the rhetoric adopted by the Prime Minister as well as the President of the Republic in favour of adopting an open and tolerant approach towards foreign workers in the case of the former, and the acceptance of cultural diversity as part of humanity in the case of the latter.

In a neo-colonial context such as that assessed here culture may be used to contribute to the development of a play of mirrors, or a smokescreen, through the use of resting on one's laurels while covering up the wilful destructive manipulation of cultural heritage. In April 2018, the Minister of Culture for Malta established another board of cultural governance to be added to the various already in existence.[7] On this occasion, the board was set up to safeguard the intangible heritage of the Maltese people, with a view to develop a series of initiatives with which to raise the recognition of Malta's intangible heritage through at UNESCO level (*The Malta Independent*, 2018). The process includes the drawing up of an inventory of intangible heritage, to serve as a resource pool from which to identify the best candidates for recognition of their value to humanity on the basis of UNESCO's criteria. However, at a half-day seminar in March 2018 launching the call for citizens to submit proposals for consideration by the board for evaluation and development as bids to UNESCO, a gap in competence between the UNESCO-nominated expert Marina Calvo Pérez invited to support Maltese preparations by the Ministry for Culture, and members of the local team, became evident.

One may argue that such a gap is why people with international expertise are routinely invited to inspire and advise local teams on matters of high-profile, be they UNESCO heritage applications or the ECOC. In the case described here, the gap seemed to lie in a basic conception and understanding of the value of intangible heritage, beyond its political convenience. Whether the heritage is tangible or intangible, what people value is, on the one hand, that special element they invest in the structure, site or monument, and on the other, the ritual, celebration or festivity. The loss of one or the other matters not only intrinsically, that is in the value it carries in and of itself, but more importantly in the lives of the communities that share a bond with that outward sign of cultural expression (Brusasco, 2018). It is ironic that during the European Year of Cultural Heritage in 2018, there seems to be little that international organisations entrusted with far-reaching expertise and powers to influence and enlighten, such as the EU and UNESCO, are ready to risk, seemingly fearful of threading on national competencies in the light of their deference towards subsidiarity.[8] Furthermore, while calls for critical approaches to the management of heritage by the nominally competent authorities are curtailed, the recognition of the instrumental political use of culture, in turn covering up the dearth of critical research, analysis and investment, guarantees the short-term success of political convenience and connivance.

6 Losing one's legacy

The establishment of a board such as that described above gains irony in the context of the ECOC in Malta. As Mario Vella, front man for the popular and unruly alternative music band *Brikkuni*, charged the chairman of the Valletta 2018 Foundation with, one of the two legacies the capital of culture efforts can be really said to have established has been the gradual erosion of cultural capital in Valletta.[9] The most significant aspect of the regenerational onslaught on the city has been the development of close to one hundred boutique hotels that now besiege the small city of less than one square kilometre from within. One may argue there is nothing

[7] The list published by the Ministry of Culture on its offical site is not comprehensive. https://culture.gov.mt/en/culture-directorate/Pages/Culture-Boards-and-Committees.aspx [accessed 17 July 2018].

[8] Interesting parallels may be drawn with Višnja Kisić's (2013:288) ENCATC 2013 prize-winning research on heritage governance in the Western Balkans and the way European cultural institutions seem to adopt an appeasing attitude to matters of dissonance once a territory draws closer in terms of adhesion to European politics and policies.

[9] The other was ingraining political subservience in the cultural sector, described in what may be described as rather colourful language: https://www.facebook.com/mario.vella.161 [accessed 17 July 2018].

wrong with the economic revival of Valletta. One may argue otherwise. This is so particularly when one takes in consideration the numerous restaurants and bars that have, with legal blessing, taken over much public space in many roads and on pavements up and down the city.

Possibly, the development which best symbolises the encroachment of space is *Is-Suq tal-Belt*, the old market adjacent to the Grandmaster's Palace, now the Valletta palace of the President of the Republic. In an episode that attracted the attention of activists and artists, in May 2018 the space in front of the market was clearly sign-posted as being private property, to the indignation, as well as hilarity, of those who by then still assumed that the careful urban development of the city would outweigh commercial interests and gentrification. A close-second to *Is-Suq* is arguably Strait Street. The one-time sleepy and seedy depository of memories of knightly duels and colonial cheap entertainment has been elevated to a glorified cross-roads of pubs and eateries, all the while fiercely claiming its difference from the more popular and unpretentious night-spot that is touristy Paceville. In a rare case of self-awareness and critique, one of the artistic directors of Valletta 2018 and respected cultural personality Giuseppe Schembri Bonaci, the economic development of the city has run amok with its cultural dimension. He feels it is the duty of people like him to try to put this right by re-establishing some form of balance through an innovative approach towards the arts.[10]

In an exercise that addressed the planned and economically-enabled destruction of swathes of tangible and intangible heritage in Malta, a small project by an equally small group of artists and activists made a clear statement on the degraded state of many village cores, choosing the once tranquil back streets of Sliema as their site. *Il-Kamra ta' Barra*, loosely translated as "the front room", turned gutted traditional houses inside out, by re-creating the entrance of old family abodes on the street, amid the new architecture of cranes, concrete slabs and swirling dust. The collective Parking Space Events collaborated with Margerita Pulè, who is the person who coordinated the cultural programme for the ECOC, before, like the author, bearing the brunt of institutional and political bullying and manoeuvring and being dismissed unceremoniously a few weeks after having secured the Melina Mercouri prize from the European Commission, and a few months before the start of the year.[11]

7 Arts and management

It is felt that between the oft-noted tension that exists between the arts and their management, political opportunism identifies enough space within which to immerse itself with the apparent promise of resolving conflictual issues through acumen in social and political matters. As Maltese poet and academic Norbert Bugeja declaimed to party supporters in thrall of their political leader, or "governor" *par excellence*, the Prime Minister of Malta, during a rally celebrating his decade at the helm of the *Partit Laburista* (Labour Party) in June 2018, 'our heart is in the right place' (Bugeja, 2018). It is ironic that such an expression is generally used to explain away certain issues and problems that are being addressed through grandstanding and technical approaches, but not in the critical way called for in this paper.

[10] ARTE. 2018. 'Valletta Metropolis' https://www.arte.tv/en/videos/083060-000-A/valletta/ , 3:05 [accessed 17 July 2018].

[11] Margerita Pulè runs the blog www.projectdisintegration.org which collects various of her projects of this critical nature. One particularly apt reflection was provoked by an urban action she managed inviting people to engage with 'Not The European Year of Cultural Heritage' and the disregard of heritage as Malta's contribution [accessed 17 July 2018].

Taking note of the neoliberal context that extends to the operations of the cultural sector, the relationship between methodologies of management, politics and the arts is interesting to assess. Our condition of postmodernity, bringing together economic, financial and social conditions that, roughly over the past half-a-century, has ironically brought people closer together from a transactional perspective involving the making and spending of money, while isolating them in terms of and social solidarity (Harvey, 1992). Bauman (2000) employs another physical image, that of 'liquidity' in relation to modernity, to describe the condition of constant mobility and change in relationships, identities, and global economics within environments of contemporary society. This is not to imply that this condition is original - it is sobering to read Alexis de Tocqueville's observations, two hundred years ago, on the degeneration of the social spirit in what he observed as early capitalist America. However, it is true that the entrepreneurial spirit that transpired from the Protestant cultural work ethic as observed by Max Weber with regard to pre-war Europe, and the business-oriented cultural differences commented upon by Edward and Mildred Hall from a post-war US perspective looking towards Europe and Asia, have reached a more densely synergetic and dynamic rate of interactivity in the last few decades (Micklethwait & Wooldridge, 2014).

In relation to the complexity embedded in the activity of culture, Bauman (2004: 64) elaborates on the tension between culture and management in a historical context. Theodor Adorno had recognised the 'inevitability of the conflict' between culture and administration, while admitting their reciprocal necessity. One suffered because of the other, yet needed the relationship more than doing without: 'culture suffers damage when it is planned and administered; if it is left to itself, however, everything cultural threatens not only to lose the possibility of effect, but its very existence as well' (Adorno, 1991: 94). Oscar Wilde's provocation that 'culture is useless' suggests culture will resist efforts at its instrumentalisation by institutions, leading to Adorno's observation that the 'clash of the two narratives is inevitable'.

Amidst this '*sibling rivalry*' (Bauman, 2004: 66), the mantra of solutionism by management is not only uninspired but also misguided.[12] Sometimes, it may also prove comical, although unintentionally. For instance, what was meant to be the main ECOC contemporary art exhibition, focusing on island culture, namely *Dal-Baħar Madwarha* ('The Island Is What The Sea Surrounds'), was first upstaged by one particular venue used for the exhibition in its own promotion, namely an underground cistern, then not promoted heavily in comparison to the contemporaneous Picasso/Mir**ó** exhibition at the President's Palace in Valletta, and finally, in spite of this, still managed to provide an international-PR moment on the occasion of the official opening, but arguably, not in the way it was hoped: the opening took place in front of the above-mentioned cistern entry, in front of the Law Courts in Valletta, and hence just steps away from the Great Siege memorial that has, over the past months, brought together people marking the memory of Daphne Caruana Galizia through makeshift means, attracting international attention and arguably adding nuances to tourists' perspectives of Malta and its culture.[13]

[12] The author would like to acknowledge the intellectual debt owed to inspirational critical texts by Richard Hewison and John McGuigan on the challenges posed by New Public Management regimes applied to the arts in the UK in the past decades.

[13] While the Picasso/Miró exhibition surpassed 70,000 visitors, as was to be expected, (https://www.maltachamber.org.mt/en/over-70-000-people-visited-the-picasso-and-mir-exhibition-in-valletta [accessed 18 July 2018]), it was reported in private conversation to the author that the ECOC one drew less than 8,000 in spite of featuring high-profile international artists and being curated by established curator Maren Richter. With regard to the PR episode described above, a photo by Darrin

As has been suggested above, Malta may be considered as a microcosm of the EU. Therefore, one may argue that the European level may be reflected in national realities. The contention by Barnett (2001: 28) that 'the Commission has found a means by which to reconcile the discursive tensions between culture and the economy in the field of cultural action in a way that respects the intrinsic qualities of 'the cultural' while enabling their instrumental deployment in the service of economic and political imperatives of integration' may be applied to MS too. The management of culture at European, and national, levels, has become very fluid. One may observe a weakening of the distinction between cultural actions as a contributing factor to a European cultural identity on the one hand and the legal and economic regulation of policy on the other. Further ambiguity in terms of governance is noted by Valentine (2018: 157) who asserts that '[t]he limits of the uses of culture are set by the capacity to invent extensions of its ambivalence.' Concurrently, the 'political logics emerge from the ambiguity of governance [because n]etworks of interest-group collective actors develop and become attached to cultural policy at vertical and horizontal levels of governance and as different degrees of subsidiarity develop.'

This ambivalent approach towards culture is used to define the spaces within which networks that bring together officials and cultural operators may develop positions of influence within the policy process. Valentine (2018: 157) argues how this development leads to 'a politics of interpretation with respect to definitions of culture and limits to legitimate action and with respect to competing policy agendas such as economics, law and welfare.' This process further contributes to the 'free-riding 'gravy train' phenomena through the invention of bureaucratic devices such as committees, working groups and initiatives organised around the essentially conflicting demands of harmonisation and diversity that monitor, measure and evaluate culture' (Valentine, 2018: 157) to link subjective aims to objective impacts in order to calibrate 'the transformation of the disposition of citizens in line with multiple objectives' (Barnett, 2001: 31).

Valentine (2018: 157) also enables us to draw lines between this European scenario and the 'wider, global development of the political logics of cultural policy within the hegemonic myth of governance characterised by the emergence of a material and subjective infrastructure.' Such bureaucratic developments reinforce the expediency of culture within relationships between the EU and MS. In turn, these strengthen the colonial instrumentalisation of culture aiming for categorisation and the establishment of a friendly hierarchy through the motions of granting favour through obedient participation. Yúdice (2003: 13) describes postcolonial frameworks as 'an enormous network of arts administrators who mediate between funding sources and artists and/or communities', not dissimilar to operators in international aid, research or business. Yúdice's critique is aimed at the 'NGO-fication' of cultural policy and the emergence of a 'UNESCO-racy'. In turn, these networks sponsor and fund numerous projects and firms, both subsidised and for profit, to support their activities, contributing to the creation of 'a vast consultocracy'. Yúdice highlights the outsourcing of important sections of this process to external contractors that provides observations, for instance in the form of evaluations, a legitimacy of objectivity and disinterestedness. One may note how many of the main stakeholders overlap in

Zammit Lupi of 2010 Turner Prize-winner Susan Philipsz lighting a candle at the memorial, steps away from Valletta 2018's leadership, made a poignant impression through Reuters' international distribution of it: https://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20180324/arts-entertainment/vallettas-hidden-underground-opens-up-to-public-view.674370 [accessed 31 July 2018].

their group memberships, further muddying the circulation and exchange of outcomes through close and obscurely exclusive networks.

8 Conclusion: Neocolonial models in the long-term

This paper has argued that one may draw a line between the colonial experience and the EU membership of Malta, in terms of varying degrees of the neocolonial legacy on cultural governance. On the one hand, European governance models, already developed by the Knights of St John between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, set structures that sought to efficiently promote excellence in culture and the arts as in other areas. In a similar fashion, the EU has established its own structures with which to support democratic, international and accountable practices.

On the other hand, cultural governance in Malta seems to approach heritage and the intangible value and meaning of culture as a resource to be exploited with short-term goals. For instance, this can be observed in the little attention paid to sustainable development in the field of urban conservation and human fulfilment to be had in rural and marine environments other than through speculative approaches towards the land and sea aiming to extract maximum economic and financial profit from them (Ebejer, 2011: 12). The colonial mentality tuned to exploiting one's governing official structures through clientelism, nepotism and cronyism seems to run deep. Exacerbating such human propensities at governance, national and European policies based on neoliberal structures that prioritise economic and financial growth over a fuller appreciation of individual and societal values seem to support behaviour that is of a shallow nature even in matters of cultural governance.[14]

In describing the process of colonial acculturation, Pierre Bourdieu uses the term 'symbolic violence' in order to express the imposition of the culture of the ruling forces of society, or establishment, on the population at large. The latter risks internalising and accepting this culture as legitimate and superior to its own (Bourdieu, 1977). Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1987: 24) notes that culture has a pervasive power in achieving aims of influence, even when compared to more direct and means of coercion, and states: 'Colonialism imposed its control of the social production of wealth through military conquest and subsequent political dictatorship. But its most important area of domination was the moral universe of the colonized, through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relation to the world.' As argued by Joseph Nye (2002), the reach of military means alone is less than when coupled with means of persuasion of a cultural kind. He does so when referring to international relations in the political domain. However, this observation also applies to internal affairs, including cases when the governing forces are local and neocolonial, carrying on the governance structures of past colonialist systems.

[14] This point was also elaborated upon by Charles Xuereb on the Maltese national radio *Radju Malta* programme *Ħadd u Kulħadd*, broadcast on 4 March 2018.

In October 2016, the Maltese Minister for Culture welcomed more than four hundred guests from all over the world for the IFACCA World Summit Summit on Arts and Culture. The occasion had the feeling of his presiding over a new dawn for cultural relations and the way cultural policy matters were managed in Malta, the result of a process of maturity that Malta, after more than a decade of EU membership, seemed to be able to put into practice. Unfortunately, the persistence of a neocolonial praxis applied to cultural governance has undercut such expectations. This has compromised prospects for a legacy based on European values including a thirst for innovation and the embracing of diversity. This is ironic in the light of the trumpeting of such a vision on occasions of significance to the whole of Europe. These included the Maltese Presidency of the Council of the EU in 2017 and the ECOC in 2018. Expectations developed in preparations to join the EU in 2004, and since then, have gone unfulfilled.[15] Therefore, in assessing the neocolonial framework in Malta, by which the British imperial experience has been prolonged through to EU membership, this paper has argued that cultural governance is significantly defined by this context. It has also argued that in spite of important and sustained efforts at benefiting from its geo-politically strategic position, its history and heritage, and its EU status, Malta has compromised such initiatives and their prospects for further development in the future.

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[15] For a deeper reflection on this aspect refer to XUEREB, K. (2017) Can nation branding be a successful tool for the practice of public diplomacy? A Maltese case study. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy,* 13 (3), 255-263.

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Beyond the Classical Mind-set: The Challenge of Incorporating Diverse Musical Cultures in Higher Music Education

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ABSTRACT

This paper presentation emerged from the Swedish-Norwegian-German research project DAPHME, which aims to examine the professional self-image of teachers at HMEIs. Starting with some notes on the history of the Music Higher Education Institutions (HEIs), it is shown that the traditional Music HEI is based on rather closed mindset. Against the background of some interim results of the DAPHME project, the paper asks for the explicit or implicit normative preconditions which need to be met in order to enable the inclusion of more and more diverse musical cultures into the canon of subjects, disciplines and genres offered at a HMEI.

The research carried out within the DAPHME project draws on a comparative study. Available interim data reveal that the given structures of European HMEI are more exclusive than inclusive. Finally, ideas are presented which might contribute to a non-exclusive understanding of higher music eduacation.

Keywords:

Professional self-image, Higher Education Institutions, music

1 Introduction

Starting with some notes on the history of the Music Higher Education Institutions (HEIs), it will be shown below that, although there is a will to do so, it is by no means easy to open the traditional Music HEI to other genres and cultures of music than classical music. With reference to an ongoing empirical resaerch project in which the author himself is involved, reasons for these difficulties are shown. In a concluding section, ideas are to be pointed out which might contribute to a non-exclusive understanding of music aducation in general and higher music eduacation in particular.

2 Some remarks on history

Music HEIs have been one of the main pillars of western-classical musical culture for at least 150 years. The maintenance of a professional musical life at high level artistic performance and the transfer of cultural knowledge are hardly conceivable today without the existence of these institutions.

These Music HEIs - the conservatoires, music universities and music academies - nowadays can be found even in the most remote places of Europe and North America and also increasingly around the rest of the world. The Music HEI is a child of a particular period of time and attitude, of a specific social and political concept and spirit of the time.

Until the Enlightenment, music life and musicians' training were purely private matters. And even when institutions were standing behind that, the decision-making about maintaining or further developing music has always been in the hands of individuals. These institutions included: the church, the court and the military.

Even they are not without precedents, the conservatoires, as we know them today, are an invention of the bourgeoisie. Its emergence is closely linked to the replacement of the nobility by a self-confident urban bourgeoisie as the bearer of high culture and runs as a gradual process from the period of the French Revolution to the First World War. It is not a coincidence that the first 'new style' conservatoire was founded in the middle of the turmoil of the French Revolution, in 1794 in Paris: *Le Conservatoire national des arts et métiers*. One of the most radical innovations of this conservatoire was the fact that a public mandate and task were assigned to it: the provision of publicly available educational services in the field of performing music.

The idea of establishing independent music education institutions became very popular in the following decades, especially in the German speaking countries. Hand in hand with an increasing economic independence of the institutions and with the new achievements of freedom of trade and commerce, another prototype emerged besides the post-absolutist state conservatoire - a privately-run bourgeois conservatoire. The most renowned conservatoire of this type, which served for decades as a role model, was the *Conservatorium der Musik in Leipzig*, founded in 1843 by Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. In terms of content, the state conservatoire in Paris and the bourgeois-private conservatoire in Leipzig differed little from each other. With the process of step by step nationalising of the music education system from around 1860 onwards, even these small differences almost completely disappeared.

Nevertheless, the initiative to institutionalise music education was not only the result of a top-down political decision, but also the result of a dramatic social change. In the first decades of the 19th century, the musicians that were put out of work from the dissolution of many court orchestras were entering the labor market as free-lancers. At the same time, so-called dilettante orchestras were surfacing, composed of committed volunteers or at least as a secondary job, and thus not only eliminating jobs, but also contributing to a growing demand for organised, quality-oriented musical lessons. (Sowa, 1973: 22)

Looking back to its origins, it can, on the one hand, be noted that both the founding of the Paris Conservatoire and the later widespread of mostly private-run bourgeois conservatoires illustrate the direct link between the dissolution of feudalist structures and the assumption of responsibility for the areas of education and culture by the bourgeoisie as the state building social class of a civil society. On the other hand, most basic features that are characteristic of a now modern type state-recognised Music HEI - which, by the way, in some countries and languages are still named *Conservatoire* - can already be clearly identified with the example of the Leipzig Conservatoire at the stage of its establishment in the mid-19th century. Some of these typical features and characteristics of this almost ideal-type conservatoire are:

- It is based on the musical ideal of western-classical art music, essentially bearing the hallmarks of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, who sees himself as the legitimate successor of composers such as Bach, Mozart and Beethoven.
- It assumes that music and musical knowledge exist primarily in written form; scriptualisation of music is therefore seen as an indispensable prerequisite for the transfer of musical knowledge.
- The instruction at the instrument takes place as one-to-one tuition, and thus takes up a key element of the so called master-apprentice scheme (see Lave & Wenger, 1995; Jørgensen, 2000; Calvert, 2014) which seems to be since ever the prevailing learning and teaching practice especially in craft and in the practice of religious rites.
- It is aiming at the training of qualified professional musicians and thus following a curricular concept, which is based on the division of teaching subjects, such as main instrument, side instrument, ensemble playing, solfège and music history.

Mendelssohn did not intend to academise the educational program in the modern sense, but to link it to theoretical knowledge - among other things through the mandatory attendance of harmony lessons. (see. Wasserloos, 2004)

Although the context in which education and higher education were taking place has undergone partly rapid changes in the past 150 years, the conservatoire scheme and the conservatoire mindset - as I like to call it - have scarcely changed in key points to this day. As late as in the 1970th, the Music HEIs in Europe and beyond were largely structured as Mendelssohn had intended in his master plan of 1840.

Although the range of subjects a music student has to study had slightly expanded, it remained unchanged in its core areas. One-to-one tuition and the master apprentice relationship are still the most powerful components of the educational program. By 1970, Higher Music and Higher Arts Education Institutions still had the status of vocational schools and were largely not recognised as academic institutions. And although

remarkable efforts have been made in the last 45 years to raise their status, Music HEIs are still not fully recognised to act on the same level as a university in the majority of European countries. But even so, in most cases they actually do not meet the requirements and academic standards associated with this university level.

Last but not least, the European Music HEIs are still focusing on a rather narrow segment of the actual musical genres and phenomena: highbrow classical western music.

As late as around 1970, it was still common that many musicians, who were striving for a professional career as e.g. a jazz musician or as a member of a Bohemian brass band, took their studies at a conservatoire, which was of course in the field of classical music as there was no alternative. These students tried to gather as much know-hows as possible, but then as a professional musician, turned musical paths in which their studies did not prepare them for. Nevertheless, at that time it was and to a certain extend it still is common practice for both fields of jazz and folk music to lead a successful professional career as a musician without having completed a formal musical education.

Finally, in the 1980s, when the first conservatoires opened up towards new musical genres - which has been done by establishing jazz study programs at more and more of the traditional conservatoires - it was not the conservatoire mindset that adpated to the new genre, in this case jazz, but jazz music was forced to adapt to the old conservatoire scheme and mindset. Of course, that also brought about substantial benefits for jazz musicians. Jazz music paid a price, but it was willing to pay. The message sent by the guardians of the conservatoire mindset was clear: If you want to become part of our community, you have to accept our rules.

Thus, even though many of the Music HEIs have opened up during the last decades to new styles of music and new ways of approaching music and dealing with music, the conservatoire scheme and the conservatoire mindset have remained largely unchanged. This raises the question of whether this conservatoire mindset is at all changeable. In other words, there are good reasons to put in doubt whether today's Music HEIs are adequatlely shaped and equipped to fulfill to their social mission, which is to depict existing music cultures and to contribute to their preservation and further development.

Today, more and more genres are on the doorstep of the Music HEIs: pop music, hip-hop, heavy metal and electronic dance music; traditional folk music and the music of immigrants and ethnic minorities. All this is a part of our European musical heritage, and we - now I speak as a representative of an association whose membership includes almost all Higher Music Education Institutions in Europe - have to make sure that the same mistake that has been made when jazz was first introduced into the Music HEIs will not happen a second time: that the music adapts to the conservatoire mindset, but not the other way round..

Yet, the crucial question is: What is the conservatoire mindset? I want to deal with that question in the next section, and I want to do that on the basis of a research project in which I myself am involved. The name of the project is DAPHME, an acronym for "Discourses of Academisation and the music Profession in Higher Music Education".

3 DAPHME

DAPHME is a cross boarder project granted by the Jubilee Fund of the Swedish Riksbanken. DAPHME consists of two researchers from Sweden, one of them chairing the project, two from Norway and two from Germany.

The starting point of the DAPHME project was the insight that among the community of musicians there is no clearly defined and shared understanding on where to locate the professional performing musician according to his or her self-conception in the field of tension between art and craft, vocational and academic education, autonomy and social mandate etc. In the past, it might have been no problem to live without necessarily being in need to answering these questions, but since the latest Bologna declaration, music and the arts in general, as well as higher arts and higher music education in particular seem to be under pressure with regard to this question - at least in Europe. Processes of academisation along with changes in musical life and in society are increasingly challenging a long-standing common self-understanding of performing musicians and a certain understanding of expert culture most of them grew up and over the times became familiar with.

The actual inspiration for the DAPHME project, however, was a political decision made by the former conservative Swedish government under Fredrik Reinfeldt, according to which only those study programs should receive state fundings that would prepare students to clearly defined occupational activities. Fortunately, the decision was never implemented because only a couple of months later, the current Social Democratic minority government came to power, which did not pursue the project any further. However, as anyone can easily imagine, implementing the original plans would have been a death sentence not only for all art studies, but also for many humanities subjects, and possibly even for subjects such as theoretical physics and other basic research related scentific disciplines. However, it was too late to stop the DAPHME project as once DAPHME had seen the light of day, the project inevitably further progressed.

What a fortunate coincidence, one could say, because the former Swedish government's decision had made particularly visible issues that had been hot topics at the latest since the Bologna Declaration and its transference into national law - even though these hot topics have been gladly ignored by many, in particular within the field of music and the arts. But in fact, to fulfil the new academic tasks required by the Bologna framework, it turned out to be rather demanding for Higher Education Institutions that had no tradition and no experience in dealing with these topics. Thus, Music HEIs were obliged to stimulate research activities within the context of artistic practice. Moreover, study programs had to be adapted to a steadily changing and progressing employability agenda. Higher Music Education was facing the task of educating competent musicians who can carry traditions but also are entrepreneurs with the skills to run a small business. The challenges Music HEIs were facing as a result of the Bologna declaration led to strong debates marked by conflicting views.

The DAPHME project was launched with the purpose to investigate how processes of academisation affect performing music study programmes across Europe. In order to do this, contrasting perspectives on performing musicians' expertise and societal mandate were and are still explored. In other words: DAPHME emerged in response to a political vacuum. To avoid the risk to leave it to political bureaucrats to define what

"academic" means in art and especially in music, we - the DAPHME team - have decided to look for an answer to this tricky question by asking the internal players, the peers. The data we have in the meantime collected consist of interviews with leaders and teachers in Sweden, Norway and Germany, but also of the analysis of official documents.

As research methods, DAPHME combines discourse analysis and professional theories to learn more about which notions of competence, research and views of the music profession are negotiated and renegotiated. In a final stage, the analyses will be performed against the background of different traditions, value systems and institutions. By doing so, the DAPHME team will hopefully be able to compare contradictions, similarities and differences on the institutional, national and international level.

3.1 DAPHME - Discourse Analysis

One of the first steps, as part of the DAPHME project, was to do a mapping of the field of discourse analysis in general in order to learn more about what different discourse analytical approaches can offer, when examining processes of academisation in higher music education. One of the main distinguishing aspects is the institutional or non-institutional field of music education covered by the investigation. Another important aspect concerns the music education-related social practice that is in the focus of the discourse analysis.

The project team finally decided to distinguish between educational practices which are as such object of investigation through analysing e.g. tutorial dialogues and interactions, textbooks, curricula, or interviews with teachers and leaders, and on the other hand research and scholarship practices which are covered by analysing e.g. relevant research publications or interviews with academics.

Discourse studies might approach their object of observation in different ways through either focusing on theoretical issues and epistemological problems, or on empirical data, such as recorded discourses. Although in most cases discourse studies include both perspectives, the DAPHME team decided to make a basic distinction between discourse theory and discourse analysis, thus following a proposal made by German sociologist Johannes Angermüller (Angermüller, 2015) to either ask if a relevant research publication is mainly concerned with theoretical considerations or if it is rather about empirical analysis.

Based on another distinction made by Angermüller (ibid.) we asked whether the examined publications' authors write against

- a poststructuralist theoretical background emphasising historical discontinuities (with references e.g. to Foucault, Derrida, Lacan, or Butler),
- a normative-deliberative theoretical background (with references e.g. to Habermas or Nussbaum), or
- a critical-realist theoretical background (with references e.g. to Marx and/or Bourdieu.)

It should also be noted that each discourse analysis basically should include all three dimensions, albeit with different emphases and focuses. However, not any single researcher might understand the relation between text and context in the same way.

In a first step, discourse oriented analyses and research that had previously been done in the field of music education in English, German and/or in Scandinavian languages was mapped and roughly summarised. Through this work, it soon became obvious that the word ’discourse’ can have different meanings, some of which are not referring to discourse theory. But also the opposite could be the case, ie. publications were identified that related to basic ideas of discourse theory but actually didn’t use the word ’discourse’ - a fact that unfortunately did not allow to include them into the body of literature generated from databases, even this would have been desirable in the view of the project team on substantive grounds.

It is not possible to go deeper into this at this point, firstly due to lack of space, but also, because we are still in the middle of the data evaluation process, and thus it is still too early to present reliable results here. But one conclusion can already be drawn out of it: there are country-specific differences in reference to the different concepts of discourse analysis. While in Norway Michel Foucault's approach sharing his particular interest in the relation of power and knowledge is particularly widespread, the "Swedish tradition" seems to be more diversified and open to include even contradictory conception and understandings on knowledge, competence and research into account.

Since DAPHME is about international comparison, the project team looked also for comparative approaches using discourse analysis. One example is Roger Mantie´s comparison of Popular Music Pedagogy Discourses. Mantie's interest is, “to better understand the apparent international differences,” concerning the scholarly popular music pedagogy discourses. Mantie researches in the tradition of critical-realist theories, referring among others to Bourdieu and Fairclough. (Mantie, 2013)

At the moment, it looks like as such a comparative study might probably be inspiring for the purposes of an international investigation like the DAPHME project. But there are still open questions remaining: How to avoid eclecticism and inconsistencies when merging or mixing methods? What is possible to combine and with which aim?

3.2. DAPHME - the interviews

Before finally coming back to the question why the conservatoire mindset makes it so hard to integrate more diverse music into the Music HEIs beyond the music they are used to deal with - let's take a look at the interviews.

Each of the six researchers that are involved in the project conducted three interviews, each at two Music HEIs in his or her home country, one with a principal and two with instrumental or vocal teachers from the classical music department.

So a total of 36 transcribed interviews has been collected, each of them conducted on the basis of an identical mind map. The interviews as a whole have not yet been systematically evaluated, but individual aspects have already been filtered out and undergone a preliminary evaluation.

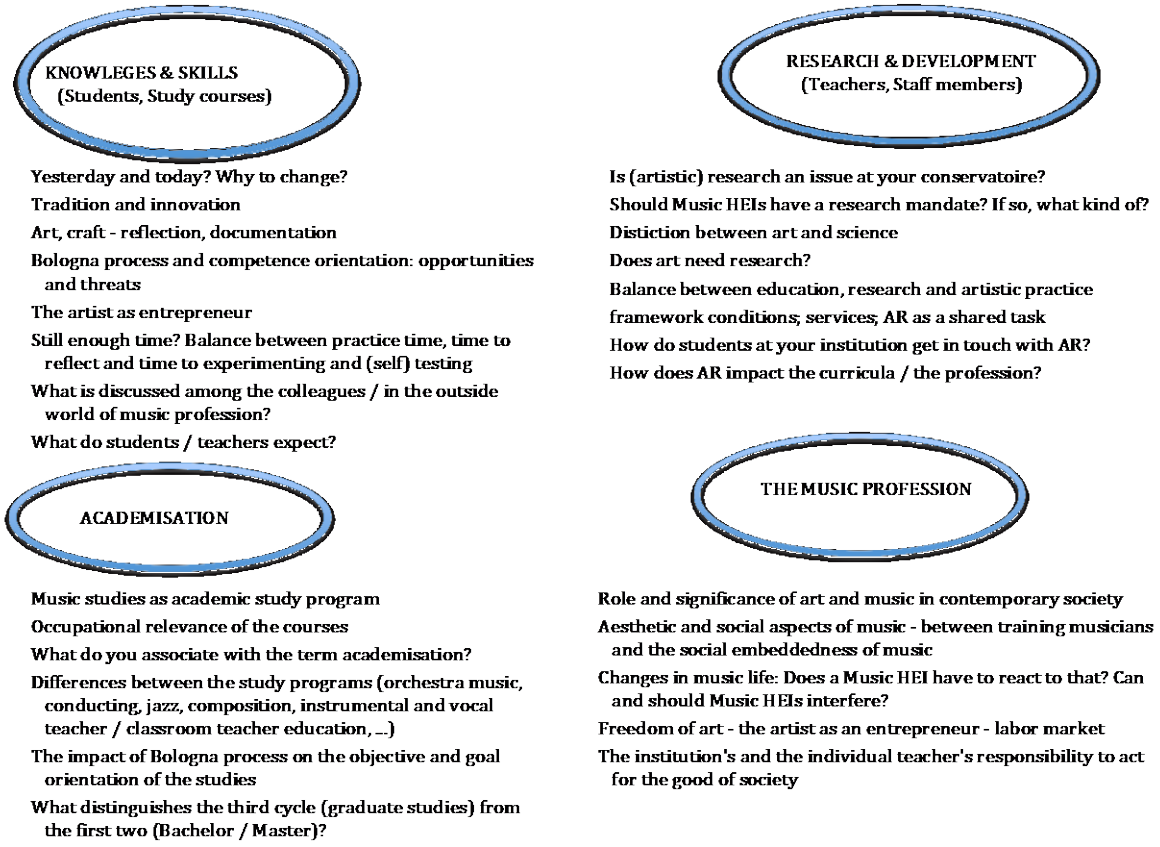

TABLE 1. DAPHME INTERVIEW MINDMAP.

One of the chosen aspects was, for example, how Foucault's concept of power / knowledge posits (Foucault, 1972) impacts the interviewees attitude and behaviour. One of the fellow researchers, Øivind Varkøy, found an example of this in the way that knowledge of craft in music education presupposes the existence of a master and a student and a hierarchical relationship between the two that serves to reassure both parties that their shared enterprise has meaning. "The master's expertise is acknowledged by a musical community, and the student trusts what the master knows. Placing trust in an acknowledged master allows the student to be accepted in the field and to acquire some of the master's skill and knowledge." (Angelo & Varkøy, 2018) According to Foucault, power dynamics exist everywhere and have significant influence on what can be known, and how knowledge is transmitted. Varkøy points out that Foucault never gave specific instructions on how to perform discourse-theoretical analysis based on his concept of power/knowledge, but a number of his own studies demonstrate how this concept can be used to challenge the practices of civic institutions such as prisons and hospitals.

Thus, in reading the interviews the project team has not only been concerned with what has been said and how it was phrased, but also with the ways in which the presupposition of particular power dynamics influenced the actual discourses. This is the case, for example, when the interviewees made reference to entrepreneurship and the labour market as opposed to the autonomy of art, as well as in their comments on the allocation of institutional resources to things like faculty positions, scholarships and research fundings. A

typical statement of this kind made by one of the interviewees from Sweden: "I don't' like the contemporary notion of reflection as a tool for creating market-oriented profiles. It contradicts true knowledge development." *(Instrumental teacher, male)*

Despite the provisional nature of the evaluation results, the DAPHME team has already been able to categorise some of the data according to Foucalt's principles. The interviewees' comments on how they reflect their own actions as artists or art educators allowed to classify the statements and arguments they made in this respect into four categories: The employability discourse, the craftmanship discourse, the artistic freedom discourse, and the bildung discourse. However, on the one hand some of these statements can be assigned to more than just one discourse, and on the other hand, an individual person can also be committed to more than one discourse paradigm.

The employability discourse is mostly based on and linked to the assumption that one does not have to be a reflected person in order to be an outstanding artist, but that, as a reflected artist, one has much more possibilities to earn a living from his or her art. Here are two quotes: "The broader the scope of my education, the greater my professional options are." *(Flute teacher, female).* In that case, reflection is not considered as a value as such, but as a means for the purpose of earning money.

Whilst a small majority of the interviewees can be assigned to the employability discourse, the craftmanship discourse is shared by almost all of them, even though many of them did not explicitly state that as they obviously take it for granted that technical skills are a prerequisite to be able to perform as an creative artist at a maximum level: "Craft skills are the absolute prerequisite for being able to express oneself." *(Viola teacher, female)*

Like entrepreneurship, reflection is also felt by some to be alien to art and incompatible with the principle of the freedom of art: "I think it [reflection] is a word we should get rid of, but I feel defeated in that respect. It won't go away!" *(Organ teacher, male).*

The bildung discourse, finally, seems to be relevant not only at the level of reflection, but also at the level of social mission and mandate. The bildung discourse might at first glance be seen as a very German affair, closely connected to names like *Friedrich Schiller* and *Wilhelm von Humboldt*. However, it has as well a strong impact on the Scandinavian discourses. This is certainly among others due to the fact that the structure of public education in the Nordic countries has been mainly inspired until the Second World War by the German model. It is therefore no coincidence that both the Swedish and the Norwegian language have a special expression literally corresponding to the German term *Bildung*, whilst e.g. the English language is lacking that. The bildung discourse's underlying rationale is indeed often embedded in the idea that reflected behavior (in every aspect of life) and having undergone a comprehensive general education makes us better people. Statements such as "Studying music is deepened, if you reflect on things and read literature" (Violin teacher, male) are shared by a majority of the interviewees. Nevertheless, no one expressed it such closely following the ideas formulated by Schiller in his Letters on Aesthetic Education (Schiller, 1795) as a German trumpet teacher: "Our Musikhochschulen are there to spread out European culture to the world and this contributes to make the world more peaceful. "

Two more findings from the interviews should de mentioned here, that seem significant in the context of the Conservatoire mindset issue. First, there is the question of whether and how open the teachers that has been interviewed are towards other musical genres and cultures. The DAPHME team had deliberately decided beforehand to conduct interviews only with teachers coming from the area of classical music because that's were at least the origin and core of the conservatoire mindset was suspected to be located. Nevertheless, as some of the principles among the interviewees had a non-classical background, the view from the outside was still not fully ruled out.

Looking at the interviews, it is striking to see that there is no more clear and largely consistent understanding of what culture and the arts are, what their rationale is and what they are good for. In particular shared normative ideas and clear hierarchies among the different musical actors and the different genres seem to diminish. It is not that these hierarchies would have disappeared, but some certainties have disappeared and were replaced by uncertainty as well as by fear. A number of findings and quotes from the interviews might illustrate this.

All interviewees stated that students should be open to a variety of different styles, genres and forms of communicating with the audience: "What has changed compared to 15 years ago is that today it is taken for granted that everyone has to deal with a variety of musical styles. That was not the case before." *(Violin teacher, female)* - "Today's students are expected to be much more flexible than they were in the past. We are facing audiences that want different kind of concert formats. We have to deal with that. *(Viola teacher, female)*. The statement as such sounds at first glance as if it would reflect this viola teacher's personal conviction. But when taking a closer look at the context, a deep-seated uncertainety and fear of change become visible. Because in the next sentence this teacher says: "Even the big ones, the most outstanding orchestras like the Berliner and the Wiener Philharmoniker are doing these kind of socially-oriented projects."

Not only hierarchies are diminishing, also the highbrow attitude of classical music seems to be vanishing. Nevertheless, also this is something which is not talked about without mixed and ambiguous feelings. "To combine performing classical music, jazz and funk is a challenge. Most of my students are from time to time volunteering in big bands, and they should do so. But they play diffrently there, more direct and with a more intense embouchure. And those who don't practice this change as such in a very, very well disciplined way, can quickly get off track." *(Trombone teacher, male)*. - "The jazz musicians are miles ahead of us in terms of entrepreneurship skills. They are able to steer their career path and to determine their future." *(Leader, male)*. When classical musicians talk about jazz, their judgment often oscillates between appreciation, respect and envy, but also between feelings of inferiority and fear of loss: they are quite aware that jazz musicians have competencies which they would like their own students to have as well, but which they are not able to teach them.

The last aspect from the interviews that shall be considered here in more detail is the understanding of the term "academisation". As already pointed out earlier, the traditional setting of teaching music, in particular with music performance, has always been the master-apprentice scheme, which was primarily based on demonstration and imitation, but did not necessarily rely on reflection. Even when "becoming academic" very slightly became an issue for Music HEIs from the 1950s on, this happened without referring to a clear

understanding of the term. In current language, "academisation" was underpinned by a broad range of diverse, if not contradictional understandings. So, one of the questions the DAPHME team wanted to further investigate, was why stakeholders and interest groups wanted art education at all to be seen as academic.

In that sense, the use of the term "academisation" can be seen in connection with diverse objectives. It can aim at:

- The increase in social reputation (social aspect)
- The award of legally-standard degrees which may regulate access to certain professional activities or offices (*formal/legal aspect*)
- The recognition as a discipline, whose methods of knowledge-acquisition are theory or reflection-based *(epistemological aspect)*
- The improving of access to public and governmental funding, both in the area of promoting tertiary education and promoting research *(political aspect)*.

Taking a look at this list asking which of these aspects did matter in the discourse of legitimation among the community of musicians - let's say around 1980 - one will easily see: topic 1 and 2 were quite relevant at the time, but 3 and 4 were not - at least not in Germany and in the Nordic countries. But then came the Bologna declaration stipulating that all disciplines and study programs must demonstrate that they are reflective or theory-based. That hit the arts like a bolt out of the blue. The point was that the Music conservatoires have been awarding titles and diplomas since long before, but so far, have never been forced by anyone to justify their position and attitude towards this third aspect.

The question that arises in this context is: What is the impact of academisation on a conservatoire teachers' concepts as well as on their actual teaching practice? What role do the interviewees assign to reflection and research with regard to their understanding of academisation? Which attitudes and positions on these issues can be read between the lines?

In the German data, it was argued only by three out of eleven interviewees that research would be a driving force of innovation. All interviewees stated that reflection was not something that could be demanded from every Higher Music Education teacher. A typical and representative quotation: "I think there are some geniuses who will anyway follow their own pathway. These are really people to whom all that theory stuff doesn't really mean anything at all. But these guys need an open space to live in." *(Flute teacher, female)*

Even if it might sound like a cliché: Only the two brass teachers were of the opinion that being trained as a performing musician is not an academic education, but a craftsman training preparing the students to meet the requirements they will be facing when playing in a professional orchestra. Nevertheless, one of the two brass teachers noted this with great regret: "I think the trumpet player, who just plays the trumpet well, is frankly speaking quite poorly educated; that's a technical training on an instrument that does not at all deserve the label ‘academic'." *(Trumpet teacher, male)*

One of the Swedish principals stated: “At a different institution from mine, I followed the examination of two students: one who had made a very nice reflective powerpoint and played well but not extraordinary, and one

who played like a god but had language problems and couldn't formulate the reflective part well enough. The first one got the highest grade and the second one didn't pass. To me, this is an example of how academisation has gone too far". *(Rector, male)*

Although the Swedish and Norwegian data are almost in line with the German ones, there seems to be a slightly higher awareness on the artist's social responsibility and his or her thus related conception on the role of reflecting what they are doing. ie.: To some extent, all Scandinavian interviewees agreed on the need to develop verbal communication skills, although there was only little consensus on the opinion that the performer ought also to engage in research and speaking engagements.

"There is so much 'hazy talk' in this field. Hazy talk often rises from hazy thoughts that seldom are considered end reflected upon" *(Flute teacher, female).*

Still, the hazy talk is often reinforcing the fogginess and mysticism surrounding the thought of the extraordinary good musician and divine music educator. Many of the teachers and leaders, like this flute teacher, stressed the need for more openness with regard to the work done by musicians. Though this idea of openness is shared by many, several interviewees expressed concerns that this might overburden students, and that emphasis on research might come at the expense of musical proficiency or - even worse - might lead to a glorification of amateurship that would wind up producing both "bad art, and bad research". One of the principals among the Norwegian interviewees stated: "Some institutions offer a PhD where half of it is performing and the other half is academic writing. These programs are based upon completion of a bachelor's or master's program, where the students haven't necessarily written anything. I wonder what kind of competence these PhDs actually have when they are finished". *(Rector, male).*

In Sweden, the ability to make critical assessments is a required learning outcome for degrees at all study programs according to the Swedish Higher Education Act from 2006 and as a consequence is better underpinned by a corresponding research infrastructure which has been established at higher arts education institutions and better governmental funding as in the two other countries. The Swedish data can therefore be seen a bit more relating to the question of how a non-hazy academic education of musicians is understood. Voices putting in question whether artistic research, being a member of the academic community and the concept of the reflective artistic performer does make sense at all, are less often heard in Sweden than in Germany and Norway.

4 Beyond the classical mindset

Let me in the end take up two ideas, which were already explained above. Firstly, this is the Leipzig Conservatoire and its function as a role model for many othres in the second half of the 19th century. Its above-mentioned curriculum for students who wanted to become a professional instrumentalist was close to the needs of the occupational field offering high employability standards, in fact much higher than today's Music HEIs curricula do, because there was a job market for both orchestral and military musicians at the time that do not exist any longer today. It is interesting, however, that there are still missing out things in this curriculum, which only 50 years earlier were a natural part of a - at least informal - learning program for

prospective professional musicians: e.g. teaching improvisation or composition; moreover, the professional musicians of the eighteenth century were quite often multi-instrumentalists, and it was only under the influence of virtuosi such as *Nicolo Paganini* and *Franz Liszt* that this ideal was replaced by the specialist, whereby the musicians' labor market underwent a development similar to the increasing industrialisation of the manufactories. The Leipzig Conservatoire mirrored this musical industrialisation without taking up its further development. The underlying idea of a division of labor with the process of music production is a peculiarity that does not exist outside the world of classical music. Neither jazz and rock nor the manifold phenomena of non-western music are familiar with a comparable principle of division of labor.

The Dutch ethnomusicologist *Huib Schippers*, who once had dropped out from studying music in Rotterdam in order to go to India to learn performing the sitar with a local master, which was - in his own words - an act of youthful rebellion against the central-european bourgeois-protestant conservatoire mindset in which he was deeply rooted from his early childhood on. He later spent also many years for study and research purposes in Africa and Southeast Asia before became known as a music ethnologist who has been researching in particular about teaching traditions and methods in diverse cultures. That, in particular, makes him interesting for the context in question.

Huib Schippers reports on the lessons he attended in India and, above all, on the difference to what he knew from classical European one-to-one tuition. He also reports at one point how one of his Indian teachers, whom he had brought to Rotterdam for a master class, described his perception of a European Music HEI. In his view, these looked like a street with one house next to the other. In one live the flute players, in another the double bass players, etc. They know each other and communicate with each other. But it is never made public what happens behind the locked doors of these houses long the music street. One can sense that something great is happening there, but it is not known what this is exactly. And he adds that he did not understand why that is so or has to be so. (Schippers, 2010)

Schippers suspects that one of the peculiarities of the classical European culture of teaching music is a very special understanding of terms such as tradition and authenticity. While these two categories are central pillars of the European conservatoire mindset, on which the entire discourse on legitimacy of art and culture and its educational impact is based on, these categories play, according to Schippers, little role outside of Europe, and even where they play a role, they often interpreted differently. For musicians from Sub-Saharan Africa, for example, tradition has no value in our understanding of the term. For them it goes without saying that music evolves, that they use electric guitars and up to date technology to perform the traditional autochthonous music in the present.

All in all, almost all of the teaching cultures investigated by Huib Schippers are characterised by a holistic approach whilst the conservatoire mindset is based on a dvision of tasks and roles. The lack of holistic thinking is also complained of some insiders of the Music HEIs. Most jazz musicians do so, for example, but also many teachers from the Early Music departments. They complain about the decline of a holistic approach through the classical music's industrialisation and demand an at least partial reversal of development.

The second one of the thoughts already articulated above, which I would like to take up at this point, is that of the exclusive character of the Music HEI. So far, only those are allowed to enter who are accepting the rules. This can be well observed at the example of the integration of jazz in the Music HEIs. On the one hand, including Jazz and jazz musicians into the music HEIs has been beneficial to the classical musicians. But in order to be allowed to join the Music HEI, they had to adapt almost to the point of self-abandonment to the given conservatoire mindset, and they voluntarily have done so. Because the academisation - or, as one should say more accurately - the conservatorisation of jazz - has changed the jazz. Jazz musicians started to write down their music and to play from the score, a particular jazz music theory was invented and certain quality criteria that previously might have played no role in jazz (such as a standardised conception of purity of tonality and sound) suddenly became binding. With this regard, the integration of jazz into the Music HEIs is anything but a success story; it is actually more a story of surrender and submission.

But now more and more diverse music cultures are now at the door of the Music HEIs. These other genres and cultures are also part of European cultural heritage. To give them a platform, the music HEIs have to change, and it's not just a question of whether they are ready, but whether they are capable of doing so.

To sum up: Experiences from the past as well as data available from the DAPHME project reveal that the given organisational structures of a European HMEIs are exclusive in a double sense. Firstly, because they are based on a deliberate distinction between high and low culture, which has its roots in the 19th century bourgeois understanding of art. Secondly, because they are tied to a particular educational setting which is closely linked to the habits and needs of precisely this bourgeois musical culture and thus forces other cultural approaches either to adapt to this educational setting or to renounce having access to institutionalised (higher) music education.

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From the Schizofrenia of an Identity to a Cosmic ID

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ABSTRACT

Because Europe is facing a deep crisis of identity, culture and, consequently, of education, we would like to face these ongoing transformations introducing a new European Education in schools as a pilot project through goal-emotional creative transculturalism. An education to confrontation uncovering new identities and expanding the horizons with a creative and participative approach. Our workshops start from the idea of co-lab: mirroring, co-construction and confrontation oriented. While creative thinking makes it possible to find unconventional solutions to problems, creative act brings together reasons conflicting, brightening a common goal. Our main expectations are: to create the chased identity following dreams for a future where each one can find his own roots, to strenghten the “glocal” way of behaving and thinking as a European cultural horizon and to arise transcultural emphathy to face everyday conflicts with a positive attitude.

1 A new European Education through goal-emotional creative transculturalism

Education to confrontation uncovering new identities and expanding the horizons.

Concept

Because Europe is facing a deep crisis of identity, culture and, consequently, of education, we would like to introduce a bottom up ID construction path based on duality: every country's identity/traditions vs. intercultural/globalidentity. Our aim is to introduce a new school subject called "European Education". Why education? As Maria Montessori said "Young generations mostly have not only a little sense of global culture but a very little sense of their collective identity too. When two or more cultures meet, for each entity it's very important to know who he or she is, otherwise a difficult neverending struggle can start." Also, Amin Maloouf underlined: "The meeting with a different culture is a crossroads: you can deny it by passing from bewilterment to contempt or you can recognize it by passing from astonishment to respect (...) identity is not divided into compartmentalized, it is not divided into half or third parties. I do not have many identities, I have only one identity, made up of all the elements that have shaped it." Identity is accumulation not denial: that's our goal. An accumulation done by different belonging. As the Article 1 of Unesco says: "Cultural diversity: the common heritage of humanity Culture takes diverse forms across time and space. This diversity is embodied in the uniqueness and plurality of the identities of the groups and societies making up humankind.

As a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature. In this sense, it is the common heritage of humanity and should be recognized and affirmed for the benefit of present and future generations". Recognizing one's own cultural identity, building it together, sharing the principles that regulate coexistence as freedoms to safeguard: this is the construction of one's own orientation bearings in the exploration of themselves and of the others (Constitution). A bearing as a tool that allows everyone to navigate in any sea, to orientate in any land, where sea and land refer to the world of the other. As Piero Calamandrei quoted: "(...)The Constitution is not a machine that once set in motion goes on by itself. The Constitution is a piece of paper: I let it fall and it does not move. In order to move, every day, in this machine, we need to put the fuel back in; we must put in it the commitment, the spirit, the will to keep those promises, our own responsibility. This is why one of the offenses that are made to the Constitution is, first of all, politics indifference (...) It is so beautiful and so comfortable. There is freedom, we live in freedom, there are other things to do than having an interest in politics. And I know that too. The world is so beautiful. It's true! There are so many beautiful things to see and to enjoy beyond dealing with politics. And politics is not a pleasant thing. However, freedom is like the air. We realize how much it is worth when it begins to fall short (...) reminding you every day, that freedom must be monitored and supervised, giving your own contribution to political life. The Constitution, you see, is the solemn affirmation of social solidarity, of human solidarity, of our common destiny, which, if it sinks, it will sink for all on this vessel. The Constitution, you see, is the card of one's own freedom, the card, for each of us, of one's own dignity as a man". Our starting point is the theory of paradoxes that are stairs that rise and fall depending on where you look at them: starting from affirmations that make sense, once confronted, a contradictory conclusion can arise.

2 Aims

We would experiment a Pilot Project starting in an Italian school but that we would like to implement, doing it simultaneously in at least in other 3 countries not only to have exchange of know-how and follow-up meetings, but mostly to have a network of new positive “identities” created. Our main expectations are:

- to create the chased identity following dreams for a future where each one can find his own root; - to strenghten the “glocal” way of behaving and thinking as a European/world cultural horizon;
- to arise intercultural/transcultural emphathy to face everyday conflicts with a positive attitude. The beneficiaries will be adolescents
- age group 13-17 years old.

3 Methodology

Our approach will be participative: mirroring, co-construction and confrontation oriented. We will start from concepts to actions to reformulate concepts with the individual at the hearth. It will be divided in two parts: the theoretical one and the practical one, from reflecting on concepts to experience them creatively and .

4 Theory

Detailed study on the following topics:

- identity - who I am;
- the group - who we together are;
- different countries and Europe: borders, languages, cultures;
- transculturalism - the exchange;
- our identification - declaring youself;
- responsibility - thought and action, responsibility and freedom in our role in our environment;
- positive goals - mine and ours.

5 Practice: LabMed

While creative thinking makes it possible to find unconventional solutions to problems, creative act brings together reasons conflicting, brightening a common goal. Our workshops start from the idea of co-lab. Participants will have a topic and they will have to prepare the workshop for themselves by themselves, highlighting the aspects and information they consider most interesting. The interesting aspect of these workshops will be to observe the participants’ creativity and their responsibility to present the workshop and to involve other people. Among all the creative tools, an experiential path through photos and videos to highlight some identity’s nuances will be preferred, as well as words and narratives as a linguistic experiment sharing archaic forms of communication: from thought to image for the construction of mental softwares and meaningful languages to share.

A. Principles	B. Enforced in practice
Dialogue	Tell me how: ask the group what activity it would do to explain a topic
Conception	Tell me what: the idea the group would like to realize
Construction	Go and explain to another group
Movement	From group to group - passing of the baton from group to group
Strategy	Co-Lab
Goals	What I will bring with me

TABLE 1. WORKSHOP PLANNING

6 Follow Up

Considering that the evolution of educational policies must be based on aggregation, we will be helped by new technologies and gamification for what concerns the follow up of the workshop. That will help not only the students to share their new Id Construction and to continue to reflect about ongoing transformations, but also to spread our educational view, beacuse, as Tiziano Terzani said “Only if we manage to see the universe as a single entity, in which every part reflects the whole and whose great beauty lies precisely in its variety, will we be able to understand exactly who and where we are".

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The Institutionalization of Artistic and Cultural Education in France and its Experimentation in the Festivals' Sphere

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ABSTRACT

France is developing and experiencing a crossed educational and cultural policy called "Artistic and Cultural Education" (ACE) elaborated upon three intertwined principles: learning artistic knowledge, practicing arts, encountering artists and artworks. France has a tradition of public support to art, culture and education taking a part of its ideals within the Popular education's legacy (1930s). Many festivals have already brought ACE onto their agenda like the Avignon Festival that is standing up for culture as a civil service, a mean of empowerment through art and education. This study seeks an understanding of ACE's dynamics and institutionalization from the shifts it is built on. In addition, it also interrogates to what extent part of the dynamics of ACE can be found in the festivals' sphere and within events like the Avignon Festival that count amongst their essential characteristic dynamics of *formation* of the audience.

Keywords:

Artistic and Cultural Education, Festivals, Audiences, Performing arts, Public policies

Introduction

About Artistic and Cultural Education in France

Ernst H. Gombrich introduces *The Story of Arts* by disclosing to the readers that if there are no bad reasons to appreciate a piece of art, there are sometimes wrong intellectual dispositions that make individuals rejecting it (Gombrich, 2001). He explains that whether artists tend to represent the world as they experience it, we also experience their work from our personal histories and identities. Appreciating arts emotionally or intellectually is not only about academic knowledge but is rather about having enough resources to be capable of reflexivity to understand why a piece of art moves, questions or upsets us. Whilst art can be related to the production of materials and aesthetics, it is firstly a meaningful resource that conveys social concerns and demands through time, societies and spaces: artistic productions, no matter their forms, are tightly intertwined with the social reality. And yet, although culture is a powerful and universal social and political activity addressed to everyone, inequalities of access and autonomy of judgment and appreciation exist and linger. In response, many educational and cultural policies have attempted to make culture more accessible but have been stricken by difficulties and failures. Long-lasting schemes can nonetheless be identified, and so are fights and dynamics improved and reinvented between generations.

For a decade, France has been developing a crossed cultural and educational policy called “Artistic and Cultural Education” (ACE) associating three Ministers: Culture, Education and Agriculture[16]. In order to make Artistic and Cultural Education a public concern, a national council was founded in 2005[17]. In July 2016, during the 70th Avignon Festival, the ministries of Education and Culture officially signed a charter elaborated by all the council’s members. ACE is being nationally experienced from kindergarten to high school, and in some universities, and is elaborated upon three intertwined principles: learning artistic knowledge, practicing an art form, encountering artists and artworks. Not only France has a tradition of public support of arts and culture, the country also defends an association between culture and education that is somehow part of the popular education’s legacy that spread in the 1930s during the Popular Front (Fabiani, 2008). Today, even if a growing interest and involvement for ACE is to be seen from cultural organizations, many festivals have already brought it onto their agenda. What’s more, institutions such as the Avignon Festival have been standing up for culture to be a civil service and a mean of empowerment through art, education and togetherness as soon as they were founded (Ethis, Fabiani & Malinas, 2008; Fabiani, 2008, 2014; Fleury, 2006).

This contribution aims at investigating both dynamics and institutionalization of Artistic and Cultural Education in France from the major shifts it is built on in terms of public policies. It will also question to what extent festivals are relevant places to experience such educational schemes, and before this, what some of them have to do in this institutionalization. Part of this study is based on the Avignon Festival fieldwork which

[16] The French Minister of Agriculture is often related to the Minister of Education because it is in charge of professional training and research in the agricultural field from high school to postgraduate.

[17] Haut Conseil de l’Éducation Artistique et Culturelle.

embodies the French tradition of popular education as Jean Vilar, its founder, had stood up for the support of *popular theatre*, meaning accessible for all social classes, and that his endeavour has been followed by its successors as well as militants, associations and politicians. This festival is indeed both continuing a political legacy and transmitting it to the following generations, as well as it experiences and develops ACE for the youngest audiences by different and adapted means[18]. The festival itself will be considered as an inspiring model of both education and culture policies.

The Avignon Festival

The Avignon Festival is known to be one of the major events programming contemporary creation at both national and international scale in many disciplines such as theatre, dance and music. It is anchored in the French cultural landscape as well as its impact is global given its programming searching to be the reflection of the contemporary world, and its international artistic legacy ambition. The Festival was founded in 1947 by Jean Vilar, an artist who was driven by the political desire to make culture a public concern and to give access to the best version of it not only in Paris, the capital city, but everywhere in France and for all citizens regardless of their social background. The former aspiration at the core of the foundation of this institution to be was to make high quality plays accessible for everyone and to gather people for sharing reflexion about the world. According to Jean Vilar, for the plays to be accessible, the texts chosen must have a certain dramatic and politic intensity and the stage director must be at the service of both these characteristics and the audience. The first edition was called “Art week in Avignon”, and given it success, it turned into a festival as soon as the second was launched in 1948. As the years went by, the Festival gained both public and institutional recognition. The general organization expanded and required additional resources: whilst three plays were presented to the audience in 1947, for the last ten years, more than fifty artistic performances coming from different countries are part of the programme. The performances are staged in heritage sites such as cloisters, main and inner courtyards, and even a quarry or indoor locations among which schools, theatres and museums.

The structure of the Avignon Festival is one of its fundamental traits since the artistic endeavour of Jean Vilar has always been conceived as a dialogue between artistic performances and public debates (Ethis, 2003; Fabiani, 2008, 2014). Through the Festival, Jean Vilar not only contributed to the theorizing of the audience as a plural and participatory community but had also shaped the definition of the “festival form” as it is known today, in other words how festivals tend to be structured (Ethis, Fabiani & Malinas, 2013). Most of cultural festivals are more than a “catalogue” inasmuch as public spaces dedicated to debates involving culture seen through various filters like arts, economics or politics are created. This positioning towards culture is close to Jürgen Habermas’s conceptualization of public space by: in this model of gathering, public discussion – and even more civic speaking – concentrates the very dynamic of the Festival and the audience’s participation. Every summer the Festival hosts public debates about cultural and educational policies, creative industries, public relations and international issues: it has become one of the annual meeting point for many professions

[18] By frequenting the event one can witness that ACE makes more young spectators taking part in the event, and at the same time, older spectators come for learning and transmitting experiences.

and for a large audience willing to take part in such an articulation between art, collective debate and learning (Malinas, 2008). This pursuit of learning is at the core of the Festival: the audience's engagement and participation (Ethis, Fabiani & Malinas, 2008, 2013). And, as Jean-Louis Fabiani recalls in a recent chapter:

> "Vilar was a pioneer in theorizing the turn of the spectator into a "participant" (…). The spectators were invited to take part in a political process, but not to mingle with the actors on stage. What was requested from them was an active participation in the daily debates about the festival, but also the state of the nation, that multiplied during daytime and became almost as famous as the festival itself" (Fabiani, 2018).

Whether many propositions such as performances and public debates are offered to the main audience, the Avignon Festival devotes and adapts a part of these to the youngest spectators. First, for the last five years, a venue has been entirely dedicated to plays accessible for children, plays that ought to correspond to the ideals and standards of popular theatre. When it comes to what is called "cultural actions" for young spectators, two types can be identified: (1) public/opened actions like workshops and more generally a printed programme made especially by and for the youngest audiences; (2) actions set up in relation with public supports (i.e. Ministers and local authorities). Most of these actions are structured in groups of children aged between 12 and 17 years old who are gathered thanks to local educational institutions. Circuits are set up for the groups of children overseen by members of an association of popular education called Céméa[19]: in this context, the young festivalgoers attend plays, discuss the feelings it generated to them, practise theatre and some even meet artists.

Questions and hypothesis

By questioning this current direction in both the artistic/cultural and educational spheres, the fieldwork had led to identify three main questions and hypothesis: how is ACE institutionalized, and what part artistic endeavours like festivals have been taking in it? On what shifts is ACE built? How is it developed at the Avignon Festival and what fulfilments are intended?

We are making the assumption that ACE could be the result of a long process of definition of the audience and could be a continuity of popular education and cultural democratization. In France, these actions had been the main model of public policies from the end of the 1940s to the early 2000s. In addition, through decentralization of culture and the spread of festivals, we make the hypothesis that ACE is somehow inspired by the festivals' dynamics.

Artistic and Cultural Education is also conceived as a civil service and a renewed approach to intertwine tighter culture and education. To some extent, ACE could have as specific baseline that no individual is unreachable in terms of cultural matters and practices and, in this perspective, culture apprehended as

[19] Centres d'Entraînement aux Méthodes d'Éducation Active.

practices, knowledge and references enabling one to construct his/her cultural identity and tools to find his/her place in the society, raises the question of Cultural rights.

Likewise, we make the assumption that the Avignon Festival seizes ACE to involve physically and intellectually the youngest spectators in the artistic experience to support their critical skills and the construction of their cultural identity and autonomy. ACE could be questioned as a form of continuation of Jean Vilar's former project, hence a "natural" place at the Avignon Festival. The later is based on the ideal that culture in its more exigent forms is for everyone, regardless of social and economic determinism, and is an aid for empowerment and sense of community. In that, we make the assumption that whether ACE is first intended for children alongside schooling, its dynamics go further and concern adults too. We also presume that there would be a deep echo of ACE for the Avignon Festival given its stand for culture and education as a public form of intervention.

Materials and method

Since the early 1990s, the research team "Culture and Communication" based in the University of Avignon, France, has been building its scientific expertise around cultural and festival-going practices from empirical studies. Within this fieldwork, events like the Avignon Festival, the Cannes film Festival or Les Rencontres Trans Musicales de Rennes hold a strong interest due to their historical background in the public landscape (72 years old, 71 years old and 40 years old) and their strong attention for audiences through the diverse projects they offer. The researchers' work is related to information and communication sciences and sociology of culture and audiences to understand in a comprehensive way identities and cultural practices, and more especially in festivals contexts. The team also develops its expertise upon communicational and symbolic characteristic of art festivals because they tend to be special places of cultural transmission given the community generated and gathered every year (Ethis, 2003; Malinas, 2008; Fabiani, 2014, Falassi, 1987). Indeed, people come to festivals to live intensively a cultural practise which matters to them and that they enjoy sharing here because festivals create communities of reception and dialogues.

This long-lasting and compared empirical researches has allowed to conduct many sociological inquiries and to develop an understanding of the institution's structure, its evolutions and its place within the public sphere for both artistic and political matters. In this contribution, these types of materials will be used. Resources produced by inquires from the Avignon fieldwork will also support a part of this study thanks to data describing how the audience had had different access to ACE actions during schooling. This material is also a way to question how a festival born from a concern of cultural democratization is evolving with the growing interest for ACE. It seems important to recall that our approach is based upon the observation of an effective policy that has been experienced for a couple of years. Analysing a well functioning scheme is helpful for a better understanding of what is actually at stake, and the different strategies of the institutions associated for this purpose.

Regarding this research's objectives, Durkheimian sociology is one of the theoretical frameworks to produce an understanding of ACE's institutionalization through time. Overall knowledge of the roots of popular education's dynamics seems relevant to apprehend ACE. A part of this article therefore refers to *The Social Construction of Reality* written by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann where is explored the notion of institutionalization as a social process of objectivation of the reality, and the construction of social order from shared representations, ideas and practices. Here, institutionalization refers to long-lasting and typified practices in a social group that can be more or less wide.

Sociology of culture remains a major theoretical framework to analyse how ACE as a support of autonomy and self-empowerment through art finds its place in a festival-going context. Cultural festivals are places where audiences develop their expertise, where they discover artistic fields and debate collectively about it (Ethis, 2003; Fabiani, 2014). ACE is a policy supporting the cultural autonomy of the audience who can therefore learn to be in the best dispositions to appreciate art, but also their everyday environment and question it. French researchers such as Jean-Louis Fabiani, Marie-Christine Bordeaux, Laurent Fleury and the scientific activity of the Avignon research team are also works to apprehend ACE.

Considering the institutionalization of Artistic and Cultural Education as a long process of social and ideal filiation

About the process of institutionalization

The national council of Artistic and Cultural Education was launched in 2005. For a decade, changes and adaptations have occurred but ACE is now known and legitimated in the educational and cultural sectors. Nevertheless, the adaptation of a social situation or organization through time also encompasses the way a social group transmits it from a generation to another so as to maintain it within evolving contexts (Berger, Luckmann, 2012). According to Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, institutionalization is the process by which a social situation is extended in time (2012). Institutionalization does not necessary refers to the creation of a structure, or a cultural institution for instance. It first refers to the conditions and practices by which individuals agree on a way to do or consider social situations, the society or even the world. In the same way, ahead of Berger and Luckmann's publication, Emile Durkheim approached a general understanding of institutions from the beliefs and behaviours set collectively (Durkheim, 2017). Once a social group has shared and stabilized knowledge, values and practices, social roles, systems of organizations and relations emerge, though this process takes time. By questioning this development, it is presumed that ACE is going across its institutionalization not only because it is sustained by a state policy, but before all because it is anchored in the preoccupations and the designs of different actors within the society. Nonetheless, to last, such a scheme requires a meaning strong enough and an echo with the social group's values (Durkheim, 2007). Yet this current state supported establishment stabilizes ACE, some uncertainties remain because a more complex system of values exists, that does not necessarily meet the eye.

In a recent article, the sociologist Marie-Christine Bordeaux recalls how the public preoccupation for artistic education has progressed in France. She mentions the first accord signed between the French Ministers of Education and Culture in 1983 that follows a deep commitment and militancy for culture from teachers and associations in the 1970s. The later were defending the democratization of culture because they saw it as an aid for empowerment and social changes. Then, during the 1980s and the 1990s culture and education were brought together by a strong state institutionalization and the development of projects by local authorities (Bordeaux, 2017). Although continuity seems to prevail, the construction of this policy has been subject to many conflicts and unsuccessful attempts on a medium term (Waresquiel, 2001). To begin with, we decide to step aside from the institutional landscape, meaning the government's actions. Instead, the artistic field shall be interrogated, and more especially the festivals', because such an institutionalization seems to be more about social groups than public policy in the first place.

Searching for the origins of Artistic and Cultural Education

To interrogate ACE's institutionalization, some achievements and social and political positions must be recalled highlighting to what extent ACE is part of a long process of questioning about the role of culture as well as the construction of an education policy where arts are seen as resources, and not only as productions. Following the French Revolution, the interest for public education and citizenship arose from the people and the intellectuals and was fostered during the Enlightenment. Throughout the establishment of democracy, education and culture, and more especially theatre, were identified as assets for the invention of a civic education. The historian Mona Ozouf recalls such positions by using the terms *fête révolutionnaire* and *transfert de sacralité* to describe how theatre was placed at the centre of civic education, instead of religion and monarchy (Ozouf, 1988; Fabiani, 2005). Whilst a lot of our modern social dynamics are related to this period of history, when it comes to combine culture and education, the continuity of our contemporary positions mainly comes from the late 19th and early 20th centuries when a theorizing of audiences awoke in the theatrics sphere and later in the festivals.

The assumption is made that ACE is both a continuation and a reinvention of public and associative actions fed from the dynamics of popular education. The 1930s and 1950s were times of reconstruction of the nation with festivals like Avignon and Cannes. The country suffered from the aftermath of World War II and needed a national momentum for the search of togetherness and the resurgence of a republican ideal shared by the society (Fabiani, 2014; Fleury, 2006). Culture was not only seen as a mean of giving access labour classes to the best dramatic plays, but also as a way to gather the whole society. Artists such as Maurice Pottecher, Firmin Gémier and Jean Vilar led this endeavour from amateur projects (Théâtre du Peuple de Bussang), decentralization (Théâtre national ambulant, Festival d'Avignon) and popular theatre (Festival d'Avignon, Théâtre National Populaire). The word *popular* was at the core of these accomplishments inasmuch as it referred to the whole society and exceeded its division into fragmented and opposed social classes (Denizot, 2010). These stage directors spent a part of their career questioning the concept of *popular* and how they could manage this ambition. As it will be discussed, ACE is also based on the idea that artistic experiences

are for each and everyone in the society. For many decades, the dynamic of popular education, theatrics decentralization and cultural democratization were the main models of public intervention to make culture accessible for everyone and were mostly carried out by associations and militants. Today, they remain the general framework of cultural projects, but ACE tends to be the general dynamic, and moreover a public policy.

In 1955, in relation with the Céméa, the Avignon Festival launched the first International meetings of the youths. Avignon had become a meeting point to learn, experience and practice culture in a significant collective context. As the years went by, the Festival became a cultural event hosting a wider programme of public meetings with artists and debates where the audience could speak freely. From here onwards, Avignon became a festival to be experienced from a double articulation: attending plays and debating about it (either about emotions, political or aesthetics questions for instance). Although not all of the festivalgoers can benefit from theatre workshops, public debate is not only free but everywhere (Ethis, Fabiani & Malinas, 2008, 2013; Fleury, 2006): “The spatial and temporal density of the encounters remains the organizing principle of the festival. Discussion produces a kind of moral sphere centred on the ideal of a common public culture” (Fabiani, 2018). Today, the Céméa still have in charge the animation of the debates based on the emotions that plays can generate to the spectators.

The conjunctions of theatre and citizenship, culture and education, attendance and participation are the basic principles of the Avignon Festival and seem to have contributed to the modern educational policies. In the same way, the importance of public debates allows festivalgoers to mature their autonomy and sharp their critical judgement within the community of spectators (Fabiani, 2008, 2014). The Festival is a place of audience education inasmuch as artistic propositions concentrate many possibilities of arguments and public discussion. Besides, the Festival had also become a special place for the education community, firstly because it is a place of reflexion from culture, and secondly because a part of the loyal audience is composed of teachers who could have been engaged in popular education movements, but not only. In 2018, among the festivalgoers inquired who declared working for the National Education, about 16% of them teach in primary school, 20% in middle school and 40% in high school[20]. Professionals of education come to the Avignon Festival as self-learner for both personal and professional intentions. During interviews with festivalgoers who are also teachers, some of them said that their experience in Avignon is a resource they sometimes use and share in class with their pupils. These teachers are therefore entities of artistic and cultural transmission trained in a festival shaped in the popular education standards. Besides, as the interest in ACE is enhancing, a renewed national plan of education for the French teachers has been considered in order to provide methods to deliver teaching related to arts and culture. This policy seems quite inspired by the participatory audience, and more particularly by the Céméa and the Progressive Education Movement. Therein lies an important observation: the origins of the Avignon Festival are about ACE before it is known as such, because it has always been a place of artistic experiences, cultural democratization and transmission of knowledge.

For a couple of decades, most cultural festivals have been structured around a programme that conciliates

[20] Ongoing data. The questionnaire will be closed early September.

performances and public debates. For the last twenty years, France has also been through a festivalisation of culture based on the willingness to share artistic discoveries: plural and participatory audiences tend to frequent more and more cultural festivals for this very reason, no matter what their size is. In the end, festivals have become a new paradigm of cultural practices (Malinas, Roth, 2017) and are made for experimentations for both artists and spectators. According to Owe Ronström, the growth of this type of event led to a higher recognition from cultural policies as well as public investment for regional development because festivals are anchored in their territories and active beyond their temporal boundaries (2014). For instance, festivals have been developing more actions with local entities. Festivals have been creating conditions to think differently educational and cultural policies and seem part of the ACE process of institutionalization, and particularly the Avignon Festival where the ideal of cultural democratization first bloomed and was experienced by the audience accepting a pact of participation (Fabiani, 2014).

ACE's institutionalization and its relation to its past

The process of institutionalization of ACE also concentrates a certain relationship to its past, but is however not driven by nostalgia. Here, the relation to the past is to be related with the work of the French philosopher Paul Ricoeur (2000) concerning the past in the present time and the conjunction between memory and history. Then, it is less about "how the past was" than seizing "what prints the past left in the present time", what is kept and reinvented. Some characteristics of the past have indeed been incorporated in the present time or adjusted to meet the evolving values within society. At the national scale, and more precisely inside the public sphere, the relationship between the construction of the Republic and education is structuring because education was erected as a fundamental right following the French Revolution. Education is at the core of our occidental society, and is the subject of frequent actualisations in order to fit with the stakes, perspectives and systems of values of the present time. In the same way, following the aftermath and censorships of WWII, culture has been recognized as social activity firmly defended in the name of the right of free speech and artistic creation.

The Avignon Festival has been fostering a certain relationship with its own past too – the popular theatre of Jean Vilar, and more generally the dynamic related to the Progressive Education Movement – that is evolving through time and translated differently according to each directors' projects. In some ways, coming at the Avignon Festival is a moment of evaluation of the condition of cultural democratization at the national scale, and a time of discussion on the possible solutions. This practise of measurement is one of the reasons why Avignon is seen as a place of "invention" of public policies (Ethis, Fabiani, Malinas, 2008).

Whether an influence of the past exists to some extent, and whether such social institutions are based on essentials dynamics and ideals, it is important to moderate the enchantment that would say that these fights for culture and education are constant and immutable. In a recent chapter, Jean-Louis Fabiani recalls: "Although the social and ideological conditions prevailing after World War II do not exist any longer, public debates have succeeded in reshaping the main issues regarding citizenship. The myth of the spectator-citizen is both a myth and a significant political tool" and adds that the "educative dimension yields to the participatory

dimension. The debates now constitute the frame for self-expression, understood less as the flow of a free subjectivity than a reflective work on the spectator's position" (Fabiani, 2018).

Moreover, as philosopher and historian, Paul Ricoeur underlines that although memory is a social process, it is fundamental to ask first "who is remembering?" (2000). ACE would be a current institutionalization of the pursuit of the legitimation of national system of education where art and culture hold a special place for stakes of accessibility, self-empowerment and civic autonomy. In order to lead this institutionalization, the community involved ought to have a certain belief in the past collective actions' either because they benefited from popular education, or because they believe in its ambition. Many attempts to make culture part of the general education were conducted in the 1960s and 1970s by militancy that sometimes led to gathering like the Caen and Amiens conventions in 1966 and 1968 (Bordeaux, 2017; Waresquiel, 2001). Such stands contributed to the preparation of the institutionalization of an administration's concern for artistic and cultural education policies emerging in the 1980s and 1990s (Lang-Tasca plan for instance). Nowadays, militancy is still active in the associative sector, but the administrations and the cultural institutions tend to take ACE in charge on a broader scale. It concerns local territories to maintain decentralization and the adaptation of the projects to the local specificities, as much as the national scale in order to build a general public service and sustain its quality, but also to develop scientific research around it. People defending ACE are willing to rely on scientific researches so as to measure its effectiveness and avoid the past failures.

The Avignon Festival still relies on the Céméa, the historical association of the Progressive Education Movement, to organize many actions and educational activities in relation with audiences (debates, workshops, cultural circuits, etc.). Through their actions, the Céméa also maintain the memory of popular theatre. On the other hand, the Festival is also developing partnerships with the Minister of Education at other levels, and particularly to offer intensive and immersive actions towards youth. Indeed, as we shall see afterwards, amongst the main changes that characterize ACE lays the intention to reach the whole society, starting by the youngest people. Now that has been evoked how ACE has became a stabilized model of crossed cultural and educational policy in France, which finds part of its dynamics in the festivals' form, we shall attempt to identify the main shifts from the previous educational and cultural policies that characterize it. Here, it is rather about interrogating a process, meaning changes of positioning and redefinitions of previous policies, than considering shifts as breaks.

The main shifts at the origin of Artistic and Cultural Education

Considering widen aesthetics experiences

To some extent, ACE could be compared to a new paradigm of public intervention or policy. Firstly, because it stands for the idea that an aesthetic experience is more than the acquisition of knowledge about arts or a moment of practice: cultural practices are considered as experiences bringing together learning, emotions and

corporal relation with artistic forms that encompasses in the same time an individual and a collective dimension. An artistic experience should not be reduced to the contemplation of a painting, to the attendance of a play or the listening of a piece of music. Neither should it be resumed to an artistic activity. Artistic and Cultural Education is an experience that can possibly have impacts within lives and processes of identity construction. The meeting of artists is another entry into the artistic world and supports the awareness of what it can bring to the individuals. Meeting artists relates art to the persons who create it and who have a discourse about what they try to achieve through it. This is also a way to show that culture – contemporary creation as much as heritage – belongs to the present time and that it can provide tools and thoughts to find one's place in the world. Nonetheless, previous policies and social movements supporting the opening of culture had very close purposes: making arts accessible to all because culture is a mean of cohesion for an individual within society, because arts support the self-construction and help one finding his/her place inside the collectivity or even because arts are a way to raise awareness around political and social matters (Caune, 1999). The French sociologist Jean Caune dedicated several publications to cultural democratization and described the potentialities of successful cultural policies as well as the limitations current models face. But in the end, what has truly changed with ACE?

Collective endeavour and new organizations

Artistic and Cultural Education as it is shaped today is rather new and is still evolving (Ethis, 2016; Bordeaux, 2017). Besides, the different entities working together do not always agree on its final purposes and its current form is quite of a change considering the long process of parallel actions between the Ministers of Education and Culture (Bordeaux, 2017). ACE's structure leads to consider it as a possibly new paradigm of educational policy. In order to be successful, ACE requires the involvement of a variety of public and private entities: ACE is meant for everyone and, to some extent, is carried out by everyone (Ministers, actors from educational and cultural fields, associations, etc.). This complementarity is quite opposed to the segmentation of tasks for the public institutions that characterised the *déconcentration* of the French administration (the specialization of the administration services in each local territory, whilst the general administration had less specific tasks).

Notwithstanding the different accords at national or local scales, and yet a part of the cultural actors defend the idea of a common Minister for Culture and Education, the two have always been separated. Today, more services are set up for a direct collaboration between these administrations and in the same way, one can witness the intensification of the creation of educational services within cultural institutions and in many festivals. Even though the organisation has changed, from a high involvement of militancy to a high involvement of administrations, the dynamic stays close the continuation of the popular education thanks to the tripartite approach that is not parted: knowledge, practise and encountering in both individual and collective frameworks. Thanks to this, ACE seems quite closer to popular education than the projects of the 1980s and 1990s that did not rely much on the idea of long-lasting experiences: local authorities in charge of education are now designing ACE circuits entirely included in the school programme which last several

months because it is only by taking into account wider temporalities for cultural practices that the experiences can be truly appropriated (Montoya, 2011).

For instance, the Avignon Festival is active all year and formalised a twinning with a middle school located in an underprivileged area of the city. Several encounters from September to May are organized to introduce the Festival, attend plays and participate to workshops with comedians or to take part in a cultural journalism project of Web-TV with professionals of the audio-visual sector. The Web-TV is emblematic of the current ACE projects of the Festival because the contents produced by the young spectators are part of the official communication of the institution, and because the responsibility of its success is placed in the hands of the young reporters. In addition, for the last decade, and even more for the last five years[21], the Avignon Festival has strengthened its relationships with the teachers of the local educational institutions, and can even tailor some ACE actions.

Artistic and Cultural Education at the Avignon Festival

The audience of the Avignon Festival and Artistic and Cultural Education

Overall, it is known that the audience of the Festival is active culturally speaking: in 2017, only 2,6% of the persons inquired did not attend to a play in the twelve months preceding their participation to the Festival. The data collected during the 71th Avignon Festival gives an overview of ACE in the spectators' life path. A large part of the Festival's audience had had access to culture during its scholarship: 51,4% were given teaching related to arts, 44,5% had practised arts and 34,9% had met an artist. Depending on the age of the festivalgoers, this repartition is changing. Amongst the festivalgoers who did not have access to ACE propositions throughout schooling, 2,3% are under 26 years old and 29% are 56-65 years old. In the same way, the encountering of artists touches primarily the youngest spectators. These data underline that ACE is a rather new dynamic and its effects can be slowly measured in this type of context. It is also to be noted that 39,2% of the festivalgoers who benefited from ACE have kept an artistic activity after practising it in the first place at school. A part of the audience therefore has some keys of understanding in terms of cultural practises, and possibly debates or policies around it.

ACE for the young festivalgoers

Within the programme of the Avignon Festival, the term "Artistic and Cultural Education" can only be found recently. Before July 2018, others words like "cultural actions", "projects for the youth" were used to describe

[21] The current director of the Avignon Festival, Olivier Py, has always been advocating the importance of the connexion between education and culture in his own life. As a teenager, he met a theatre troupe in middle school and decided afterwards to become an artist. As director of the Festival, he keeps on claiming his willingness to bring together the National Education and the artistic sphere.

the various partnerships the Festival had already and those it develops today with local schools. As presented in the upper section, although the Avignon Festival has contributed by its structure and its stand for popular education to ACE's institutionalization, it is only recently that the Festival objective it as such. Keeping its historical relation and attention for its audience, the Avignon Festival is also enhancing its ACE propositions, and not only during the time of the event in July. Here, the temporal dimension at stake is significant (Montoya, 2011) because inserting ACE propositions throughout the year allows establishing a deeper relationship with the young spectators and the festival institution of their city. This is not only to raise awareness about the Festival as a major cultural institution, it is mostly about inventing a relation with the event and giving the children the opportunity to have a story with it and appropriate it. For those who inhabit an underprivileged area of the town, it is even more important to be able to reclaim their public space through an event supporting collective intelligence and togetherness (and to some extent, the same is true for the teachers who accompany the projects).

ACE encompasses the concept of *carrière de spectateur* (Ethis, 2005, Montoya, 2011), which could be translated as the spectator's career. It refers to how one constructs his/her on way and identity throughout artistic references and the experimentation of several mediations. The Avignon Festival relies on different temporalities for its ACE projects and most are extended. As it was explained, some ACE actions concern the period September-May and are based on encounters, visits of the Festival's venues, artistic references and sometimes theatre workshops. In July, during the Festival, circuits are designed for pupils coming from all over the country, the region or the department of Avignon.

The most emblematic ACE project of the Festival is the Web-TV. Launched in 2014, it relies on many public and private partnerships from both the educational and cultural fields. During school time and during the Festival, groups of pupils take part in a cultural journalism project for which they produce contents about the Festival and the programme of the edition. Here, digital tools are materials of cultural democratization because the young spectators have access to artists and plays for interviews, and also because they have to elaborate a collective critical judgment and broadcast it on the Festival's website. Each group spends a week in a complete immersion and have the same responsibility as real reporters. The young festivalgoers also work from an area of the University of Avignon hosting the public debates, which is one of the main daytime locations since it concentrates the effervescence of public discussion.

Artistic and Cultural Education and Cultural rights

Given the Minister of Education deploys an important part of ACE, the cultural actions and circuits tend to be slowly generalized, yet local specificities are taken into account. This model of action encompasses one of the main shifts of ACE: everyone is concerned and can be reached since it starts at school. In France, instruction being obligatory from the age of 6 to 16 years old, children shall benefit from ACE at different moments of their schooling and it shall be fully part of their public education. But more than a structure, it is also the vision of culture that is at stake. Whether political propositions are opposing "classical" or "academic" with "trendy"

visions of culture, the projects cannot function because it re-enacts Pierre Bourdieu's theory of domination (Ethis, 2016). In the same way, relativism cannot reconcile this opposition because it tends to reify it. Instead, the invention of crossed educational and cultural policies should support the pleasure and playfulness of an aesthetics experience, and should also be about sharing and conciliating rather than opposing arts forms (Ethis, 2016).

Inventing such a policy requires new words to describe what the endeavour is about. Nowadays, ACE is working on the question of Cultural rights: culture is seen as a fundamental right allowing one to freely construct its own cultural identity. The Fribourg Declaration of 2007 states that Cultural rights refer to "all the cultural references by which one, individually or collectively, defines him/herself, constitutes him/herself, communicates and wants to be recognized with his/her dignity". During the 2018 Avignon Festival, the ACE national council had a public session to share the upcoming perspectives of the policy in order to meet with the Cultural rights principles. The constitutional rights, and with them, the right of Education, meet the right to have an artistic and cultural education so one can be able to construct himself/herself in the best dispositions, and be part of the society as an empowered citizen.

Conclusion

The institutionalization of ACE as well as most of its dynamics can be found in the festivals' sphere, and more particularly within artistic endeavours like the Avignon Festival. The latter is indeed based on the basics of popular education that also feed ACE as it is experimented nowadays. ACE's aims are not merely about making culture more accessible, but are more specifically turned towards the invention of the conditions from which individuals can construct their own way through artistic and aesthetics experiences. ACE reinvests the importance of encounters and dialogues around the sensitive dimension of aesthetics experiences and supports skills related to the spectator's reflexivity and the elaboration of one's personal judgment. In addition, taking into account the past failures of some policies, ACE develops reflexivity for itself by creating a collective and interdependent movement with public, private and associative entities as well as scientific research to measure the impacts and the improvements to be made.

Festivals tend to concentrate the dynamic of the *formation* of the audience. In French, *formation* refers to education as well as it suggests the idea of creation: festivals provide a form of training and the expertise the audience draws from it allows them to become entities of mediation too. In a festival-going context the audience receives as much as it transmits knowledge and experiences. ACE borrows this dimension of audience *formation* to the festivals, which tends in addition to strengthen their artistic education offers from the structure of partnerships and widen temporalities of actions that characterise ACE.

In the end, ACE raises the issue on Cultural rights and how to make culture recognized as fundamental for individuals, hence the importance of its experimentation from school onwards. With ACE, the opportunity is given to the children to construct their cultural identity on a long-term through diverse aesthetics experiences.

Regarding the effervescence festivals can generate, the children find places to live in a playful way this identity elaboration. Beyond school, ACE also touches alternative social spaces like prisons that are the archetype of underprivileged places for cultural practices. Again, some festivals have been investing prisons for a couple of years, and provide inspiring models of educational and cultural actions.

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Community Regeneration Through Industrial Heritage: Cases from Post-Socialist Europe

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ABSTRACT

The central aim of this research is to examine the role of industrial heritage in the regeneration of local communities in post-socialist economies. Its objectives are to examine the practices of community regeneration in the Romanian context and the relationships between communities, their past and present industrial identities. The research question is about industrial heritage position in Romanian heritage discourse and its relations with former mining communities. The research will focus on the case study of the community of Petrila, Romania, a former colliery and allegedly the oldest pit in the coal basin of the Jiu Valley where the researcher is one of the founders of Petrila Start-Up workshops. The expected result of this research, situated at its first stage of constructing a theoretical framework, is a clear image of the shift towards community involvement and community regeneration and the influence on heritage management in the post socialist context.

Keywords:

Heritage, industrial heritage, heritage value, community, heritage-led community regeneration

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1 Introduction – Rationale / Aim And Objectives

Europe has witnessed over the five decades or so a major process of de-industrialisation with the consequent shift from primary and secondary economic production to service sector led economies. The consequences of this shift have been significant, particularly for those communities that were once dependent on the extractive industries and large-scale manufacturing.

Most of the old industrial sites have been cleared but some have been recognised for their historical significance and have become industrial heritage sites. The strategy adopted by each country towards its industrial heritage differs, but similarities can be observed in the ways this particular heritage has affected communities and the problems it raises. This research examines the strategies, and differences in approach as illustrated by one industry, coal mining heritage.

In the process of producing industrial heritage the attention given to the local communities has varied or been assumed. Depending on each country's focus, interest in industrial heritage was oriented towards a cultural strategy, as in France, or towards tourism strategy as in the UK (Rautenberg, 2012). Assumptions were made as these strategies would stimulate the local economy, through tourists visiting museums and heritage parks but the results turned out to be more complex (Dicks, 2000). Many sites were chosen to be preserved for their wider social value. Over recent years a more utilitarian approach was adopted, using the heritage for wider benefit as a centrepiece of regeneration programmes, adaptive reuse, residential use or other alternative approaches based on some compromise of value as the community increasingly becomes the centre of these regeneration strategies.

The approach to industrial heritage in Eastern, post-socialist states has lagged behind the west as there is a time gap between the moment the deindustrialization process started in earnest in Western Europe in the late 1960s and its downfall in the former Eastern Bloc after the fall of Communism in the late 1980s. While the term Industrial Heritage was being coined in Western Europe, the Eastern Bloc was still witnessing intense, large-scale industrialisation. The reasons that supported this phenomenon and the characteristics of the centralised socialist economy along with its consequences on deindustrialization and in dealing with the industrial heritage will be explored later in the research. Deindustrialisation happened probably more abruptly in Eastern Europe as the shift from over-development to closure took place very quickly at the beginning of the 1990s as a consequence of the exposure of former state-run industries to global commercial practices. The research will discuss how the characteristics of deindustrialisation in East have impacted the industrial heritage.

There has been little academic attention focused on industrial heritage in the former socialist states and on how it is now being evaluated in the context of broader processes of social and economic regeneration. Focusing on the case of the former Socialist Bloc and, in particular examining a case study of the coal mining area of Petrila in Romania, the central aim of this research is:

To examine the role of industrial heritage in the regeneration of local communities in post-socialist economies.

The objectives of the research are:

To examine the practices of community regeneration in the Romanian context;

To understand the role of industrial heritage in the processes of regeneration;

To explore though comparative case studies the relationships between communities, their past and present industrial identities and how these relationships manifest themselves in the regeneration of place.

To examine the role of Industrial Heritage in the regeneration of local communities in post-socialist economies.

Accordingly, the overall purpose of the research is to concentrate on the processes of and legacies of de-industrialisation within a post-socialist context and the focus on the community relationships with their industrial past, magnified or not through industrial heritage. The comparative western case studies will cast a contrasting light on these processes and illuminate the differences that exist.

In the remainder of this document, I shall introduce the subject of my research. I shall initially focus on the principal case study, Petrila in Romania. I shall then examine aspects of the deindustrialization process and the process that culminated in the recognition of the Industrial Heritage. The discussion will develop in more detail around the types of values of industrial heritage, the steps in its recognition and the challenges that follow, along with their economic, social and cultural implications. I will then look at regeneration more generally, discussing economic regeneration and further focusing on community regeneration, its importance, challenges, shortfalls and the benefits.

2 Context – Post Socialist States, Romania, And Petrila

According to Edwards and Lawrence (2000), Romania had its own brand of socialism which was expressed as an intensive process of industrialization during communism. Following its fall, the singularities of the deindustrialization process and the way industrial heritage is perceived by the communities are similarly intense and distinctive in comparison to other countries. To explore these issues, the research will primarily focus on the case study of Romania and particularly on the community of Petrila, a former coal mine and allegedly the oldest coal mine in the coal basin of the Jiu Valley. Situated at the former border of Austria-Hungary and opened around 1859 (Wollmann, 2010) Petrila was exposed to the extreme pace of industrialization during communist regime, when many industrial investments were taken based on political decisions without economic justification. The deindustrialization process in the Valley was particularly abrupt (Grecu, 2017) and was marked in social terms by a violent transition from a glorified image of miners during the communist era (Grecu, 2017) to the controversial history of the miner's violent descent on Bucharest in the 1990s (termed "mineriade") suppressiong the riots of those opposing the transitional leadership (Glendhill, 2011). This process fosters an image of mixed feelings towards the memory recalled by this mining heritage. It opens up bigger questions relating to the changing relationships between communities and this former industry, about how this heritage could be appropriated with all the difficult memory it has to tell. Romania is

still a young democracy with a young, uncertain identity and as in 2018 it celebrates a century since its foundation as a nation state, questions are still raised, and debates are still raging about the story that can be told. Industrial heritage is a controversial and contested heritage, so the research will discuss its position in the Romanian heritage discourse as well as its relations with the former mining communities. The researcher, as one of the founders of the series of workshops on Urban Regeneration through industrial heritage in Petrila, in 2012, will use this case study to research in more depth the dynamics of the relations between the different stakeholders, the driving forces that exist in this community, the evolution of the heritage discourse, and the transition from a centralised to a market economy.

3 Literature Review Section

Industrial Heritage: A Question of Aesthetics?

The Industrial Revolution has irrevocably changed the shape of the world: landscapes, cities, societies, to the ones known today. As Bergeron (2012) has argued, one of the most important effects of industrialisation was the transformation of the way communities relate to each other, to the environment and to time flow as travel duration and space are compressed. One aspect of this transformation that has a direct relationship to the public's perception of heritage value is the aesthetics of the buildings created during the industrial era. This reflects the reality that for most people, direct engagement with industrial heritage will usually be through a perceived aesthetic value of its buildings. During the Industrial Revolution building techniques evolved at a striking speed as new structures were invented. At first, there was a propensity to imitate old aesthetic symbols, for example cast-iron pillars with Classical Greek ornaments used in Boulton and Watt's steam engines, or to hide innovative architecture, such as cast-iron or steel-framed buildings behind a classically ornamented brick or stone clad façade (for example, the building of *Gare du Nord*, in Paris).

Over time, architectural expression and art adapted their aesthetic to the changes engendered by the Industrial Revolution. Art and architecture only started their own revolution at the turn of the nineteenth century, with Art Nouveau movements, followed by Art Deco and the Modern Movement when concrete was finally accepted in its true structural diversity and made explicit rather than being hidden (Frampton, 2009; Melicson 1975). However, aesthetic taste for the public still has a long way to evolve. With the exception of professional fields, education on the appreciation of aesthetics has not occupied an important place. Thus there can be a mis-match between what experts appreciate as significant, and often industrial heritage, and the general public's appreciation of the value these buildings. A powerful example of this is the gradual appreciation by the public of the work of Bernd and Hilla Becher (2003) in recording water towers, grain silos, coal mining headframes and other industrial objects as objets d'art. Developing on the evolution of aesthetics through industrial revolution will help in laying out the foundations of understanding why industrial heritage is something difficult to be appreciated and accepted as heritage as a matter of aesthetic value, compared to other typologies of heritage.

The Industrial Revolution had a strong impact in the redefinition of social hierarchy and the possibility for greater social mobility (Bergeron, 2012). It has been argued that the very desire to conserve the past was a consequence of the fast pace of industrialisation and its effects on the ancient heritage. According to

Lowenthal (2015, 4) the change in the way the past was considered happened in the XIXth century: “”Up to nineteenth century the historical past was generally thought much like the present”. As the pace of life, and scale of industrialisation increased, sweeping away the buildings of the past ages, so evidence of the past started to be honoured thus arriving at Ruskin’s idea of preserving the past through sensitive restoration of its monuments (Ruskin 1989; Nemery, 2008). As a result it is understandable that deindustrialization has in its turn been a traumatizing process that led to profound questioning of identity in all of the former industrial areas: as with the previous ages, people mourn that passing of the familiar.

In this wider context, post-socialist countries have their own characteristics and have lived deindustrialization quite differently. It was simultaneous with the transition from a planned economy to a market economy thus overlying the emotional sense of loss with the harsh realities of economic and political collapse and uncertainty. All the more inside what used to be identified as “the bloc” exist nuances and differences in the way this phenomenon has been lived, accepted and followed (Kunc, et al., 2014). Deindustrialisation has happened with a delay in the former Socialist Bloc. It started with the fall of Communism and is still ongoing in certain countries. The deindustrialization phenomenon is characterised in each situation by job loss but in some cases it has happened in a more brutal way, as with Romania (Grecu, 2014).

The Processes of Producing Industrial Heritage

The birth of industrial heritage has been recorded in the very place where the Industrial Revolution has started. Industrial remains were recognised as heritage for the first time in Great Britain in 1955 (Buchanan, 2000). The first world congress on Industrial Heritage was held in Ironbridge, in 1973 and The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage (TICCIH) was created in 1978 (Buchanan 2000). Six years earlier The UNESCO Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage was adopted in 1972.

Ironbridge Gorge was inscribed as a world heritage site in 1986 and is arguably the first site acknowledged for its industrial characteristics (Trinder 2000; Simeon, 2014). Although the first industrial site on the UNESCO list can be claimed to be the salt mine of Wielicza, Poland, in 1978 the reasons for its listing were less for its industrial value and more for its classical features (Simeon, 2014). Industrial archaeology has continued to evolve ever since and the beginning of the 1990s brought more light over the social meaning and the context of industrial heritage (Palmer and Orange, 1998). Concepts such as “continuity and change, class, status and identity, social control, paternalism and philanthropy” were introduced within the interpretation of industrial sites and buildings (Palmer, 2016: 78). The UNESCO charter on Industrial Heritage – the Nizhny Tagil charter was adopted thirty years later, in 2003. This thirty-year gap can arguably be understood as the time necessary to accept the existence and significance of Industrial Heritage. The charter was submitted by TICCIH, an organisation that has become the adviser to ICOMOS and UNESCO in matters concerning industrial heritage.

The charter states the importance and the universal human value of industrial remains and further defines industrial heritage as “the remains of industrial culture which are of historical, technological, social, architectural or scientific value. These remains consist of buildings and machinery, workshops, mills and factories, mines and sites for processing and refining, warehouses and stores, places where energy is

generated, transmitted and used, transport and all its infrastructure, as well as places used for social activities related to industry such as housing, religious worship or education." (Nizhny Tagil charter, 2003). The charter defines as well the role of industrial archaeology and gives an outline of the values of industrial heritage. There are considered to be: its evidential value, its social value, and its integrity. Other factors taken into account are the notion of industrial landscape and the rarity value of the remains of industry.

According to Simeon (2014), the value of industrial heritage is one that had and still has difficulties to be recognized. In the wider spectrum of heritage we tend to apply the same criteria and the same sets of values in order to define if an industrial ruin is also industrial heritage, while there is quite a lot of arguments that industrial heritage needs and deserves different sets of values to be applied to it.

The debate around the definition of heritage is a rich one, and has nourished the academic sphere from the beginning of the existence of this field (Carman and Sorensen, 2009). In the light of the richness of its multiple definitions, and for the purpose of this research, the assumption is that the definition of heritage changes and evolves within different regions of the world according to the variations in social, economical and political conditions of their societies, alongside the evolution of the values that shape how heritage is created (Carman and Sorensen, 2009). It is considered vital though to get a better picture of the layers of values and their special dimension that define industrial heritage. The research will thus problematize the concept of heritage around the values and the change of the system of values.

Smith (2006) and then Harvey (2008) have identified heritage with a process through which the past is used by people. Being aware of its complexity, the focus is brought rather on the contemporary capacity of heritage to soften cleavages with the past and understand or accept them as Rautenberg (2012) introduces it at the beginning of his consideration of Industrial heritage in the regeneration of cities as reflected in public policies in the 1990s in both France and Britain. UNESCO defines heritage as "our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass onto future generations" (www.unesco.org). This is a rather static definition: others define heritage as a "cultural resource" which accentuates the aspect of materiality and usefulness. As Carman and Sorensen argue, insisting on obtaining a clear definition for heritage actually represents a risk to losing the complexity of heritage and its particularities (Carman and Sorensen, 2009). One definition that is useful in this debate about values is that illustrated by Morriset (2010, 55) where she argues that "the idea and object of patrimony are specific to the time and place they belong to". Moreover, she highlights one characteristic of heritage that is quite important - that of transposing into material reality our feelings of identity (Morriset, 2009). The definition of heritage is thus given greater complexity by the cultural context; in different countries, heritage is looked at in different ways.

For the future purpose of the research, a differentiation will be made between what will be identified as hard values - the criteria used for sanctioning a building, or a site as industrial heritage and later on, soft values will be introduced into discussion, referring to those values that are attached to the Industrial Heritage by the community and the way it relates to it. Understanding soft values will further constitute a more in depth section of the research.

According to Simeon (2014) at the beginning, heritagization of industrial heritage in Great Britain was oriented towards structures that showed the aesthetical qualities of picturesque, traditional and classical architecture. The industrial remains that become heritage are prominently those dating from the first period of the Industrial Revolution. The criteria that are highlighted are authenticity, integrity and representativety. Simeon emphasises the propensity to list industrial sites from the first period of the Industrial Revolution, enhancing a slightly romanticised image of an idealised industrial past. Their aesthetics too, bricks, classical decorations are easily accepted as of an aesthetic value as they refer to well-known cultural concepts of the public imaginary (Simeon, 2012).

Innovative value has guided the recognition of industrial heritage in the UK as well. Innovation was emphasised with regards to the invention of several industrial procedures, but also refers to urban innovation and social innovation that will later surpass the industrial sector and enter our societies from the nineteenth century. The informative value, the capacity of depicting complete information about a culture, a coherent industrial community, has favoured listings of entire industrial sites such as New Lanark, or the industrial landscape of Blaenavon or the textile village of Styal (Simeon, 2014). Assessing the value of industrial heritage is largely focused on the evidence value, transmitting a knowledge of industrial and social history while the choices were guided by what Streeten describes as “competing contemporary needs and to safeguard against the loss of potential future benefits” (Streeten 2000: 93).

The aesthetic criteria are discussed likewise for at the beginning monumental architecture was privileged. The manner in which the aesthetics of industrial heritage were judged are important to bring into discussion as the selection of listed monuments show a preference for the classical aesthetics of Victorian style or English countryside cottage. The last criteria discussed is the economic viability of the whole. It signifies that the possibilities to conserve the listed building must be demonstrated as such by submitting a conservation management plan. Priority is given to industrial buildings that have already started a conservation programme (Historic England, Designation Listing Selection Guide and UNESCO website). Nevertheless, the difficulty of fitting Industrial Heritage into the mould of heritage in general can be observed in most of the cases, raising the question of the necessity for a dedicated listing system for Industrial Heritage.

Discussing the official values that create the set of criteria necessary to sanction an industrial structure or landscape as heritage may give rise to questioning the image that is intended to be shown by the choice made through listing. This shows the need for a dimension that takes into account the role that industrial heritage plays in identity formation and definition. The current approach can clearly be seen to reinforce the concept of Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD). When choosing what kind of industrial heritage can be or is desirable to be listed, the intention, as the Authorised Heritage Discourse implies, is to show an industrial heritage from the age of glory - the first part of the Industrial Revolutions (Simeon, 2014). The latter part, the one corresponding to the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, corresponding to the representations of grey cities, poor life conditions and decline is less present on the listing of industrial heritage. The reality though tends to contradict the intentions as at the end the post-industrial issues of the communities are much more present than the glorified past.

Shifting values of industrial heritage – the rise of the community and 'softer' approaches

Apart from material values, the ones that are used when deciding if a building, an object or anything else can be sanctioned with the title of heritage, additional values exist, as important and characteristic to each type of heritage and quite specific for the industrial heritage. For the purpose of the research, they will be referred to as soft values and the term will be further underpinned as part of the future research.

When dealing with industrial heritage, particularly when the community was constructed around it and is still present, values such as nostalgia, memory, the sense of place, of belonging emerge (Storm, 2014). Those values are important for the future research as I will use them to analyse the way community relates to industrial heritage. Memory and sense of place are strongly related to heritage and widely discussed in the existing literature. They will be detailed in the further research as they contribute to the identity, the lost one and the new one to be created. Industrial heritage will be looked at as the vessel of memory and as a remainder of what used to be responsible for giving this sense of place. Industrial activity had a key role in forging the identity of a community and once the activity is gone, difficulties related to creating a new one are strongly related to the materiality of the industrial remains. The attitudes towards them are different and might prove to be opposing and conflicting. They can vary from attachment, nostalgia to rejection but are all part of the inner process of re-creating a new identity for the community. Quite often, it happens that communities do not identify themselves in the regeneration strategies and policies applied to these sites (Dicks, 2000). The essential methods to evaluating this phenomenon will be a part of the research.

The term community itself, as Watterton and Smith observe (2010: 1) "has taken up a life of its own" and has become a concept borrowed from sociology and used quite freely in the heritage field. Its sense however has witnessed an alteration and has come to rather divide than join. For this reason, in French for example, the term "*communauté*" is strongly avoided as it evokes the "*communautarisme*" rather than a joined diversity and social inclusion. The concepts that have emerged at the end of the 1990s such as "community regeneration", "social inclusion", "civic engagement" ofered a more idealised image of the community, but as Watterton and Smith insist, it remains an exterior perspective on what is supposed to de considered as a community without ever trully involving it. The new definition of the community that Waterton and Smith consequently underpin and will guide the further research is that of a continuous process: "community becomes something that is (re)constructed through ongoing experiences, engagements and relations, and not all these need be consensual" (2010: 8) "an incomplete process through which people construct and create identities, and bond themselves to others, whether geographically, virtually or imaginatively" as defined also by Neal and Walters (2008: 237).

Nostalgia, is defined by Matt Hodges (2009) as "a form of periodisation - typically making a sharp divide between a certain "then" and "now". Macdonald (2013) points out the distinction between different forms of nostalgia that can appear yet within one person. Macdonald refers to the findings of Jeanette Edwards concerning the industrial heritage of a former mill town. It is a form of nostalgia that speaks about a way to assert a belonging through local history. This form can be met in former coal-mining communities similarly. The wish to conserve the industrial remains are rather an issue of belonging than one of re-living the times of

activities and results rather from a need of validation (Macdonald, 2013). A new way of looking at nostalgia, perhaps closer to the Romanian context is suggested by Petroviç (2001), referring to the case of a former cable factory in the former Yugoslavia, in Svetozarevo. Petroviç speaks of the role of nostalgia affirming that "Nostalgia has the capacity to intervene in the present by encouraging tensions and creating discomfort, preventing socialist industrial ruins, the ruins of a modernist utopia, to be pacified, affectively neutralized and be sent back to history, or simply be ignored and gradually forgotten as the remains of an inappropriate socialist past" (Petroviç, 2001: 1). Refering to the writings of Budent, Petroviç undelines the concept of "social anesthesia" when referring to the post-industrial and post-socialist society of the former Yugoslavia. What emerges through their naratives is a longing for a time where thay had social capital and were active actors of the political and economical life, as opposed to their "post-socialist self-percetion" (Petroviç, 2001: 24).

Besides feelings of nostalgia, industrial ruins, as Tim Edensor (2005) argues offer something quite valuable: a sense of urban freedom. Considered wastelands, or scars (Storm, 2014), industrial ruins are spaces that escape in a manner the neat, regulated contemporary city. They become spaces where power dynamics are re-negotiated, where a new social context is created, sometimes rich in creativity, particularly spaces of the informal, favourable for an alternative economy and public life. In most of the cases when these spaces become successful the city administration tends to regularise and institutionalise the success model. This hybrid strategy, in between the formal and the informal, is met more often in big cities such as Paris (e.g. Les Frigos, Les Grands Voisins, Rivoli 59). There has been a focus on urban regeneration where industry has been removed and communities remain. Quite often, industrial landscapes are encountered under the name of brownfield sites; they are perceived as polluted or contaminated areas (Kunk et al, 2014, Navratil, 2017). It can be the case with a large-scale city that the brownfield site, as it is identified from the urban regeneration point of view, is a small part that opens a scar in the city. In the situation of rather small-scale cities, as is the case with the focus of this study, or regions of small scale cities that were built up around an industrial activity that ceased to exist while the community remains, the wider context of the post-industrial city is a much larger and more impactful phenomenon. In this situation, a new discourse joins the wider discussion on Industrial Heritage - the urban planning discourse which will be further analysed through the research.

Beyond memory, evidence, symbolism, traditions and history, industrial heritage cannot be dissociated from one of its primary innovations, urban planning, the cities and their mutations. The matter of choosing what to do with this heritage falls quite often into the hands of urban planners thus discussing its value and the possible conflict it arises from this point of view is crucial for my research. Another direction for the urban perspective of post-industrial cities is the Shrinking Cities approach, a Berlin originating project, founded by Philip Oswald, The Shrinking Cities International Network looks at the phenomenon of shrinkage related to post-industrialisation (www.shrinkingcities.com).

The term of planning refers to spatial planning, protection regulations, formal procedures for listing sites and buildings as well as the necessary procedures for allowing new architecture to be built (Oeverman and Mieg, 2015). According to Oevermann and Mieg, three discourses are identified: that referring to values in heritage conservation, the perspective of urban development and the perspective of the architectural production. These discourses interact quite often in a conflictual way introduced as "preservation versus change". These

discourses oppose the need to preserve an historical city fabric against its economic values. A way to reconcile these conflicts is from an interdisciplinary angle. Economic industrial heritage-based regeneration could be regarded as one of the possibilities for resolving this.

Economic and cultural values have been longly regarded as two opposed criteria that could cohexist with great difficulty (Carman, 2014; Boutenshaw 2014). The discussions about economic value in the academic field has become quite wast and the oppinions tend to differ. However, for the sake of the further research, I will look into the way economic value is thought to be helpful for heritage driven regeneration as well as for understanding the threats that can occur. For Mason(2008) and Burtenshaw (2014), the economics language becomes a necessity to be mastered by heritage professionals in order to dialogue with economic and political stakeholders. From the economists point of view, heritage is considered to be a “public good” and at the same time a “abundant phenomenon” that also produces “flows of wellbeing” (Carman, 2014: 5). This interpretation of value can lead to property understanding issues which find solutions in institutional economics and the concept of “communal property”(Carman, 2014). Burtenshaw (2014) introduces a new term instead of “value”, he uses the concept of “capital” as previously defined by Kalmer (2002), emphasizing its dinamic caracteristic, its capacity to produce values or impact. Amongst the economic capital, the social capital, he distinguishes the cultural capital as the “capacity to inspire and be inspired” (Burtenshaw, 2014: 52) where heritage disposes of all three of them. The risk he also evidentiates is that of endagering the physical integrity of the heritage. Burtenshaw observes that beyond the economic value of commercialising merchandise or activities for potential users, this economic capital has a strong impact on the community as well.

Emerging Models of Regeneration

Industrial heritage regeneration embeds a number of complex issues, arising from de-industrialisation, polluted brownfield environments, urban regeneration, building conservation, community involvement, post-industrial identity issues and economic restructuring.

Once industrial remains are acknowledged as industrial heritage, preservation comes into the discussion. The first reflex, depending on the country of origin, is to grant a jurisdictional protection corresponding to a form of listing. This protection regulates the manners of intervention on the heritage, the actors that are allowed to get involved and can reach as far as matters of property, taxing or financing. Listing is a measure that depends upon the angle from which is regarded. It can be considered a protection or a menace to act freely depending upon the discourse applied to industrial heritage (Oevermann and Mieg, 2016). Depending upon the importance and the state of the monument, restoration is the most likely scenario. In this case too, post-socialist states might be an exception as letting a monument become derelict with no involvement on the behalf of the State is as likely to happen as well. When dereliction is too advanced, ruins are conserved in their condition and in a controlled manner, nature will take over. Sometimes issues of pollution must be addressed and strategies involving landscaping and the choice of depollution species are applied as in the case of Emscher park, in Germany (Kunk et al, 2014, Navratil, 2017).

The larger the territory in discussion, the more the attitudes towards industrial heritage are mixed. Studying, conserving and interpreting the remains of the technology used as well as the immaterial heritage are of equal

importance. As Bergeron (2012) has asserted, the heritage of the industrial society refers also to the values transmitted from the society shaped by industrialization. When the remains are largely complete and the buildings have a significantly representative value, museumification is often envisaged. An alternative approach that is increasingly popular is heritage-based regeneration. When referring to adaptive re-use, the Nizhny Tagil charter states that “New uses should respect the significant material and maintain original patterns of circulation and activity and should be compatible as much as possible with the original or principal use. An area that interprets the former use is recommended.” (Nizhny Tagil Charter, 2003).

Industrial Heritage started to be considered of an economical value as part of the more general process of industrialisation – deindustrialization – loss – recognition – regeneration – questioning with a more or less synchronicity in Western Europe. In France, Heritage started to be perceived as of having an economical value in the 1980’s through laws and labels such as “Pays d’art et d’histoire” (Lands of Art and History) or “Pôles d’économie du patrimoine” (Heritage Economy Poles) (Gasnier and Lamard, 2007) and the regeneration strategies applied concerned mainly cultural programmes. Regeneration brings us to what was called the “heritage debate” (Lumely, 1994, Dicks, 2000) where heritage is criticised for being too entrepreneurial, corrupting its’ “pure”, historical state. “Thus, heritage as economic regeneration depends upon the simultaneous proclamation and denial of an area’s greatness” (Dicks, 2000, 31). In the same time, heritage is seen at its potential of expression of the local identity. The question that arises is which local identity is to be expressed: that perceived by the communities or the state- approved identity?

There are three major stages of evolution of the heritagization of the industrial remains in Great Britain that can be extrapolated to the other countries of western Europe (Carman and Sorensen, 2011). First, industrial heritage was embraced by a few heritage enthusiasts from different professional fields related to heritage, between the 1950s and 1960s. Once industrial remains became scarce due to destruction, and the rarity value came into play, the government showed interest in the preservation and the conservation of industrial heritage. An important turning point was registered with the commissioning by the government for the national survey for industrial sites and structures in 1962 to be undertaken in collaboration with the Council of British Archaeology. Following this survey, identified monuments were supposed to be listed or scheduled, according to their state and based upon the existing legislation for monuments listing (Streeten, 2000). Streeten notes the reluctance of the government to take into ownership this kind of heritage. By 1970, some 82 industrial monuments have been registered as scheduled and grants were offered in order to ensure their preservation. Throughout the 1970s attention was mostly directed to industrial buildings with a monumental character and less to the less significant buildings. A change happened in the 1980-1990s in the government’s language, as Dicks observes, when the term “subsidies’ was replaced by the new term “investments’ (Dicks, 2000). The increased development of heritage-based investments, urban regeneration and tourism projects created the image of a “heritage boom”. This time, public funding at the beginning of the projects was used to attract private investments in tourism. It is at this period that localities competed for resources under the birth of urban entrepreneurialism. Tourism and leisure were the major regeneration directions at that time, often seen as universal panacea for the economic decline of the communities. As Bella Dicks shows in her book, the results were unexpected and the evolution of these strategies differed from reality (Dicks, 2000). The issue was approached differently in a sense but similar in another in other countries such as France, where the

answer to post-industrial decay was culture (Rautenberg, 2007). Rautenberg observes the similarities in both approaches, consisting of the failure to introduce the community in the discussion about heritage.

Today, industrial heritage-led regeneration is entering into a new phase. The time that has passed from the implementation of the first regeneration strategies has allowed researchers to evaluate and question the results. The role of the community in determining what to do with heritage has witnessed a change (see the works of participative projects such as Atelier d'Architecture Autogerée in France). Combined with a vernacularisation of heritage and the emphasis on the community described by Dicks, (2000) she then goes on to refer to the term of "cultural democratisation" (DIcks, 2000, 39). This process seems to be in reaction to Smith's (2006) "Authorised Heritage Discourse". Although the situation might differ in the post-socialist context this will be a part of my research. In the case of Romania, bottom-up initiatives that have sprung out since 2012 coexist with an Authorised Heritage Discourse that tends to reject any heritage associated with the former Communist regime.

The way heritage is considered when heritagisation comes into question is related to the manner in which conservation and heritage values are understood. Industrial heritage can be conserved for its landmark qualities or as a cultural landscape, it can be conserved for its evidential values as a witness from the past, it can be conserved as a constructive support or as an architectural resource onto which further uses will develop or it can be used as architectural space and atmosphere (Oevermann and Mieg, 2012).

The genesis of the adaptive reuse strategy is supposed to be the United States, where the first waterfront regeneration projects were implemented between 1964 and 1968 having as authors the architects Wurster, Bernadi and Emmons for the transformation of the former Ghirardelli chocolate factory into a retail, leisure and culture complex (Cossons, 2012). It was understood that this strategy allowed the increase of estate value of former derelict places. It is interesting to reflect that this value growth phenomenon happened in large-scale cities. Cossons argues that the influence of hypothetical gains through re-use might put at risk values such as authenticity. In order to prevent the loss of evidential value, reuse projects must be done by converging the efforts of both architects and historians in order to ensure the good understanding of the fundamental values of the place and reinforce them. Concerning the architectural conservation project, most of the time, legislation imposes the use of architects that have a special certification in restoring and conserving heritage. The risk is that the more iconic a heritage building is, the greater will be the pressure to appeal to a "star architect" and the greater the desire to have a "signature building" that is more preoccupied by the statement the new intervention does than respecting the heritage values of the existing structure.

Oeverman and Mieg (2015) identify two principal conflicts that confront regeneration of industrial heritage. On the one hand they name culture as a driving force in the development of the cities nowadays and on the other hand, the production of architecture. In our times, culture has been transformed into a means to enhance the quality of the urban space of the city. Thus the frequency of what is identified as heritage-led development. This phenomenon comes with a set of advantages but as well with a quantity of risks. One of the principal risks is a superficial approach where the profound connection of heritage in the morphology of the city and its values are disregarded.

The risks, challenges, problems and questions related to industrial heritage-led tourism are largely debated and an impressive amount of research is available on this matter as tourism has often been seen as a vector for conservation (Robinson and Jamal, 2010). According to Bella Dicks (2000) and Rautenberg (2012) there appears to be a conflict between the mind-set of a post-industrial community, used within a paternalist industrial perspective and the entrepreneurial mind-set demanded in a tourism-led regeneration project. My research will focus at a greater extent on another aspect of regeneration, namely the industrial heritage-led community regeneration. Arguing that the tourism scenario becomes feasible when the site finds itself on a major tourism trajectory, it is less likely for this to happen when the situation is different. The research will further develop the understandings of the concept of community and heritage-led community with a focus on the former Eastern Bloc.

Outline of Research Method

The research will be conducted using a qualitative research methodology. First, in order to obtain a better understanding of the context and what has happened in Romania, the historical, social, political and economic context will involve the studying of the archives related to the mine's history, its evolution and deindustrialization. Writings and journals of that time will be also analysed to have a better view of the way it was referred to and the discourses about it. I will aim to understand the reasons that led to the closing of the mine, the processes involved and understanding the government's actions and local strategy. Through in-depth interviews of actors involved in the deindustrialisation process I will aim to understand the way the local community has responded to this phenomenon; how did it cope with it and how did it adapt. In addition, actors involved in the deindustrialization process will be interviewed. Also, writings of that time and additional research on this subject will be consulted and analysed.

Second, the study will follow to the ongoing process of heritagization of the industrial remains in Petrila that I was and continue to be involved in. The field work that has accumulated since 2012 and after will be analysed through my personal perspective as both an observer today and my prior involvement. The purpose will be to determine when and how the Petrila mine has become Industrial Heritage and its different representations for the different stakeholders (different communities and their opposed visions, local administration, national governance, organizations, including myself the team as well as Ion Barbu, the artist at the origins of this project in Petrila). Through this analysis the agencies and the people responsible for this process will be identified and interviewed. Interviews will also give a better understanding of the policies involved. I will then continue to analyse through interviews the way the interest in industrial heritage has shifted today. I will explore the driving forces and the stakeholders involved today, their interests, and the possible conflict or outcomes. Through focus groups with members of the communities I will seek to understand their reaction to this heritage, their feelings of nostalgia or rejection or a wider and more complex and ambivalent range of feelings, and whether they are united or not or rather seek a more pragmatic response. Lastly, I will explore the identity issues and how they identify themselves in relation to this heritage. The method will essentially have a qualitative approach, focusing on the community's responses, behaviours and reflections on their industrial past, filtered through their industrial heritage.

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Communication between Cultural Policy Stakeholders - a Precondition for Partnership: Example Concert Cycle Art without Borders

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ABSTRACT

In all developed societies, culture is an area of exceptional social importance. Cultural policies in cooperation with education are the cornerstone of preservation and development of identity. In partnership with the economy, especially with tourism public policy stakeholders, it is the foundation of the development in general. The studied variables through the case of a project *Art without Borders* were: communication between stakeholders of various cultural, educational organizations and administrative institutions at the regional and local level; coordination between involved stakeholders, identifying the role of deconcentrated services i.e. decentralized administrative bodies in both public policies, the relationship between achievement of project goals and budgetary resources; the existing possibility of communicating with tourism and public relations with emphasis on the cooperation with the media and education i.e. the possibility of systematic training and acquisition of new knowledge in cultural project management and administrative management.

Keywords:

Cultural policies, communication, stakeholders, management personnel education

Introduction

Cultural and artistic education and culture[22] in the widest sense are important preconditions for the preservation and development of society. It is one aspect of the cultural policies, an area that can be achieved solely on the basis of cooperation between several public policies, particularly cultural and educational. Already the name itself points to immanent interdisciplinary approach both in thinking and in functioning. The synergic effects of a larger number of stakeholders involved and their potentials are therefore possible solely through a structured organizational and communication framework with the aim of establishing partnerships. The conscience and awareness of the professional and wider general public about the significance and the role of the included content are of the utmost importance: culture as the driving force for the development of society and education as a method of self-awareness, recognition and respect for *the culture of other*. In a country like Croatia, where tourism is the key determinant of economic development and international affirmation, culture, and the achieved projects of cultural and artistic education are expected partners. In the democratic states, these areas are mainly governed by the public policies of culture, education and tourism, linked to the organizational and regulatory framework and the educated staff that enable communication between all involved stakeholders and levels. The basic premise for the common action with the aim of accomplishing synergetic effects is therefore achievable through communication and regulated "public administration system without which there cannot be a state worthy of that name" (Gjidara, 2004).[23]

In the present context of Croatia, almost at all levels, along with educational, cultural activities as well are becoming more and more diverse and larger in number. At a time when the resources are scarce and are being economized, it is urgent to establish optimal and close cooperation between different stakeholders, respecting their entrepreneurial freedom. At the national level, the Ministry of Culture, in agreement with the Ministry of Science and Education, has this important role to unite this unique energy, expressed through the activities of local and regional units. At the regional level, this role has been entrusted by the regulations of the Republic of Croatia to regional or deconcentrated services, in this case belonging to these same ministries. At the regional level, there are administrative staffs responsible for monitoring and surveillance in the area of education and cultural policies, as well as the establishment of the necessary communication and coordination between all stakeholders[24].

[22]In the statement on *Cultural Policy. The National Report of the Republic of Croatia for the Council of Europe* named *From Barriers to Bridges*, European experts have pointed out that culture is a difficult expression that can be identified in several ways among which they selected those that, in their opinion, could increase the impact of culture in the context of Croatian problems. They pointed out that there is no uniform way in which ministries across Europe define or act on culture. In the United Kingdom, culture is recognized as part of a creative economy; Finland has emphasized the role of culture in creating identity and education. In addition, European experts in the context of the Croatian cultural policy have underlined two other aspects: what culture can make in terms of artistic forms as a means of achieving non-scientific goals such as creating an image (about the country) or building trust, how to use culture as a resource, and finally, how to recognize it as a civilization process.
According to the same authors, culture in the narrow sense includes various forms of art and creativity, including cultural heritage and contemporary forms. In the broader anthropological sense, it can be recognized as a means of value-adding to other sectors of Croatian life in the social and economic sense, with an emphasis on tourism and education, which is directly linked to the construction of the Croatian nation (Landry 1998).
[23]Marc Gjidara at the Conference on the decentralization of cultural policies in Croatia (2008) presented the public administration not only as an administrative apparatus of the state but also as a whole activity of the government and all its organizations (including those decentralized). As pointed out, in the functioning of each state, public administration is an organizational and communication framework.
[24]The main author of this work is the Head of Department for Education, Culture, Sports and Information of this deconcentrated unit of state administration operating within the wider State Administration Office in the area of Split-Dalmatia region (region or county in Croatia are synonyms), which provides an exceptional form of research approach through participatory observation.

The previous research[25] whose recommendations are bases of this work has shown a complete lack of recognition of these roles whose primary task is to enable the implementation of public policies, in particular by encouraging partnerships and joint initiatives[26]. The mentioned doctorate explored the way of functioning in Croatia with an emphasis on the effects of decentralization. The results obtained confirmed the hypothesis that, primarily due to the lack of communication between all involved stakeholders and insufficient knowledge and reflection on the role of various public authorities and administrations, there is a lack of cooperation agreement and, in the end, an arranged partnership that is needed at all levels.

In addition to this, the conclusions of this great empirical research carried out at the national level with regard to French experience, as an international comparable version[27], have highlighted the necessary preconditions for well-functioning cultural policies and management training. Based on the recommendations and conclusions of this research, a case study of a concert cycle *Art without Borders* was carried out and a new research was carried out during the duration of the project, which is the subject of this paper.

The studied values were:
- Communication between stakeholders of various cultural, educational organizations and administrative institutions at regional and local level;
- Coordination between the stakeholders involved in determining the role of deconcentrated services i.e. decentralized administrative bodies in both public policies;
- Relationship between project objectives and budgetary means;

The fact that the authors of the work are also the participants themselves are in the research process, in all its aspects (at different times): work in the central bodies of state administration, in a deconcentrated body in the field of culture and education, in the local self-government unit, in cultural-educational institutions and civil society organizations active in the fields of culture and education has completely enabled the process in which the researchers and the design authors are also stakeholders and participants or, as Halmi (2003) calls, *bricoleur*[28]. During the several years of research, notes were made to supplement this research. Case study *Art without Borders* points to the importance of systematic acquisition of knowledge about the functioning of cultural policies and the necessity of communicating among stakeholders.

[25]Ivanišević, N. (2014) *Communicating between public policy stakeholders in culture, education and tourism; example of Tourist Culture. Doctoral thesis*. University of Zadar.
[26]By definition, deconcentrated public administration services, as "extended arms of ministries at the regional level" as a part of the state administration, which, on the principle of subsidiariness, approaches citizens to the local level, serve to "homogenize and harmonize" the national situation at certain areas of public policies among which this paper looks into those that enable the systematic functioning of cultural and artistic education. Namely, while "the administrative theory sees decentralization as transferring competences or jurisdictions and means to lower levels, while deconcentration means transferring the right of decision-making and the use of public money from central civil service to civil service transferred to counties or municipalities" (Šimac 2002).
[27]The Republic of France served as a kind of inspiration to legislators in the time of acquiring independence of the Republic of Croatia. In addition to a very similar constitution that guarantees culture and education to all citizens, especially children and young people, by classifying it as the nation's largest national good as well as the good of mankind, France is a unitary state in which government ministries lead public policies supported by governance at all levels. Unlike the Croatian experience of deconcentrated service at regional level in France (DRAC) they have proportional parts of the national budget, which is intended for direct monitoring and support for the development of local self-government units in individual regions.
[28]Participation in the postgraduate study The management of cultural projects at the Cultural Policy Observatory of Grenoble in collaboration with the Institute of Political Science for the cultural staff of France (with one foreign representative from generation to generation) enabled the main author of this work acquisition of significant knowledge in the field of education of personnel.

Apart from enabling students of art and music schools to perform, the way of popularization and subsequently democratization of culture was systematically considered. The project also monitored and investigated the existence of organizational and professional prerequisites for the realization of the project as well as the relation of the same to the budget. The diversity of stakeholders involved required communication with coordination, with the aim of achieving the necessary partnership between the various areas and experts, which was facilitated by the appropriate treatment of the administrative bodies.

Public Administration in the Service of Cultural Policy Development

Although various special activities are pursued through individual public policies, cultural and artistic education and related potentials should be viewed in a holistic manner in the context of society's preservation and development, which implies primarily the social responsibility of central state institutions. In achieving cooperation and set goals, the experience of developed countries and relevant international documents emphasize the need to work in partnership, i.e. the complementary position of involved public policies in realizing the set development goals from local to international level. The relationship between individual stakeholders, public and administrative institutions, civil society organizations to the private sector can also be seen in the context of public accountability of public policies or public administration institutions. The basic premise for the common action of all involved is therefore through communication and regulated *public administration system*.

In all developed societies, especially in European Union countries, Croatia being in full membership, support for cultural life, artistic creativity and valorisation of heritage are considered to be the permanent responsibility of public authorities at all levels of the state, as reflected in the provisions of the Constitution and international conventions also signed by Croatia. Regulated cultural policies involve the cooperation and partnership of many stakeholders in all sectors (civil, public and private) at all levels (local, regional, national and international) as well as with other areas of community life.

The goals of cultural policies, as well as numerous other public policies (education, science, tourism, economy, environmental design ...) that are expected to be involved in the cultural cooperation in the field of the society's preservation and development, will depend on the values of the contents and achievements of the stakeholders involved, but also on the knowledge of those who are obliged to manage these above all an important social area in accordance with the vision and strategy as well as respecting the legality of functioning.

Competences are divided between the state, regional and local units. The state is obliged to create the foundations of coordinated cooperation between representatives of all sectors and to enable communication and cooperation with European policy stakeholders. The problem is, therefore, to clarify the role and to underline the initiatives of each stakeholder, whether the one directly involved, in the field of culture, or those from other areas but still involved in communication. Communicating between the many stakeholders on the one hand, as well as, with different publics implies coordination of all involved by central civil service in

cooperation with those at the local level. The emphasised requirements potentiated by generally present decentralization as well as gradual regionalization to the extent that opening up to the international level, above all Europe, presents the very foundation of the European Union based on the various freedoms of movement in the material and intellectual sense. In the omnipresent context of decentralization, decisions imposed unilaterally, from above or realized exorbitantly, and without ranks at the local level are not particularly effective. In such a context, there is a need to elaborate management methods: agreements, coordination, application of contract methods not only between public sector stakeholders, but equally between them and all other stakeholders.

As the administrative expert Prof Marc Gjidara, Paris 2 Assas, points out “this goal requires that together with the potentials and fundamental roles of local units, the powers, means and organization of the deconcentrated services of State related to individual ministries[29] are clarified and more considerably taken into account in order to establish as efficient communication as possible. Namely, there is no successful decentralization or regionalization where the concept of deconcentration is not recognized and applied in the correct way, since deconcentration is ultimately the only remedy against excessive centralism and irresponsibility of local units.”

Deconcentrated services, responsible for the flow of information, needs and demands from a local level to the state, are on the other hand authorized to implement policies across the national territory, acting as a key link, a necessary link within the state, whether centralized or regionalized. Precisely deconcentrated services are needed to correct excesses, regardless of the form of a state organization.

Stakeholders and Communication

The institutional structure that plays a fundamental role in the functioning of public policies cannot be changed without communication. It represents the essence of its association with society. The challenge lies in countless, new and undiscovered forms of communication of culture and diverse public within the community seen as mutually intertwined, dependent, interacting, mutually influential and stimulating segments. Eventual lack of communication will disrupt the establishment of partnerships, which is a prerequisite for change in responsible public interest management, in which context the socio-cultural capital has the most important place in reflecting on a sustainable future.

The recent term of stakeholders has become particularly popular not only in academia and business circles but also in the area of politics, legislation, the civil sector and the media. The number of definitions as well as the use of terms is significant, often in an interdisciplinary context. Friedman and Miles (2006) chronologically listed all definitions of the term stakeholder by authors since 1963, when used for the first time at Stanford

[29]While, for example, in France, deconcentrated cultural services are organized in specialized regional units of the Ministry of Culture and Communication (DRAC), all deconcentrated services in Croatia are united in the State Administration Offices in the area for particular counties (the region of the Republic of Croatia has 21 counties with the capital Zagreb, which has a dual role, state deconcentrated administration and local self-government unit with special status). The offices of state administration in the counties through their offices and departments formally remind of (regional) government (headed by the Head of the Office, appointed by the Government, within which the services and departments for most of the public policies operate under the law related to the respective ministries). Previous empirical research has shown that, despite the extremely important role that these bodies have in the letter of regulation and in their actual role, they have not even been identified in their basic reason for existence, that in harmony with ministries in the decentralized environment they "homogenize and harmonize" the national territory.

Institute, also citing and quoting a total of 75 related definitions from academic literature. In essence, all these definitions outline the concept of the stakeholder in two possible ways. The first is to clarify the relationship between the organization and stakeholders (impact, interaction, and the like), and the second is an aspect factor of organization or stakeholder, thus narrowing the notion of who can be a stakeholder.

In this paper, the term stakeholder of organization is studied in the sense of Freeman's symmetrical definition, whereby only those who act or can attain the achievements of organizational goals are taken into account, here considered in the process of communication primarily in areas of public policies of culture and education. Once realized, partnership is based on full cooperation, and its success "depends on various environmental factors, characteristics of membership, processes and structures, communication, purpose and resources" (Matessich 2001). Among the communication factors, Matessich points out open and frequent communication related to channels used by collaborating partners and on established informal relationships and communication links.

Partnership between departments provides the opportunity to use all the individual qualities and benefits of particular public policies and to create new quality in their synergy, which creates significant benefits. Synergy also works on individual values in a positive sense, so partnership means much more than the sum of the advantages or competences of individual partners.

Numerous areas and social sciences are suffering from problems just because of the difficulties of communication, which is also true for the area of partnership between public policy-makers, especially the administration. According to the forecasts for the development of modern society, and especially the economy, communication will be one of the most important items, which implies the need to, at least partly, understand its complexity and mastery of its legitimacy, which equally apply to the public sector (the same).
For the public sector, as well as for corporate, the importance of communication is crucial. The institutional structure is impossible *to change* without communication, which is the main backbone of its association with society.

Previous Recommendations

The point in question is the doctoral paper of the main author, i.e. the results and recommendations of the large national empirical research in the field of communication science with the aim of contributing to the theoretical knowledge of meaning and functioning in the context of the public sector, the cultural policy segment. The emphasis is on stakeholders of public policies of culture, education and tourism sectors in the field of heritage valorisation, highlighting its identity and development aspect. By approaching this topic, which belongs to the global concerns of affirmation of culture as the basis for the preservation of peculiarity within the richness of diversity, individual identities and their developmental role, the documents of the most influential international institutions have been explored. Numerous sources and the meticulously presented model of French cultural policy reveal a holistic and integrative approach to culture and heritage as the basis of identity and bridge to the future, with particular emphasis on education of experts and the general public in

the context of decentralization and its component part, deconcentration of public policies. It is emphasized that the European administrative theory presents *decentralization as transferring competencies or powers and funds to lower levels, while deconcentration means transferring the right of decision-making and the use of public money*.

According to the results of the previous survey, a hypothesis was confirmed, according to which the lack of communication between all involved stakeholders, insufficient reflection on the role of various public authorities and administrations, result in a lack of cooperation agreement and in the end necessary partnership at all levels as well as common estimate about the appropriate level of communication for specific initiatives and actions. As a result of insufficiently regulated relations with the ministries in charge as head political and administrative bodies led by particular public policies, their coordinating role at the regional level is missed. With reference to the French experience[30] which is for Croatia an exceptionally comparable version of the cultural policies, that paper proposed measures for improvement of communication with an emphasis on improving of communication between administrative structures within administrative, cultural and educational institutions. In accordance with the conclusion and recommendation to organize programmes for the training of administrative staff, short term adequate education was established during the project.

Case Study Art without Borders

Brief description of the project

The case study of *The concert cycle Art without Borders*[31] planed initially and foremost for pupils and students of music schools and academies has shown to what extent a different approach from the one used in Croatia offers the possibility of arranging, rationalizing and affirming the mentioned area and ultimately creating new values. The starting point was the fact that all stakeholders are paid in the course of their regular business by a public budget, national, regional or local, and that the project does not require any new costs if all stakeholders are respectfully responsible for the taken commitments. As part of the project, the Ivan Meštrović Museums[32], more precisely his villa, today called the Meštrović Gallery, built by the greatest Croatian sculptor according to his own words for "music and dance", became a concert hall for students of music schools and academia from the region. Through a systematic approach and gradually informing the number of stakeholders involved both in the implementation and in the performance part enlarged. According to the project's objectives, following the regional and national level, according to the draft of the project, the Meštrović Gallery in Split has become an international stage for guests from the EU and the US. At the initiative of the civilian sector[33] and under the guidance and coordination of the central deconcentrated administrative body[34], then through regulated communication and systematic access of the management staff

[30]Comparable because of the similariry of the political organization.
[31]Hereafter *Art without Borders* or the project
[32]Ivan Meštrović is one of the most prominent Croatian sculptors. In 1952 he made the Donation Act by which he had given his four properties together with certain number of sculptures to Croatian people. He was influenced by Rodin and Michelangelo. His public sculptures can be found in Croatian cities (Split, Zagreb, Dubrovnik…) as well as in the USA and other countries.
[33]Prokultura – Cultural Policy Observatory-Split
[34]The State Administration Officein Split – Dalmatian County, The Department of Education, Culture, Sport, Technical Culture and Information

of the music schools and the Ivan Meštrović Museums, supported by the activities of tourism partners[35], confirmed the possibility of obtaining large projects with no additional financial resources and significantly contributing public presentation of young talents, future artists and popularization of art. In addition, another goal of the project was achieved, which in a creative way, designed with the commitment of young people, contributed to the affirmation of their schools and cities, and finally to Croatia on an international scale[36].

The project's holder is the non-governmental organization Prokultura - Cultural Policy Observatory - Split, which in its work strives to carry out cultural projects in a way that monitors their impact on the management and policy plan and the State Administration Office of the Split-Dalmatia County as a deconcentred public administration legal body that serves for the implementation of vertical and horizontal connectivity and coordination of different stakeholders. Its Department for Education, Culture, Sports, Technical Culture and Information in cooperation with other partners and associates launched the project in the area of the largest Croatian county[37]. Head of Department, at the same time designer and head of *Art without Borders*, one of the authors of this paper, is responsible for its work in the field of culture and education, the organization and laws related to the Ministry of Science and Education and the Ministry of Culture. In addition to the department[38] with its Head, there is a network of so-called *branch offices* whose employees carry out the same jobs in the area of the largest cities of the County.

When designing the project this fact is recognized as a separate potential. The existing organization has been recognized as a prerequisite for communication with the most distant schools of the territorially rugged county[39]and local coordination between the various local stakeholders. Despite the administrative, technical, financial and personnel constraints of the Office[40], its coordinative role, and authority (albeit only in title, state) and networking[41]of as state institution have been recognized.

Art without Borders is a kind of an *umbrella project* that combines the collaborative activities of various stakeholders in art and education at the local community level associated with the administrative organization. A number of local research activities seek to contribute to the development of art and culture in the local community and to popularize them by putting them in the service of sustainable development (social, economic and other). The mission of *Art without Borders* project is to raise awareness of the importance and role of art education in building society at all levels (personal, local, regional and national) and affirmation in a cultural and tourist sense at an international level. In addition to this, the mission is to express support for the

[35]The Tourism Board of Split
[36]For example, the number of prestigious artistic, cultural and educational institutions from Spain, USA, France, Belgium, Slovenia, the Netherlands, China and Bulgaria and their comments on the prestige of the destination
[37]State Administration Office in Split-Dalmatia County, Department of Education, Culture, Sports, Technical Culture and Information based in Split. The rest of the county is covered by the network of offices of the same office (11 branches in the larger towns of the county) and officials in the same area are well positioned to communicate with representatives of decentralized units in their area, which is provided for by the law but not stipulated. (From the experience of all employees involved in the Split / Dalmatian County network it was concluded that communication is seldom and difficult.)
[38]Within the Office within the Department of Social Services (includes: education, culture, sport, health, social affairs and veterans' issues)
[39] The geographic configuration of the Split-Dalmatia County represents its significant potential in the field of tourism (coast, islands, hinterland). With regard to the organization of life, particularly educational and cultural institutions, this fact makes life more complex and expensive, imposing additional demands on the administrative staff of regional and local self-government.
[40] The Office does not have any financial resources for the implementation of the projects, no de-concentration of the budget (which is normally expected from it), no trained officers, information and communication network and no good communication with the representatives of the decentralization public administration bodies as well as representatives of the two ministries.
[41] In the County area, the Office has an established network of its branches, 11 of them.

commitment of project teachers/creators who systematically work with young people to integrate different knowledge. In addition to public performances, the accomplished students' talent and work appear on social networks, with the aim of facilitating the availability of project results, and later the research itself to the general public. The mission is to predict possible interactions at the national/global level by examining this small sample inside of the educational system.

Previous Research and Cognitions

The launch of *Art without Borders* that presents the case study in this paper preceded the findings gained in direct participation of authors in their organizations as well as in various scientific and theoretical projects. Coherence in the implementation of the strategies and functioning of the explored public policies in a decentralized environment, as well as the conduct of the most responsible institutions are studied primarily in Split, at a local level where culture, education and tourism are really happening. The results of systematic monitoring of the situation and data, cooperation and exchange of information were a prerequisite for further development of the project at the national level and in the appropriate setting in the context of international integration.

The project′s author immediate experience in Croatian administration in the field of culture and education[42], starting with the time from the establishment of the independent state, its laws and administration with emphasis on reflection and implementation of the decentralization process which marked different ways in all areas of public life had a distinctive role. The whole process was without the possibility of systematically acquiring the necessary interdisciplinary knowledge[43], which in reality meant learning by the method of one's own skin and sometimes represented the only method of acquiring knowledge.

Valorisation of cultural and artistic education, which presupposes cooperation between multiple fields and levels, and cross-sector work, depends largely on various specialists' knowledge and the coordinative role of politicians and administrative staff. Performing these public functions[44] is a precondition for achieving vision and strategic goals as well as individual policy goals through the management of their instruments. International experts who emphasized "the necessity of education in the field of public administration in the Republic of Croatia for almost three decades of independence were condemned to the lack of support from Croatian politics as well as to the considerable lack of interest of scientific circles" (Landry, 1998).

Due to significant deviations from the theory and law practices, particularly with regard to the position of deconcentrated public administration bodies, looking at the issues from within has proved to be an effective

[42]Nansi Ivanišević is the project′s author. Together with Vesna Bulić Baketić, the Head of Marketing and PR at the Ivan Meštrović Museums and Latica Krasnić Ivanišević, the Director of marketing and communications at *Jamnica*, a big private corporation, she is following the projects in the relations with the other partners, especially with the media. All three of them are also the members of Prokultura – Cultural Policy Observatory - Split.

[43]In Croatia from the time of the independence, there is no way for an employee in a culture or education sector at any level, state or local, to systematically inform and educate about the job within a specialist or some other form of lifelong education. Conditions for employment are a humanistic or social diploma and passed a state exam.

[44] Here is referred to work in public administration bodies as well as the management of public institutions in education, culture or various tourist organizations.

method of detecting otherwise concealed perspectives. Work in the field of culture and education as a person in charge of managing deconcentrated jobs in both public policies has enabled communication with stakeholders in culture, education and tourism of the public, civil and private sector and representatives of all levels of administration and public authorities.

Efforts to gather representatives of different areas and establish communication and cooperation among them were conducted in line with the recommendations of the Council of Europe experts "who in their responses to Croatian cultural policy emphasized the importance of redisclosing cultural tourism in Croatia with the aim of valorising Croatian cultural resources as its key advantages" (Landry 1998). The recommendation was to underline that the first challenge is to awaken to all of its stakeholders that "tourism is fuelled and dependent on culture; even that culture is the cause of tourism and the precondition of this industry's development" (the same). Another prominent goal was related to tourism strategies that are "often neglected to build the cultural capital of local people by thinking of imaginatively designing local features rather than importing many programs into Croatia" (the same). With remarks that tourism policy is thinking more about attracting visitors and not thinking about the domestic population, it was a recommendation to develop cultural and tourism projects as part of the same strategy with the aim of "improving the quality of life of citizens (...) Therefore, tourism policy must be fully integrated into cultural policy, because in Croatia tourism is culture" (the same).

The result of these experiences that enabled a large number of participatory observations confirmed two statements: one that says that "tourism and culture (in Croatia, author remark) do not speak the same language"[45]and the other one that determines that "cultural tourism is a non-standard stock because in the present conditions it has not*a department coverage*". Namely, the experts of the Council of Europe have pointed out that "the old and long-term bureaucratic division of the various areas produced the structure of ideas and habits that more corresponds with itself than with the environment and is difficult to undergo changes" (the same).

The acquired knowledge has shown the absence of mutual attachment and disinterest for the area of *the other*. Encouraging work in partnership with coordination activities caused the backlash, moreover, got the impression of fear of politics and administration that want to master the profession. At the same time, it could be concluded that politicians were expected to take the lead, despite the lack of competence. Lack of linkage at the local and regional level reflected the absence of coordinative action at the national level[46].

Draft and Project Management

Case study *Art without Borders* is presented in an observational way, taking into account the main principle of the qualitative methodology of trying to look at the subject from its perspective.

[45] The participants of the meeting expressed their objections to cultural institutions that do not want to adapt to the needs of tourism (working time, museum materials, etc.).

[46]N. Šimac (2004) as a good connoisseur of state and transition problems in the post-communist countries, has highlighted in the context of preparation for Croatia's accession to the European Union, that the weakest element in these administrations are the so-called common functions, especially in making planning and strategic documents, laws, budgets, as well as in inter-ministerial coordination. According to him, it felt that these functions earlier were, in a rudimentary way, provided the structures of the Alliance of Communists and not the public administration.

The project designer and project leader remained a participant of all its stages for a total of five years or as Halmi (2005) names it - *bricoleur*. The final research accomplished within this work lasted for three years[47], taking into account the results of previous knowledge and research. The findings and conclusions are laid down in the organizational and regulatory context[48] with reference to the approach of the cultural policies of the Republic of France[49], which has resulted in the confirmation of the hypothesis of this paper that a well-arranged partnership based on the work of well-educated managerial staff will achieve respectable results of exceptional social significance without additional budgetary funds and within the existing legal regulations. Based on all these researches, conclusions and recommendations are offered for further research and actions.

The name *Art without Borders* also indicates the draft of the project, which is the gradual inclusion of all forms of art and education in one of the most beautiful monuments of Croatian heritage and their synergistic recognition and action in the context of preservation and development of society.

The project's approach is based on the view that culture, history, natural and historical heritage, language, religion, customs and tradition represent the outstanding values of a country that is to be awakened, nurtured, developed and preserved. To put a child, or young man, in a direct, practical and entertaining contact with his identity - past, native heritage, material and immaterial art and so called *living culture* as well as with its natural environment, have been recognized as the foundation of building a complete personality. The effort to raise children and young adults with awareness of the importance of heritage and art derives from the rights of every child to education which is to build up his personality, talent and abilities. “Every child has the right to identity, knowledge of who he is, which community and culture belongs to and fully participate in the life of their country and the community”[50]. The case is analysed as an example of a special meaning that shows the details of interaction with its social context, supports the analysis of the whole and the particularity and complexity of the particular cases involved, enabling “understanding of activities within important circumstances” (Halmi 2005). The emphasis is placed on the role of the school as part of the most common and for human resources most prepared system. At the same time, the educational process has been recognized as a community driver and is the most significant in the long run because it forms new generations by preparing them for the challenges of modern society.

The cycle is to present a well implemented act of a cultural policy suggested and run by Department of Education and Culture, State Administration Office in Split-Dalmatia County which managed to unite all the participant of the organization. A cultural policy defined by Unesco's *Cultural policy - a preliminary study* as “a body of operational principles, administrative and budgetary practices and procedures which provide a basis for cultural action by the State”[51] in practice means detailed and planed organization of all participants and means which lead to a fulfilment of a cultural need. Among practises which are not widely accepted and

[47]From September 2015 to September 2018
[48]Studied in the part on Public Administrations
[49] Presented with more detail as secondary research in this paper
[50]Unicef (2006): *Life as Mine - How do Children around the World live*, Unicef Office for Croatia, Zagreb, p. 100th
[51]Unesco, *Cultural policy – a preliminary study*, Printed in France, 1969, p. 6

presented or when there is no policy at all to be implemented, a need for exchange of information and practices particularly arises.

The main goal is to make it possible for all people to have access to cultural life and to ensure that young musicians develop their audiences from their first public appearances. Furthermore, there is a necessity to go a step further form just a couple of individuals who make personal efforts to bring cultural contents to the community. The next step would be the implementations of practices developed by these individual initiatives. The point of a policy is to unite the complete set of actions needed to fulfil certain cultural needs. The cultural impact is very often neglected but without any doubt by now we can claim that "culture is and should be linked to the fulfilment of personality and to economic and social development"[52]. However, high quality cultural initiatives cannot be left to the individual initiatives only, especially due to many economic, staff and other difficulties, but should be supported by the public authorities.

Cultural development is particularly important for societies which are still developing in certain segments or are in any phase of transition. This is important because of the strengthening of nationhood and furthermore the development of an original culture[53]. Culture of a nation is not only a set of customs or historical beliefs. It is a joined identity based as well on all present and future creative impulses that will continue to build the nation's identity and character which evidently leads us to a conclusion that a cultural policy and its implementation must be strongly linked both to culture and education. Policies and other cultural practices should be decentralised and regionally developed.

From general experience it is evident that culture and the following policies will be better understood if directly involved and connected to the people who consume it. The cycle *Art without Borders* is an excellent example since it strongly connects not only the participants in the organization but also the performers and the audience. The cycle provides at the same time the education, musicians and content, cultural management, resources and an active audience which already expects high quality content from respectful cultural institutions.

The contemporary approach to culture has turned culture into a very restricted and exquisite field which means that very often valuable content does not have a way to reach different audiences and it remains closed inside of restricted circles. "The idea of *art for the chosen few* should be discarded. Culture is born of the people, for the reason that it is fed by the deep well-springs of a people's conscience. (…) For each culture, one must seek out the secrets of its life, growth and subsequent development"[54].This can be fulfilled only by an excellently coordinated policies and actions by different stakeholders and participants who can subsequently make it possible for cultural content to be reached by broader audiences.

"It is not enough to acquaint people with the vast store of treasures inherited from the past; we must foster the spring of creation itself, for it is that which gives the new society symbolic images of its own distinctive identity

[52]The same, p.10
[53]The same, p. 11
[54]The same, p. 16

and the wealth of values it embodies. Creation is the principle of life in cultural activity".[55]The previous sentence is excellently proved by the whole concept of the cycle *Art without Borders* that connects both the new creation and the accessibility to a cultural content.

Project Phases[56]

Introductory Survey 2009 - Summary Review

At the very beginning of 2009, an introductory, unstructured research was carried out to determine the level of awareness of students and their professors about the need for public presentation of the programs and acquired knowledge by regular competitions in which they participated as pupils of their schools. That same year, the project was conceived and proposed by the advisor for culture and education[57] of the then mayor of Split, in cooperation with the Academy of Arts and the Ivan Meštrović Museums. Using this leading and coordinative role in the organization of both public policies, she launched the *Art without Borders* project with the aim of further involvement of students. There was an interruption of the project since the cessation of the advisory role within the City of Split which also interrupted the cooperation between the two departments, education and culture. Only in 2015 the project has continued with new positions according to the draft.

1st Phase of *Art without Borders* - Concerts of Music Schools of the Split – Dalmatian County. The first phase lasted for a year and introduced a high quality cultural content to the city of Split. Every last Sunday of each month there was a musical performance at the Meštrović Gallery. Concerts were organized during Sunday mornings and were offered as free content together with the possibility of visiting the museum. The concerts significantly enriched the cultural offer of the city and the museum and became a recognisable content. There were up to 20 musicians per concert and between 50 to 100 people in the audience.
2nd Phase of research – concerts of schools from all over Croatia and the inclusion of the Academy of Arts of Split students as guests of the cycle
3rd Phase of research - after national, transition to the international level, i.e. guest performances of foreign guests and orchestras

Conclusions and Recommendations Based on the Results of the Research

Experience and duration of *Art without Borders* justifies the effort and financial resources even minimal in a number of affirmative evaluations by different experts and the public. During the ten years of the project, more than twenty music schools from the Split-Dalmatian County and throughout Croatia participated, professors and students of the Music Department of Art Academy and guests from the international level and Croatian

[55]The same, p. 18
[56] The history of the project and list of concerts are in the attachment of this paper
[57]The main author of this paper was in this role in the decentralized service of the City of Split during short time, a period of 6 months, before and after engaging in a deconcentrated education and culture service at the region level. Unfortunately, her attempt to establish cooperation between the two public policies, but already in the City's work, as a headquarters, but also an institution that promotes and supports cultural creation and cultural life for its citizens, unfortunately ended immediately after her departure, when the two services were again separated both functionally and substantively.

Diaspora. The local tourist boards, as well as the regional and local units, assisted the arrivals of the guests, and their accommodation was also provided by a partner from the educational institutions, the university campus in Split. The project was supported by parents and, more generally, by the wider community. The project pointed to the extraordinary creativity and engagement of all involved.

Project endeavours continue to evolve in the direction of a comprehensive solution, respecting the recommendations of international institutions as well as strategic guidelines (a number of Croatian strategies). Emphasis remains on public interaction based on systematic communication, recognizing the imperatives of contemporary environments, particularly those in the world of economy, preserving diversity and mastering new technologies. Expected results can be achieved provided that the interdisciplinary area approaches in an integrated way, recognizing the fundamental democratic postulates of the transparency of the activities of different political and administrative bodies and individuals.

In that context:

- Contemporary upbringing and education, led by the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports i.e. some other coordinative if possible administrative factor, should provide the child and young person with the appropriate tools to achieve self-awareness, communication and mastering new challenges with an emphasis on those globalization;
- The same body, in cooperation with educational agencies, is obliged to provide lifelong learning and affirmation of the work of teachers and teachers by seeking a meritocratic principle[58];
- The Ministry of Culture / the central administrative coordinating body should take on a coordinative role in the development of Croatian society and the state[59] based on education of staff in culture, enabling the necessary lifelong education of the merit (culture itself) as well as work in public administration (with knowledge in the area of administration, economics, politics and others);
- Cultural policies with an emphasis on cultural and artistic education should give complete and relevant answers to the question of creating the possibilities of presenting artistic and reproductive creativity as well as popularization of culture;
- New technologies should be recognized in the context of presentations of the achieved results and popularization of culture and affiliation of business systems and thus technical support for the realization of communication between different public administration bodies;
- Tourism could provide instruments for the quality and constructive integration of all that one can recognize today under one name in the notion of sustainable development.

The area of culture and education should be linked not only in the real, but also in the administrative sense. It is necessary to work on partnership, because nobody regardless of the possibilities and powers, cannot attain by themselves the most important goals of cultural and educational policies. Relationships with other counties, major cities, national, regional or local institutions, civil society, economy and artists are the things to be borne in mind. This is also indicated by *the White Paper on European Governance under which the principle of good governance is based on the role of citizens, civil society, local self-government and cooperation with them*.

[58]Revard for merit

[59]In accordance with the recommendations of the Croatian Experts' Review of Croatia's Cultural Policy Reports, the National Report (Landry 1998).

The management's action is a fundamental prerequisite for linking stakeholders to the achievement of the goals of public policies and should be based on two postulates of the functional functioning of the administration (Gjidara 2012), *savoir faire* (know how) and *faire savoir* (make it known). In Croatian practice, this is difficult to achieve because of the lack of continuous education, as well as the lack of unique guidelines from central government bodies, most often ministries that are required to propose policy goals and guarantee their implementation. Recognition of these postulates is also hampered by the political lack of involvement of the staff involved or lack of professionalism. The first task of the administration, which is to serve the achievement of political goals, is still not possible because of the absence of consensus of all parties[60]. The practice of Croatia shows that the goals often change depending on the deliberations of the ruling parties, not allowing the development of the professionalism of the perpetrator as well as the necessity of continuity.

The knowledge of the partner countries' administrative systems in the European Union can help to the professionalization of the administration, because the national administration at the state and local level has the choice of models for the implementation of European rules and common guidelines. So far administrative practices are different, but with a tendency of harmonization. The White Paper on European Governance (2000) brought by the European Parliament adopted three codes of conduct aimed at establishing stricter ethics for European administration. This document was issued for allegations of non-compliance with the law, bad governance, corruption, illegal disposal of funds from European funds in particular Member States. All countries are also expected to respect the principles of good governance, transparency and the establishment of management control methods to achieve the integrated standards.

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[60]There is no consensus in Croatia in any area of public policy. As a consequence, the changes of the law happen by the coming of each new authority, and the same has been done with the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia several times. It is common in the proceedings of individual parties in power to recognize the political ideology they belonged to during the time before independence. According to the information, for the first time in independent Croatia, a session of the Parliamentary Committee on Science, Education and Culture was requested for the first time in 2013, with the intention of presenting the initiative of state institutions and civil society about a necessity of consensus on cultural, educational and tourism cooperation in the field of cultural and artistic education and cultural tourism.

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Landscape as a Common Good - Tools for its Protection and Enhancement in a Legal and Managerial Perspective

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ABSTRACT

The present paper aims at verifying the possible relationship and convergence between the categories of landscape and common goods from an interdisciplinary perspective. First, a theoretical overview is provided by combining the analysis of the international economic literature on this matter and the close examination of the Italian legal framework on cultural heritage and landscape. Then, a case study is discussed, focusing on the regeneration of a disused quarry in Santarcangelo di Romagna (Italy), where the artists' association "Mutoid Waste Company" has created a theme park with works of art made using recycled materials. The field research aimed at investigating the administrative process which has been carried out since the end of the 1990s, the current perception of the value of the area and its possible future development. Finally, the distinctiveness of the case study is highlighted, pointing out how it could be a model for the management of landscape.

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> Instead of there being a single solution to a single problem, I argue that many solutions exist to cope with many different problems. Instead of presuming that optimal institutional solutions can be designed easily and imposed at low cost by external authorities, I argue that "getting the institutions right" is a difficult, time-consuming, conflict-invoking process. It is a process that requires reliable information about time and place variables as well as a broad repertoire of culturally acceptable rules. New institutional arrangements do not work in the field as they do in abstract models unless the models are well specified and empirically valid and the participants in a field setting understand how to make the new rules work. (Ostrom, 1990: 14)

Introduction

The European Landscape Convention (2000) finally recognised the dynamic and relational nature of landscape as an area "whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors" (art. 1). This notion includes both natural and cultural aspects and gives a central role to people who share, value and use landscape. According to this approach, landscape expresses people's *perceptions* and is shaped by their *practices* (Olwig, 2007). As a consequence, not just experts but all people whose activity shapes the social and physical landscape are responsible for its planning and development and could be agents of its safeguard also through active protection. In Italy, the national legal system adopted this open approach in 2006, when the Code for Cultural Heritage and Landscape ratified the European Landscape Convention defining landscape as a complex value, which includes the need of citizens to establish a sensitive relationship with the territory, to benefit from this relationship and to participate in the definition of its qualitative features. In this way, all the interests underlying the landscape take a central role. However, despite the increasing awareness of the wide conceptual relevance of landscape, tools for its protection and enhancement are still partially inadequate – i.e. landscape and urban planning. Meanwhile, in 2001, the principle of vertical and horizontal subsidiarity was introduced by the Constitutional Reform (art. 118). Moreover, due to scant financial resources, public administrations have had difficulty in facing public needs efficiently, e.g. the fruition of places as an expression of citizenship rights. As a consequence, legal doctrine has given an increasing attention to the category of common goods and the notion of shared administration, which is about the definition of tools and rules assigning a central role to citizens and private organisations in the management of common goods.

In this context, the present paper aims at verifying the possible relationship and convergence between the categories of landscape and common goods by testing an interdisciplinary approach to scientific research on landscape and its sustainable development which takes into account both legal and managerial issues. The first chapter provides the theoretical framework of the research through the close examination of the international literature on this matter and a focus on the Italian legal framework on cultural heritage and landscape. Particularly, critical issues and future challenges for the sustainable management of landscape are underlined. In the second chapter, a case study is discussed, analysing the regeneration of a disused quarry in Santarcangelo di Romagna (RN, Italy), where the artists' association "Mutoid Waste Company" (MWC) has created a theme park with works of art made using recycled materials (Mutonia). The case study is conducted through the examination of policy documents, regional laws, local rules, acts and agreements, in order to have

a picture of the administrative process which has been carried out since the end of the 1990s. Moreover, semi-structured interviews were conducted with some key informants aiming to shed light on: 1) main criticalities which have been or have to be faced; 2) current perception of the value of the area; 3) possible future development. Interviews focused on the following topics: the relationship of the community with nature, Public Administration and territory, the transformation of the community and its management, citizens' involvement, and future perspectives. In-depth face-to-face interviews involved: two people living in Mutonia, two experts who took part in the study and enhancement project of the area (a geologist and an architect), the Major of Santarcangelo di Romagna, the former vice prefectural commissioner, and three people working in the cultural and tourism sector in the Municipality of Santarcangelo di Romagna (Tourism Office, Local Tourism Services, Civic Museums). The third chapter discusses main legal and managerial issues in order to draw first suggestions for further research and practice. The conclusions highlight the distinctiveness of the case under investigation, pointing out how it could be a model for the management of landscape.

1 Landscape as a common good: theoretical assumptions

1.1 Managing landscape as a common good: the international debate

Since the beginning of the 21st century an innovative and systemic notion of landscape protection has emerged which is based on the following principles:

1. *Openness*. Landscape protection is the protection of biodiversity and cultural diversity as a whole, not of "crystallised islands". As already argued,

   > the traditional system of preservation, a set of crystallised "islands" immersed in an ever-changing world, amplifies the negative effects of intensive land use, environmental degradation of the urban and natural landscape and the process of fragmentation that human activity determines. These "islands" of conservation favour the progressive "genetic weakening" of natural outdoor environments as well as the overwhelming reduction in their level of biodiversity. Paradoxically despite the widespread use of environmental protection policies, biodiversity increases where any form of protection is absent (Pittaluga, 2013: 181).

   Sharing this approach, prevention rather than post-factum intervention becomes a central aspect in landscape and environment protection.

2. *Inclusiveness*. The sustainability of landscape management depends on the participation and involvement of local communities in decision-making through a voluntary and spontaneous process, thus via a bottom-up rather than or beside a top-down approach (Pittaluga, 2013).

3. *Proactivity* as a change-oriented behaviour in landscape management. According to this principle, the wrong dichotomy between protection and enhancement can be solved only through a view highlighting the virtuous relationship between the two functions (Golinelli, 2015; Saviano et al., 2018). This paradigm shift is based on the assumption that enhancement can help protection, not only by

attracting more resources for safeguard, but also by increasing the awareness of landscape value among a wider number of people. This virtuous relationship can increase people well-being and local development (Cerquetti & Ferrara, 2018).

Recent literature has also underlined how public authorities and private entities have failed in accomplishing this process: the former are unsuccessful in protecting and maintaining landscapes, while the latter "are commodifying and subtracting them from the real estate accessible to local society and to the other tourist populations" (Pittaluga, 2013: 184). As a consequence, new policy and management models have been emerging based on cooperative governance. Originally known as models to provide for the collective management of natural resources such as pastures or forests (Vejre et al., 2012; Šmid Hribar et al., 2015), these models are now widely used to manage more complex "cultural objects" too. The maintenance of roads and parks in the USA, the construction of collective gardens in Paris (*jardin partagés*), and the cultivation of abandoned lands in Cinque Terre (Italy) provide some examples of new forms of collective management. In line with Ostrom's theory on commons (1990, 1994), these goods are managed by endogenous institutions which share common rules. Knowledge, trust and communication among the members of the community ensure the effective management of collective resources both for the benefit of appropriators and users and the long-term survival of resources.

When analysing the sustainable management of common goods, Ostrom (1990) provided effective solutions to critical issues discussed in Hardin's *The Tragedy of Commons* (1968) by identifying 8 principles which ensure long-enduring CPRs (common-pool resources) (Table 1). On the one hand, she explained that commons are not free-access, but well-defined spaces and resources, which are self-managed by a limited group of people, sharing common rules or institutions; on the other hand, she enhanced the role of shared knowledge, information and communication among the members of the community to solve conflicts (Ricoveri, 2013). Also known as adaptive management, this model is based on flexibility and institutional learning: its sustainability relies on a participatory process of institutional building which includes the users of resources (Bravo, 2005).

1.	**Clearly defined boundaries** Individuals or households who have rights to withdraw resource units from the CPR must be clearly defined, as must the boundaries of the CPR itself.
2.	**Congruence between appropriation and provision rules and local conditions** Appropriation rules restricting time, place, technology, and/or quantity of resource units are related to local conditions and to provision rules requiring labor, material, and/or money.
3.	**Collective-choice arrangements** Most individuals affected by the operational rules can participate in modifying the operational rules.
4.	**Monitoring** Monitors, who actively audit CPR conditions and appropriator behaviour, are accountable to the appropriators or are the appropriators.
5.	**Graduated sanctions** Appropriators who violate operational rules are likely to be assessed graduated sanctions (depending on the seriousness and context of the offense) by other appropriators, by officials accountable to these appropriators, or by

	both.
6.	**Conflict-resolution mechanisms** Appropriators and their officials have rapid access to low-cost local arenas to resolve conflicts among appropriators or between appropriators and officials.
7.	**Minimal recognition of rights to organize** The rights of appropriators to devise their own institutions are not challenged by external governmental authorities.
8.	*For CPRs that are parts of larger systems:* **Nested enterprises** Appropriation, provision, monitoring, enforcement, conflict resolution, and governance activities are organized in multiple layers of nested enterprises.

TABLE 1. DESIGN PRINCIPLES ILLUSTRATED BY LONG-ENDURING CPR INSTITUTIONS
Source: Ostrom, 1990: 90

Following these principles, the sustainable management of landscape as a common good should trigger a continuous co-evolution process which promotes the participation and involvement of people sharing, valuing and using landscape. Moreover, according to a systemic and holistic vision, it has to take into account that different communities could share the same landscape and that every community is not a “stable object”, but could change in time. As a consequence, adequate forms of regulations have to be set (Donolo, 2004; Palermo & Ponzini, 2010; Ponzini, 2013), especially when complex common goods are taken into consideration.

As recently pointed out, if a dynamic and long-lasting approach is adopted, the management of landscape as a common good could promote local development (Donolo, 2003; Becattini, 2015; Caselli, 2018). First of all, it increases well-being for the community without requiring additional costs: people living in the same community benefit from an increased environmental and service quality, thus have a better quality of life thanks to landscape protection. Secondly, the management of landscape as a common good can create not just intangible positive externalities for the territory, but also tangible ones: on the one hand, increased biodiversity, environmental care, awareness of the value of landscape, trust, inclusiveness, etc.; on the other hand, a greater economic value of properties, increase and development of economic activities, etc. In a virtuous cycle, this process could favour local competitive advantage (Figure 1).

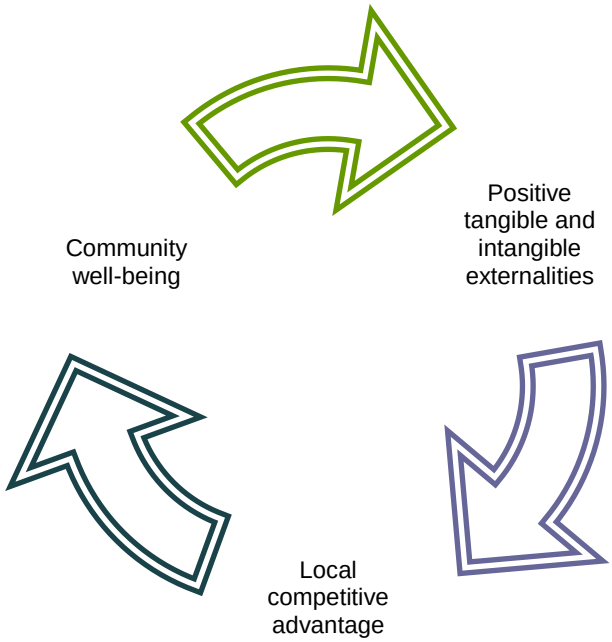

FIGURE 1. VALUE CREATION IN THE MANAGEMENT OF LANDSCAPE AS A COMMON GOOD
Source: own elaboration

According to Predieri (1969), the coordination between protection and economic development finds its main tool of implementation and management in "coordinated urban planning" as the regulation of human settlements in the territory, and not only as a discipline for the development of cities (p. 423). Following the model suggested for nature conservation (Jongman, 1995; Jones et al., 2016), criteria, indicators and planning methods have to be set, in order to ensure the sustainability of human interventions on landscape. In a nutshell, "in the era of participatory democracy and knowledge society, value, value creation, and especially value co-creation are urgent imperatives" (Cerquetti, 2017: 121). As a consequence, new approaches have to be experimented, which effectively measure and evaluate inputs, outputs and outcomes of human actions.

1.2 The Italian debate on common goods

In the last ten years, the Italian debate on common goods has become unusually lively for at least three reasons (Maddalena, 2011; Arena & Iaione, 2012; Marella, 2012; Rodotà, 2013; Cerulli Irelli & De Lucia, 2014)[61]. The first one is a consequence of the financial crisis of 2007-2008 and the lack of public resources (Harvey, 2012: 86), which suggested to identify effective alternative solutions such as the management of common goods (Bombardelli, 2016). These factors have prompted a serious worsening of local/urban degradation and the need for a new perspective. The second one concerns a different kind of relationship between citizens and institutions. Citizens, indeed, stop delegate "every public responsibility and/or exclusive

[61] See the conclusions reached on this matter by the so called Rodotà Commission. Through the decree of June 21, 2007, the Ministry of Justice set up a study commission to elaborate a change of regulation of the Italian Civil Code on common goods. At the end of its deliberation, the Commission defined common goods as goods functional to the exercise of fundamental rights and to the development of a person. So they need a strong conservation also in favour of future generations (article 1, paragraph 3, letter c). This category includes rivers, streams, springs, lakes, other waters, air, archaeological, cultural, environmental and other protected landscape areas.

monopoly of the power to manage public affairs and participate to a collaborative and polycentric urban governance" (Iaione, 2015: 2). The last reason is related to an emerging process of re-appropriation of "social urban space" (*sociale urbano*) by citizens, aiming to affirm the "right to the city" (Lefebrvre, 1970).

In this context, in the Italian legal system[62], many references to common goods can be found both in national and regional laws, especially about urban planning, public services and land use (Fidone, 2017: 27-34). Local services, for example, can and must be considered as common goods. In many cases, they are related to the management of tangible and intangible common goods. Through the analysis of normative references, common goods can be understood as a "variable geometry concept", which can be referred both to tangible (i.e. water, land) and intangible (i.e. public security, culture, education) goods, independently from the formal ownership (Giannini, 1963; Grossi, 1977; Cerulli Irelli, 1983). Indeed, common goods can exist in private hands. Otherwise, if the ownership of common goods is public, they are placed not for sale, but their concession is allowed only in the single cases provided by law also in favour of future generations (Iaione, 2015: 8). Furthermore, the concept of common goods can be used to define some procedures required for the common nature of goods[63]. Sometimes, instead, this concept is related to the democratic governance of common goods (as for cultural and landscape common goods). The possibility to use this term in different contexts and to extend regulation tools thought for different objects derives from the above-mentioned different meanings. From a different perspective, this concept would lose its juridical sense (Vitale, 2013). Finally, if common goods can be described as an open category, the most relevant thing to notice is that they only exist because they are part of a qualitative relationship with one or more subjects (not related to acquisition or appropriation), so that a common good brings to a community some specific benefits it does not bring to others (Fidone, 2017: 414). Therefore, focusing on the relationship between common goods and landscape which is here investigated, in our perspective only those goods with which a given community has a specific relationship can be considered common goods. This means, for example, that a square is not a common good in itself, only because it is an urban space. It becomes a common good given its nature as place for social access and for existential exchange (Mattei, 2011).

As already stated in the introduction, the international legal system promotes principles of "shared responsibility" and "democratic participation" for the public organisation of cultural heritage and its accessibility[64] and, in general, promotes the idea of landscape as an area, as perceived by a community, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factor (Sciullo, 2008).

Indeed, jurisprudence has defined common goods main elements (Cortese, 2011). In 2011, when meeting in United Sections (SS.UU.)[65] and by analysing articles 2, 9 and 42 of the Italian Constitution, the Supreme Court stated that it is possible to obtain the principle of the protection of human personality, whose proper execution occurs not just in the state property domain or property of the state. It can also occur within those goods that prove functional to the pursuit and fulfillment of community's interests (Lalli, 2015: 271) for their

[62] See: Law December 28, 2015, No. 221; Law July 13, 2015, No. 107; Legislative Decree May 26, 2004, No. 154.

[63] About water service see: Sicily Regional Law August 11, 2015, No. 19; Liguria Regional Law, February 24, 2014, No. 1; Friuli-Venezia Giulia Regional Law, April 15, 2016, No. 5.

[64] See: Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro, October 27, 2005), articles 11 and 12.

[65] Italian Supreme Court, SS.UU. February 14, 2011, No. 2665; February 16, 2011, No. 3811; February 16, 2011, No. 3812; February 18, 2011, No. 3936; February 18, 2011, No. 3938; February 18, 2011, No. 3939.

intrinsic nature or finalization, on the basis of a complete interpretation of the entire regulatory system and independently by a preventive identification by the legislature. Also, the Court was keen to stress the irrelevance of formal ownership and the close functional link between common goods and the exercise of social rights. In fact, where an immovable property appears intended to the implementation of the welfare state, this good has to be considered common independently by the ownership, because of its intrinsic connotations, especially environmental and landscape ones. That is to say, the title deed which is instrumentally connected to the realisation of all citizens' interests is left out of consideration. Then, the Court emphasised that any immovable property is a common good if it helps to achieve benefits for the community. Moreover, the Court stated that the good's public nature should refer to the *state-community*, as an exponential entity which is representative of citizenship's interests and as a body responsible for the effective implementation of these needs, rather than to the *state-apparatus*, as a public juridical person individually designed. The Supreme Court took care to remind the state-apparatus of renewal of common goods on the state as the state-community, as an entity which exhibits everybody interests, "involves the charges of a governance that makes effective the various forms of enjoyment and public use of the good".

In conclusion, the "common" nature of urban common goods comes from the fact that they are closely connected to an area's identity, culture, traditions and/or directly functional to social life development of communities settled in that area (e.g. a square, a park, a roundabout, a mountain path, a garden, a historical building, a school, coffee tables, etc.). On the subject of landscape, the concept of "right to landscape" is emerging as one of the primary application of the art. 9 of the Italian Constitution (Piperata, 2017: 255). From a general viewpoint, the right of common goods can be investigated, considering local institutions' role and proceedings (Lucarelli, 2015) as an application of the art. 118, last paragraph, of the Italian Constitution about horizontal subsidiarity. The local ownership of common goods includes, indeed, public spaces, urban green areas, abandoned buildings, the so-called "urban commons" which could find new life, if governed by citizens. Just the breadth of the theme requires an analysis that necessarily goes beyond the boundaries of law to check if and how these instruments produce the desired benefits in an economic and managerial perspective and with regard to which goods, thus keeping in the background a "phenomenological" and "unruly" approach to the problem (Mattei, 2011).

In addition to the normative perspective, the growing interest in the governance of common goods is perceivable, as already argued, in the actions of local institutions, which have produced regulatory acts on the model of the Bologna Municipality Regulation for the regeneration and care of urban common goods[66]. The experiences carried on and those in progress clearly show how the governance of common goods is a phenomenon experimented by the citizens' initiative (Arena, 2015), through participated procedures. Only at the second level there are regulatory acts. This urban governance strategy will replace the current system of top-down regulation with one focused on urban planning, collaboration, and consultation with stakeholders (Iaione, 2015: 214). In general, public administrations have to facilitate the citizens' spontaneous initiative and mediate between opposing interests (the interest of the group, the public interest and the individual one). This kind of "dialectics of interests" (*dialettica di interessi*) is a typical expression of the exercise of discretionary power.

[66] Municipality of Bologna, Council Resolution, No. 45010/2014.

More in particular, the Regulation for the shared management and development of Bologna's urban commons refers to principles that represent an innovation in the panorama of relationships between citizens and public institutions, i.e. trust, inclusiveness, openness and flexibility, in addition to transparency and proportionality. The City of Bologna has recently begun to implement these regulations, as evidenced by a series of pacts of collaboration. According to local rules, these "urban commons" include public spaces, urban green areas, abandoned buildings. Urban commons are the tangible, intangible and digital goods that citizens and the Administration recognise to be functional to the individual and collective well-being, also through participative and deliberative procedures. Consequently, citizens activate towards them, in order to share the responsibility of their care or regeneration with the Administration and to improve the collective enjoyment according to article 118, paragraph 4, of the Italian Constitution. The collaboration can take a content of variable intensity, e.g. occasional care, continuous care, shared management, regeneration. Similarly, it is possible that the proposal for the governance of common goods comes directly from citizens, or that it represents a response to a solicitation from the Municipality.

Through the analysis of normative references, the governance of common goods can be considered as related to urban regeneration, as the Bologna's regulation confirms. By the reference to urban regeneration as an administrative function, its main characters can be extended to the governance of common goods: the purpose of function, the tools of regulation, the set of public and private interests (Chiti, 2017). All the above-mentioned elements led the doctrine to use the "enabling state" formula (Cassese, 2009: 513; Cottino & Zeppetella, 2009: 15).

It is possible now to apply the typical characteristics of common goods to a case study, in order to verify its specificities and implications. In particular, the experience carried out by the Municipality of Santarcangelo di Romagna and the Mutoid Waste Company Association for the construction of the Mutonia thematic Park is analysed.

2 The case of Mutonia: a hybrid boundary object

Mutonia, an artistic community formed by a London based group, the Mutoid Waste Company (MWC), in 1990, is sited in an abandoned quarry on public land, a concession to the Municipality from regional property about two kilometres far from the centre of Santarcangelo di Romagna. The Mutoids are a group of international artists, performers and artisans creating art from scrap and other waste materials. A part of the group was asked to participate in the Santarcangelo theatre festival and, after a successful collaboration, started to use this site as a base-camp for its artistic work, here and abroad. The town welcomed the artists and assigned them the area – without regulation until 2003 and then through a gratuitous loan for its use –, enabling them to experiment with the sustainability of their community for more than twenty years. The site has been grown slowly and organically, becoming a large open-air sculpture park, which includes habitable structures and workshops, all removable and self-built with recycled materials (Figure 2).

FIGURE 2. MUTONIA: OPEN-AIR SCULPTURE PARK, HABITABLE STRUCTURES AND WORKSHOPS
Source: own elaboration

Mutonia was conceived as a publicly accessible place, communicating a remarkable ethically-valued message, based on creative reuse of discarded objects and abandoned places. The permanence of the artistic community has also generated an intense relationship and collaboration with the local community and surrounding area, which is already known for its cultural liveliness and its famous experimental theatre festival.

In 2012, some urban-planning and construction irregularities were raised by the complaint of a single citizen, opposing the occupation of the area by the Mutoids. The complaint was followed by a judgement of the Regional Administrative Court that obliged the Municipality to issue an order for eviction and for the demolition of all structures, because of unauthorised building development on state-owned land and in violation of landscape restrictions established by law (Legislative Decree No. 42/2004, Italian Code of Cultural Heritage and Landscape) and linked to the very closeness of Mutonia to the river Marecchia. This legal obligation led to the risk of scattering and dividing this important artistic community and of losing what was already considered a valuable resource for the cultural endowment of the city. Contemporary art is not subject to a protection regime, so even the cultural heritage legal system could not revoke the demolition and safeguard its value.

There was huge surge of support and public mobilisation for Mutonia, both on line and in person, with a petition of over 12,000 signatures collected. This led the municipal administration to act on the urban planning, with the aim of implementing a strategy specifically built for this case. The urban planning instrument was

supposed to be the solution because of the impossibility to act on the legal regime of the artefacts for their artistic value: this administrative act would be able to produce legal effects on the territory, and consequently to change the dispositions towards the objects which were considered abusive.

Consistent with the opportunities for the landscape enhancement provided by Regional Laws No. 20/2000 and No. 23/2009 of Emilia-Romagna Region, the aim was to establish the “Mutonia Art Park” on that specific portion of territory as part of a landscape enhancement project. Technically, an intervention designed to increase the cultural endowment of the town due specifically to the environmental importance of the area, in relation to which the Provincial Plan (PTCP)[67] and the Local Urban Plan (PSC) already had the possibilities for intervention and guided the definition of single implementation projects. In these plans, the area is classified as a Nature Value Area (AVN) included in a Community-wide Environmental Network (Natura 2000 Network). It is identified as a Nature and Environment Protection Area (PAN), and also included in perimeter of the Plan for Extractive and Quarrying Activities (PAE), which maps the location of excavation areas and dispenses the implementation of projects on disused quarries. It is also classified as a protected area from other sectoral plans. The area was subjected to landscape restrictions, but for the same reason it was possible to apply some rules concerning land-use linked to its particular environmental relevance.

The instrument used for the enhancement intervention was a site-specific Municipal Plan of Operation (POC)[68], which was integrated by an intended use linked to the artists, which also included the habitation, strictly related to the artistic and social purposes pursued by the group (that had in the meantime formed an association). The completion of the project consisted of the combination of an authoritative act (the above-mentioned POC) and a consensual act (an agreement) which specified the terms of the collaboration between the Mutoids and the Municipality and clarified the intended use of the area (Figures 3-4).

[67] All the acronyms are left here in the original language (Italian).
[68] See: Emilia Romagna Regional Law No. 20/2000, article 30, paragraph 6.

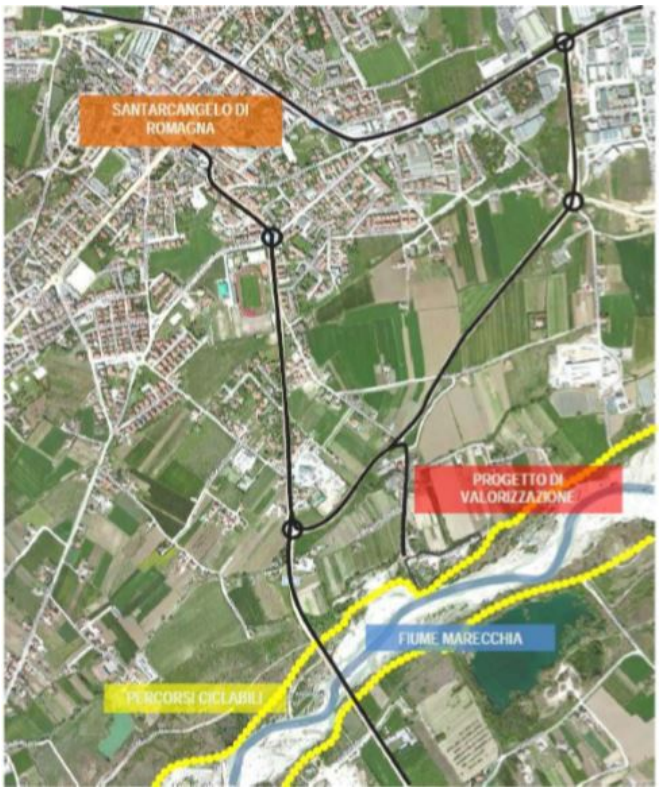

FIGURE 3. LOCATION OF THE ENHANCEMENT PROJECT

Source: Mutonia POC-zero, Elab.1-report

FIGURE 4. THE ENHANCEMENT PROJECT

Source: Mutonia POC-zero, Elab.1-report

The essential thing was the fact that the Emilia Romagna Regional Law organises a very detailed cognitive framework that coordinates planning among the various levels of government and arranges with them the

provisions of different plans. Through continuous references between the planning tools and classifications that provide an analytical reference of the conditions and characteristics of the territory, the result of this organisation is that it allows the punctual implementation of interventions, but always consistent with a systemic reading of the territory. In this framework, the sustainability of the intervention let us to believe that the interest in protecting the previous spatial planning was no longer prevalent for that area. The directives that previously qualified the settlement as “abusive” were modified thanks to the new evaluation that led to consider its regularisation as an aim for the realisation of public interest. The planning act, in fact, has found its motivations in the recognition of this public interest, on at least three levels, in relation to which the Municipality requested specific inquires to the appropriate administrations:

1) it was primarily functional to the protection of the settlement as a contemporary artistic and cultural resource whose relevance was recognised by the Superintendence for Historical and Artistic Heritage;

2) local administration supported a bottom-up motion, also founded on fact that the artists had put down roots in nearly thirty years of permanence in the area, enabling them to continue their artistic activity and a cultural service, without involving management charges from Municipality (the economy of Mutonia is entirely and autonomously organised by the Mutoids);

3) it formalised and regulated the quarry regeneration accomplished by the MWC, bypassing the pre-existing landscape constraint through the assessment of landscape compatibility, which was declared by the Superintendent responsible for the protection of this interest.

This point deserves further analysis: the settlement has been assessed as being integrated with the environment and non-prejudicial in relation to its protected values. It consists of totally reversible structures that do not involve soil sealing or masonry constructions, it ensured a controlled occupation of the area, preserving its safety, and above all it contributed to improve a highly degraded landscape after the abandonment of the quarry. It is possible to observe, in fact, that the great gash in the landscape determined by the decommissioning of production (Mutonia measures approximately 16,000 m^2) has been gradually reinstated by the presence of the Mutoid Waste Company, and moreover enriched with creative ideas in perfect balance with the natural elements, widely recognised as deserving to be maintained.

As it has been spontaneously happening for years, the area is now officially designated for collective use, at the same time reconciling this with the respect for the private nature of some of its spaces. These measures have been implemented through the agreement[69] between Mutoid Waste Company and the Municipality, attached to the POC. These measures consist of a partition of tasks and responsibilities between the two parties: on the one hand, the Mutoids, who have to ensure the continuation of their artistic work and the care of the park in order to facilitate its public use; on the other hand, the Municipality of Santarcangelo di Romagna, in charge of supporting initiatives aimed at improving the accessibility and the communication of the park as a public art gallery, as well as at controlling the Mutoids’ constructive activity and the compliance with the agreements. Due to the intended use assigned through the POC, if the artists voluntarily leave the

[69] See: Toscana Regional Law No. 65/2014.

site, it would be open to new enhancement projects, according to the appropriate assessments that the Municipality would be carrying out.

This intervention took into account the transformations which had already occurred in the landscape, confirming the need for functioning conservation with respect to the evolutionary nature related to the concept of landscape. As it was formalised by the European Landscape Convention, this is an inevitable consequence of a notion of landscape as a result of a system of relations within the communities. The paradox of the demolition order showed that the uncritical imposition of the protection constraint on the landscape would only have had the effect of restoring the environmental degradation that the Mutoids had found when they arrived, while the acknowledgement of the rehabilitation carried out by the artists and the identification of new values, in which the local community expressed its recognition, was extremely intricate, for two reasons: first, because it required the use of a “challenging” tool as a plan, and then because this plan, in particular, is also still considered at the limit of legitimacy for having authorised the construction of houses and other structures on a state-owned and bounded area. There was also huge difficulty in obtaining an effective coordination between the various administrations, which independently had no authority to resolve the dispute.

3 Discussion

3.1 The government of common goods and the enhancement of landscape: convergences and perspectives in the case of Mutonia

From a legal perspective, it is interesting to notice that a group of citizens, namely the Mutoids, has produced effects on landscape enhancement, through an action aimed at the management of a state property in an area subject to landscape constraint, thus returning landscape to the use of the community. Through a regeneration intervention on a degraded and unused area, the abandoned quarry is not a cost for local institutions to guarantee the security of the space, but becomes an opportunity for the development of local community. The case study evokes “new generation” common goods as disused or abandoned buildings that the public opens to the community use for cultural activities (Fidone, 2017: 417).

The concept of “common good” emerges, indeed, as the transformation of the landscape by the artists is publicly perceivable, usable, and communicates values on which the citizenship identifies itself, even though the group makes private use of the public space. This private use is still related to exercising a public utility, which is noticeable both in the management of the settlement as an artistic park and in the regeneration and maintenance of a degraded landscape, even if constrained. The mode of public/private collaboration, then, is specifically oriented to improve the public fruition of the park and to enrich the environmental context in a manner that is compatible with its protection, whose guarantee is imposed as “counterpart” in charge of the MWC, as an exchange for the regularisation of its permanence.

The procedural complexity that led to the solution also offers some food for thought related to urban regeneration, specifically when applied to landscape. It offers a contribution as an “experience”, as a further suggestion on a possible approach to urban regeneration which is still out of a legally defined path, despite

having a growing importance within the local government policies: on the one hand, the central role attributed to the possibility of converging the safeguard of Mutonia with the rehabilitation of a disused industrial site through the establishment of a publicly accessible artistic park; on the other hand, the collaborative perspective adopted by the municipal administration since the arrival of the artists, and the research of an effective and calibrated legal instrument for this situation. This is also an important point of the current process of redefining relationships between private individuals and institutions, increasingly moving towards consensuality and cooperation of citizens in decision-making and management processes of the administration, especially when common goods are being addressed.

In this case, a group of citizens "shares" with a public administration the exercise of one of the most characteristic functions of the public power, such as urban planning. The case study represents, indeed, an example of collaborative urban planning, in the application of horizontal subsidiarity (Chiti, 2017: 36). It is, therefore, a model in which the moment of authority precedes and is accompanied by negotiation, but the "creative" association's role is new in this case. Moreover, the association is not replaceable for the purposes indicated in the POC. Therefore, public procedures for the selection of the operator are unnecessary. In any case, the attribution of the management of the area to an association does not preclude the access to the site by the whole community. On the contrary, it is even functional, for the cultural purposes of the settlement.

With regard to the landscape, the possibility to consider it a common good derives from its perceptive dimension, which is intrinsically public as it is publicly visible and usable. In fact, it has a twofold nature: one can be traced back to its material presence, made of concrete elements and on which private goods inevitably fall, and the other one is linked to the relative communication of "sense", to its cultural value. From another viewpoint, the hospitality of the Romagna community and the cultural liveliness of the region helped the company to remain and satisfy the requirement of intergenerationality (*intergenerazionalità*) of the relationship between good and community, to eliminate the risk of a selfish and utilitarian use, incompatible with the common good concept. In addition, the case study shows how a local institution consents to the use of a public area by a cultural association with an act of planning. This becomes, indeed, an opportunity to unburden the public administration of economic and organisational loads deriving from the property of the area, but even more to broaden the cultural offer for the community with undoubted benefits in terms of local development.

From a legal perspective, the area considered in the case study is also classified as a protected area from other sectoral plans and for this reason subjected to landscape restrictions. As a consequence, a planning act (POC) became a tool for landscape enhancement. All this means that urban regeneration is an atypical administrative function. Urban regeneration of common goods and landscape enhancement are in this sense converging[70]. This is because one of the most relevant application of common goods' governance is the landscape (Settis, 2016). Moreover, the atypicality (*atipicità*) of these two concepts allows interchangeability of regulation tools, able to produce – as for Mutonia theme Park – positive effects on both fronts, also filling Italian legislator's delay to provide the landscape enhancement function with adequate tools (Casini, 2016).

[70] See: Italian Code for Cultural Heritage and Landscape, art. 143.

In the Mutonia case study, at the first stage (between the settlement and the demolition order), identifying the area as a common good seemed inadequate; in fact, it was basically intended for private use. The artists came from a past of occupations, rave parties and street performances, and undoubtedly the ideological component of their artistic project also included the concept of collective and shared fruition, as well as the stimulus for reflection on the transformation of abandoned places (and this feature has also been reflected on the morphology of Mutonia). However, this reasoning is different from the process identifying a common good. Of course, it cannot be said that on this urban space the Mutoids have directly claimed the demands as active citizens who carry general interests, nor that the local community could be identified as stakeholders. Nor did they intend to coordinate the management of their utopian way of life with the Municipal Administration. In short, Mutonia was not born with the intention of carrying out a service of public utility according to the rules of shared administration, but it self-determined and just found an environment favourable to accept it. Basically, although the Municipality and MWC have set up a collaborative relationship, one supporting it and the other one taking care of the space in a respectful and non-invasive way, using it as a common good, it does not seem possible to talk about shared administration, or at least not in a legal sense.

However, at the second stage (from the start of the planning process onwards), it was instead formally passed on to the design and regulation of the use of the area in a collaborative way. Therefore, it is only at this stage that a complete form of shared administration has been achieved: firstly, because Mutoid and the municipal administration have co-designed the intervention, also because the demands of the public have been accepted as a prevailing interest towards directing a planning procedure, and finally, because the landscape enhancement intervention has been regulated in a logic of sharing tasks and responsibilities between the administration and MWC, whose details are specified on the agreement associated with the plan.

3.2 Towards the sustainable development of Mutonia as a transforming landscape

The case of Mutonia effectively exemplifies the above-mentioned emerging approach to landscape protection based on *openness*, *inclusiveness* and *proactivity*.

First, as effectively shown by the video *Transforming landscapes: Mutonia, from an abandoned industrial site to a community of artists*[71], in Mutonia “new behaviours, new ways of living, new freedom is developed. The nomadic city merges with the sedentary one, feeds on its waste, and offers in return its presence as new nature, it is a future to the abandonment spontaneously produced by the city’s entropy” (Francesco Careri). Mutonia could be considered a “third landscape” (Clément, 2004) or a “drosscape” (Berger, 2007) where the presence of Mutoid artists has prevented the deterioration of the environment and contributed to the regeneration of an abandoned area and the increase of its biodiversity.

Second, Mutonia is an example of participatory democracy, promoting dialogue and cooperation among different communities according to a bottom-up approach. Following Ostrom’s principles (Table 1), the site-specific Municipal Plan of Operation and the agreement between the Municipality and the Mutoid Association could be considered a shared system of rules. As emerged during the interviews, Mutonia could be considered a big “horizontal condominium”. However, rules are not shared just by the Mutoid community, but

[71] *Transforming landscapes: Mutonia, from an abandoned industrial site to a community of artists*, video by Filippo Piva, Studio Pampa – Progetto Ambiente Paesaggio, https://www.facebook.com/292509967518881/videos/733236346779572/.

by the Municipality too, widening the community perspective to all the city. As a consequence, the POC is an innovative site-specific model which combines the need to obey the national and regional legal system and the one to ensure the flexibility and transformation of the place. Moreover, it is the result of a multi-stakeholder approach and participatory process, involving not just the Mutoid community, but also politicians, technicians and institutional sovra-systems (Region and Province). If the Italian legal framework is taken into consideration, it could be considered an example of the above-mentioned "coordinated urban planning" (Predieri, 1969). The inclusive method also results as a constantly performed two-way approach: on the one hand, Mutoids participate in several initiatives organised by the Municipality and its cultural institutions, such as the local museum; on the other hand, citizens and local cultural associations are involved in activities carried out by Mutoids.

Third, this case overcomes the dichotomy between protection and enhancement, or rather shows the positive relationship between these two functions. If the site contributes to the regeneration of a disused quarry and the protection of natural resources, it is also getting an important role in enhancing landscape near the river. The artistic park is a unique and distinctive local resource which has attracted international artists and people since the end of the 1990s. More recently, the cycle path which goes around the artistic park and the bike sharing service have improved the accessibility to the area, so that citizens can freely and deliberately share and use landscape. The site is also gaining an important role for local tourism development. The Municipality has approved the specific signs indicating Mutonia and also promotes the site through its website, tourist maps and brochures[72]. Some hotels in the area do the same. Finally, among the positive externalities generated by Mutonia, the specific features of Mutoid art have to be pointed out: given that waste which is collected in this site is reused to create artefacts, the Mutoids support environmental protection through recycling. As confirmed by the interviews to local policy makers, beside recycling, their lifestyle is also a model promoting positive values such as social inclusion, equality, freedom and creativity.

In conclusion, Mutonia results as a sustainable transforming landscape and the artistic activity carried out by the Mutoids gives a contribution to landscape enhancement. As already stated (§ 1.1), from the point of view of public management, the sustainability of its future development depends on the capability to involve all the local actors and to support its continuous transformation through criteria and indicators measuring and evaluating both outputs and outcomes.

4. Conclusions

The management strategy adopted in Mutonia could be considered an attempt to mediate between the need to protect a settlement with an independent cultural value and the need to increase the value of existence and use of the environment. Mutonia community emerges as a hybrid boundary object involved in a process of continuous evolution. It is a contemporary landscape, an artistic laboratory and settlement where private, common and public spaces coexist. It is an open and inclusive space which has generated and generates,

[72] See: http://www.santarcangelodiromagna.info/mutoid-waste-company/ and http://www.santarcangelodiromagna.info/wp-content/uploads/santarcangelo/Brochure%20A3_Santarcangelo-it.pdf.

even not intentionally, positive externalities for a larger community, particularly for the citizens of Santarcangelo di Romagna, in terms of regeneration of an abandoned and degraded space, increased and shared awareness of the value of landscape and its sustainable use, promotion of art and creativity, support to recycling culture. In a nutshell, it is a good practice activating positive behaviours among citizens too.

Actually, Mutonia is not a common good. However, despite its particular origin and evolution, it has obtained the same results and effects that common goods can generate, even more if landscape is taken into consideration. It shows, indeed, the primary elements of common good defined by jurisprudence: the common nature as the result of a specific relationship between the good and a defined community and its relation with the implementation of the welfare state. As a consequence, it can be considered a compelling case of boundary object, useful to contribute to the debate on common goods' governance in the perspective of landscape enhancement, and a model which can provide useful recommendations for the sustainable management of landscape especially in peripheral, inland or fragile areas and the implementation of their attractiveness.

In conclusion, this case generates positive effects as the management of common goods is expected to do, by:

- carrying out small-scale project (e.g. redevelopment of a degraded urban space);
- increasing quality of life and attractiveness of the territory and its cultural offer;
- easing public administrations, sometimes unable to take proper care of common goods, because of the lack of governance capacity and adequate public funds.

Moreover, such as common goods, it has pedagogical and ethical effects (Iaione, 2015: 187). The initiative, indeed, propagates multiplier positive effects and imitation: participants are affected by the initiative through a fostered sense of community, and nonparticipants (i.e. other inhabitants of the neighborhood and other citizens) are also encouraged to join.

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Why We Are Still Stuck in Tourism Policies and How to Release Creativity

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to discuss the idea of creative city (Landry, 2008) that has been used in the city of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. This research uses the Foucauldian genealogical method to demystify the discursive formations that validate ritualized utterances. We hope to highlight how creativity is increasingly used as a biopolitical strategy applied in cities, government and urban plans, economics and subjectivities in a globalized context. On the other hand, we intend to show as the main result of the research, the growth of a movement, which we are going to call counter-dromologic, allude to Paul Virilio (1996). The hypothesis of the research is that, although micro and macropolitics pass by resistance movements, they constitute itself rarely as effective public policies in Brazil. This difficulty is justified by the very mismatch between the economic changes and the “act in due time” to countering the advance of urban operations.

1. Releasing Creativity

This paper aims to discuss, through a reflection on the use of the term *creative* and *creativity* from the mid-1990s to the present day, the idea of creative city (Landry, 2008) that has been used in the city of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, inside the broad field of the so-called creative economy, a political strategy aimed at reformulating the idea of culture in the economic sphere and at urban reforms, concerning the management of territory and populations. By the implication that creative policies have over the territory, it has become increasingly possible to combine mechanisms of financial capitalism, such as gentrification and real estate speculation, to urban reforms that trigger social exclusion dispositive and transform cities into tourist centers, through mechanisms of revocation of asset areas inscribed on the historical heritage list, in a specific manner in the Brazilian scenario.

This research uses the Foucauldian genealogical method to demystify the discursive formations that validate ritualized utterances, in the case of this paper, how the term creativity has been assumed as an unquestionable universal since the late 1990s in cultural government policies and the way it integrates a contemporary "art of governing" which affects both cultural and patrimonial policies as well as urban planning. In this regard, the uses of the term were investigated in the official documents, Australian (Pandora, 1994) and British (Gov UK, 1998) policies just as the manner it was absorbed in Brazil when the Creative Economy Plan (Minc, 2012) was published by the culture department and in newspaper articles, magazines, blogs and websites from 2012 hitherto, a period that encompasses the major urban reforms carried out in several states of the country, especially in the center of Rio de Janeiro.

This research has as starting point the semiotics and discursive analysis inscribed in politics, so it is fundamentally analytic and considers ambivalence (Virno, 2011) and velocity (Virilio, 1996) the two key components of contemporary governmentality (Foucault, 2008a, 2008b). On the one hand, we hope to highlight how creativity is increasingly used as a biopolitical strategy applied in cities, government and urban plans, economics and subjectivities in a globalized context. On the other hand, we intend to show as the main result of the research, the growth of a movement, which we are going to call here counter-dromologic, allude to Paul Virilio.

The hypothesis is that it is possible to affirm the interpenetration and confluence between biopower and biopolitics or biopolitics, in the Foucauldian perspective and tanatopolitics, according to Agamben (2002, 2004, 2017). However, the two scopes, roughly speaking, micro and macropolitics, although they pass by resistance movements, they constitute itself rarely as effective public policies in Brazil. This difficulty is justified by the very mismatch between the economic changes and the “act in due time” to countering the advance of urban operations. Therefore, the only possible way to react to speed consists in strengthening the movements so that they can coordinate their actions and develop strategies, consistent political offensive and be able to gather with the public spheres of decision. The groups that are able to that, in the Brazilian context, are collective of artists and mixed groups that intervene directly in specifically areas of the city.

The subtle shift of names and expressions, in the so-called creative cities[73], for example, from local commerce to mall, from building to tower[74] exposes not only a profound change of meaning, but the consolidation of new urban planning strategies involving the concept of creative city. In this process of changing terms in order to add or exclude previous meanings, we are also discussing the obsolescence of asset protection laws, in Brazil, in urban reforms marked by the principle of diffusion (Berenstein, 2004), and the manner which urban centers are changed through the logic of speed (Virilio, 1996) on behalf of the construction of tourist centers.

In particular, the paper focuses on how urban planning in Brazil has linked a discourse of creativity, in no way creative - once the projects assume a hygienist and standardized aesthetics of international requirements, excluding aspects of the mestizo culture, typical of Brazil – with a program of extermination of the black population living in slums. I would like to deepen the gap between the so-called "creative" projects and the public interests, especially the interests of the low-income and poor populations as well.

Like many countries in the world, which in recent years have been taken over by the idea of *creative city*, Brazil has not lagged behind in this movement. Inspired by the Australian mappings (Pandora, 1994) and British on creative industries (Gov UK, 1998), an attempt was made in early 2010s to develop a Brazilian creative economy with similar premises addressed specifically in the Australian policy. Fortunately, issues related to copyright and sharing network were relativized in Brazil, given the strength that the debate on free and creative commons culture had in the country. The creative industries, especially in the areas of audiovisual, games and fashion were driven by the Ministry of Culture. Creative cities also gained prominence, resulting in at least two forms of urban planning, such as the revitalization process initiated in Paraty, which focuses on the growth of tourism associated with cultural events, that is the case of the International Literary Festival of Paraty (FLIP)[75] which boosted tourism in the city since 2003.

Another way of urban planning that took shape under the sign of creative city are the urban diffusional reforms carried out in the port area in the capital city of Rio de Janeiro, which specifically have begun a process of urban and social sanitation and galloping gentrification. The construction of the *Museum of Tomorrow* (Museu do Amanhã) has become the symbol of this reform. In the case of the capital of Rio de Janeiro, specifically, the government program *My Home My Life* (Minha Casa Minha Vida), facing social housing, was associated with another historical process of removing slums and the populations living in them. The program aims to

[73] Creative territories are defined in the Brazilian Creative Economy Plan as: neighborhoods, cities or regions with creative cultural potentials capable of promoting integral and sustainable development, combining preservation and promotion of their cultural and environmental values. In: *Recognized Creative Territories*. Available in: <http://pnc.cultura.gov.br/category/metas/8>.
[74] This comment refers to a speech given by the mayor of São Paulo about the construction of two towers of 100 meters high and of an open commercial area, designated by him of “open mall”, in a region of the city that is in dispute for nearly 40 years between public power, real estate sector and society. This is an important region for gathering several built heritage assets, among them, the *Teatro Oficina* (Garage Theater), one of the most important theaters in the city. Available in: <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2017/nov/29/teatro-oficina-theatre-sao-paulo-counterculture-silvio-santos>.
[75] Available in: <http://flip.org.br/>.

build sets of apartments financed at low cost and buyers are prevented from selling or leaving the property before the end of the payment. Strategic plans in the urban area define risk areas and areas of social interest, where the favelas are, in order to legally justify the removal actions that consist of transferring the families in garbage trucks to the blocks of *Minha Casa Minha Vida*.

On the other hand, activist groups, movements pro affordable housing and artists have mobilized the population of the great Brazilian metropolises to claim what should be public in the empty and underused spaces in the city, fighting the advance of interests related to public and private initiative for construction of buildings and shopping centers. This leads us to strongly consider the advance of coordinated actions and resistance. The complexity of these two antagonistic movements, tanato and biopolitics[76], demonstrates the growing interest in urban issues as a part of sustainability itself and of the so called urban revolution (Lefebvre, 1999), since this concerns not only to economic, natural or physical resources but forms of life in the cities as well.

With this paper we hope to clarify that the use of the term *creative* in urban reforms and cultural government plans serve to deepen the logic of financial capitalism, which operates through processes of exclusion, gentrification and adaptation to international standards that do not privilege diversity or different forms of insertion in the labor market (actions that could be considered creative), especially in the cultural sector, being thus the great paradox of the acclaimed creativity in the present day.

1.1.The semiotics of urban planning

In order to draw attention to the transformation of words and utterances used through the meaning of creativity, we want to highlight that, without referring directly to its almost immediate sense - of capacity or human ability to create - the term carries within not so explicitly the paradox of sense that Deleuze spoke about (Deleuze, 1974):

> The strength of paradoxes is that they are not contradictory, but they make us witness the genesis of contradiction. The principle of contradiction applies to the real and the possible, but not to the impossible from which it derives, that is, to the paradoxes or rather to what the paradoxes represent (Deleuze, 1974: 45).

When utterances embrace different meanings, in the case of creative uses, when the predominance of one aspect almost excludes its reverse side. At the same time as it refers to the sense of creation and as long as the term is being repeated - creative city, creative economy, creative class - it become an empty signifier. Unlike (post) colonialism, queer, gender studies, biopolitics, among other buzzwords, creativity is something that has its meaning completely depleted by repetition. It no longer assumes the sense of creation, on the contrary, it is constantly associated with the neoliberal discourse in order to become an integral part of it, thus

[76] Biopolitics refers to the book *The Birth of Biopolitics* (2008b), in which Foucault exposes the paradigm shift in the political management of populations, in the sense of making them economically more efficient and politically more docile and *tanatopolitics*, a perspective defended by Agamben (2002, 2004, 2017) in dialogue with Foucault on the prevalence of death policies and the consolidation of the state of exception as an inherent key factor in politics.

becoming invisible. We can no longer see, except those who have already paid attention to the paradox, to its function and use. The risk of increasing invisibility that emerges in the affirmative discourse of the creativity of everything is no longer to perceive the dispositive of power and language tangled in the neoliberal conception of creativity.

UNESCO, an arm of the United Nations (ONU), which focuses on promoting education, science and culture in the world, is the institution that has been defining and leading strategies, plans and cultural policies in the field of creative economics. Officially, it can be said that UNESCO presents statements and new definitions, which are being incorporated into cultural and political agendas, such as the gradual replacement of culture by creativity. The UNESCO network of creative cities, established in 2004 with the purpose "to promote cooperation with and among cities that have identified creativity as a strategic factor for sustainable urban development" (UNESCO website)[77], strengthening the usage of the new meaning given to creativity instead of culture. Creative cities being understood as also defined by Charles Landry, that is, the way in which: "cities can create the enabling conditions for people and organizations to think, plan and act with imagination to solve problems and develop opportunities"[78].

The institution emerged in the post-war period in 1946 to ensure peace and security in the world through the protection of the cultural heritage of humanity, that is, through protection policies of local cultural heritage, oral and written cultural traditions, popular festivals, environmental parks, archeological sites, river basins, neighborhoods, cities and regions expanded globally. Over the years, the notion of cultural heritage has been transformed into universal heritage or human heritage, that is, any manifestation or event considered as asset protection area or asset value, whether architectural, material or immaterial, must be related to a network that raises it into the category of "universal heritage of humanity". Progressively, tangible and intangible heritage are merged into the notion of creative territory and creative industries become more and more integrated into urban planning and reforms.

The classic example of a creative city project in Brazil started with the social hygiene program at the port area of Rio de Janeiro and, more recently, the revocation of the heritage-listed area surrounding *Teatro Oficina* (Garage Theater) in São Paulo are cases that illustrate the controversial relationship between patrimonial policies that are increasingly become obsolete, infringed, and the proliferation of creative territories. Successive barriers to the deployment of public parks, a recurring fact in Brazilian cities, is another important aspect of the discussion, since public space has been progressively privatized or modified in Public-Private Partnerships (PPP) and Consortium for Urban Operations (OUC). Laws protecting areas of social interest have been strategically changed, as in the case of the resolution that bars new asset protection area in the waterfront known as *Porto Maravilha.*

[77] The cities inscribed on the UNESCO network of creative cities, according to the institution, have the common objective of "placing creativity and cultural industries at the heart of their development plans at the local level and cooperating actively at the international level". Available in: <https://en.unesco.org/creative-cities/home>.
[78] Available in: <http://charleslandry.com/about-charles-landry/biography/>.

Porto Maravilha was reformed through an Urban Consortium Operation (OUC), an urban law instrument that allows the municipal government to grant private companies the right to build, renovate or re-urbanize particular areas in the city restricted to regular legislation of use and occupation of the soil. In other words, the right to build is extended to companies, giving them more and more power to intervene in the city, in the same measure that limits social interests and neglects Special Zones of Social Interest (ZEIS), undoes heritage-listed protection and reduces the capacity of social movements to act in time, slowing down the speed whereby such operations are carried out in the territory. Added to this the favelas removal program that strategically take away families living in favelas near to the center, taken in garbage trucks, replacing the implementation of urbanization projects, that is, improvement of the conditions of houses, housing complexes and neighborhoods, infrastructure and so on by removals and social cleansing.

Inheritance of the Olympic Games, that took place in 2016 in Rio, the acclaimed revitalization of the port area became a land of abandoned construction works such as the popular housing project *Porto Vida Residencial* (*Port Residential Life*), which would be destined to municipal civil servants and which is only possible currently to see its bones structure.

In other words, the Urban Consortium Operation (OUC) favours the construction of the so-called industrial pole in the region with the installation of the *Museu do Amanhã* (Museum of Tomorrow), a monumental architectural work designed by the Spanish architect Santiago Calatrava and the MAR (Rio Art Museum), aside from the supposed recovering and protection of historical heritage and buildings constructed during the Portuguese colonization. While the Special Zones of Social Interest (ZEIS) are being strategically disregarded and the laws governing land use, planning and housing policies are constantly unauthorized.

The project to reform the port area of Rio de Janeiro was based on the necessity to create a city-brand able to be presented to the Olympic Games (2016) and World Cup (2014). The recovering of urban infrastructure comprising a new system for drinking water supply, sewage plant, drainage system of rainwater, public lighting, energy, telephony, piped gas and the implementation of the Light Rail Vehicle System (VLT) seems to be the best reform plan.

At first there seems to be nothing wrong with the redevelopment plan for the area, unless we don´t look at how reforms are implemented. When they are taken as "creative reforms", the positive aspect that the term carries would lead to invisibility the problem of favelas removals and forced displacement of former residents, as well as the overshadowed social cleansing and urban gentrification program - if it were not for the work of associations and non-governmental organizations to struggle for the survival of populations living in there. Added to this, the erasing process of historical and immaterial heritage with the implementation of monumental architectural projects as in the case of museums and in the revitalization of facades.

A similar case arises in São Paulo capital. In this case, there is no sea, no port, but the attempt to requalify the city center, as shown by the project *Nova Luz* (New Light), *Arco do Futuro* (Arc of Future) and most

recently, in full dispute between public power, companies and society, the region of Bixiga where the *Teatro Oficina* is located.

The Bixiga neighborhood, hitherto known as the Italian neighborhood of São Paulo circumscribes a striking class division in the district of Bela Vista. The famous Bixiga is actually an Afro-Italian neighborhood (De Castro, 2008), marked by the presence of black population and Italian immigrants who came to Brazil between the 19th and 20th centuries, a typical Brazilian amalgam, despite the great attempt to erase the black roots of the neighborhood and now its past and historical, artistic and cultural present.

On May 25th 2018, the Institute of Historical and Artistic Heritage (IPHAN) together with the Council for Defense of Historical, Archaeological, Artistic and Tourist Heritage (CONDEPHAAT of São Paulo), took another measure of revocation of material and historical heritage. The possibility of revoke a historical asset heritage-listed - despite the contradiction of this phrase - is a political measure usually carried out by decree, with the purpose of building in some part of the city considered area of patrimonial preservation. This juridical-political resource was established by the former President Getúlio Vargas (1883-1954) through the Decree-Law 3.866 of 1941 in order to build one of the largest avenues in Rio de Janeiro, *Avenida Presidente Vargas*, constructed at the time as a re-urbanization project on the northern side of the city and to receive civic and military parades. The urban reform could only be done as *Campo de Santana*, a garden opened in 1873 was took out of the heritage list, as well as the Baroque church of *São Pedro dos Clérigos* (St. Peter of Clerics), built in 1733.

What this means? In some cases, the decrease of part of the territory to accommodate other construction works, as in the case of the revocation of the heritage-listed area of *Campo de Santana* or the complete breakdown of the building, as in the case of the *São Pedro dos Clérigos* Church, which was completely destroyed. There is also a third case, that is, the revocation of a patrimonial area inscribed on the historical heritage list, to be carried out a new construction work that clearly de-characterizes regions protected by a “cone of protection”. In general, this type of invalidation is the result of a negotiation between public power and private interests, in which the private interest overcome the public interest. This is the case of *Teatro Oficina*, one of the most important theaters in São Paulo, whose architectural design was made by Lina Bo Bardi, who also planned the *Museu de Arte de São Paulo* (MASP) and the *Sesc Pompeia* building, was conceived to compose with the landscape and its surroundings. That means, interior and exterior are in permanent state of communication.

Zé Celso and members of the theater launched on October 26th, 2017 the #VETAasTORRES Manifesto together with friends of the theater, not only for its captive audience, but for the surroundings, for the neighborhood and for the city. For this city that still has a few hollow spaces and still accommodates some emptiness in its center. The manifest says:

> We do not want to build buildings, we desire the poetics of emptiness as a construction, in an exercise of imagination, creating pockets of breath in the urban fabric of São Paulo, allowing the land to remain green, permeable to light, rain and time. A space for circuses; shows; outdoor shows performed by different theater

> companies; music; visual arts; cinema in temporary, ephemeral installations in direct contact with nature[79].

The proposal of the SS Group, which won the right to build along with the city hall of São Paulo, was to build an “open-air mall” with mixed buildings, commercial and residential towers. Finally, the Group, whose owner is a television presenter of one of the largest communication companies in Brazil, who also holds the ownership of the vacant land next to the theater, opted to build up two residential towers with over than a hundred meters high, with the endorsement of the National Historical and Artistic Heritage Institute (IPHAN).

These cases illustrate the imminent risk to the cities when governing authorities and enterprises settle to lead megalomaniac projects, such as this one presented by the SS Group, but also urban reforms that, at first, claim the necessity of structural reform or revitalization, but which end up de-characterizing the city, erasing its history, removing low-income populations from the center, all this in the name of raising creative poles and a strong center that represents a city-brand. We need to ask ourselves about this discourse and practice, which are advancing around the world and which effects they entail in long term.

2. Inside out Creative Cities

On the other side of this creative-city-friendly tendency there are a range of counter-actions that challenges this hegemonic tendency of the market, I dare say, in a really creative and creating way, insofar as they depart from a broader and more complex notion of city, social and intercultural coexistence, they act in favor of creating green areas and in protection of poor and endangered populations, among other initiatives. However, because they do not have the support of the public power, but rather of part of the engaged population, their actions do not constitute itself as real government plans or public policies, nor do they have their demands taken into account. Proposals are treated with mockery and disdain.

The counter-dromologic movement being understood here not necessarily as a deceleration movement, although it involves this category, but as an "act in time" to prevent urban reforms, revocation agreements of asset areas, among other interventions, are growing increasingly up, albeit in another time of acting, but enough sufficiently for the moment to create a subjective impact on social movements.

In general, these counter-hegemonic movements consist of collectives - institutions, individuals, theater groups, non-governmental organizations, academic research groups - that seek to organize themselves in coordinated actions with other collectives acting on similar fronts. A good example is the *Fórum Aberto*

[79] Available in: MOVIMENTO #VETAASTORRES <http://teatroficina.com.br/movimento-vetaastorres-ficaoficina/>.

Mundaréu da Luz[80], which defines itself as a "collective that proposes alternatives with the population" and that has been proposing alternatives to stop another unilateral process of real estate expansion in the region of Luz, São Paulo´s downtown, which has been in dispute for years. Expansion, in this sense, means the "expansion of real estate capital and its products: cultural centers, residential middle-class condominiums, corporate towers"[81].

To think inside out the creative city requires a perspective shift, from revitalization processes anchored in tourism development to affordable housing policies which are much more interesting for cities from the point of view of the maintenance of its historical center and commercial zones. A strategy based on recovering actions of damaged buildings, including the preservation of material assets so that it serves on the conservation of public spaces and leisure areas and on social inclusion and maintenance of social interest areas are much more effective in the long term than development policies based on the creation of tourist centers. Tourism is contingent, it floats and oscillates in waves of interest that are directed and redirected to different cities and contexts all the time, it is neither by far nor nearly the smartest strategy of thinking the natural advance of social and territorial transformations in space.

The acclaimed importance of the places for the establishment of creative cities, the valuation of their idiosyncrasies, material and immaterial, of their architectural immovable properties and of their historical, artistic and cultural composition on behalf of tourism policies and the formation of creative clusters as well, favoring the dynamics of flows rather than improving the habitation conditions considering who lives in the area through valuation measures of buildings, preferably of social interest housing and the preservation of green areas trigger two antagonistic movements.

According to Berenstein (2004), there are two dominant tendencies today, a predisposition to set “freezing policies”, which combine patrimonial policies and tourism boost that transform urban centers into “city-museums” and "theme-park-cities" and a tendency that goes in the opposite direction, which is focused on “diffusion policies”, that means, rampant building in areas already highly populated or the rapid expansion of the urban fringes. Both inclinations lead to what she calls the spectacularization of cities, the two processes being aspects of the same problem. The executors of these projects, whether of freezing or diffusion are generally the same and they are used to promote the same market dynamics: real estate speculation and the boosting of tourism industry, as if this were the only sector that one could invest.

[80] The *Mundaréu da Luz Open Forum* is a collective that brings together institutions, groups and people committed to proposing alternatives to the Luz region, such as the Citizenship Action; Mungunzá Theater Company; Craco Resists; Citizenship and Human Rights (NECDH), Rights of the Elderly and the Person with Disabilities (Nediped); FLM - Fight Front for Housing; State Front of Antimanicomial Fight (Feasp-SP); IAB-SP - Institute of Architects of Brazil/São Paulo; INNPD - Black Initiative for New Drug Policy; Pólis Institute; LabCidade - Public Space Laboratory and Right to the City/FAUUSP; LabJUTA - Territorial Justice Laboratory/UFABC; LEVV - Laboratory of Violence and Social Vulnerability Studies/Mackenzie University; Residents and merchants of blocks 36, 37 and 38 of Campos Elíseos district; Observatory of Removals; REPEP - Patrimonial Educational Paulista Network; UHM - Union of Housing Movements, among others. Available at: <https://mundareudaluz.org/sobre-o-forum/>.

[81] Available in: <https://mundareudaluz.org/2018/03/14/sobre-o-processo/>.

Milton Santos in *Espaço e Método* (2008) considered space an instance of society, in the sense of being a set of factors, values and functions that constitute a certain social scope, such as culture and economy. In the words of the author: space "*contains* and *is contained* by other instances, just as each of them contains and is contained by it. The economy *is* in the space, just as space *is* in the economy" (Santos, 2008: 12). Space is not formed only by things and objects, there is the geographical and spatial domain, and a certain arrangement of objects in the landscape, activated by representative social processes, whose function is materialized in forms. "That's why space contains the other instances. It is also contained in them, insofar as specific processes include space, whether the economic process, the institutional process or the ideological process" (ibid., 2008: 12).

According to Santos, it is also a totality that can be analyzed from the composition of its parts: men, firms, institutions, infrastructures and ecological environment (modified by technique). Each of the space elements are interchangeable: "men can also be taken as firms (workforce salesman) or as institutions (in the case of citizens, for example), in the same way as institutions act as firms and these as institutions" (ibid., 2008: 17). In the latter case, Santos gives the example of transnationals and large corporations, when they create certain social norms, extrapolating their internal limits and competing with the state, as it happens with the establishment of the commodity price by big monopolies. Given the interaction between the elements of space, it can only be understood as a complex system of structures, as a network of relations (ibidem, 2008: 28).

Tourism, as a temporary movement of people, from the point of view of those who travel, from the set of services available in the city of reception for those arriving, that is, the production chain that involves buying and selling services and tourism products and, finally, tourism from the point of view of the generation of investments and employment are an economics-based perspective. Given the very nature of the economic discourse, this outlook empty out the complexity of the composition of space as a complex system and overshadows the inherent relation between circulation of people, speed and dromology. According to Paul Virilio:

> The whole world is aware that there is a political economy of wealth. Power is linked to wealth. But people forget to say that wealth is linked to speed. In the Greco-Latin era, the bankers were knights or navigators. The surplus value was linked to the speed of ships in the Mediterranean - reread Fernand Braudel - or to the speed of the knights, those who carried the messages, carrying orders. When one says that time is money, it is meant to say that speed is power. Since the 1960s, I have been interested in this science - it is not science yet, but it might become one -, which I would call dromology[82].

Dromology is also an epistemology that walk along with the urban revolution (Lefebvre, 1999)[83] as a counter-speed, but that perspective must also be developed. The research of the political meaning of dromos, the

[82] Available in: <https://acervoclaudioulpiano.com/2018/04/24/velocidade-e-acidente-integral-entrevista-de-paul-virilio/>.

[83] According to Lefebvre, each city is constituted and differentiated by its social and production relations. The urban society would be the result of an expansion of urbanization, as a process that stem from industrialization, from the industrial city, as far as it dominates and absorbs agricultural production until it reaches the point of its almost dissolution. This occurs when agriculture becomes a specific sector among industrial sectors and as a final result "of a process in the course of which old urban forms explode, inherited from discontinuous transformations" (Lefebvre, 1999: 13). These old

Greek word for "race" in the constitution of cities was the main object of research in Virilio's work. Dromology, that is to say, the study of the speed or the logic of the race (Virilio, 1996, p.53), was the great idea that the author had to explore the relation between the category of speed (of the transports, of the electric transmission) and of the capitalist logic.

> Speed made history in the same way as wealth. It is not possible to separate them. Of course, there is also the speed of transmission: the telegraph, telephone, the wireless telegraphy, the radio, television and now the Internet. The speed of transport has been overtaken by an absolute speed of electromagnetic waves, which enable telecommunications, telework, the teleactivity and also the strategy[84].

This strategy to which the author refers is exactly the political strategy of domination by land tenure. In the book wrote by Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow* (2013), the author defends a similar thesis as Lefebvre's (1999) and very close to Virilio's (1996), apparently quite widespread among architects and urbanists, that the urban planning of the twentieth century would be a reaction to the problems that emerged in the nineteenth-century cities, as well as we handle therefore now the heritage of the industrial mode of planning from the twentieth´s. These problems have a direct linkage with the organization of the bourgeois city and the re-functionalization of the logic of medieval fortress (Virilio, 1996), in the relation that they establish with suburbs, working-class neighborhoods and slums. This question is still present today: how to expel the poor population from the target areas considered as new urban centralities?

Virilio, in *Speed and Politics*, referred to circulation as something paradoxical in any revolution. Revolution as a univocal idea, at the same time, in a sense close to Lefebvre's, when considering the urban revolution, a virtual and possible stage of the development of cities (and subjectivities), demonstration, disorder, conquest of the street. And revolution in the sense of "assault machine", when certain social or political class "changes the rules of the game", stands out, turns the current reality by force or, as Virilio would say, by speed, by time gained. The city simultaneously ideal fixed point, place to stop for the migratory flows and surveillance platform with its tollgates and customs office surrounded by inaccurate places that control movement:

> The ancient swampy and unhealthy beaches surrounding the fortified city, the *congoplains* of the American slave, the old fortifications, the poor peripheries and slums, but also the mental hospital, the barracks and the prison, solve more a problem of flow than of enclosure or exclusion. They are all inaccurate places because, between two transit speeds, they act as brakes of penetration, of its acceleration. Located from the origin in the terrestrial or fluvial communication routes, they are later compared to sewers, to standing water. The interruption of the flow (of progress), the sudden absence of motricity creates, ineluctably, an almost organic corruption of the masses (VIRILIO, 1996: 23).

These inaccurate places that give rise to the suburbs and lodgings, not to the right to the city, are encapsulated in a great dispositive of power, as Foucault also referred to, in his own way, in *Safety, Territory, Population* (Foucault, 2008a), which includes strategies of movement control, daily security practices at

forms, characteristic of other city models, need to undermine themselves to give rise to other models. Urban society, in that it is born of industrialization and succeeds it, leads off the post-industrial society. This means that the post-industrial creative city, in an attempt to solve the problems of the industrial city, would involve the capacity to transform it. Lefebvre named urban revolution, this process whereby the knowledge about urbanization would culminate in an urban practice to be "re-learn", apart from urbanism as a science of the urban, that is, this transformation would be made less by experts and more by the need to create common spaces and new forms of social interaction (Lefebvre, 1999).

[84] Ibidem.

borders and customs, monitoring by surveillance cameras and, last but not least, by the real estate power. According to Virilio, the bourgeoisie exercised its power much more by the property of a "fixed abode", with monetary and social value that guaranteed a place inside the protected city, than by trade and industry (Virilio, 1996: 24). The property, that also allows them to trigger the income-dispositive (Arantes, 2010), colonizes not only the private space of the house, but the city itself and is a key part of security and gentrification mechanisms, as well as it establishes itself as speed inside creative cities. Speed, understood here at the same time as a category of analysis of the society modernization process and technique of controlling the movement of things, people and information.

Therefore, thinking about tourism within the dromological key means that the relation between political (and cultural) strategy typical of creative cities and the promotion of tourism operate in the speed logic, in the dromos logic. [...] "Policy of progress and change are empty words if one does not see behind the electric megalopolis, behind the city that doesn´t stop, the dark silhouette of the old fortress fighting against its inertia and for those who stop means to die" VIRILIO, 1996: 28). Not being able to stop is the logic that guides the suffocation of Teatro Oficina and the denial of the right to preserve empty lots and to transform them into parks. Park for what?

To stop.

Final Considerations

Creative city is a concept difficult to define, as well as creative economy. Both were formulated differently in the countries that originated them and in the countries that absorbed them. That was not different in Brazil, where the necessity to say that we will produce not only a different concept, but the creation of policies that will promote the Brazilian culture in its various aspects and original cultural features, born with the indigenous and African people, are especially strong. The ordinary conception of culture as an identity element of a people or country is confused with the idea of creativity, giving to it a simply economic sense and to culture something related to the promotion of cultural diversity, sustainability, innovation and social inclusion. Creativity seems to correspond to the GDP and culture to something that improves life in general and that needs to be somehow fostered.

The creative cities are nothing less than a concept, one can say that this concept doesn´t matter, that no one lives the reality of the city as a creative city, but it is a concept whose meaning becomes effective, every time that the capital or the creative class are glorified as well as those who revitalize neighborhoods and the local economy through their own bodies or by creating touristic poles. A body that is the capital itself. A body that is clustered in certain urban centers and precisely because of that and without knowing it, triggers gentrification, exclusion and sanitation processes. If power relations pass through the body and are produced by it, how could this process be stopped? Who has this power?

I raised the current problem of changing names and utterances with the intention of highlighting the substitutions that are being adopted on behalf of a great project of economic-political adequacy to the advent of post-fordism and the emergence of creative industrial cities. I also highlighted the way the idea of creative city comes stimulating at least two decades the so-called urban revitalizations in a very questionable way, mainly in the developing countries, as is the case of Brazil. It is not without purpose, for example in the case of *Teatro Oficina*, that the proposal submitted to transform the vacant lot that composes with the landscape and with the theater itself, being part of this, refers to the construction of buildings as construction of towers. Just as it is no coincidence that culture has been replaced by creativity. Nor by chance that historical heritage-listed are being constantly revoked.

The urban centers are sold out, drained by urban reforms without planning them with people living in its centers where and how they want to live. No one knows where to put the refugees and the huge mass of precarious workers growing every day, just to point out emerging and urgent problems that require a creative skill. Interestingly, the creative class cannot find a solution for this type of problem. Creative class is nothing more than a variation of human capital, a capital that calls itself creative but cannot "think, plan and act with imagination to solve problems and develop opportunities," reversing Landry's words.

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Shifting the Romanian cultural Perspective through Design and Design Education to Address a Transformative Society

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ABSTRACT

This research paper aims to identify various solutions to improve by implementing actual theoretical and practical approaches the relation between global design culture and the on growing Romanian society and to synchronize the educational context with international civilization's standards. Furthermore, we also highlight the importance of cross disciplinary dialog at educational, social and economic level between active players, such as institutions, universities, schools, studios, NGOs, professional organizations, manufacturers from the creative industries field, through design's methodology as a decisive influential vector to address a transformative society.

Keywords:

design
education
critical design
material culture
contextual studies

Western techno-cultural context of design

As we know, with both Bauhaus and the *Hochschule für Gestaltung* from Ulm schools we can talk about generalizing an institutional paradigm at European level in terms of design theoretical framework. Seen more than ever in capitalist western societies as a specific and organized system of mass production process, design culture gradually becomes a key economical vector.

In the first decades of the 20th century, especially in the interwar and postwar periods, amid urban development and rationalization, or demographic transformations caused by new work opportunities, the transition from 19th craft to serial production of utilitarian objects to a larger scale, it definitely influences the design's economic and social identity or technical role in synchronizing with emerging technologies and industries of those days.

Along with rapidly growing urbanization on industrial progress background, the occurrence of new necessities of both private and public life of the citizens, especially in what defines the employee status, determined an increasing involvement of design to face these new necessities of the modern user. The daily life urbanization process, started as we know by the implications of technological evolution, creates a complex of various accommodations to the new working environment. To efficiently address this context, design gradually captures everyday habitual or lucrative requirements, from the production of commodities to the identification of new private or public rationalized spatial concepts based on these dominant necessities, such as the apparition of the standard kitchen (such as Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky's *Frankfurter Küche*), the systematized working units or later cubicles from the 80's, the various signaletic codes used over time to organize the factory activities etc. Worthy of note is that this context is also triggering in time new social and behavioral patterns defining urban progress of western civilization through design's increasing influence on both economy and society.

At the same time, given the importance of streamlining the design process in terms of function or structure, the product aesthetics definitively abandons the *crafty* decorative stance in favor of a standard "industrial art" iconicity based on an idealized general concept of *commodity* able to cope to a wider audience by mass production's marketing and advertising strategies. Obviously, overproduction did not delay to make an appearance over time, during the design's cross disciplinary development as corporate culture dissemination tool.

As time went on, design has become an essential instrument of social and cultural transformation in the context of which the main concerns about the quality of connections between individuals and society, are to analyze, understand and reshape the way of how we conceptualize civilization. However, until the consolidation of this profoundly formative role for what we may call user experience management of everyday life towards a real mentality shift from the passiveness of consumption to social and political awareness, the design has undergone a number of crucial changes.

Considering the rapid transformations of contemporary western global society, the educational management of various institutions or specific design departments, particularly in Romania or other similar Eastern European countries, needs to face the new organizational and methodological challenges and to adapt to more actual institutional policies, systems of values or curricula in order to have a real constructive impact on the fast growing society from both economic and cultural perspectives and last but not list, from a deontological or ethical point of view.

The multiple challenges that contemporary design faces in today highly developed technological culture due to the Digital Revolution's prominent new researches such as *user experience*, *Internet of Things* or *home automation* have lead inevitably to different approaches regarding the possibility of alternative definitions to reshape the relationship between user-product-process-producer-experience beyond the utilitarian modernistic meaning, which also underlines the significance of sociological and cultural influence upon the design thinking process. For a better understanding the renowned architect Andrea Branzi explains that "During the period of forced industrialization that lasted from 1920 to 1960, the hypothesis had been formed that design ought to be helpful in bringing about a standardization of consumer goods and the patterns of behavior in society. Its work lay in a quest for primary needs." (Koskinen et al, 2011:10).

Beginning generally with the sixth decade of the 20th century, the aim of whole design culture goes through various fundamental mutations from identifying general ideal solutions on basic needs by perfect but neutral products that seem indifferent to a specific target audience toward, as Branzi stated, designing a different category of commodities. "The great, pyramid-shaped mass markets, guided by enlightened or capricious opinion leaders, gradually disintegrated into separate niches and were subsequently reformed into new and multicolored majorities. Design had to skirt its attention from mass products to those intended for limited semantic groups. From objects that set out to please everyone, to objects that picked their own consumers. From the languages of reason to those of emotion." (Koskinen et al, 2011:10).

For this reason, we could consider that the transforming role of Design, as a prominent vector of social and cultural mentality change, extends beyond the idealist-utilitarian paradigm of Bauhaus-Ulm legacy, to reshape, adapt or enhance the contextual complexity of nowadays "material culture". More than ever, contemporary design studies deepen its own social capabilities to alter or improve ideologies and behavior, to problematize and investigate identity challenges experienced by individuals in contemporary society, establishing by this means a more responsive and aware way of thinking or acting. Related to this subject, Adrian Forty wrote, "Far from being a neutral, inoffensive artistic activity, design, by its very nature has much more enduring effects than the ephemeral products of the media because it can cast ideas about who we are and how we should behave into permanent and tangible forms." (Forty, 1986:6).

In the same sense, Ian Woodward also states, in *Understanding Material Culture* (2007), the importance of how could today design culture improve the connections between various social and economic contexts and individuals or public, considering that the *object* becomes, more or less, a facilitator of interactions between users and multiple meanings that they correlate to products. "Furthermore, it is not just a matter of individuals

pondering what objects might mean, but individuals reading objects in relation to other individuals within complex intergroup networks patterned by social status and role, and space-time contexts." (Woodward, 2007: 4)

Both culturally and socially speaking, post-war design symptomatically surnamed by Stephen Bailey *The Art of 20th Century*, also targets, in Anthony Dunne's opinion, a reassessment of multiple links developed between culture and technology by reconsidering the capabilities of industrial art: "I believe strongly in the potential of industrial design as applied art, or industrial art, to improve the quality of our relationship to the artificial environment, and in industrial design's potential, at the heart of consumer culture, to be subverted for more socially beneficial ends." (Dunne, 2005:4). This critical theoretical approach on what Marco Susani called "objectology", deepens the scientific interests in recover and update the "interrupted discourse of material culture" (Dunne, 2005:4), by analyzing and systematizing products in accordance with new rules and behavioral codes.

Therefore, we could notice a re-evaluation of design's goals and practical means in the wider context of material studies as well as the utilitarian, aesthetic, social and sometimes political significance which defines the concept of *object* beyond its economical or relational common state, generally understood, in daily human life, as un "urge" or "need" to collect or possess products after being seduced by marketing strategies or advertising schemes. Related to this situation, Jean Baudrillard makes an eloquent remark in *The System of Objects* (1968) emphasizing the importance of the narrative about the "desired" product: "The idealist-consumerist philosophy is based on the substitution of lived and conflictual human relations with 'personalized' relations to objects. According to Pierre Martineau, 'Any buying process is an interaction between the personality of the individual and the so called 'personality' of the product itself.' We make believe that products are so differentiated and multiplied that they have become complex beings, and consequently purchasing and consumption must have the same value as any *human* relation." (Baudrillard, 2001:14)

Even if a common consequence of post-war capitalist systems, mass production or, better said, overproduction, has inevitable triggered unprecedented spread of theoretical and practical design critical trends that question or investigate the long-term effects of this context on future development of society, by overcoming the modernist industrial ideal to solve the perfect fusion between function and form. The famous *bauhausian* phrase "form follows function", coined by Louis Sullivan in 1896, is ironically replaced by Henri Petroski with a more antinomic expression namely "form follows failure" in consensus with David Pye who also considered beyond any doubt that the failing to solve unilaterally the concept of functionality in design is caused by the constant compromise between different stages of process, production itself being, in fact, an endless improvisation in search for ideal solutions.

Along with the so-called Digital Revolution, this critical point of view becomes even more challenging regarding contemporary design's postindustrial condition to influence and shape the multitude of today social relational contexts especially if we consider the shift from economical, technological and social interest in mass production industry offering various adaptive solutions strategies or experiences. Based on this

situation, some post-war design movements, such as the German group Kunstflug from the 80's, propose to switch from hardware to software, from material to immaterial, from object to subject, to what Hardy Fischer's called "the design without object", overpassing the mass production narrative in order to gain specific capabilities, attitudes or behaviors to answer and solve responsibly global concerning issues such as pollution or poverty, naming just a few of them, for example. Coining himself as an "ex-designer", Marti Guixe, stated, in the same way, that designers should rather invent and disseminate new strategies regarding various problematic contexts in the emerging global society than overproducing commodities.

So, the last decades of design concept evolution consist in, first of all, the critical transition from an idealistic industrial aesthetic to an ideology with strong psychological, sociological or behavioral characteristics centered on a more contextualized analysis by discovering new suitable solutions regarding the subject of design process or user experience. From this perspective, the well-known movement called "critical design" by its originators, professors Anthony Dunne and Fiona Raby, appears to be, not only ideologically, more than relevant in terms of responsibility or *prospectiveness* in design thinking process by switching from the aesthetics of production to the ethics of consumption and investigating possible or cutting-edge social scenarios to anticipate the ways that society will react in the future.

Questioning the relation between general interests of industry and business environment in mass production and the revised role of design as one of the most significant players in reshaping society toward its deepest needs, Dunne and Raby, due to their studio-platform activity, aim to use the design process as both cultural and social tool through cross-disciplinary debates between theorists, researchers, practitioners, industry and public. This approach is considered more probable to succeed by establishing new communication strategies the leap from "product narrative" to "user experience". Even though usually considered a tool of capitalism profit interchange, the two mentioned designers advocate for strengthening design's both cultural aspect and educational importance, or as they write, the "intellectual stance", essential characteristics, in their opinion, for ensuring its growing future development. Therefore, Dunne and Raby rely on constantly reevaluation of the design's instances of communication and of the deontological or ethical effects of this process on society. In one of their books, *Design Noir- The Secret Life of Electronic Objects* (2001), they analyze the necessity of a solid alternative design mainly focused on questioning, analyzing, criticizing or prospecting about other possible economical or industrial scenarios related to contemporary social and technological context. Dunne and Raby consider that:

> Most designers, especially industrial designers, view design as somehow neutral, clean and pure. But all design is ideological, the design process is informed by values based on a specific world view or way of seeing and understanding reality. Design can be described as falling into two very broad categories: affirmative design and critical design. The former reinforces how things are now, it conforms to cultural, social, technical and economic expectation. Most design fall into this category. The latter rejects how things are now as being the only possibility, it provides a critique of the prevailing situation through designs that embody alternative social, cultural, technical or economic values. (Dunne & Raby, 2001, p.58)

The *relational* importance of design it is considerably developing due to the effects of the emerging technologies. More than ever, key concepts as *interaction* and *experience* indicates the paradigm shift from "form follows function" to *form follows experience*, a situation which also marks not only the new economic framework for the digital entertainment era, but a whole new social and psychological context where design seen as both *thinking process* and *work in progress* becomes the main determinant of humans every day multisensory experience. The contemporary user, far away from being just as a mere susceptible customer or a passive *anti-hero* of the advertising narrative, tends naturally to integrate design and technology into his own life improving a whole range of life-style interchange possibilities.

The fact that the nowadays individual, considering all the implications of this concept, has the most significant role in contemporary design process highlights the very tendencies of this industry to deepen human life experience by nurturing, as Nicolas Bourriaud said, the "social quotient", the mood for cohabitation, a tendency for questioning various antinomies, such as material-immaterial, biological-technological or real-virtual. In the same sense, Hackos and Redish, in *User and Task Analysis for Interface Design* (1998), emphasizes both social-psychological and behavioral-educational design's ability to influence the quality of human experience in terms of interaction or intercommunication contexts. Therefore, the mentioned authors stated that "It is from work in cognitive psychology over the last several decades that we have come to appreciate that we cannot just impose designs on users. People are active parts of the system, and because they are much less predictable and less well understood than the computers and other technological parts of the system, they require even greater study and understanding."[85] (Hackos & Redish, 1998)

Prospecting and profiling the future social and technological user interaction scenarios, the design of our days clearly contributes to creating new behaviors and attitudes because, regardless of product or process typologies, this highly creative but almost utopian domain finally aims to enhance the whole techno-cultural context by continuous reshaping and augmenting daily human experiences from, metaphorically speaking, the *old* progressist *objectified* design of *work-in-progress* to the *present* alternative *subjectified* design of *life-in-process*. Really worth to remember is the fact that the Digital Revolution, as new paradigm, had transformed design into an interactive cultural and social tool for improving the concept of an open society through both ethic and aesthetic user *life* experience.

From Internet of Things to home automation, from social media to artificial intelligence, from merging product and process to future prosthetics, implantology or bio-technologic interface, the Design's "language game" within the world, if we use the famous concept of Wittgenstein to describe better this context, seem to profoundly influence, alter or interchange, ontologically speaking, the total experience of our present and further existence. Rather ironically, French designer Phillipe Starck had declared in an interview, in an almost *Nietzschean* manner the "Death of Design" explaining that, in his opinion, "Society is pursuing a strategy of dematerialization: it is more and more about intelligence and less about material. Take a computer, for

[85] Hackos, J and Redish, J (1998) *User and task analysis for interface design*, John Wiley and Sons Inc., New York, USA, page15 are quoted in the article *Towards user design? On the shift from object to user as the subject of design*, writen by Johan Redstrom, Interactive Institute, Hugo Grauers gata 3, SE-411 96 Goteborg, Sweden, page 128 published in *Design Studies Journal*, Vol. 27, No. 2, March 2006

example. In the beginning, computers were big as a house. Now there are computers in the size of only a credit card. In ten years from now they are going to be in our bodies - bionics. In fifty years from now, the concept of computers will have dematerialized itself."[86] because, he continues, if we imagine that someday, not so far in the future, users will be enhanced by implants, they will become "the product itself". In a similar way, Japanese designer Naoto Fukasawa believes that the what we could call the "new ergonomics" of user experience in general, implies that the future electronic devices will be embedded or implanted. On the occasion of his lecture and exhibition *Supernormal* in Chicago hosted by *Luminaire*, Andrew Clark and Iker Gil interview Naoto Fukasawa who states that:

> Technology is improving towards a specific direction. A TV used to be a huge box, for example, but now it is really thin. That is an obvious, inevitable goal: to make a TV thinner so it can be part of a wall. I am using a wall as a metaphor, not as the real physical wall. All of the products will be going either to the architectural wall side or the human side. The same thing happened with the telephone. It used to be a big object located on a table, but now it is a small thing in your ear. In this case, it has moved to the human side. The new technology will push things so they disappear in either of those sides. But some objects will remain. Chairs still exist because we need them, the table will be here…. they have existed for a long time and they will still exist. But it is important to understand that the rest of the objects are going to inevitably disappear. That is why you don't design a very massive TV anymore. Even without design, technology will push the projects in those two ways. That is my basic understanding of the standing position of the object.[87]

Thus, we can easily observe that contemporary design stands somehow between the *culture of needs* and the *need of culture* and constantly questions the designer's role from the material culture studies perspective in relation to overproduction and a more complex technological, social and economic context, also analyzing the psychological relation between the product and the user by highlighting the influence of objects on the behavioral codes based on remarkable studies quoted above. For this purpose, we considered to re-approach the concept of *object* and to question the drive to design new products which is commonly argued today by many theorist and designers, generating alternative proposals of connected subjects such as "objectology" or *critical* approaches of *non-objectual* production*,* and also identity repositioning towards designer's statute in the post-capitalist society, if we mention the syntagma "ex-designer" that Marti Guixe used to self-define.

Romanian design context- a theoretical and practical challenge

In Romania design was applied, as we will argue further, in both theoretical and practical fields in a questionable way. In the communist period design was deficient in terms of nomenclature, research and education. Moreover, in the transition years 1990-2000 the Romanian emerging efforts to synchronize with the European design led to imitate or reproduce various international trends struggling for its own identity. Nowadays, Romanian design culture strives to be acknowledged not only for its aesthetics or formal qualities but for its processual complexity and versatility in application.

[86] https://www.cnet.com/news/philippe-starck-and-design-is-dead/ original article translated from German paper *Die Zeit* https://www.zeit.de/2008/14/Designer-Starck-14

[87] http://www.mascontext.com/tag/naoto-fukasawa/

In Romania, the transition from handicraft and craftsmanship to industrialization was particularly prolific in the interwar period when national production was one of the most accelerated in the world. From aircrafts (e.g. IAR 80 the world's fourth fastest plane was produced in 1937 in Brasov), passenger and freight trains or tanks to radios and furniture, all of these products implied the unwitting usage of design during manufacturing.

During communism, Romania's forced industrialization and overproduction generated a new educational approach more suitable with the requirements of the factories. Although the term “design” wasn’t frequently used (most likely for anti-capitalist reasons), design was practiced throughout the entire country and was involved in the production of the majority of objects such as clothing and footwear, consumer electronics (radios, TV sets, semi-automatic washing machines, etc.), furniture, toys, public or individual transport (cars, motorcycles and trams) and others.

Due to this context, the National University of Arts from Bucharest created in 1969 the *Aesthetics of Industrial Forms*, a new direction of study belonging to the Faculty of Decorative Arts and was followed as an example two years later by *Ioan Andreescu* Institute of Fine Arts from Cluj-Napoca. Pursuing the Bauhaus curricula, architects and visual artists taught the principles of design and prepared the first generation of design professionals.

Technologically limited by a semi-automated production and determined to quickly reach financial autonomy, Romania was able to manufacture according to the Soviet model consumer goods which were questionable in terms of design. The lack of research as a consequence of censorship (the impossibility of professional literature and the absence of documentation of products and trends manufactured in the Western space) generated robust and obtuse objects with a controversial originality.

After the fall of the Ceausescu regime, we can identify the mass usage of the term *design,* poorly acknowledged in most cases, either as a synonymous to fashion design or only as an equivalent for styling or shape innovation. In addition, the desire of importing and absorption of western models tragically coincides with Romanian industry privatization phenomenon which led to the bankruptcy of factories and, implicitly, to the impossibility of practicing design. This situation has to be correlated at the same time with what Peter Gorb and Angela Dumas labeled in 1987 as “silent design” (Riezebos et al, 2003:128). In their opinion we could speak about this concept referring to engineers, programmers, marketing managers or other persons who practice design without being a professional and who do not recognize the design activities.

Thus, we can easily notice that the difference between eastern and western design development is given firstly by the historical gap caused by the fact that in the international context design debuts with the Industrial Revolution and the term is commonly used since the 19th century in comparison with the Romanian context in which design is a recognized domain and study field starting in the 1990s.

For these reasons we can state that the Romanian design is still in the position of shaping its own identity. Starting from the 1990s most of the projects and approaches in design didn’t focused on originality but on

replicating various styles and trends as minimalism (addressed, most likely, due to the lack of resources and the demand for simplicity) or Scandinavian movement without creating a reinterpretation from its own cultural perspective, but rather, as in architecture, as an adaptation or a translation of preexisting solutions whose character becomes original only through the technical and financial limitations provided by Romanian manufacturers.

However, notable steps were made starting with 2016 when *Romanian Design Week* curators have chosen, as the central object, a contemporary reinterpretation of the traditional shepherd's chair– a representative object for Romanians that has preserved its shape during centuries. The shepherd's chair was created by product designer Dragos Motica who opts to conserve the form of the product as a historical heritage and to transform it into a demountable chair in order to obtain a flat pack transportation solution. Furthermore, Motica also adds a bar stool for a series of objects, similar in shape but with an extra metal accessory intended for support.

Another aspect worth mentioning is the building chosen in 2018 to host the exhibition center of *Romanian Design Week festival* namely the Telephone Palace Building that was built in Art Deco style between 1929 and 1934 and was until 1970 the tallest building in Bucharest.

A relevant example, in a similar way, from an architectural point of view is choosing the former textile factory to host the national festival of design *Zain* from Cluj. This astonishing option doesn't surprise the audience with the location that clearly suggests the deliberate choice to revitalize Romanian industry but with the fact that the organizers covered the exterior of the building with cloth reminding the public of the radical gestures of land artists Christo and Jeanne-Claude. Thus, wrapping of a building could be interpreted as a signal to draw attention on willfully abandoned buildings and on the needs of the creative community.

Redesign Crafts / *Traditional Crafts in Contemporary Design Processes* is a manifesto exhibition organized by The Institute and displayed as a result of the collaboration between designers and handicraftsmen which aims to apply product innovation through traditional techniques such as woodworking, ceramics and textile weaving, blacksmithing, leather crafting, spinning wool, coppersmithing, pottery, woodcarving, brickmaking, straw basket making and others. The intention of the project is to create critical awareness and to allow the public to understand design not only as a domain beyond mass production but also through a cultural and behavioral point of view. Thus, beside the revitalization of traditions and the reinterpretation in a contemporary context, a visible shift from a product-based economy to circular one is possible, generating valuable collaborations in economic and cultural terms.

In addition, Romanian designers already have a good reputation and are renown at important design events such as *Salone del Mobile Milan*, *IMM Cologne*, *Light and Building Frankfurt*, *Maison et Objet Paris* etc. where they exhibit works that enhance their effort of identifying a national style. These examples show considerable progress if we are to accept design, mostly product and industrial in regard to the Romanian economic context, as the recognized domain with only 3 decades of experience.

Therefore, this lack of development of Romanian design on the one hand, correlated with the possibility of synchronizing offered by research through online mediums and the freedom of movement in the European Union on the other, can become a valuable opportunity to quickly define and apply contemporary design without risking previous failures that were already experienced by international designers. This favorable context can help in the development of the national climate achieved by formal and informal education, by applying principles of design and design thinking and by modifying the legislative framework in terms of tax exemption of Designers or the recognition of their role in research development teams.

In this regard, we should underline also the importance of design influence on various creative and cultural industries and the notable impact on the economic climate. Over the past years, we noticed a similar growing interest in that field in Romania following European examples. For instance, the UK Design Council stated that the design economy generated £85.2bn in gross value added (GVA) to the UK in 2016 and grew the economy between 2009 and 2016 by 52%.[88]

According to Invest Romania - the website created by the government in order to promote foreign investments, the Cultural and Creative Industries (CCI) "the number of active companies in Design increased by 19% in 2014 compared to 2009 and with a 78% in total turnover for 2014 against 2009, this sub-sector, namely the NACE code for design activities (…) had one of the biggest growth levels in total turnover, together with Gaming and web portals activities (…)"[89].

Nevertheless, design's both social and economic influence in the Romanian context is constantly increasing considering not only the strong impact of the creative industries in a formal or nonformal manner on developing society, but also the mentality change and educational shift caused by the emerging design generation's requirements through adapting this context to the European principles on an open society.

Shifting the educational perspective

Following our experience, we have determined that one of the most effective solutions for implementing design as an instrument for cultural and social improvement is both formal and informal education in design and art universities. Important steps were already made in this regard at the *George Enescu* University of Arts from Iasi by selecting semi-annual and yearly subjects or bachelor and dissertation themes from the social and cultural innovation field. In this circumstance, increasingly more topics begin to question the use of design as a tool for increasing the turnover of a company and focus more on the ethical component of the field by attempting to find solutions to issues such as combating poverty, water purification, increasing the quality of life of people with disabilities or homelessness persons, rationalization of the natural resources or the valorization of local producers.

88 https://www.designcouncil.org.uk/what-we-do/research/design-economy
89 http://investromania.gov.ro/web/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/2016-Cultural_Creative_Industries_EN_.pdf

The constant redefinition of design as a domain involved the synchronization of design education with both international educational standards and the new requirements resulting from the current context. For this reason, an educational curriculum update was imposed, which implied overcoming both the *Bauhaus* principles and the *Hochschule Für Gestaltung* from Ulm paradigm by introducing new subjects such as eco-design, entrepreneurship in creative industries, communication and negotiation, marketing and management, the relationship between art and design and many others. In addition, the synchronization of the curricula also implied creating strategic partnerships in order to facilitate the profound understanding of the particularities of the casuistry required by each project. Thus, we already acknowledge the fact that design is inter and trans-disciplinary not only as a result from the collaboration with business and sales managers, engineers, marketers, photographers or clients, but also as an outcome that implies an objective analysis of the transformative society (generated user's behavior and the complex historical, cultural, political and economic climate) which assumes collaborations and profound understanding from multiples fields that may appear unlinked.

Thus, connections have been established with various institutions such as Gheorghe Asachi Technical University of Iasi (Robotics - at the Mechanical Engineering Faculty and the Faculty of Textile, Leather and Industrial Management of Iasi), Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași (Faculty of Psychology and Education Sciences and Faculty of Philosophy and Socio-Political Sciences Iasi), Moldova Philharmonic, Mihai Eminescu Central University Library of Iasi and others.

In this regard, students from the Design department of George Enescu National University of Arts Iași developed projects focused, aside from responsible consumption of resources, on solving or debating subjects towards social, political and cultural problems such as touchscreen tablet for visual impairment persons, ramps for people with mobility impairments, outdoor furniture which promotes reading, packaging made from recycled materials or products that encourage circular economy.

Lastly, design becomes a democratic tool which from an educational point of view, is no longer established on acquiring skills as drawing, 3D modeling, or hyperrealist rendering- skills considered nowadays implicit, but refers to the ability to critically reflect on the historical heritage, the present context and the possible future forms by applying design thinking methods and strategies.

Transformative design in a transformative society

Gradually, the designer's role is to transform and orient as a social and cultural compass, a status that can only be attained through close collaboration between NGOs, specialists from the creative industry such as designers, artists or craftsmen, entrepreneurs and manufactures. Thus, we consider, that only through this holistic approach is possible to build a real image over the complexity of the domain, which would conduct to the reevaluation of the education from both individual and collective perspective.

Through these strategic partnerships, events like workshops, conferences, seminars, exhibitions or work visits can be organized in order to address and improve a transformative society using culture by introducing in emerging subjects in education. *Design thinking, contextual studies, service design, design event, design culture, design narratives, business design innovation* are for instance subjects already included the curricula of prestigious universities like *Politecnico di Milano*, *Aalto University*, *Royal College of Art*, *Design Academy Eindhoven* and may others. From this stringing of topics, the transition of design is easily noticeable: from a domain focused on the production of physical goods to conceptualization or dematerialization aiming in providing a cultural service based on critical awareness.

Notable Romanian events created to promote design take place annually in Bucharest and Cluj through events such as exhibitions and festivals like *Romanian Design Week*, *Zain*, *Diploma* competitions *Ubikubi Young Designers Award (UYDA)* and *National Furniture Design Competition* organized by *Romanian Furniture Manufacturers Association* or NGOs and design organizations as *Romanian Design Council*, *The Institute*, *Instalart* or *Design cel Mare.*

Romanian Design Week is since 2013 one of the most important national design events and consists in a central exhibition and a multitude of collateral events aiming to promote Romanian designers. Yearly, in May, a qualified board of curators selects the most relevant projects from product and industrial, furniture, graphics, fashion, architecture and interior design field which are exhibited for 10 days in various cultural representative locations. Among the collateral events is *Ubikubi Young Designers Award (UYDA)* - a national competition launched by Romanian product designer Dragos Motica which intents not only to identify the young creative designers able to work in the furniture and accessory industry but also to prototype and exhibit their best ideas.

Another mentionable design event organized by *The Institute* is *Diploma* which is a national festival, similar with *Romanian Design Week*, but for emerging designers who have the possibility to display their graduation projects. Promoted also as an annual event *Zain Design Expressions* takes place in November and is the first Transylvanian design festival- an analogous of the Romanian Design Week hosted in Cluj.

Also, with the purpose of supporting and promoting the Romanian design is the initiative of the *Romanian Furniture Manufacturers Association*, who celebrates the 16th edition of the *National Furniture Design Competition* -a design contest consisting in 2 stages: concept and prototype. The first phase emphasis on the originality of the concept and the ability of innovation within technological limitation of the competitors while the second stage of the competition focuses on the capacity of transforming the concept into a prototype through the collaboration with Romanian manufacturers. The second stage of the contest is held in Bucharest during *International trade Fair for Furniture, Equipment and Accessories* (an event similar with Salone de Mobile from Milan) in a designated pavilion alike *Salone Satellite*.

Thus, in the context of collaboration, another significant initiative is *Bucharest Creative Quarter* a strategic focal point in terms of urban development for the creative community and the entrepreneurial environment.

In addition to listing events, it is necessary to investigate and to mention NGOs and initiatives that struggle to synchronize and promote both Romanian design and the emerging creative industries in a global context. Romanian Design Council is an organization as such founded by product designer Emil Cartis that aims to connect major cities and universities from Romania (Iasi, Bucharest, Cluj, Timisoara and Brasov) in order to promote design and innovation as vital elements in the further development of Romania.

Design cel Mare is another NGO founded by designers and design teachers who targets not only the dissemination of Romanian design in the national and international context through the organization of events (workshops, conferences, seminars) that contribute to the modernization / synchronization of design with the current requirements and standards, but also the publication of theoretical studies that establish ground principles in Romanian Design literature.

Instalart is an alternative NGO based also in Bucharest who intends to promote design in the context of the creative industries. Organized yearly, the NGO hosts for 5 years in a row *Instalart Object* a manifesto exhibition in which national and international renowned designers, architects and artist are invited to create installations based on certain casuistry. The result is exhibited in major cities from Romania and becomes a collateral event within *Romanian Design Week* from Bucharest and *Zain* festival from Cluj.

Being at its 7th edition, *Made in RO* is a Romanian design fair where designers, entrepreneurs or manufacturers preoccupied with product, craft, interior, jewelry and fashion design finance their concept and present the latest collections to the public.

Hubs are also an important part in the design field as many design entrepreneurs start their business in co-working spaces among other specialists mostly due to the financial feasibility in terms of costs of rent, possibility of collaboration and the shared machinery. According to Forbes magazine[90], Romania's map includes 35 hubs located in 10 major cities like Bucharest, Iasi, Cluj-Napoca, Timisoara, Sibiu, Brasov, Constanta, Oradea and others.

Even though design is still considered by many only as a marketing tool in order to increase the turnover of a company, the contemporary Romanian practice design starts to become a more prominent and decisive vector of influence in the material culture's global context.

For this new initiative to be effective on a long term we should be considering the constant improvement of both Romanian design curricula and the institutional connection policies with active players, such as Romanian Design Council and local creative emerging communities (NGOs, art studios, producers or artisans). Important steps were made during last decades in education methodology towards social design, critical design, human centered design, by choosing such subjects as BA or MA thesis and prototyping them

[90] https://www.forbes.ro/articles/cum-arata-harta-spatiilor-de-coworking-din-romania-si-cum-este-sa-lucrezi-intr-un-astfel-de-loc-108647

through various collaborations and displaying the results for cultural and social awareness, through workshops, seminars, exhibitions and other public events, a context which underlines a real mentality shift.
By these means we consider that Romania is the proper cultural and educational environment to apply new theories and methodologies such as design thinking, critical design, relational design or social innovation in order to achieve sustainable results toward a real open society.

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There is no Such Thing as one European Culture

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ABSTRACT

There is a particular hypocrisy of the European integration project proclaiming on one hand particular European values while continuing unequal power relations inside and outside the continent. In this context the *culturalisation* of increasing social conflict is of particular interest. The paper reflects authors like Francois Jullien or Archille Mbembe, who put in doubt naïve concepts of *cultural identity* incorporated in cultural heritage. According the statement of Mbembe –"Who is arguing for cultural identity is destroying democracy"– he pleas for a new understanding of values which are not European or African but global or they are none. In terms of *Culture* Mbembe argues for an attitude of *Cultural Sharing* (actually in the discussion of the unclear assignment of the Humboldt Forum in Berlin) which would overcome traditional ideas of belonging which can be – as we actually see – politically abused. This *Culture of Sharing* goes together with a characteristic of *The Arts* which cannot be narrowed to a particular geographic, ethnic, religious or cultural context but are an offer for transnational exchange which has to find appreciation on a more or less global market.

Keywords:

political transformation; cultural hegemony; globalisation; European values; inequality

There is no Such Thing as one European Culture

“En effet, avant même notre indépendance national … nous n’avons jamais cessé de batir notre politique sur le Dialogue. Dans tous les domains, mais fondamentalement dans celui de la Culture; car la culture est la condition première et le but ultime de tout développement” (Leopold Senghor)

Reflections on changes of cultural policy in post-colonial societies

It was in the 1990s when representatives of the indigenous people from the tribes of Zapotecs, Tlauhics, Tzotzil, Lakadones, Totonacs, Mixtecs and Chamula from Mexico regularly organised manifestations in front of the main cathedral St. Stephens in Vienna to demand the restitution of the feather headdress of Motecuhzoma, the last emperor of the Aztec people.[91] Since 1575 the crown was part of different aristocratic collections in Europe and in the end became the centre-piece of the so-called *Völkerkundemuseum* in Vienna. The protesters were not successful; anyway the museum with its colonialist labelling was closed and reopened in autumn 2017 with a new name *Worldmuseum* (*Weltmuseum*).[92] Motecuhzomas headdress is still the most prominent piece in the exhibition. But the museum now announces an agreement with the Mexican authorities to enable a joint Austrian-Mexican research project which lasted from 2010 to 2012, in which the headdress was examined, carefully cleaned, and restored.[93]

We could think about this controversy as strange remains of an unresolved Austrian and maybe also Mexican cultural policy issue. But we also could take it as a remarkable signal in a fundamental change of the cultural policy context, European societies are facing currently.

Cultural Policy as a Thriving Force of Liberal Democracies is in Danger

To find some hints what this fundamental change is about, it might make sense to remember that European cultural policies – represented in its institutions and initiatives – was seen as an almost natural contribution fostering the implementation of liberal democracies. Enabling best possible access to cultural artefacts and processes for everybody would help the creation of a common middle-class able to appreciate the richness of the diversity of cultural and artistic expressions. But this foundation of cultural policy is gone. Since the penetration of the living and working conditions of the European societies by the neoliberal ideology, the political efforts to further develop the creation of a middle-class as a natural bearer of liberal democracy are forced onto the defensive.

[91] https://www.zeit.de/1992/21/azteken-vor-wien/komplettansicht (last access 10th of August 2018)
[92] https://www.weltmuseumwien.at/en/ (last access 10th of August 2018)
[93] https://www.weltmuseumwien.at/en/highlights/ (last access 10th of August 2018)

We do not have to follow Fintan O'Toole's interpretation of the actual constitution of European societies as a time of pre-fascism.[94] But it becomes more and more evident that the attainments of liberal democracy are under considerable pressure, when right-wing populists and extremists all over Europe are knocking at the doors of power propagating their concept of an "illiberal democracy".[95] And suddenly we find ourselves on a long road to democratic decline - as the Bulgarian sociologist Ivan Krastev has put it in *Foreign Affairs*[96] - and we have to learn that cultural policy is not any more an appropriate tool to produce effective resistance.

Exemplarily the new Austrian right-wing government shows that their main representatives have no interest in classical cultural policy issues. In contrast to its first appearance 2000 – 2006, when artists and other cultural activists were on the very forefront manifesting against the anti-liberal and xenophobic character of the regime, the political movement as a conglomerate of old conservatives and new xenophobic authoritarians with the young and smart Sebastian Kurz on top seems comparably undisputed. With its broad consent among the Austrian population the current cultural policy simulates continuity and by that keeps the cultural sector – with very few exceptions - quiet.

Shifting the Battlefield

What they really intend is not the destruction of the historically grown cultural sector – which is estimated as politically irrelevant but useful for business and image glaze – but to transfer the culture war (*Kulturkampf*) from the cultural sector into the heart of the increasingly unequal societies. In an unexpected perversion of the original concepts of a then "new cultural policy"[97] as an instrument for integrative societal development right-wing populists are about to gain their *cultural hegemony* by polarizing societies mainly alongside ethnicity and religion. Their main enemy is the proponents of a meanwhile *old cultural policy* in the shape of a liberal elite[98] celebrating diversity as richness. As preferred defendants their proponents get assumed to have has lost contact with ordinary people, who are supposed to have other problems. And so cultural policy is confronted with increasingly aggressive right forces which can rely on an increasing insecurity particularly among those who fear to go to rack and ruin under the neoliberal regime searching for someone who can be made responsible for their predicament.

When it was one of the outstanding attainments of a liberal cultural policy to overcome the idea of *cultural identity* (Julliard, 2017) by accepting the peaceful and mutual enriching and inspiring coexistence of all kinds of cultural expression forms right-wing populists are obsessed in restructuring societies alongside cultural and religious hierarchies. In this process of cultural re-identification the growing extend of voluntary as well as

[94] https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/fintan-o-toole-trial-runs-for-fascism-are-in-full-flow-1.3543375 (last access 10th of August 2018)
[95] https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-07-28/orban-rallies-europe-s-illiberal-forces-for-2019-elections (last access 10th of August 2018)
[96] https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/hungary/2018-04-16/eastern-europes-illiberal-revolution (last access 10th of August 2018)
[97] https://www.kubi-online.de/stichwort/neue-kulturpolitik (last access 10th of August 2018)
[98] It was the former candidate in the election campaign for the Austrian presidency Norbert Hofer, who attacked his opponent Alexander van der Bellen to be the candidate of the *Hautevolee* whereas he would have "the people" behind him.

involuntary migration must be seen as a gift from heaven in sharpening ethnicity as the decisive weapon in times of growing social conflicts.[99]

In facing re-ethnicization of cultural policy we have to admit that most of the cultural institutions are not really prepared to stand this massive political challenge. For too long a time their management thought it would be enough to invite new (often interpreted as disadvantaged or far-to-reach) audiences to take part in their programs. The available data show that these efforts did not lead to a principal repositioning of the cultural institutions in the changing local or regional circumstances.[100] Even when the absence of the migrant population has been often overestimated[101] (Arbeiterkammer, 2018: 11) the general trend suggests that the offers of cultural institutions are – like in the good old times - over-averagely visited by well-educated and wealthy liberal elites. So the cultural policy provocation of unequal access is still on the table when ordinary people tend to other leisure activities. In this context it can be assumed that many of these non-visitors simply do not feel addressed by the content of the respective institution, which – most of the time – was mainly used as means of social distinction for a socially and so also culturally homogenous middle-class.

When Cultural Institutions are Confronted with Re-Ethnicization of Cultural Policy

Trying to anticipate the consequences of the current ethnicization of politics, which also has considerable consequences also for cultural policy, it can be assumed that museums in general and museums with an ethnological dimension in particular could have a crucial role in establishing and defending cultural coexistence in increasingly diverse European societies. As places of collective memories they represent the history of societal power structures and their consequences for an everyday understanding of “culture” even for those who never pass the steps of a cultural institution.

When I started my introduction with the claims of some Non-Europeans to get back what belongs to them as natural successors of the original owners, I wanted to make aware, that there was never such thing as *one* European culture with a homogenous set of artefacts exclusively based on local or regional origin. Instead of that and according the colonialist past of most of the European powers the construction of national cultural heritage was from the very beginning based on a huge amount of objects which came from outside Europe (and so became objects of material migration).

Accordingly, we might e.g. reconsider that the colonisation of Africa was accompanied with forcible appropriation not only of raw materials and men but also of all kinds of cultural objects including works of art. And all these objects are up to today located in Europe, without sufficient reflection what this might mean for a

[99] Political practices e.g. in Hungary show, that the political reconstruction of Magyar identity (*Ungarntum*) can be used against the requirements of the European Union (*Brussels*); in Italy started the Minister of Interior Matteo Salvini a discrimination campaign against Roma and Sinti (https://www.thelocal.it/20180618/italy-register-census-roma-people-matteo-salvini) (last access 10th of August 2018) and in Austria the right-wing government in power is permanently downgrading social standards particularly for migrants.
[100] https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/news/20170421-new-study-audience-development_en (last access 10th of August 2018)
[101] Recent research confirms that the belonging to an ethnical group is less relevant than the belonging to a social group which means that education and wealth more counts than ethnicity in terms of cultural participation.

genuine European cultural self-awareness. And so it still seems to be a taboo to reflect openly when 95 percent of African art is currently in the museums of the European capitals. To give just a few examples: In the *British Museum* 200,000, in the *Musée Royal de l'europe centrale* in Tervuren near Brussels 180,000, at the *Musée du Quai Branly* in Paris 70,000 and in the *Berlin Museums* 75,000 African objects are showcased or hidden in depots.[102]

In this context the German author Hanno Rauterberg provides us with some food for thought, what this kind of cultural imbalance might mean particularly for those, who are not members of the European societies. He supposes – in the context of the plans for the *Humboldt Forum* in Berlin - that not Africa, but Europe had been subjugated and the colonial rulers from the south had abducted the *Mona Lisa* and the *Bamberg Rider*, and brought a tiled stove from Belgium, crucifixes from Poland and many other art and cultural things in their countries: And he invites us to reflect the consequences for the Europeans, when now, in Lagos perhaps, a museum for all the trophies would be opened, in a reconstructed ruling palace, to celebrate African cultural identity as an outstanding place of dialogue. And beyond that give an image of the Europeans as they are seen from an African perspective: troubled, ostracized, and so far away from African living standards.[103]

Are there Signs for a Fundamental Change?

When the expert discourse in the field of ethnology in the last years has problematized its colonial implications in depth, ethnological museums up to now reacted comparably reluctant in particular when the restitution of robbed artefacts became an issue. It was the French President Emmanuel Macron, who at the University of Ouagadougou came up in autumn 2017 with the claim to find new standards of restitution of the African cultural heritage during the next five years.[104] Macron assigned the French art historian Bénédicte Savoy, professor at the *Technische Universität Berlin* and at the *Paris Collège de France*, specialist for the relocation of cultural goods and the Senegalese economist and author Felwine Sarr to explore the conditions under which France could return African art – as he said: temporarily or definitively. Since then, the two experts travel between Paris, Dakar and Bamako and discuss with government representatives, museum directors, collectors, curators, lawyers and activists what can be done to overcome at least some of the persistent colonial implications of French cultural policy.

About Beauty and Decontextualisation

Already ten years before France postulated with the opening of the Musée du Quai Branly an end of an *intellectual colonialism* (Wolf Lepenies).[105] Remarkably the first director Stéphane Martin resolutely contradicted the function of his institution to represent French cultural identity. He saw the main aim of the

[102] https://www.zeit.de/2018/30/raubkunst-frankreich-rueckgabe-afrika-kolonisierung (last access 10th of August 2018)
[103] https://www.zeit.de/2015/24/humboldt-forum-berlin-richtfest (last access 10th of August 2018)
[104] https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/29/arts/emmanuel-macron-africa.html (last access 10th of August 2018)
[105] https://www.welt.de/welt_print/article1858177/Abschied-vom-intellektuellen-Kolonialismus.html (last access 10th of August 2018)

presentation of selected objects from other parts of the world in their decontextualisation: Visitors should learn to admire and to appreciate the beauty of the objects and forget about the social and political impact. An approach which surely is also inscribed in the character of the architecture by Jean Nouvel: The visitor should enter a strange and magic place, "poetic and irritating, […] marked by symbols of the jungle, the river and the occupation with death and forgetting".[106]

Both, Martin and Nouvel obiously were affiliated with the ideas of Leopold Senghor, the outstanding politician and artist from Senegal, trained in France, who dreamed of an African version of modernity. With his concept of *Négritude* he wanted already in the 1960s to get rid of the ethnisization of cultural objects of the black continent and instead of that – as for him most important means for decolonisation – contribute with a new generation of African artists to a global artistic modernity.[107]

Taking the *Musée du Quai Branly* as a path-breaking example to answer the question in which direction ethnological museums will tend, the conversion into art museums of foreign cultures has quite a prominent tradition.

The Dilemma with the Humboldt Forum

When France disposes of a distinct colonial past, Germany is characterised by a comparably short colonial history. Anyway it was in Berlin 1885 when the 14 colonial powers agreed in the so-called "Acts of Congo"[108] particioning Africa in "their" colonies, an artificial division which up to now defines the borders of African countries. Not only this event regained importance, when – after many years of culture policy conflicts – it was decided to reconstruct the *Berliner Stadtschloss* and make it under the name of *Humboldt Forum* the main place, where ethnological collections, mainly from Africa and Asia will be showcased and reflected starting in 2019.

The organizers speak of *the* post-colonial place of Germany, which would make the Humboldt Forum a "Museum of World Culture" (*Weltkulturmuseum*), a "Compass for Global Coexistence", a "Centre of National and International Radiance"[109] or a "Place of radical Tolerance".[110] Whereas the opponents talk about a "Palace of Mendacity"[111], when behind baroque *façades* a huge number of ethnological objects will be showcased with the only purpose to make use of them in the staging of German glorification. Unavoidably the architecture in the shape of the reconstruction of an imperial centre of power would stand for Prussianism, militarism, war and colonial expansion; it would be impossible to present ethnological objects, which came by

[106] https://www.nytimes.com/2006/06/27/arts/design/27bran.html (last access 10th of August 2018)
[107] In this context it is one of the forgotten facts, that Senghor managed to invite prominent European artists like Picasso and Soulages in the 1970s to Senegal to present their work in the *Musée Dynamic*, the new temple of the arts. Encounters with native artists should bring his concept of *métissage*, the symbiosis of different cultures on equal eye level into live.
[108] https://en.wikipedia.org/. wiki/Berlin_Conference (last access 10th of August 2018)
[109] https://www.iz3w.org/zeitschrift/ausgaben/366_arbeitsrechte/zeller (last access 10th of August 2018)
[110] This attribution is from one of the three founding directors, the art historian Horst Bredekamp. https://www.zeit.de/2017/36/humboldt-forum-berlin-stadtschloss-neubau-geschichte (last access 10th of August 2018)
[111] https://www.zeit.de/2015/24/humboldt-forum-berlin-richtfest (last access 10th of August 2018)

an immense greed in the former colonial metropolis Berlin without solidifying the impression of an ongoing cultural colonialism.

Whoever might have the better arguments the *Humboldt Forum* has become an ideal battlefield to influence which way German cultural policy under the impression of the current re-ethnicization will go and what will be the relevance of cultural institutions (particularly museums) in a changing cultural policy context.
At the moment German cultural policy decision makers are confronted with a number of unsolved problems. One lies in the fact that no one can say concretely under which inglorious conditions the ethnological collections became Prussian cultural property. Although the cultural politician Monika Grütters[112] already committed the readiness of Germany to give back robbed artefacts there are a number of sheer statutory regulations which might complicate respective efforts. Hermann Parzinger, another founding director of the Humboldt Forum has already dampened too great hopes when he reacted to Macron's speech in Ouagadougou with a statement that "Africa today might have more pressing problems"[113] than receiving some cultural objects which became – since long ago – part of the German cultural infrastructure.

Bénédicte Savoy, Macron's special envoy for restitution affairs was part of an advisory board of the *Humboldt Forum*, but stepped down after two years. In opposition to Martin she favours a strict socio-political contextualisation of ethnological objects. As such she was confronted with the fact that no one of the experts in charge was interested in talking about the origin and appropriation of the pieces to be presented. Instead of making them objects of pure art she insisted in the story around making visible the historic context in which the objects were created and brought to Germany: "It is impossible that we cannot read on the museums walls where the objects come from", Savoy said. Otherwise the non-consideration of the origin of the objects has to be compared with "Tschernobyl" when "300 years of collecting with all its political messes and hopes remain – like nuclear waste – under a leaden cover."[114]

The former director of the ethnological museum in Berlin Viola König even went a step further, when she criticized that only around 2 percent of the altogether 500.000 objects will be showcased. Her fear lies in the fact that the decision about the 2% will be again exclusively made with European glasses. So you may not wonder that – beyond König's personal critique – it became an issue of major critique that the three founding directors are all typical representatives of an old male and white expert elite. Cultural managers of a next generation see it as a threat of an unconscious colonial continuity when experts from countries out of Europe are not included in the decision making processes.

There is a lament that the existing concept of the Humboldt Forum does not sufficiently reflect the status of a postcolonial discourse which postulates an immediate relationship between cultural objects and those who interpret them. With her fundamental question "Can the Subaltern Speak?" the Indian scholar, literary theorist, and feminist critic Gayatri Spivak has set an unavoidable provocation to affirm the claim that principally all

[112] https://www.zeit.de/2018/18/kolonialismus-humboldt-forum-berlin-monika-gruetters-hermann-parzinger (last access 10th of August 2018)
[113] https://www.zeit.de/2018/18/humboldt-forum-berlin-kolonialismus-revolution-monika-gruetters (last access 10th of August 2018)
[114] http://www.taz.de/!5462973/ (last access 10th of August 2018)

affected partners must be included in the discourse (Spivak, 2007). In the concrete case it would mean to give those who come from the countries of origin of the objects have equal chances to take part in the interpretation as well as being part of decision making processes.

To counteract this traditional euro-centrism in a first step König proposed the presentation of all objects. Like in a jungle where the objects unfiltered and honestly impress the visitors (wherever they come from) the collections should overwhelm them mentally as well as physically. As such the *Humboldt Forum* could tell a story of exuberant appropriation but also of exchange, of taking and giving, a story full of brutality, but also a story of mutual engagement and negotiation.[115]

About a modern Paradox: Artefacts of Colonial Times are not Allowed to Emigrate Back - People from Africa are not Allowed to Immigrate to Europe

Following the hypothesis that architecture functions as a third pedagogue we can assume that the *Musée du Quai Branly* in Paris in its contemporary architecture enables another perception of everything that is happening inside compared with the *Humboldt Forum* in the shape of the reconstruction of a baroque *Stadtschloss*. Jean Nouvel intended to create a magic place, in which the political, social and also ethnical context of the showcased objects should become irrelevant, the historic architecture in Berlin produces necessarily a historic-political context, which irrefutably tells about the power structures in which the objects were brought to Germany up to the time they are selected to be showcased today. As such the *Humboldt Forum* in its architectural shape becomes a central issue questioning the cultural constitution of the European societies facing considerable demographic changes.

It was the political scientist and philosopher from Cameroon with a strong affiliation to Germany Archille Mbembe (Mbembe, 2010) who got to the heart of the structural contradiction with which the *Humboldt Forum* is confronted: “Europe cannot on one hand lock African artefacts in the heart of their cities and on the other hand does not allow Africans the entry on European ground and so refuse the sight of these objects. We all must create a world, in which people and artefacts can move freely.”[116]

And indeed we are confronted on one hand with Sunday speeches of the proponents of the *Humboldt Forum* telling about the character of the institution as a centre of dialogue of cultures. And on the other hand politicians outbid each other in the construction of a fortress Europe, which is effective in the prevention of migration is it from Africa or is it from other parts of the world. When daily people on their way to European shores are drowning and at the same time a new generation of ethnological museums in Europe describe themselves as centres of a post-colonial discourse and exchange this contradiction can be easily criticized as an institutional fraud.

[115] https://www.zeit.de/2018/18/humboldt-forum-berlin-sammlung-gewalt-aufklaerung (last access 10th of August 2018)
[116] https://www.zeit.de/2018/11/dekolonisation-achille-mbembe-philosoph (last access 10th of August 2018)

Decolonisation not only of the Colonized but of the Colonizers

Archille Mbembe still sees in European cultural institutions a lot of colonialist remains in power. He interprets colonialism as a cipher for issues like racism and the way, a society is dealing with strangers and with strangeness in general. And there are good reasons to assume that the social intercourse with strangeness goes increasingly the wrong way at the moment on the traditional continent of enlightenment. Against these tendencies of mental narrowing, that is propagated by a nationalistic, antidemocratic and illiberal political right, Mbembe argues for new approaches of decolonisation. Up to now – so his findings as a mediator between different cultures - no single European country really has come to terms with the drama of colonialism alongside with all aspects of dehumanization still embodied in the national cultures infiltrated still with a lot of colonial spirit. This is also true with the concepts of the *Humboldt Forum*.

One of the main prerequisites for decolonizing European societies would be to accept not any more to be *the* global hub, and the continent not anymore the pivotal cultural place of the world. In reflecting this kind of repositioning of the European cultural status the *Humboldt Forum* – as a dialogue centre in its true sense – could not only redefine the cultural relations between Germany as part of Europe and the big rest of the world. It could equally appear as a broker of different Non-European cultures, stimulating mutual contacts and exchanges.

In an interview Achille Mbembe indicates what this kind of mental and physical decolonisation could mean. He argues that all the cultural objects, which in the actual transformation process of cultural institutions get in doubt would “belong to all of us”[117]. This does not mean not to restitute specific objects that have been robbed during an offensive colonialist era. “Belonging to all of us” would also mean the readiness of the Europeans to build adequate museums and institutions on-site in which the objects can be showcased in places of their origin primarily for a local and regional audience.

But even more important would be a new cultural policy approach, which would be led not by national cultural priorities but by a common sense in managing a global cultural heritage, allowing unlimited circulation of artefacts is it in the countries of origin or is it in any other place of the world. In this connection Mbembe proposes temporary exhibitions which tour from place to place to make these objects not any longer belonging to this or that population or state but as something that is “owned by the whole mankind”.

What Mbembe has to say is – admittedly – an utopian concept of global cultural relations to give ethnological objects of a colonial past a new importance. Anyway it would be a possible starting point fighting the implementation of cultural concepts which are based on ethnical and social division and polarisation. It would also defuse the old conflict between *civilisation* and *culture* in which civic attainments are still associated with a specific European cultural supremacy which commits itself to be *the* guiding basis for the rest of the world.

[117] https://www.zeit.de/2018/11/dekolonisation-achille-mbembe-philosoph (last access 10th of August 2018)

In this context a publication of the Islamic scholar Stefan Weidner "Beyond the West" (Weidner, 2018) made me aware of the fact, that all kinds of civic values, even the Universal Declaration of Human Rights with its euro-centric background do have a cultural bias and cannot be de-culturalized arbitrarily. The only exception of unavoidable cultural diversity even when it comes to the acknowledgement of global civic attainments consists in the *right to rights*. This civic minimum seems to Weidner the only possible consensus to commonly agree on a global level, regardless of any kind of specific interest-guided cultural approaches.

The considerations of Stephan Weidner bring me to the assumption that mankind does not have very much in common even in civic terms. The more the field of *culture* opens a space in which existing unequal power relations can be made transparent and questioned. In a more practical consequence this would mean to give up the belief of the one and only cultural narrative, that is represented by still colonialist infiltrated cultural institutions and applicable by everybody.

There is no Single Valid Story about Cultures in Europe and in the World any more

Like Max Hollein, the new director of the Metropolitan Museum in New York has put it: “In our time of globalisation there is not any more a single valid story about cultures in the world. The task of a cultural institution is not any more to bring all cultures in one place but to tell about all these cultures multiple, different, even parallel stories which might be relevant for equally different audiences”.[118] When this statement can be read as a farewell to an ultimate big story under the impression of colonialist supremacy Hollein forgot –at least explicitly –to mention that these multiple, different and parallel stories cannot be told by the same workforce that was engaged in the maintenance of colonial structures. So the cultural management challenge will be to involve personal voices also of those who represent the countries of origin and allow to realize a new composition of actors representing all the different geographic, ethnic, social and religious backgrounds that are the prerequisite of the further development of post-colonial cultural institutions.[119]

These new approaches do have considerable cultural management implications; not only in terms of including experts from out of Europe which will lead to a new quality of cooperation inside and outside of the institution. Following Mbembe there will be also new cultural policy aims, e.g. when it comes to the construction of cultural institutions in parts of the world outside Europe or the organization of touring exhibitions, leading to new arrangements often with partners who are up to now not involved in the global cultural business.

Taking into account the growing uneasiness in museums confronted with all the changes of cultural attitudes a number of experts in the field of *Kunst – und Kulturvermittlung* (Arts and Culture Mediation) came to the conclusion that traditional audience development strategies have come to an end. Instead of further efforts to do the same thing for different people they propose the creation of “entirely different formats” (Schnittpunkt 2018: 185) which would better reflect the increasing differentiation and its societal consequences not only of the different European societies with their rapidly changing attitudes and expectations. (Dätsch, 2018) In this

[118] Hollein, Max (2018): Interview with the Newspaper „Kurier“ 29th of July 2018 p 26 f

[119] In an European cooperation project „Brokering Migrants Cultural Participation“ a particular focus was put on the involvement of migrants in all levels of cultural institutions (not only of ethnological museums). http://educult.at/en/forschungsprojekte/brokering-migrants-cultural-participation/ (last access 10th of August 2018)

respect it might be worth to have a closer look at the *Worldmuseum* in Vienna, in which the curators tried to overcome traditional formats of mainly geographical alignment in favour of more thematic approaches, E.g. instead of showing ethnological objects from one group after the next the *Worldmuseum* one part of the exhibition is dedicated to *colonialism* as a global phenomenon.

A lot still has to be done to further develop cultural institutions in the context of colonial past and post-colonial future. This contribution mainly wanted to make aware that in being proactive in the actual cultural struggles - provoked by an aggressive illiberal populism feeling the up winds – cultural institutions could regain some societal relevance. As places, in which culture inequality for a long time found its almost paradigmatic representation their actors have a long lasting experience what this means for the whole of a society and – in the case of ethnological museums – what it means in terms of global imbalances. The particular advantage of cultural institutions lies in the fact that they are not designated to solve respective problems but to make them visible and to search for solutions in a symbolic playground.

Cultural Institutions as a Spearhead against Illiberalism and Post-Democracy?

It seems that right-wing populists are meanwhile quite aware that the growing importance of a public discourse on de-colonisation might be a danger for their further success story. Their representations in the shape of AfD in the German Parliament recently raised a “Big Parliamentary Question on Dealing with Colonialism”.[120] Their arguments on one hand lie in a defense of colonialism: Not everything has been bad, when the Germans considerable contributed to the creation of prosperity in its former colonies. In this line is also the reproach, post-colonial advocates would create the impression, ethnological collections in Germany as a whole would be the result of an adventurous robbery and have to be restituted in its totality. This wrong insinuation would moreover make the European right – as preserving force of the status quo – to victims of assassinations to act as *racists* and as *colonialists*. On the other hand they try to beat the government with its own weapons when the AfD argues that the countries of origin would not dispose of necessary conservational expertise to deal with cultural artefacts in a professional way.

Europe is in danger to get lost of its political and societal attainments, laboriously won and implemented after the Second Word War. It is obvious that new political actors of far right-wingers are about to destroy the liberal and democratic foundation of the European societies. In doing so they have detected that cultural policy might play a crucial role in the implementation of a new cultural hegemony. Accordingly they understand cultural policy not only as political will to maintain a more or less well established cultural infrastructure but cultural policy as a procedure to polarize and re-hierarchize the national societies by ethnic and religious differentiation. Their successes necessarily have consequences not only inside the national European societies; they also have a considerable impact in the further development of the international relations, in particular between Europe and its neighbors on the other side of the Mediterranean sea in Africa.

[120] https://www.sueddeutsche.de/kultur/afd-neue-taktik-1.4067399 (last access 10th of August 2018)

Up to know many cultural policy representatives seem to be not yet aware of the fact that ethnological museums are *the* symbolic representations of the actual culture war. Nevertheless, these institutions dispose like no other institution about the explosiveness of any kind of ethnicization of societies and can give – out of her long-lasting experience and occupation – advice how to deal with it its dangerous consequences. Being a mirror of the current societal conditions, they dispose of relevant symbolic instruments to make visible what politically is at stake and what that means for all those who are confronted with the consequences.

Insofar these reflections should not be seen as an invitation for cultural institutions to step into the political arena but to make use of their expertise which – in a long and conflictuous process – has made evident that one story is not enough. And that we should not give up fighting for places, in which many stories interpreted by many different people can be told – and can be heard.

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Istanbul Biennal: A Cultural Identification Arena?

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ABSTRACT

The Western scholars consider Turkey an Islamic country with a homogenous culture and it is a common practice to ignore the diversity of the population and the presence of a modern society within which is the backbone of the modern Turkish State. The increasing threat of the Islamic lifestyle started what is known as the Gezi Uprising incidents in 2013 and the autocratic handling of the situation caused an occult fault line in the society to surface, though very peacefully and creating a new cultural arena. The number of visitors for the Istanbul Biennial showed a three-fold increase following the incidents of the Gezi Uprising that year and has remained at similarly high numbers since then, through two additional Biennials. This paper deals with Gezi demonstrations and the flourishing modern art performances of the time possibly directing the involved into a cultural identification process.

Keywords:

Cultural Identification, Istanbul Biennial, Uprising, Art, and Performance

Introduction

Gellner describes culture as the necessary shared medium, the life-blood or rather the minimal shared atmosphere, within which alone the members of the society can breathe and survive and produce. The group members within particular settings can understand cultural identity as the experience, enactment, and negotiation of dynamic social identifications. But many recent arguments in the politics of entitlement often appeal to the poetics of idealized cultural identity without fully acknowledging the ways that characterizing the "identity" of a culture is itself a politically and ideologically charged issue. The contradictions operate both "outside" in society, and "inside" the heads of each individual. Since identity shifts according to how the subject is addressed or represented, identification is not automate, but can be won or lost.

As Ernest Renan has remarked, the violent beginnings, which stand at the origins of the modern nations, have first to be "forgotten" before allegiance to more unified homogeneous national identity could begin to be forged. The political climate of the last decade in Turkey gives us clues that this phenomenon can also act in reverse order, though in a unique peaceful transition in this country. The part of the Turkish society, which has adapted the modernity in their daily life, is identifying itself away from the conservatism of the religion that prohibits paintings and sculptures. That explains the surprising and sudden jump in the numbers of attendance to a modern art Biennial that has been taking place in the city since 1987, following "Gezi uprising" in 1993. So the identity shift caused by the rather segregating address of the politicians started "inside" the head of the individuals, adapting a new cultural pertinence. Ernest Renan said that three things constitute the spiritual principle of the unity of a nation: ...the possession of memories, ...the desire to live together, ...the will to perpetuate the heritage. Istanbul Biennial might be offering a peaceful arena for this part of the Turkish community to live and breathe together.

In this paper, I will try to find answers mainly to two questions:
1. How and why people became more interested in contemporary art during a political uprising?
2. In which ways and why do individuals identify themselves with art, as they did not have such an experience, and can this situation be sustainable?
In this paper, the method I will follow and my approach to the subject is as follows:

Firstly I will briefly mention the history of the Gezi movement and the Biennial, focusing on especially the episode 13, organized simultaneously with Gezi Uprising and started immediately after. Secondly, I will utilize the data I gathered in the guided art tours to Biennial I organized. During these tours, attendants provided me with a plentitude of questions, through which I got enlightened as I answered. In addition to this, I have data about how biennial-goers sharply rose since the 13th episode of the Biennial. Thirdly, combining the history of the most important art event of Turkey and the data I gathered, I will clarify how a strong political uprising and an art event organized at the same time with it, with a politically-charged theme, made a huge impact on individuals and how an art event gave them a wider perspective.

Gezi Uprising

Cultural identity in late modernity is described as “crisis of identities” that continues with questions “what it consist of, and which directions it is moving towards.”

> “As the cultural critic, Kobena Mercer, observes, ‘identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty.” (Hall et al, 1996)

Gezi Park incidents provide an invaluable example for Kobena Mercer’s observations. The Government wanted to demolish a public park called “Gezi Park” to build a shopping mall in 1993. The people started to gather in the park for a peaceful passive protest as heavy machinery was transported there for demolition and as the government increased the pressure; the public reacted with demonstrations that spread all over Turkey.

> “The historical dust at Taksim Square is very thick, indeed. Taksim has been a contested space, the site of competing narratives and ideological projects since the latter days of Ottoman Empire. After founding of the Republic of Turkey by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, Taksim was built as part of the image of pro-western, secular modern nation state. In turn, in revanchist manner, the AKP government has been trying to rebuild Taksim befitting its conservative, Islamist, neo-imperialist agenda, which is one of the primary reasons that led to protests. Taksim Square has also been the site of workers’ struggles and social protests, most memorably of the May 1st, 1977, Labor Day massacre. Moreover, some protesters discovered for the first time during the Gezi occupation that the place where Gezi Park now stands was once an Armenian cemetery.” (Ertem, 2017)

> “The Gezi Uprising was the largest wave of demonstration and civil unrest in the history of modern Turkey. It began on May 27th 2013, as a sit-in by a group of environmental activists. According to a government-backed construction plan, Gezi Park, one of the oldest public parks in the center of Istanbul, was to demolish. A replica of an Ottoman-era barracks would be built in its place, housing a shopping mall and a luxury residence complex. On the morning of May 28th, some fifty protestors were camping out in Gezi Park. The police used tear gas to intervene. Photos of the scene spread across the Internet. The circulation of images and activists’ online calls for support against the police crackdown increased the number of sit-in protesters by the evening. The police carried out yet another raid on the encampment in early hours of May 31st, reportedly resulting in around one hundred injuries. While the protest started at Gezi Park, it quickly transformed into a nation-wide revolt. By May 31st, ‘Gezi’ had become the overarching signifier, standing for a multiplicity of frustrations such as: the growing authoritarianism of the government, interventions of the state into people’s lifestyles and choices, the commodification of public goods and spaces under neoliberal policies, nepotism and partisanship, police violence, and the abolition of democratic mechanisms of checks and balances.” (Ertem, 2017)

Gezi Park demonstrations were a representation of the modern Turkish Society taking charge of its personal identity. There was an occult fault line in the society even before the Gezi demonstrations.

> “The governing Justice and Development Party (AKP) won two-thirds of the seats in the 2002 elections in the Turkish Parliament. It was able to form a single-party government, a rare thing in Turkey, which has been ruled by coalition governments during most of the last three decades. The AKP gained wide support from those who were economically and socially hurt by the harsh economic crisis of 2001. The party has closely allied with an emerging provincial conservative bourgeoisie, which competes with the old secularist Istanbul bourgeoisie allied with the Kemalist establishment. In this struggle, the AKP was able to garner the necessary popular support from

> the poor informal proletariat and the rural population by combining neoliberalism, populism, and Islamist conservatism." (Yoruk, 2014)
>
> "A significant form of the revival of particularistic nationalism and ethnic and religious absolutism is, of course, the phenomenon of 'fundamentalism'. This is evident everywhere and the most striking region is in Islamic states in the Middle East. (…) Fundamentalist Islamic movement began with the Iranian Revolution, which created religious states in political area. All of the political principles relate to religious doctrine and laws of the Koran. This is a reaction to the 'forced' character of western modernization. The Shah in the 1970s adopted western models and cultural values in Iran, but Iranian fundamentalists were against the Shah." (Hall et al, 1996)

Turkey underwent similar westernization steps by Ataturk, immediately following the declaration of the Republic in 1923.

> "Some of the countries in Islamic states were failure of the fundamentalist movement. They throw up successful and effective 'modernizing' leaderships or secular, modern parties. Fundamentalism is stronger in the poorer Islamic states of the region." (Hall et al, 1996).
>
> "The protests in Turkey did not deliberately aim at the toppling of the government; nor was it chiefly economically motivated as is the case with other protests going on in Europe and Brazil. The government in Turkey knew that much; they were also aware, however, that every single citizen had their own reason(s) to cry, "Enough is enough" Ordinary people from all walks of life, beliefs, political opinions, and sexual orientation have joined in this unique act of defiance against an absolutist power that does not know where to stop in its usurpation of basic rights and its interference with the most private spheres of human life. Just imagine a prime minister who is on TV almost 24/7 and who preaches to people to "go and consume alcohol at home," to have " at least three children per couple," to "ban their children from attending rock concerts," to "raise pious and well-behaving children," "to eat this kind of bread and not that" In addition, he and his colleagues gave orders to ban or censor popular TV soaps and films on moral and religious grounds, interfering with the repertory of public theaters and voicing their plans to stop funding arts like opera and ballet. Add to that picture the greedy privatization of public property, the ruthless gentrification that has left tens of thousands homeless and jobless, the destruction of nature and of historical and cultural heritage, the no guarantee-no-rights working conditions for the educated and the uneducated alike, the death-toll of workers at shipyards and power plants, the daily violence against women." (Sozalan, 2013)
>
> "In a country where women have had the right vote since 1930, the AKP declared a series of policy changes that would limit women's vested rights and liberties, including a proposed ban on abortion, and monitoring pregnant women and informing their families about the course of pregnancy. Official figures show that honor killings of women have increased fourteen-fold between 2002 and 2009. This is most likely why women were the pioneers of the Gezi uprising, constituting 51 percent of protestors, according to the KONDA survey. Women felt that they had been losing what they gained before and that they would lose control over both their bodies and their future under the conservative AKP rule." (Yoruk, 2014)

As Yoruk mentioned, the unique case of Gezi uprising is the fragmented character of its participants providing a playground to unify the demonstrators in a common identity culturally and politically. These different groups all felt threatened by the segregating talks of the politicians and they came together under the idealized notions of the "human rights" and "nature culture."

> "The political landscapes of the modern world are fractured in this way by competing and dislocating identifications. (…) Taken together, they represent a process of transformation so fundamental and wide-ranging that we are bound to ask if it is not modernity itself, which is being transformed. This chapter adds a new dimension to the argument: the claim that, in what is sometimes described as our post-modern world, we are also 'post' any fixed or essentialist conception of identity- something which, since the Enlightenment, has been taken to define the

> very core or essence of our being, and to ground our existence as human subjects." (Hall et al, 1996)

The protests that started with Gezi are the sum of the individual cries of the demonstrators to exist and stay "human" against the segregating speeches of the politicians.

> "What is happening to cultural identity in late modernity? These identities are not literally imprinted in our genes. However, we do think of them as if they are part of our essential natures. National cultures are a distinctly modern form. The allegiance and identification which, in a pre-modern age or in more traditional societies, were given to tribe, people, religion, and region, came gradually in western societies to be transferred to the national culture. Regional and ethnic differences were gradually subsumed beneath what Gellner calls the 'political roof' of the nation-state, which thus became a powerful source of meanings for modern cultural identities." (Hall et al, 1996)

The ruling AKP Party in Turkey however underestimated the presence of the modern society within the core of the Islamic nation; this brought together the different groups of the society who wished to live in a more tolerant "political roof."

> "The composition of the protestors was highly heterogeneous and included both organized and non-organized groups. A broad range of social, cultural, and ethnic groups who would not come together under normal conditions, as well as thousands of individuals with no prior political affiliation who felt excluded from ruling party's definition of 'the people', were united in revolt." (Ertem, 2017)

> "The class composition of Gezi protestors was much broader than any other public protest of any size that occurred in the last few decades. According to the Ministry of Interior, 2.5 million people joined the protests in all but two cities in the country. According to AndyAr Research Company, 12.1 percent of the entire population in Turkey participated in the protests, which amounts to more than 8 million people. According to a survey done by the KONDA Research Company (2013) in Gezi Park during the first week of the events, 56 percent of the participants hold undergraduate or graduate degrees, while this rate is 14 percent for the Istanbul population in general. These findings have led to a common observation that middle-class participation was one of the defining characteristics of the Gezi protests. Two types of middle-class sectors are said to crowd the protests: an emerging new middle class and declining/proletarianizing middle class. According to Caglar Keyder, a new middle class of professionals and would be professionals has developed extensive economic power and demanded a corresponding political power to shape and limit the policies of conservative and authoritarian government. These new middle classes have been incorporated into and benefited from the globalized world by being positioned within emerging market, and they would like to share the same levels of political democracy as in other developed countries. On the other hand, Korkut Boratav argues that most of the participants considered middle class indeed either belong to different segments of working class or are becoming proletarianized. This includes service-sector employees, part-time employees (including call-center employees, interpreters, part-time graduate students, etc.). The second group of middle class citizens has suffered from market conditions created by neoliberal capitalism established in Turkey after the 1980s, and especially during the AKP rule; henceforth, their grievances have been translated into street activism during the Gezi events. Finally, despite differences in economic well being, 'reclaiming the right to the city' was a common denominator for both sectors of the middle classes in fighting to protect the city park and protest policies of commodification and privatization. (…) Women and feminist groups displayed powerful resistance to these policies, and they managed to force the government to withdraw the abortion ban. Environmentalist groups launched several successful campaigns to provoke public reaction against government proposals to build nuclear power plants and new hydroelectric power plants. Alevis protested the naming of the new Bosphorus bridge after Sultan Yavuz Selim, an Ottoman ruler held responsible for the deaths of many Alevis in the early sixteenth century."(Yoruk, 2014)

> "When we think about "play of identities" in history, political consequences come to our minds.
> -The identities were contradictory. They cross-cut or 'dislocated' each other
> -The contradictions operated both 'outside', in society, cutting across settled constituencies, and 'inside' the heads of each individual." "Since identity shifts according to how the subject is addressed or represented, identification is not automatic, but can be won or lost, it has become politicized. This is sometimes described as a shift from a politics of (class) identity to a politics of difference." (Hall et al, 1996)

The Turkish society is generally referred to as having an Islamic root and fundamentalism traditionally.

> "Where identities are concerned, this oscillation between Tradition and Translation is becoming more evident on a global canvas. Everywhere, cultural identities are emerging which are not fixed, but poised, in transition between different positions; which draw on different cultural traditions at the same time; which are the product of those complicated cross-overs and cultural mixes which are increasingly common in a globalized world. It may be tempting to think of identity in the age of globalization as destined to end up in one place or another: either returning to its 'roots' or disappearing through assimilation and homogenization." (Hall et al, 1996)

Gezi incident is in fact a contradictory movement in that regards, the constituents refused their roots and the possible future assimilation. Instead, it started a peaceful transformation of identity grasping the modern values of the European states. These values were already core to the curriculum of the republic and the intervening ninety years provided the foundation for modernization by the individuals who were open to change.

> "In the early day of protests, Tayyip Erdogan, who was the prime minister, referred to the protesters as few *capulcus* (that means 'looters' or 'plunderers') to discredit their political claims and portray them as vandals threatening social order." (Ertem, 2017)

This referral in itself became the core idea of the cultural identification process. The protesters quickly adopted this identity and this was daily reflected on the dress code of the involved. The typical "capulcu" would wear some form of a simple shield to protect the body from the tear gas canisters that were shot directly at them and carry a mask, preferably a gas mask to help breathing in the heavy gassed zones. The term "capulcu" suddenly became synonymous with a "super hero" concept; it required certain skills to survive against police brutality on the streets these days. The humor of the demonstrators also surfaced here; they composed lyrics for this theme and several professional choruses gave concerts at the park with the theme.

> "Protestors reconstituted the Gezi Park as a public space by reclaiming it as a dwelling place where bodies assembled not only in speech and action but also in eating, sleeping, dancing, and dreaming. In that respect, they affirmed their most immediate and obvious statement: the public space belongs to the people. (…) Occupy Gezi was performative in a double sense. First, although there were concrete demands such as the request that Gezi shall remain a park, protestors did not re-present a pre-determined political agenda or a give a single preconceived message. Second, it was performative in the way that it enacted the social order it sought to bring about by establishing its own modes of sociability. That is, through action, speech, as well as silence and gesture, it brought into being the world it imagined to live. Thus, it constituted an alternative to the politically centralized, ideologically conservative, and economically neoliberal AKP rule. For instance, most of the activities were characterized by an anti-capitalist and ecological attitude (Ertem, 2017)."

The public notion of the contemporary art in Turkey did not involve the performance aspect up until the Gezi protests. The whole event provided an unparalleled opportunity for the community to acknowledge the

concept of art as a means of protest and revolt. Since the beginning, this was a peaceful movement and the introduction of the instruments of the modern art brought a new insight to the protesters. The public grasped the chance to express themselves in performing arts, since it allowed a peaceful materialization of their intention. There were several denominators during the uprising that allowed this transition.

> "With the eradication of green spaces, parks, clean water, that is, a livable environment, and the violent crushing of opposition by the police, bodies were rendered even more vulnerable, that is, precaritized. On May 28th, the Reuters photographer Osman Orsal captured the moment when a police officer was pepper-spraying a young woman in red summer dress **(Figure 1)**. The photo quickly spread over the world media, with the 'lady in red' becoming the first iconic symbol of the escalating revolt." (Ertem, 2017)

"Lady in red" herself was the cultural identification of the liberal women in Turkey. She was later identified as being an academic scholar, a well-educated and humble personality. She has come to Gezi Park in her work attire; feminine, reformist and symbolic. She was an excellent example of the modern face of the Turkish women, even though the public was not fully aware of it at that time. Her posture towards the police was impenetrable, courageous, and allegorical. She showed the major transformation of women in an Islamic country with the help of the institutions of the modern republic. Her attitude was never seen before; the educated elite of Turkey would not confront the Turkish police on the streets. Her non-permissive attitude towards the brutality encouraged the protesters, unfortunately only to increase the number of casualties and deaths. There was no stepping back from the politicians or the police. Her posture against the police was so impressive that her graffiti adorned the city streets for a long time **(Figure 2)**.

FIGURE 1. LADY IN RED FIGURE 2. LADY IN RED GRAFFITI
Source: http://www.inenart.eu/?p=10008

> "On June 17th, the day after the violent crackdown of the encampment at Gezi Park, the dancer/ choreographer Erdem Gunduz engaged in a non-violent act of resistance that was later dubbed 'Duran Adam' which translates as 'the man who is standing still'. Standing in the middle of Taksim Square, uncannily empty except for some undercover police and the press, facing the Ataturk Culture Center, Gunduz began an eight-hour vigil. The protest was initially anonymous and was meant to be so. However, as depicted by the video recorded by guerilla cameras, the police began to poke question him, checked his backpack and identification card. Therefore, his name was revealed to the public. The video of the interaction went viral and portrayed how confused the police was about to respond to what looked like a non-action. The standing man protest of Erdem Gunduz also exemplified a form of embodied politics of memory and space. According to the anthropologist Nadia Seremetakis, 'still acts' are those moments of pause and arrest in which the subject interpellates 'historical dust' by introducing a physical disruption in the flow of temporality. Against the flow of the present, Seremetakis maintains: "Stillness is the

> moment when the buried, the discarded, and the forgotten escape to the social surface of awareness like life-supporting oxygen. It is the moment of exit from historical dust." (Ertem, 2017)

FIGURE 3. STANDING MAN PERFORMANCE, ERDEM GUNDUZ
SOURCE: Data by Curatorial Text of 13th Istanbul Biennial, Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Art (IKSV)

Erdem Gunduz expressed himself in a humble, emotional, and artistic manner. He used his body as a material for his performance and also represented the people who lost their lives and eyes, to say the least. Although his body in the performance seems to be line between art and life, this performance have showed the nobility of the "art" at the protests.

> "In earlier days of the protests, one young man was asked why Erdem Gunduz had participated in the uprising. His televised response was arguably the inspiration for this artist's piece: "I am no writer, I am no artist, I do not have the tools they do to voice my emotions; the only thing I have is my body and I am here in my body." (…) A similar point can be made for the explosion of humor as the most spontaneous response to government policies and police brutality. It is unprecedented in scope and creativity, brilliantly intertextual in its deployment of common language, poetry, slogans, and official discourse, and most annoying from the perspective of authority. Poetry and satire have always been the strength of Turkish language, yet this new language of resistance emerging from the streets-"poetry in the streets" reads one graffiti- seems to have rendered redundant the traditional forms of political humor. Much may be lost in translation, but this subversive language will certainly contribute to the invention of new political forms of opposition when translated into the languages of the world. (…) The protests spread almost every city, in myriad forms in every town. They became sporadic and unpredictable, as were the demonstrations in support of Gezi occupation in Istanbul, wherein Istanbulites invented ingenious strategies to fight back and keep the police away from the park. Their slogan "Taksim is everywhere, resistance everywhere" was echoed in many streets and squares across the nation. More importantly, the experience inside the park inspired a number of evening forums with people gathering regularly at local parks to discuss politics, and the topics ranged from seemingly minor local problems to the political path to be followed in the future." (Sozalan, 2013)

Istanbul Biennial

The International Istanbul Biennial is a contemporary art exhibition, held every two years in Istanbul, Turkey, since 1987. The Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Art organizes the Biennial. According to Suzan Kendzulak, Istanbul Biennial is among the biggest fifteen biennials in the world from an organizational perspective.

Generally, Istanbul Biennial is privileged among the other art festivals in Istanbul, because it attracts the global capital to the city and helps to get branding. Istanbul Biennial is the most comprehensive exhibition in Turkey and plays active role for inviting international artists who carry the Biennial to an international level. It also is a significant educational platform with panels, seminars, etc.

13TH ISTANBUL BIENNIAL

13th Istanbul Biennial was different from the previous ones, because it allowed free entrance. Curator of 13th Istanbul Biennial, Fulya Erdemci aimed to reach public spaces in the context of the biennial and also to develop new ones that were destroyed by recent urban transformation projects.
337.429 visitors visited the biennial; this was the highest participation up until that year. Many public spaces as Sulu Kule, Tarlabasi, Gezi Park and Ataturk Culture Center were going to be used by the Biennial, and then these all had to be changed because of Gezi uprising.

> "The conceptual framework of the 13th Istanbul Biennial, "Mom, am I barbarian?" borrowing its title from Lale Muldur's book of the same name, was conceived along three axes. The theoretical axis asked how we could rethink the public domain as a political forum and the concept of multiple publics in the light of the present-day context. Cognizant of the fact that was not possible to speak of a homogeneous public or of people uniting under a single will, the conceptual framework enquired as to how these different and, in fact, often contradictory- multiple worlds could come together, coexist and act collectively. The Gezi Incidents actually laid the foundation for the theme. As the praxis site, 13th Istanbul Biennial focused on the spatial components of the democratic apparatus: By investigating contested urban public spaces, these 'battlegrounds' from various geographies, and especially the ongoing unbridled assault of urban transformation in Istanbul, Biennial organizations considered the spatial manifestations of the concept of freedom and acts of civil disobedience together with the concept of agoraphobia. Unfolding the theoretical and practical axis, and reintroducing the connotations of the barbarian and barbarity in today's context, Muldur's title "Mom, am I barbarian?" fits into the third axis, which is the sphere of the imagination. In ancient Greece, the barbarian was related to the concept of the citizen, and also, directly, to language. Not only the ancient Greek word barbaros the antonym of *politis* (citizen), derived from the word *polis* (city-state), hence, inversely related with rights to the city, but from a linguistic perspective, it was a definition that marked those who can not speak Greek; who are thus not considered citizens. In fact, phonetically, the word "barbarian" was onomatopoeia for languages that people in ancient Greece did not understand-in other words, the language of the 'other', the alien, and the most excluded, and repressed." (Curatorial text).

Year of Istanbul Biennial	Number of Visitors
10th Biennial-2007	91.000
11th Biennial-2009	101.000
12th Biennial-2011	110.000
13th Biennial-2013	337.429
14th Biennial-2015	545.000
15th Biennial-2017	440.000

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF VISITORS IN ISTANBUL BIENNIALS
Source: Data by Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Art (IKSV)

The number of visitors during 13th Istanbul Biennial shows a surprising three-fold increase in 2013 compared to previous years **(Table 1).** There is a record number of over half a million in 2015. There was decreased number of visitors in 2017 with 440.000, still more visitors than 2013. It is very surprising to see high numbers

in 2015 and 2017 while the city was still suffering from a series of suicide bomber attacks. The sudden increase in numbers during the 13th Biennial is not coincidental; the theme, ”Mom, Am I a barbarian?” and the extensive use of the public spaces was in continuum with Gezi Uprisings. Curator Fulya Erdemci initially wanted to expand the Biennial to Gezi Park, but the exhibitions ended up being confined to museums.

The initiating event of Gezi Uprising was to protect a public park; it evolved into a protest against the government as it continued to provide the necessary medium to bring people with a common political theme together. “Lady in Red”, “Standing Man”, “Chapuling Music Performances” and many other peaceful acts were unique examples of the insistence of the public to express itself with art. This is also reflected in the expanding art practices in the Middle Eastern countries in the recent years.

The peaceful character of the performing artists to express their ideas and feelings during Gezi uprisings increased the participation of the public. The social media use reached record numbers during the initial weeks of Gezi incident, this transformed a picture of “Lady in Red” into one of the incarnated heroes of the nation, symbolizing the peace and the strength of the female resistance of the movement. The graffiti artists then used her theme extensively. The “Standing Man” performance of Erdem Gunduz, popularized by masses copying his posture turned into an interactive art performance. The degrading speeches of the politicians gave rise to humorous compositions of music pieces that started a series of music concerts at the park. The demonstrations turned into art events that participants started to really “enjoy” themselves. The government response was oppressive and bloody. The significance of an artistic presence under the threat of gas canisters and police raids is the dominant feature of the Gezi Uprising. The artists played a significant role in showing the public how art in many ways helped express the identity in the modern world. However, despite the efforts of the public to reveal it in many artistic and peaceful demonstrations, the brutality of the police constitutes the ‘violent beginnings’ as remarked by Ernest Renan. This started the “fault line” in the nation. The identification of the middle class was a significant factor during Gezi; most of the activity occurred after 6:00 pm, as they left their work offices.

Gezi movement could not achieve a political representation in the following elections. However, the incidents of the Gezi demonstrated the participants they were “culturally significant” as they shared common political ideas and values. This might explain the sudden increase in the number of Biennale goers that year and the following. The Biennial provides an ideal medium for a certain group of the population to “culturally identify” themselves.

> “Revealing social divisions, art produce a universal unity by impressing scenes into the depths of our consciousness.” (Baykal, 2013)

I was able to witness this personally when I participated as an art advisor for the tours during the 15th Istanbul Biennial. The participants constitute a homogenous group of people, well educated, intellectual and with a high interest in art. The political climate is quite the reverse:

> “Closing all kinds of artistic facilities in order to replace them with mosques, malls, luxury hotels

> or shopping malls, the government tries to reduce art, shrinks possibilities and takes away spaces in order to turn away the Turkish population from culture, identity, art, individuality and independent thinking and towards a consumerist society." (Heinz, 2016)

The continuing increased interest in Biennial is noteworthy in that regards. The uncompromising attitude of the politicians is the main determinant in the cultural identification process. It is my personal observation that women comprise the majority of the visitors of the Biennial, reaching almost 90% during the weekdays and around 80% during the weekend. These women are well educated and intellectual. Following the violent suppression of the various groups of Gezi participants, women seem to comprise the group that determines the cultural identification. This may be the result of the fact that the Islamic lifestyle threatens the freedom of the women the most. Since identity shifts according to how the subject is addressed or represented in modern world, identification is not automate, but can be won or lost. There is a continuous attempt to erode the rights given by the republic to women in Turkey; this discrimination might delineate the educated women as the main group with their cultural identification.

Conclusions

Gellner describes culture as the necessary shared medium, the life-blood or rather the minimal shared atmosphere, within which the members of the society can breathe and survive and produce. Ernest Renan said that three things constitute the spiritual principle of the unity of a nation: ...the possession of memories, ...the desire to live together, ...the will to perpetuate the heritage.

Ernest Renan remarked, the violent beginnings, which stand at the origins of the modern nations, have first to be "forgotten" before allegiance to more unified homogeneous national identity could begin to be forged. The political climate of the last decade in Turkey gives us clues that this phenomenon can also act in reverse order. The Gezi uprising, which started as a peaceful demonstration in 2013, was brutally suppressed by the government with a high number of casualties and sporadic deaths, constitutes a violent beginning for the political groups involved with the movement. The political speech of the time was not tolerant and undermined the desire of the nation to stay together. The modern and educated women of the nation were the group under the major threat of the Islamic lifestyle and they wanted to continue with the heritage of the republic to respect women's rights.

Kobena Mercer observes that identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something assumed to be fixed, coherent, and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty. 'Gezi' was the signifier, standing for a multiplicity of frustrations such as: the growing authoritarianism of the government, interventions of the state into people's lifestyles and choices, the commodification of public goods and spaces under neoliberal policies, nepotism and partisanship, police violence, and the abolition of democratic mechanisms of checks and balances. The unique case of Gezi uprising is the fragmented character of its participants providing a playground to unify the demonstrators in a common identity culturally and politically. These different groups all felt threatened by the segregating talks of the politicians and they came together under the idealized notions of the "human rights" and "nature culture."

The public notion of the contemporary art in Turkey did not involve the performance aspect up until the Gezi protests. The whole event provided an unparalleled opportunity for the community to acknowledge the concept of art as a means of protest and revolt. Since the beginning, this was a peaceful movement and the introduction of the instruments of the modern art brought a new insight to the protesters. The public grasped the chance to express themselves in performing arts, since it allowed a peaceful materialization of their intention. The significance of an artistic presence under the threat of gas canisters and police raids is the dominant feature of the Gezi Uprising. The artists played a significant role in showing the public how art in many ways helped express the identity in the modern world. Street art became visible for a wider public and significantly contributed to the rebellious character of the movement in distinct ways.

The number of visitors during 13th Istanbul Biennial shows a surprising three-fold increase in 2013 compared to previous years. The sudden increase in numbers during the 13th Biennial is not coincidental; the theme, ”Mom, Am I a barbarian?” and the extensive use of the public spaces was in continuum with Gezi Uprisings. Gezi movement could not achieve a political representation in the following elections. However, the incidents of the Gezi demonstrated the participants they were “culturally significant” as they shared common political ideas and values. This might explain the sudden increase in the number of Biennale goers that year and the following. The Biennial provides an ideal medium for a certain group of the population to “culturally identify” themselves.

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International Approaches for Education to Cultural Heritage in Global South Countries

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims at understanding the potential of pedagogical initiatives that are developed as cooperation between Western and Global South teaching and student groups. The research topic is addressed by means of the analysis of the workshop "Historic City Centers" developed as a joint educational program by the University of Ferrara (Italy) and the CEPT University of Ahmedabad with a mix of Italian and Indian students and staff. The case study provides insights on how to design educational programs for cultural heritage education that are more suitable to the local needs and how to overcome potential problems related to cultural differences and biases.

Keywords:

Cultural heritage education, international education programs, cultural heritage in Global South countries

Introduction

This paper aims at understanding how pedagogical models and curricula formulated in European and other Western contexts could fit the educational needs and styles of people learning and working in Global South Countries with specific reference to education to culture heritage preservation and enhancement. The potential of cross-sectoral and international joint projects in education has been identified mainly in the promotion of different approaches to cultural heritage as well as in stimulating culture-led development in Global South countries (Simandiraki, 2006). However, the suitability of these programs to the learning needs of and their impact on local students has been underexplored in literature. As a result, the objective of this paper is to address this research gap, by presenting a preliminary investigation of a case study of an international workshop proposed in Jodhpur and Ahmedabad (India) by a mixed group of Italian and Indian teaching staff. The analysis of this case study took into account different aspects of the pedagogical project, among which the perception of the Indian students enrolled in it on the pedagogical results and on cultural heritage preservation and cultural heritage-led development.

The research aims at answering to the following main research questions:

- Are pedagogical programs developing in collaboration with or proposed by Western context in Global South countries in the field of cultural heritage preservation answering the education needs and styles of local students?
- What are the potential and the problems of these programs as perceived by local students?
- What is the way forward to implement better programs, maximize their impact and avoid risks of failure or rejection?

The paper is divided in five sections. After this introductory part, an overview of the theoretical academic debate that was used as background for this research is presented. The following section explains the research design and methodology, while the fourth section provides an analysis of the case study through an overview of the program, the in-depth analysis of the data collected through semi-structured interviews with the participants, and a discussion of the research results. The paper ends with some concluding remarks on the research, its limitations and potential research developments.

Theoretical background

The main research questions presented in the previous section of this paper are related a broader reflection concerning the need to develop new approaches to preserving and enhancing cultural heritage in countries in Global South, in particular those that are developing faster and in which the dichotomy between needs of preservation and needs of development are particularly strong.

The need to preserve cultural heritage and the risks related to the loss of identity and cultural standardization especially with reference to vernacular cultural heritage (Borin and Rossato, 2016), have increasingly become a highly debated topic. Among the various perspectives, the importance of preserving cultural heritage has

been discussed with reference to the threats imposed by development (Clark, 2001; Keitumetse, 2016; Graham et al., 2016) and the need to identify sustainable development models ensuring cultural heritage preservation (Guzman et al., 2017). The cultural heritage contribution to the social well-being of different groups living within increasingly cosmopolitan towns and cities (Tweed and Southerland, 2007), and therefore its essential role in ensuring sustainable urban development, has also been underlined. Culture and cultural heritage have been proposed as the fourth pillar of sustainable development alongside the traditional social, economic and environmental dimensions (CHCfE, 2015). The uncontrolled development or cultural heritage tourism has been considered a main threat to cultural heritage preservation, considering how tourist flows pose threats to local heritage (Dallen, 2009; Coccossin, 2016; Throsby, 2016) especially in developing and emerging countries (Mowforth and Munt, 2015), potentially destroying not only the built cultural heritage but also the identities and values at the basis of cultural tourists interests (García-Hernández et al., 2017; Jeon et al., 2016).

Alongside the debate on how we could implement effective measures for heritage preservation (Chalikias, 2015; Barthel-Bouchier, 2016; Roy, 2015) and enhancement (Della Spina, 2018), attention has also been brought to the need to change mindset and attitudes towards cultural heritage preservation initiatives. Kideghesho et al. (2007) have underlined that we need to change the attitude towards preservation and enhancement interventions for cultural heritage sites in order to optimize such intervention and to increase their potential in terms of sustainable development. They also point out that many factors can positively or negatively affect conservation attitudes: positive attitudes potentially enhance conservation objectives whereas negative attitudes might undermine these objectives. Among the most influencing factors these researchers identify education, which alone was able to explain 51% of the variation in people's attitude towards conservation.

Education to cultural heritage is a topic that have been studied according to several perspectives. Among the most significant streams, academics has focused on the importance of integrating cultural heritage teaching in formal curriculum (Passagua & Williams, 2012; Smith, 2011; Simşek, Elitok, & Kesici, 2013), focusing in particular on primary education. Researchers not only analyzed the benefit of integrating cultural heritage education as specific teaching subject, but also underlined how cultural heritage could be considered as an underlying theme to promote better understanding of other subjects (Abayao, 2006). Education to cultural heritage preservation has been identified as a responsibility of public authorities (Azman et al. 2010), who should not only promote pedagogical programs increasing awareness and ensuring community engagement but also stimulate "stewardship actions" from the community. Recently, the topic of cultural heritage education was related to the educational ecosystem/ecological approach (Colwell, 1985; Goodland, 1984): according to this approach, educational organizations are considered as part of a complex networks of diverse factors and subjects that influence and shape the learning process (Ennis, 1992). Educational ecosystems are context-dependent and the quality of an educational program is evaluated also in light of the value exchange between different members of the ecosystem (Kirikova et al., 2010); local responsibilities in developing curricula are considered crucial (Niemi, 2014). In the framework of this research, significant investigations have underlined how input from external, "foreign" actors (e.g. international students or teaching staff) can stimulate new developments of the ecosystems. In particular joint international educational initiatives could stimulate new

approaches for preserving and enhancing cultural heritage (Simandiraki, 2006), unlocking the potential for cultural-heritage-led development. This approach has been widely studied in different fields and mainly in western countries, but needs to be further explored with specific reference to education to cultural heritage preservation and in emerging countries (Bjønness, 1994), especially given the increase of pressure on cultural heritage sites all over the world due, among other reasons, to tourism or socio-economic development issues. However, proposing foreign education programs, especially if they imply a majority of foreign teachers, could also bring risks of rejection since it could be perceived as a relic of colonial attitudes in imposing specific models of education to local inhabitants (Simpson, 2007; Bolt and Bezemer, 2009). Furthermore, foreign educational practices could be perceived as imposed and unsuitable to local learning styles and needs (Bastid, 2017). Thought not always present there is also a risk that inserting foreign students and staff would crowd out local students (Borjas, 2004) and lower their interest in these pedagogical programs.

What are the features of international educational proposals in dynamic and changing contexts such as those of global south countries is a subject that needs to be further investigated (Kappagoda, 2002). This paper aims at addressing this research gap. In order to address our research questions, the paper presents a longitudinal analysis of an educational project developed over 5 years and jointly carried out by staff and students coming from an Italian University and an Indian university (University of Ferrara and CEPT University of Ahmedabad) to study the cultural heritage of two Indian cities in order to make some proposals for preservation and enhancement of different cultural heritage sites.

Research design and methodology

As highlighted in the previous section, the research questions have often been addressed in theoretical debates, but they have been underestimated in empirical investigation: this research aims to fill this empirical investigation gap.

In order to reach this aim, the authors decided to adopt a qualitative research methodology, since it is generally considered more apt to investigate in-depth a phenomenon and its implications. More specifically, we decided to focus on a single case study, the workshop "Historic City Centers" organized by the University of Ferrara, Department of Architecture, together with the CEPT University in Ahmedabad. This case study was selected since it complied with many of the research needs related to our questions. First of all, the pedagogical project concerns cultural heritage education in a Global South country and aimed at stimulating new ideas about interventions for preservation and enhancement of the cultural heritage of the Blue city of Jodhpur in the North-Western part of India and at knowledge transfer of the competences developed by the University of Ferrara in terms of heritage preservation. Second, though being proposed as a workshop of the CEPT University, there was a significant contribution of the Western university that not only worked on the structuring and design of the pedagogical program to the Indian and Italian students, but also brought many teaching staff (one full professor and three teaching assistants i.e. researchers and doctoral students specialized in the use and teaching of the technologies related to cultural heritage preservation). In the last year, the staff of the Indian university was indeed the minority (one full professor and one research assistant) and had primarily the role to supervise the development of the group work and to facilitate the contact with the

Indian participants and with the local stakeholders involved in the workshop (local authorities and inhabitants). Third, the project seemed relevant for the research since it enable the pedagogical international interaction at different levels: at the level of staff and students during the seminars and in the supervision of the group works, and at the peer-to-peer (Italian students-Indian students) level, during the interaction between Italian students and Indian students.

The case study analysis was carried out according to the approach proposed by Yin (Yin, 2016), through the triangulation of different sources of evidence: in particular, document analysis (the program of the workshops and related documents), direct observation (the researchers were present during the whole workshop), output analysis (more specifically, the posters realized during the workshop and exhibited at CEPT University and in the Mehrangar Fort coming from previous workshops), and in-depth semi-structured interviews with the Indian students involved in this pedagogical activity.

While the first three sources of evidence were used mainly as background sources of information, the most interesting results emerged from the semi-structured research interviews with the Indian students participating in the 2017 workshop. These interviews were carried out as group interviews with group of 2-3 students that reflected the working groups in which the students were divided during the workshop. It might be relevant to point out that during the group works the participants were divided into nine group, each of them including a majority of Indian students and on average 1 or 2 Italian students. This specific pedagogical tool facilitated both the exchange of competences and knowledge transfer from the Italian and Indian students and the exchange between cultural approaches and perspectives.

The interviews followed an interview protocol that was designed on the basis of the research questions and preliminary talks with the teaching staff (both Italian and Indian) of the workshop. A preliminary version of the protocol was tested with the Indian staff: this lead to a further amendment that made the questions more comprehensible for the interviewees.

The final interview protocol consisted in three main topics that were related to the research questions:

1. Educational/ pedagogical motivations and expectations in enrolling in the program: this part aimed at understanding the expectation of the students in choosing this workshop and in particular how the presence of the international staff influences their decision

2. Pedagogical outcomes of the workshop: this part aimed at investigation whether the expectation were met and what is the results of the workshop in terms of change of competences, approaches and perspective towards cultural heritage preservation and awareness. Was the pedagogy appropriate to the cultural context? What was the role and contribution of the international staff in this results?

3. Influence of the cultural interaction and knowledge transfer between Italian-Indian participants: this part aimed at exploring how the interaction with the Italian staff and students impacted in general on their experience, verifying if there were difficulties or how the approach proposed by the international group was perceived by the Indian students. Was there a cultural clash or cultural difficulties? Or do they feel enriched by the experience?

These three research topics addressed three main aspects that the researchers wanted to investigate: the first was the influence of the presence of the Italian staff and international perspectives in the choice to enroll in the program; the second was the practical aspects and outcomes of the international training, as related to the main objectives of the program; the third relates to aspects of cultural interaction among the two national groups (Italian and Indian).

The interviews were recorded and transcribed. In order to guarantee rigor and trustworthiness in the analysis, the interviews were coded according to the Gioia methodology (Gioia, 2012). This methodology is based on the manual coding of data according to a 1st order (informant-centric) - 2nd order (theory-centric) procedure that lead to the final reorganization of data into main themes. The first order reflects the perspective of the interviewees, containing often verbatim, the 2nd order represent instead the point of view of the researcher. The two perspectives are then blended to address the theoretical perspectives emerging from the research.

The results are presented and commented in the following section of this paper: these preliminary results were significant in providing potential answers to the central research questions.

Empirical research

Overview: "Historic City Centers" pedagogical program

As specified above, the research aimed at exploring, with reference to cultural heritage how well pedagogical models and curricula formulated in Western context fit the educational needs and styles of people learning and working in other places. The focus was on education to cultural heritage awareness, preservation and enhancement. As a consequence, the authors focused on the case study of an Indian workshop organized with the predominant contribution of an Italian university related on intervention of preservation and enhancement of the Blue City of Jodhpur, a famous vernacular heritage site located in the region of Rajastan (north-western part of India).

The workshop entitled "Historic City Centers" is a workshop organized as a joint activity of the University of Ferrara (Italy) – Department of Architecture and the CEPT University of Ahmedabad (India). As preliminary and preparatory part of the research, all the documents related to the workshop were analyzed and the researchers participated to all the phases of the workshop implementation (preparatory meetings, seminars, group works, surveys and documentation). From this first phase, some significant features emerged about the workshop structuring, giving insights on its development and the relevance of the contribution of the Italian staff and its skills and competences to the whole project.

The “Historic City Centers” workshops were conceived and promoted by the Department of Architecture, University of Ferrara, ITALY and Department of Architecture, Center for Environment, Planning and Technology (CEPT), Ahmadabad, INDIA. The initiative was planned to develop interdisciplinary competence of analysis of historic city centers through diagnostic methods, competences and skills that were a strength of the Department of Architecture of the University of Ferrara. In view of much discussions and debates on the “future of the past”, these short experience (about 10-12 days on field) were part of the winter workshop offered since 2013 under the SWS (summer winter school) of CEPT University. The Summer and Winter

Schools (SWS) at CEPT University are opportunities for students to gain valuable learning experience that goes far beyond the structured classrooms. It is organized in cooperation with several Indian and international Universities.

The Historic blue city of Jodhpur was selected as a case study, and documented for 5 winters. The main aim of the initiative was to put students in strong relation with vernacular cultural heritage by being on site and experiencing the historic environment. Developing basic knowledge and attitude for future of historic cities will help young architects to play a crucial role as planners and architects toward the protection of this heritage by documentation, planning of intervention and recognition of character and value of blue Jodhpur. Over five years, between 2013 - 2017, 44 sites got documented in different areas, of diverse character by a combination of Indian and Italian student groups, their work has been a great stimuli for local people, officials and local groups. Every year a staff of both Indian and Italian teachers supervised by an Indian and an Italian scientific coordinator spent the whole workshop period guiding the students towards the delivery of final outputs.

This documentation comprises urban and architectural drawings, sketches and diagrams arranged into A1 panels that definitely help in identifying the issues of architectural ambience, architectural form and color coordination, to keep the continuum of culture. Every year several aspects were added to the study to understand complexity.

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Indian students	29	19	20	16	19
Indian teachers	3	3	2	2	2
Italian students	14	22	10	5	15
Italian teachers	3	3	6	4	4
Sites analyzed	12	10	8	7	9

TABLE 1. DATA OF THE WORKSHOP "HISTORIC CITY CENTERS" (2013-2017). Source: own elaboration

A prototype of the exhibition of such material was conceived since 2014 in the form of “Jodhpur box”, a 3.60 x 3.60 m. x 2.4m height cube made up of panels 900 cm wide x 2.0 m. high. These panels were actually the walls of the box while a black textile covered the ceiling: this allows the staff to create an opening on one side for viewing the film clip projected inside. Also the short clip (10-15 minutes long) was designed and made every year by the students.

Research interviews: analysis of the results

After this preliminary phase, the research questions were investigated more in-depth in the research interviews that were carried out with 19 Indian students, divided in 9 focus groups. The transcription of the

interviews provided the researchers with the possibility to better understand the answers to the three main discussion topics. The results are analyzed and presented here below according to the Gioia methodology.

As highlighted in figure 1, the first discussion topic in the interview was related to the relevance on the international presence as motivation for enrolling in the program.

1st ORDER CONCEPTS	2nd ORDER THEMES	AGGREGATED DIMENSIONS
I choose the winter school related to architecture, it's good to learnt something from a different perspective.	interest in acquisition of competences related to architecture	Acquisition of specific competences provided in the workshop
[The winter school] seemed a good opportunity to learn something about architecture		
I was interested in being taught different measuring and analysis on space and other things to understand the historic context.	Interest in learning new measuring and analytic techiniques realted to preservation works in historical and heritage contexts	
I chose this workshop to understand how old city works and to study the old people and their city		
The guy ....menashi...is really famous. And working with her is a good opportunity	interest in working with a the Indian supervisor	Reputation of the program and of the Indian staff
I have worked with her [menashi] before also in a few projects. I have an idea that this workshop might be good.	Previous positive experience in working with the Indian staff	
I saw the posters of the previous years and I was impressed. I thought the school might be interesting, so I enrolled.	Appreciation of the quality of the teaching in the winter school	

FIGURE 1. RESULTS OF THE FIRST DISCUSSION TOPIC

Source: own elaboration

If we consider the 1st order analysis, the students argued they have chosen the workshop because " it's good to learnt something from a different perspective [architecture]" and because "interested in being taught different measuring and analysis on space and other things to understand the historic context", that could be interpreted as an evidence of the interest in the acquisition of competences related to architecture with specific reference to historical city centers (2nd order themes). In an aggregated perspective, these answers indicate that the specific knowledge provided in the workshop was a significant motivation, as they interviewees didn't specifically perceived it was provided by the international staff.

During this part of the interview, the participants also argued that the Indian supervisor was famous and that "working with her is a good opportunity", also because they had already "worked with her before also in a few projects" and they "had the idea that this workshop might be good". This idea was also reinforced by the analysis of the results of the same winter schools in the previous years. One interviewee declared "I saw the posters of the previous years and I was impressed. I thought the school might be interesting, so I enrolled".

The 2nd order themes emerging from this answers are therefore the interest in working with the Indian staff and the appreciation of the quality of the results of the same school in the previous years. From an aggregated perspective, this indicates that they enrolled in the program thanks to the good reputation of the program and its Indian staff.

The third aspect emerging from this first section of the research interviews was that some of the participants selected the workshop because they felt the "need to think about Jodhpur city center". One interviewee declared that she saw that Jodhpur was the focus of the winter school and she "thought that [Jodhpur] would be interesting and I took this winter school as first option". Another interviewee declared that "Jodhpur is different than other urban cities. I am from South of India. Basically, we don't have such kind of heritage". The 2nd order theme emerging from these answers is therefore an interest in discovering the historical city of Jodhpur and its cultural heritage. Aggregating the two dimensions, we can argue that one of the reasons to enroll was the interest in the specific Indian cultural heritage analyzed in the winter school.

The second part of the research interviews instead aimed at exploring the pedagogical outcomes of the program and the perceived impact the international staff had at the pedagogical level. The results are summarized in figure 2.

1st ORDER CONCEPTS	2nd ORDER THEMES	AGGREGATED DIMENSIONS
[from the international staff] I was taught different measuring and analysis of space and other things and also how to understand the historic context. There are a lot of things I learn through the workshop	Learning use of new techniques of analysis and preservation, including use of materials	Learning of techniques and procedures to plan intervention
I come to learn new material.		
I learnt that conserving the historical city centre is really an exchange between the different people and the inhabitants. That's very interesting.		
[During the workshop] we learnt about the importance of planning [an architectural intervention] on the basis of the talks to the people. So, what's the culture of these people, how do they use space, the history, etc.	Learning of new procedure to plan and implement interventions in historical spaces	
[during the workshop] you understand better how to intervene, you go to the place and you understand how that is and how it works		
I understood that [cultural heritage] can be architecture but also how we live. There is a tangible and intangible dimension	Increased awareness of the cultural heritage of Jodhpur, of its tangible and intangible dimensions	Increased awareness of the dimensions and values of Indian cultural heriatge
I would say, on behalf of my group, that [I learnt that] the historical city centre it's something they [the citizens]would like to preserve. It's something we want to preserve.		
With reference to my perception of cultural heritage, it is not totally changed but I know something more [I understood that] family and community value are still very much in Jodhpur.		
[during the workshop] we see the heritage of India and how it is very complex. We are understanding better, we get to know things better.	Increase awareness of the values the inhabitants of Jodhpur attribute to their heritage	
[We understood] the community values. People in the same community live closer and that's the point of the development of the community and its cultural heritage.		
what we get from this workshop, is that cultural value of the people who are living there should be considered first.	Increase knowledge of the use of participatory approaches in planning preservation of historical buildings in the city of Jodhpur	Knowledge of potential benefits and problems of participatory approaches
we have understood the sense of the building, but that we need to consult the inhabitants on how to preserve it.		
We understood that they [the government] have to think more about the development of the country, but what we think more is the feeling and opinions, the needs of the people who is using that.	Perception of a contrast between development needs and preservation needs	

FIGURE 2. RESULTS OF THE SECOND DISCUSSION TOPIC

Source: own elaboration

The participants in the school pointed out three main concepts: first of all, they argued that they learnt a lot from the international staff, for example a student argued that he was "taught different measuring and analysis of space and other things and also how to understand the historic context", another one talked about the use of materials, another said that at the end of the program " you understand better how to intervene, you go to the place and you understand how that is and how it works", getting to experiment different ways to plan and implement preservation and requalification interventions. From a 2nd order perspective and from an aggregated point of view we can summarize these concepts in themes related to the aspects of preservation techniques and intervention planning.

The second group of 1st order concepts highlights that the interviewees argued that they understood that "there is a tangible and intangible dimension" to cultural heritage, that they and the citizens wants to preserve. They also added that they gained a better understanding of the link between cultural heritage and family and community values in the city of Jodhpur; that helped them understanding the complexity of Indian heritage. Grouping these concepts according to a 2nd order themes, it emerges that they relate to the theme of awareness of the dimensions of the heritage of the city of Jodhpur as well as the values the inhabitants attribute to the local cultural heritage. Aggregating the two orders, we can argue that the results point to an increased awareness of the Indian cultural heritage in its dimensions and values.

A final significant group of answers were related to the use and implementation of participatory approaches, particularly encouraged by Italian staff and students. The students argued that "what [they] get from this workshop, is that cultural value of the people who are living there should be considered first"; they agreed that they "have understood the sense of the building, but that [they] need to consult the inhabitants on how to preserve it". Furthermore they perceived that " [the government] have to think more about the development of the country, but what we think more is the feeling and opinions, the needs of the people who is using that". These ideas could be grouped in two 2nd order themes: the first one related to the use of participatory approaches in planning preservation of historical buildings in the city of Jodhpur; the second one instead referring to the perception of a contrast between development needs and preservation needs. From an aggregated perspective, it can be argued that the dimension emerging in this group of answers related to the knowledge of the potential benefits and problems of participatory approaches.

The final discussion topic of the interview protocol aimed at exploring the cultural impact working with Italian students and staff had in general during the winter school. In this part, interesting results emerged on the perceived role the student had during the program.

In general, the interviewees argued that the cooperation was positive. "Working with the Italian students is a great idea. We had a lot of ideas, they had totally different ideas, we collaborate together and we found out totally different ideas"; "we have somebody from a completely different country coming in, it definitely enhances the ideas and kind of work we are doing". From a 2nd order perspective the theme addressed in

these sentences is that of the interesting exchange of approaches between groups with a very different cultural background. The students also added that "Italians have different perspectives, because these are things Indians are familiar with. Maybe for us there is nothing negative and we ignore things because it's normal for us. But for Italians or foreign people they can point out these things easily". This shows a "positive attitude towards the potential of foreigners in proving new perspectives on local problems". Aggregating the results, we can highlight the dimension of the positive perception of the potential of having external perspectives and points of view to deal with local issues.

1st ORDER CONCEPTS	2nd ORDER THEMES	AGGREGATED DIMENSIONS
Working with the Italians is a great idea. We had a lot of ideas, they had totally different ideas, we collaborate together and we found out totally different ideas.	Interesting exchange of perspectives about the topics of the workshops	Positive perception of the potential of having external perspectives and points of view to deal with local issues
we have somebody from a completely different country coming in, it definitely enhances the ideas and kind of work we are doing.		
We need to learn a lot from them [Italian staff and students]. Italian have different perspectives, because these are things Indians are familiar with. Maybe for us there is nothing negative and we ignore things because it's normal for us. But for Italians or foreign people they can point out these things easily.	Positive perception of the potential of foreigners in proving new perspectives on local problems	
Usually our faculty tries to impose things. The Italian mentors ... taught us a different approach, to think and be more experimental.	Interaction was good in terms of new pedagogical approach and techiques	Positive perception of the technical and methodological contribution of foreigners
I was able to learn some softwares from the Italian participants and staff, the mentor was really good		
I think the workshop was better for them. We told them different things, about how people think and argue, about religion	Indians perceive the potential of teaching Indian culture to Italians	Positive perception of the potential of implementing a bidirectional cultural exchange: Italians to Indians and Indians to Italians
we loved it. They try to learn whe we told them new things about our culture		
I see Italians are very similar in terms of cultures or hobbies, they are much more similar than Indians. Our diversity is difficult for them to understand.	Cultural rejection problems, the Indians felt foreigners were not able to understand their culture	Cultural rejection problems and biases
We are more used than them to have a cosmopolitan culture, many people coming from various countries and cultures		
I think the Italians should have come earlier, to see and understand India.		
They could not understand what India is exactly. It took a lot of time to explain to Italians what was happening. They would not understand because they don't see these situations in their country.		

FIGURE 3. RESULTS OF THE THIRD DISCUSSION TOPIC

Source: own elaboration

During this part of the interview the students also argued that also the interaction with the Italian staff was overall positive. In the 1st order, the analysis underlined that the interviewees said that their Italian teachers stimulated them to think: "usually our faculty tries to impose things. The Italian mentors ... taught us a different approach, to think and be more experimental" and they argued that they learnt new types of software and

techniques for their projects, such as how to include participatory mechanisms in the preliminary and planning phases. This leads to the identification of a 2nd order themes of the good interaction in terms of new pedagogical approach and techniques. From an aggregated dimension, this means a positive perception of the technical and methodological contribution of the foreigners.

However, the answers of the interviewees underlined also negative aspects of the workshop. Apart from the language barrier, there was also a cultural barrier. A student declared "I see Italians are very similar in terms of cultures or hobbies, they are much more similar than Indians. Our diversity is difficult for them to understand". Another pointed out that foreigners "could not understand what India is exactly. It took a lot of time to explain to Italians what was happening. They would not understand because they don't see these situations in their country". A participant even argued that "the Italians should have come earlier, to see and understand India". This could be related to the 2nd order theme of cultural rejection: the Indians felt foreigners were not able to understand their culture. The aggregated dimension emerging in this part is related to cultural rejection problems and biases.

Though acknowledging this problem, some the interviewees showed a constructive and proactive attitude to overcome it. "I think the workshop was better for them. We told them different things, about how people think and argue, about religion"; they highlighted that "we loved [the interaction]. They try to learn when we told them new things about our culture". From a 2nd order perspective this underlines that Indians perceive the potential of teaching Indian culture to Italians. The aggregated dimension could therefore be that of the positive perception of the potential of implementing a bidirectional cultural exchange: not just Italian staff and students transferring knowledge to Indian students, but also Indian students proactively stimulating Italians to better understand Indian culture and cultural heritage.

Discussion: what and from whom are we learning?

The analyses presented above can provide us interesting insights on how well pedagogical programs formulated in European and other Western context could potentially fit the educational needs and styles of people learning and working in emerging countries, more specifically in Indian.

The teaching and methodological approach of the winter school was mainly designed by an Italian university, by a research group that has developed through the years specific competences and skills in the preservation of built cultural heritage in historical city centers of Global South or emerging countries such as Brazil or India.

One of the main strengths of the winter school was the presence of numerous Italian professors and teaching staff, even though the program and its activities included the strong cooperation of the Indian component.

However, during the research interviews it emerged that the pedagogical program was selected by Indian students not for the presence of the foreigners but mainly for the good reputation of the Indian supervisor and the significant results the same winter school obtained in the previous years. Therefore the international component was not perceived as the main motivation to enroll in the pedagogical proposal.

Another interesting result is that also in terms of pedagogical outcomes: the impact of the foreigners was not mentioned as main dimension. The workshop participants argued that they appreciated the different techniques and methodological approaches to design and plan an intervention in historical city centers that were mainly proposed from the Italian group of professors and students. However, they pointed out that their idea on cultural heritage didn't change as a result of the interaction of the Italian group, but by interactions with citizens and local communities. This helped them not only better understand the different dimensions of their heritage, the values associated to it and the need to implement participatory approaches to capture these values and better preserve and enhance local cultural heritage.

The third section of the research interviews gave further insights on the research topics. Pedagogical programs conceived by foreign teaching groups and mixing local and foreign students are indeed appreciated mainly in their potential to bring new perspectives on local problems, new methodological approaches and in their potential in stimulating the development of new ways of thinking and attitudes towards cultural heritage. As emerged also in the preparatory phase of the research, problems might arise in terms of cultural clashes: the local students can resist the pedagogical proposals because they think the foreigners do not understand their culture and cultural context. However, the analysis of this educational program highlighted also a way out of this problem: proposing a bidirectional knowledge exchange. This implied that alongside the teaching of new competences coming from foreign staff and students, they should engage the local students in understanding how these competence could be used in their context and enhancing their competences in terms of knowledge of local built cultural heritage, traditions and socio-cultural context for helping the foreigners to better get into the local context.

Concluding remarks

The aim of this research was to investigate how well pedagogical programs for cultural heritage preservation and enhancement formulated in Western contexts fit the educational needs and styles of people working in Global South countries. The research stems from the theoretical reflection on the role of education for ensuring heritage preservation and enhancement models that are suitable for developing countries' context, but that at the same time ensure sustainability. International education initiatives have been identified as a way to increase awareness in local people and to stimulate knowledge transfer for the implementation of culture-led development programs. Nevertheless, also risks have been identified, mainly with reference to the potential cultural biases and misunderstandings and to the perception of the programs as imposition of "colonial" models. Though discussed at the theoretical level, the features related to factors influencing the positive impact of such Western-led pedagogical initiatives has been rather under-investigated. This paper aims at filling this research gap.

The research topic was addressed by means of the analysis of the workshop "Historic City Centers", organized as a joint initiative of the CEPT University of Ahmedabad (India) and a group of teaching staff from the University of Ferrara (Italy), mixing Italian and Indian students, in the framework of the Summer-Winter Schools proposed by the CEPT University.

The analysis of the research results highlighted that the impact of the "foreign" component of the workshop was not determining in their motivation to join the program, and was perceived as positive mainly in terms of transfer of methodological and technical skills and competences. Though appreciating the benefits of having new and external perspectives in analyzing local issues, the Indian participants sometimes perceived problems due to the fact that the foreigners did not understand or know their culture. However, the students also proposed solution to this perceived cultural problem. They indeed rediscovered their role as proactive promoters of their own culture, arguing that the exchange with the international staff and students was positive also because they had the possibility tell them many things about their culture, cultural heritage and values.

With reference to the research questions, our investigation has underlined that this pedagogical initiative developed in India in collaboration with an Italian university was answering the learning needs and expectations of the local students, helping them rediscovering their local heritage and providing new perspectives, methodological approaches and techniques. The problems emerging were related to cultural biases, confirming the literature about this topic. However, our research contributes to the academic debate by identifying significant actions that could solve the emerging issues and maximize the positive impact of such initiatives we need to reinterpret the role of local participants in promoting their own cultural knowledge and identity. In short, our research indicates that one of the keys to implement more suitable international educational programs in Global South countries is to enhance the role of local students, and highlight the bidirectional knowledge transfers between the students and staff involved from the different national groups.

This results not only contribute to the scientific debate, but could provide guidelines for educational professionals and policy makers in the education and heritage preservation sectors.

However, the research focuses only on a single case study and the research results needs to be further investigated through the analysis of other international pedagogical programs.

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Innovative Business Models: An Opportunity for the Cultural Sector? Bringing Together the Logics of Public Service and Business

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ABSTRACT

The concept of the business model has been widely taken up over the past two decades. This is due to the value of its holistic approach to organization, which opens up many opportunities for innovation, as much in terms of value propositions as of all the other aspects that make up a business model (distribution, client relations and segmentation, resources, activities, and key partners). In the cultural sector, which follows both market and public service logic, current reflections on this subject have chiefly focused on managerial optimization. This article considers the transferability of certain business models to the cultural sector, particularly in cases that challenge the *organizational creativity* of cultural institutions. Attention is paid to how this may open these organizations to new opportunities, embedding them more actively in their cultural and social ecosystems, and developing projects that build on their intrinsic and extrinsic value (social innovation and cohesion, civic participation, creative economy, etc.).

Introduction

In the context of the third industrial revolution, which is marked by the development of the internet, digitalization, and new technologies, the idea of the “business model” has assumed a central place in the analysis, improvement, or even invention of new organizational forms. Interest in innovative business models has naturally carried over to the cultural sector. A wide range of discourse and practices have emerged in response to both the managerial turn and the financial pressure of stagnant public funding. Some of these encourage the cultural sector to improve its mode of operation and its resources (trainings, speeches, consultancy and critical literature on cultural management) while others call for a critical attitude (Chiapello, 1998). But these often hasty transpositions, which apply entrepreneurial and commercial principles to the cultural sector, do not always take into consideration its hybrid structure. In practice, cultural organizations simultaneously follow a market logic (ticket sales, sponsorships, other revenue sources) and a public service logic, and so are motivated not by growth, but by the recognition and fame of their artistic activities (value propositions). The two opposing logics open up a fascinating field of study in the domain of management: how can business culture (specifically in regards to communication, human resources, public relations, and management in general) reconcile approaches that might appear contradictory? These different dynamics force cultural organizations to find a compromise between business considerations (marketing, sales, promotion, communication) and their public mission (training, creation, mediation, coordination, preservation, cultural democracy, social cohesion, etc.). A better understanding of these logics would allow the development of targeted incentives and the diversification of the cultural sector's civic mission.

Hypothesis and Research Questions

Our research is concerned with cultural organizations (institutions, events, festivals, artistic projects, etc.) whose funding is hybrid, meaning both public and private. We start from the hypothesis that contact with innovative commercial business models can give new energy to such organizations. We then propose that examining certain business models through the lens of public service priorities (like, for instance, accessibility, cultural democracy, artistic creation, the spread and preservation of heritage, to name only a few) can reveal tensions that, if discussed, made explicit, and managed with foresight, can allow cultural organizations to better position themselves in relation to these different and sometimes conflicting logics, or even to develop valuable new propositions. In other words, can commercial business models inspire cultural organizations, and drive them to strengthen and broaden their public service mission?

As both a researcher and a consultant, I want to begin by offering some critical reflections on the innovative models chosen (cf. below) and then proceed to develop a toolkit that may, if my conclusions are accurate, contribute to diversifying existing value propositions.

First, I will carry out a brief review of the recent published consultancy literature in applied and scientific research. The former, authored by entrepreneurs, public bodies, researchers, and professional organizations

for an audience of cultural professionals (decision makers, stakeholders, cultural professionals), will be particularly important. Such texts are valuable descriptors, showing how professionals have taken up this subject and argued it, and how they have transposed managerial ideas into the cultural sector. What arguments do they use to initiate change? Where do they draw the line between commercial and public sector logics? How do they develop specific proposals for the arts sector?

I will then analyze business models selected from the types of business models described in Gassman et al (2014). I chose three models without direct financial implications (contrary to models like “freemium” or “pay as much as you can”) and that create opportunities for additional benefits for organizations. These are “experience selling”, “make more of it”, and open business models, and the focus will be on how these models challenge the goals of cultural policy. Where are the gray areas where the logics of public service and commerce meet to make a more attractive offer? And where are the boundaries that would undermine public service? A next step in this research would be to first observe and test these results empirically within a body of cultural organizations, and then to develop a more complex study of the business models of cultural organizations in emerging countries.

Summary of the Literature on Business Models in the Cultural Domain

Business Models in General

Reflections on business models began appearing in the years 1990-2000 in the context of the managerial turn. A growing consultancy literature developed, based in applied research (e.g. Hamel, 2000; Mauborgne and Kim, 2005; Osterwalder & Pigneur, 2009; Murya, 2010; Cohen, 2011) but also including basic research (Gassmann et al., 2014)[121] as well as critical scientific literature on the phenomenon (e.g. Morris, Schindehutte & Allen; Zott, Amit, Massa; Teece, 2010).

By business model, we mean that “a business model describes the principles by which an organization creates, delivers, and captures value.” (Osterwalder et Pigneur, 2009: 14). Chesborough, for his part, specifies that the term describes a de facto reality, though it may often be implicit: “...in other words, every company has a business model, whether that model is articulated or not (Chesbrough, 2006: 108).

This infatuation with the concept of the business model can be explained by its creative potential. Leaving behind traditional production lines, the “new” business models offer a holistic and modular path for organizations moving ahead. Innovation is no longer found only on the level of value propositions, but can find expression in the ways in which the organization coordinates all its composing elements. This explains the success of modular approaches like “Blue Ocean” by Mauborgne and Kim (2005) or the nine box framework from Osterwalder and Pigneur's business model canvas (2009). The new business models can thus be

121 We limit ourselves here to the principal consultancy works. There is of course also a plethora of practical consultancy works available.

considered dynamic systems made up of interdependent elements; they open up an infinite field of possibilities, if only the relevant sector dares to explore these new opportunities.

Research on Business Models in the Cultural Sector

In the cultural sector, like in other fields, the internet and digitalization have caused fundamental transformations, creating not only new value propositions, but also radically changing distribution channels, relationships with clients and partners, and key activities and resources. Totally new practices and customs have emerged, to which the artistic milieu has adapted more or less quickly. These new economic models present major challenges to cultural organizations, which focus mostly on their primary activities. One of the questions this raises concerns how well other elements line up with the artistic project: to what extent can the principal activity be expressed through other aspects of the business model, such as, for example, distribution channels or the development of other activities and key resources?

The literature on business models in the cultural sector is still quite sparse. We find two types of literature: consultancy literature (especially of the prescriptive variety) and scientific articles, which are themselves subdivided between basic research articles (descriptive and analytic) and applied research (prescriptive) aimed at professionals.

The consultancy literature on the responsibilities of public bodies often does not go further than diagnosing the cultural sector's hesitancy to incorporate a commercial logic, and offering a description of the main innovative business models (Dumke 2015). For others, the current situation and resistance to change stem from the cultural sector's discomfort with entrepreneurial values (growth, profit); the lack of professional management; a project-based approach opposed to the presence of permanent, structured organizations; the small scale of the majority of organizations (one to three people on average); and finally, from discrimination by the representatives of economic life who rarely take the cultural sector seriously (Hearn, 2014, European commission, 2011).

The literature authored by professional organizations is more concrete. The study carried out by *Trans Europe Hall* emphasizes the fact that the cultural sector absolutely must renew itself:

> Moreover, great attention should be increasingly paid on the identification of how to renew the capacity of existing working mechanisms of cultural organisations as well as to enable cultural organisations to develop more sustainable strategies for audience development, financial viability, resource management and operation management, with the aim to enhance their value creation capacity as cultural agents in society (*Schiuma, A., Bogen, P., Lerro, A., eds. 2015: 10).*

Here, financial viability is clearly a goal: the objective is to fully establish a clear and sustainable role for cultural actors in society. However, proposals for improvement, which are largely concerned with the financial aspect, have long since been identified and are not very ambitious (renting out spaces and materials, bars and restaurants). The study also reminds us that “clients” and “the public” are not one and the same and that the experience of users requires constant attention. Finally, pooling various kinds of resources (artistic,

human, technological, and infrastructural resources) is strongly encouraged, though this question is a particularly delicate one in the artistic domain (an issue of artistic autonomy).
The study carried out by the International Network for Contemporary Performing Arts (IETM) (Rodriguez, J. 2016) takes the growing financial precarity of the cultural sector as its starting point to encourage opportunities for change. It takes up various managerial principles, identifies types of innovative business models (Id., Ibid.:18), and suggests an application for them in the cultural sector without, however, bringing in the particularities of that sector. In contrast, Osterwalder's Business Model Canvas is suitable for the artistic sector (Osterwalder & Pigneur, 2010: 25-28), as it includes public service goals (mandate), the desired impact, and indicators of success. The intended beneficiaries are split into five categories (team and volunteers, artists, public, donors and funders, and other stakeholders), revealing the complex issues at play for cultural organizations that deal with different beneficiaries and should for this reason develop specific strategies for each.

The rare scientific articles on cultural business models in general describe changes that will affect culture, such as digitalization, new forms of cultural practices, and intellectual property, but these only concern aspects of the government-funded cultural sector (Greffe 2008). For their part, Schiuma, A. and Lerro, A., (2017) developed a framework in the form of a prism organized around value and social and cultural impact. Around this are then arranged partners, strategies, processes, organizational resources, and stakeholders. In their view, value propositions are central and must be made explicit and developed if cultural organizations want to develop sustainably and enjoy the support of stakeholders.

Finally, there are discipline-specific analyses, with each artistic domain having its own approach. For example, in visual arts, where the relationship to the market is crucial, studies show that deep reflection on “innovation”, as it concerns the production process, contributes to a wider diversity of artistic value propositions (Moureau, N. and Sagot-Duvauroux, D., 2012). The authors identify four business models that vary between categories of “innovative art” and “traditional art” and between models centered on the piece of art itself (“artwork”) or on artistic projects. We ought to examine here the term innovation as used by the authors that seems to replace the term avant-garde, in use until the 90s to describe new and unusual approaches in art. While in a modernist perspective, avant-garde referred to a value intrinsic to art, innovation implies economic opportunity. Such semantic shifts must be questioned so as not to confuse innovation and creation broadly speaking, which also implies new forms of production. These four models thus depend strongly on artistic value propositions, and scarcely explore the business model's other possible aspects. Staying with the visual arts, other studies describe and speculate about the new economic opportunities opened up by a broader range of artistic practices and forms (Royce, 2011; Vitkauskait, I. 2016). Taking up the Business Model Canvas, Vitkauskait (2011) considers the roles of various facets and identifies the value of a holistic approach, though still remaining focused on value propositions.

In summary, a literature review makes it clear that art's intrinsic value must be emphasized, but this is not sufficient to justify public and private financing of the cultural sector. Discussion of new business models occurs thus within the framework of managerial professionalization and the financial optimization of

organizations. It is a question of bringing managerial techniques into the cultural sector in order to assure its long-term survival, whether this is by means of strategic reflection or through proven managerial tools. Yet, to our knowledge, there exist few system-level reflections about how innovation could play out in terms of business models, not just value propositions. Further, what motivations are invoked to push cultural organizations to evolve towards a different model? Societal changes, paradigm shifts that place consumers at the center of practices (Greffe, 2008; Dumcke, 2015), and especially digitalization (Bakshi, H. and Throsby, D., 2010; Oukrat, A. 2012; Benghozi, J.-P. (dir), 2013): these constitute potential risks for organizations that do not make the effort to adapt. Whether with the goal of rounding out the cultural offering with digital “add-ons”, improving distribution and sales through e-commerce, using communications and client relations, or developing fresh digital offerings, there is a wide range of changes that must be planned for and set in motion. The emergence here of bi- or multi-faceted models is presented as a way of creating new offerings or to make new connections between clients and providers. In regards to government supports, the tools put forward are also quite classic: the formation of clusters, the professionalization of the sector, and the creation of supports that encourage the breakup of cultural businesses. However, no study that we are aware of has tried to conceive of the different aspects of business models as opportunities to further develop an organization's activities.

A Closer Look at Three Innovative Business Models

We would like to examine the following three business models, distinguish the tensions that they potentially create between public and market logics, and then to identify the challenges they create for cultural policy objectives. These three models were selected from different typologies, specifically from the 55 models identified by Gassman et al (2014) in his text *The Business Model Navigator. 55 Models that will revolutionise your business* (2014). Gassman and his team analyze the typologies before sorting them by model, which, relative to Osterwalder and Pigneur's nine boxes, is limited to four points: who (clients, beneficiaries, stakeholders, distribution); what (value proposition; how (resources, activities, and internal capabilities); and why (costs and revenues). The chosen models all deal with the same facets (Who? What? How?). They were chosen following an initial analysis of their potential to allow for a more general reflection on cultural business models, with a special focus on aspects other than their principal activity. Further, the goals of these three models are not financial, in contrast to those models expressly centered on optimizing revenues, such as e-commerce or freemium.

1. The Sales Experience

The sales experience starts from the premise that a product or service's value is considerably raised if its sales and distribution methods are developed to emphasize experience. Since the end of the 1990s, the experience economy has been understood and defined as a new and crucial opportunity to create new products and improve services: «An experience occurs when a company intentionally uses services as stage, and goods as props, to engage individual customers in a way that creates a memorable event » (Pine and

Gilmore, 1998, p. 98). The "experience" is done through the senses. One can detect here a certain continuity with the "theatricalization" of society, identified by Guy Debord in the late 1960s in *La Société du spectacle*. Once the products or services are “spectacularized” or turned into “experiences”, a slippage occurs, and they are integrated into a collection of stimuli that encourage participation and the formation of emotional and aesthetic bonds (Id., *ibid.,* p. 98) with the clients and stakeholders.

Resonances with Cultural Policy

The use of the experiential dimension must be discussed in a cultural and artistic context, because it is based in one of art's foundational values, namely the aesthetic, emotional, and sensory dimension, but turns it to commercial ends. The vein of reflections on the aestheticization of the world (Lipovetsky and Serroy, 2013) is aimed squarely at artistic capitalism. This is surely why most government-funded organizations avoid it. Commercial organizations apply it systematically though, like for example *Cirque du Soleil* or *Karl’s Kühne Gassenschau*, two different-sized companies that work all the levers of the experience economy while also developing their artistic value proposition. Would this be one of the areas of tension for the public sector, to extend the artistic identity to the creation of a real customer journey or to emphasize the development of marketing and public relations? The strategy of diversifying artistic activities is already being put in practice in order to engage the public (concerts in art galleries, expositions in theaters, diversifying musical forms within classical music, etc.), but funded bodies have hardly taken any steps to further incorporate an openly commercial approach. Other works (Muñoz-Seca, 2011), however, offer a more global consideration of cultural offerings using service design. Arguing for the importance of art's intrinsic value, Muñoz-Seca suggests a sweeping reorganization of cultural production that should be conceived of as a “cultural service experience” (Id., *Ibid.*, p. 1). Taking as her starting point the intrinsic value of art, Muñoz-Seca puts forward an integrative approach to the artistic experience, conceived of entirely in terms of consumers and their various aesthetic, educational, social, and sensory desires: “the cultural sector as a whole needs to create an integrated customer experience, basing its differentiated proposal on the joint contributions of several partners” (Id., *Ibid*., p. 12). The transition from public service to cultural service experience deserves further examination. Her analysis converges with the attention given to demand over the past several decades and offers new perspectives on the issue of access, without engaging with artistic works themselves. Experiential and integrative dimensions could touch on tensions within the artistic world because these are traditionally associated with “all-inclusive” commercial strategies and with a more passive than active attitude often critical of consumers. However, is not the advent of artistic structures and immersive or strongly experiential mediation (recall the naturist tour or the yoga classes at the Palais de Tokyo, for instance) a sign of a transition currently underway? Could not artistic and cultural dimensions develop within such a structure?

Challenges

The sales experience, and customer experience more generally, brings valuable material to consider for expanding the cultural sector's business models. Inviting organizations to break out of a view centered on their own organization, it suggests conceiving public access starting from *their* daily reality, which will be multiple and complex, professional and private. Furthermore, a concerted, coordinated approach by cultural

institutions to consider the programming (schedules, synergies), communication (interactive agendas), and sales (tickets) of cultural products, as suggested by service design, could considerable facilitate access to culture.

2. Make More of It

This model suggests (further) developing intangible assets, in particular skills and know-how within the company, with the goal of creating new products and services that could then be offered to other organizations. The idea is to consider key resources as opportunities to access new markets and consolidate certain competitive advantages. This model should not be confused with supplementary or additional benefits, like merchandising or the use of restaurant sites integrated into the organization, but should be understood as the commercialization of key competencies by making them available to other organizations. This model opens the way to new markets and revenues (Gassmann et al., 2014, p. 2016-220)

Resonances with Cultural Policy

This model does not deal with artistic value propositions and thus situates itself outside of the usual missions set out by public bodies. It does though, in our view, make a useful contribution to creating value in the cultural sector. As we saw above, the publicly-funded cultural sector remains largely focused on its primary missions, those for which it receives public funds, namely the production, distribution, and conservation of creative works. All peripheral activities, essential to the value proposition, are not yet – or are only modestly – exploited and valued, because they require the development of a complementary structure to manage them.
Analyzing specific skills and knowledge within an organization thus becomes a useful process of evaluation that reinforces the institution's identity and position within its field of action. But the most important part is the possibility transferring this knowledge, whether within the cultural sector itself or towards other sectors of the economy, whether public or private. Developing exhibitions and coordinating structures, methods of producing and distributing works, as well as key skills like staging, orchestra direction, script writing, or theater: these are already transferred to other sectors, like human resources, communications, or video games. Other skills and knowledge could follow. More broadly, these skills show an affinity with what Bernard Stiegler calls “capabilities”, meaning know-how that constitutes a community of valuable and specific knowledge (Stiegler in Benyayer, J.:. 2014, p 32) that deserves to be encouraged and valued in order to defend culture's intrinsic values.

Challenges

Make More of It opens up opportunities beyond those projects financed by public bodies, and holds potential for partisans of the creative economy, in search of ever-wider areas of application for creative activities. The challenge lies in identifying key skills and then in setting up a parallel structure to manage these services. However, in the case of a transfer outside the cultural sector, it raises questions about how well anchored those practices are, with respect to their being hijacked or diluted (Mayeur, 2006), or inversely their

constructive integration into other fields. Maintaining a lively dialectic between these different positions will thus help to assure inspired and inspiring creativity.

3. Open Business Models

There is a considerable literature on open business models (cf. Notably Chesbrough 2008, Benyayer, J.-L. 2014) because they propose an interesting paradigm shift. Building on the interplay between a business and its web of relationships, ranging from clients to stakeholders and including providers and partners, this model emphasizes added value from the exchange of information and practices. It sets aside notions of property and privacy in favor of a territorial ecosystem, or sectorial cooperation, in which each party benefits. The opportunities are in the vein of supplementary services and products, to which each party brings added value and contributes to strengthening the ecosystem as a whole (Gassmann 2014, pp. 230-234). Here we will focus on this open definition rather than the more restrictive ones dealing with access to information.

Resonances with Cultural Policy

The open model affects an organization's administrative wing as much as it does the artistic “production line”. While *Make More of It* seeks to identify organizational strengths, the open model suggests evaluating the weaknesses or gaps within an organization before locating the higher-performance or complementary skills and services outside of it. What required skills are lacking? What knowledge do we need access to?
In a certain way, the artistic production line already works this way, leading – in most arts sectors – artists to monetize their services through an institution who can then present their work to the public. Concretely, co-productions between institutions, production and distribution offices, set-design workshops, or groups specializing in coordination are already the elements of a larger production line. Whether it’s for an exposition, a show, or a concert, the public pays for a service that is the product of all these skills brought together. But this model can be developed further still.

From the point of view of public bodies, this model encourages linking different trades and skills, and is thus a coordination between cultural professions. We are not aware of any cultural policies that explicitly encourage the open model, but present conditions lead naturally to creative work being segmented into different forms of production. The days when a theater or festival produced every part of a show are over. In terms of management, we do not associate online ticket sales or schedules to the open model, since these clearly represent separate links in the distribution chain and not the production line. Financially, the redistribution of earnings is certainly more complex in the cultural sector's hybrid system. The price of a ticket is a not an accurate indicator, as it does not reflect the real costs of production, but is rather aligned with the sector's pricing practices and access policies.

Challenges

The open model encourages structures to identify what skills they lack and to reflect, notably on the internalization or externalization of certain key activities. Rising production costs have already significantly

changed the landscape of artistic creation, leading to co-productions, the emergence of new intermediaries (production offices), to a more systematic flow of works (agencies specialized in distribution) and to the rationalization of production methods. In the performing arts, for example, the lines have blurred between host theaters and producing theaters[122]. In France, this is also confirmed by the fact that “solo productions” and “majority co-productions” make up a single indicator for the Ministry of Culture.

Methods of production have become complex, which has led to a considerable increase in administrative resources. Some deeper reflection on funding arrangements is needed to refocus funds on the artistic aspects. It is also worth considering activities to supplement funded cultural offerings, such other cultural services (secondary cultural products, publications, etc.). However, drawing as well from a wider range of activities (themed trips, events, childcare, collaboration with NGOs and not-for-profits) opens up a wide swath of possibilities for cultural institutions to take their place in the broader socio-cultural context of their region.

Conclusion

Our objective was to analyze in detail the possible impacts of three innovative business models on the cultural sector and to examine the possible contradictions between public and market logics. We will follow-up this first study with empirical research that will try to discern ideas and opportunities formulated by cultural institutions as well as business models in emerging countries.

We would remind the reader that we deliberately chose three models that were not directly addressing financial optimization, but rather the valorization of assets in order to strengthen the organization. There are also specifically financial models that are worthy of analysis to identify their potential, like crowdfunding, e-commerce, double distribution (physical and digital), and freemium, as well as more wide-spread models like digitalization and its consequences (bi- or multi-faceted platforms and disintermediation).
We can draw four conclusions:

1. Innovative business models developed over recent decades have often only a partial impact on the value propositions of publicly-funded cultural organizations. They encourage an expansion of the activities *surrounding* the creative activities, to either strengthen the value proposition (E*xperience Selling*) or to diversify it (M*ake More of It* and *open model).* The delicate issues are of a financial order: to develop these models involves new costs that would ideally pay for themselves, or even generate added revenue to complement public funds. In terms of governance, these activities should be integrated and actively supported by the supervising authorities, even receiving supplementary financial incentives.
2. These preliminary analyses have shown that these models present extremely promising opportunities that resonate with the most recent reflections in the realm of cultural policy (audience building and the offering in general) and that can, more broadly, contribute to further valorizing the intrinsic value of

122 In 2017, the Union des théâtres romands (The Union of Francophone Swiss Theatres), which brought together producing theatres, and the Pool des théâtres romands, which did the same for host theatres, merged to create the Fédération romande des arts de la scène (FRAS) (The Francophone Swiss Federation for the Performing Arts).

culture as an essential part of public life. It would be appropriate then to give greater weight to these goals so as to gradually shift institutional strategies.

3. These models find resonance just as deeply with recent movements towards social cohesion, participatory action, and social innovation more generally. These activities are transversal to other sectors; encouraging participation and social inclusion creates sensible opportunities, but also clearly requires cultural organizations to extend their field of action to public social policy (developing a sense of citizenship, intergenerational relations, participatory dimensions, etc.).
4. A more specific scope of action for creative economies reveals itself: though organizations must be encouraged to learn management techniques in order to manage public funds as efficiently as possible, the entrepreneurial spirit must be encouraged using more precise stimulus, which then invites cultural organizations to develop *supplementary* products and services and, importantly, to draw on their creativity for these as well. Towards this, incentives in the form of calls for transversal projects that integrate social innovation, digitalization, or global innovation of cultural business models could create fascinating entrepreneurial dynamics. Strengthening coordination between *economic, cultural, and social policy* may be profitable in further bringing together these two logics.

The cultural sector is at the center of various tensions between economic imperatives and its public service mandate. Budgetary restrictions from public bodies have increased financial pressure, and it is in this context that management specific to the cultural sector has emerged, which encourages organizations to professionalize and to adopt a more managerial approach. But the underlying goals for this vast movement, observed over the past several decades, are clearly financial. They aim to impart cultural organizations with specific tools to allow them to acquire supplementary financing (patronage, sponsorship) and to pursue a higher level of efficiency overall. This is why the new business models that have recently emerged in the private sector have garnered such interest, because they demonstrate a seldom-seen level of organizational creativity; the distinction between beneficiaries and clients (cf. social networks), or the economic power of attention, sharing, and experience bring about innumerable new entrepreneurial opportunities. Yet incentives to develop new business models in the cultural sphere or to explore the new directions offered by digitalization are still extremely limited or nonexistent.

Thus, inventing new models could be a chance to create original offerings, explore complementary missions, or to manage certain activities differently. These models could integrate social and economic functions (creative economies) beyond the cultural mandates we know. In other words, encouraging the development of new business models through joint incentives between policies for economic encouragement (creative industries), culture (audience building), and social issues (social innovation and cohesion, participative intergenerational projects) will contribute to strengthening the intrinsic value of art in society.

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Creative Arts Marketing Third Edition: Using Cases and Content Face to Face and Online

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ABSTRACT

Whether in academic or CPD contexts, arts management educators need to be confident in physical and virtual classrooms, and in any combination thereof. Taking the 2018 edition of the authors' textbook *Creative Arts Marketing* as its starting point, this article explores the respective strengths of face to face and online to promote engaging and effective learning opportunities based around case studies. It stresses the potential utility of adopting Learning Design principles for arts management education (face to face and/or online); creating new collaborative opportunities; and enhancing the efficiency of arts management education work

Keywords:

Creative Arts Marketing, Case Studies, Learning Design

Introduction

The rapid development and adoption of technology-enhanced learning offers arts management educators and learners a rich but sometimes bewildering choice of options. A particular challenge is how to adapt reliable 'real life' methods such as readings or seminars to an online context. And what place do traditional text books have in an increasingly mixed economy of digital and physical learning resources? The authors' recent experience of preparing a new edition of the UK's leading arts marketing textbook *Creative Arts Marketing* (Hill, et al., 2018) prompts this reflection on how best to blend traditional with digital media to create engaging and effective learning experiences,

This article focuses on the case study, an important feature of the book's content, and a well-established and popular learning and teaching resource in management education. *Creative Arts Marketing* features three types of case study, all of which can be adapted for learning activities of various durations and purposes. The separate chapters of the book cover contemporary arts marketing theory and practice structured along the familiar mix of product, price, promotion and place, alongside chapters dealing with the context of arts marketing and the challenge of leading and managing the marketing function in an arts organization. The chapters are punctuated with short vignette-like case studies to illustrate aspects of innovative practice or insights from recent academic research in arts marketing. Each chapter ends with a longer case, themed on the chapter topic with appropriate review questions. At the end of the book three synoptic cases integrate content across the chapters, with a wide selection of questions designed for use in more extended classroom activities. The cases are variously based on primary and secondary research, chosen to illustrate the diversity and unique challenges of arts marketing. There is an emphasis on international arts marketing practice, not only to make the learning experience more inclusive, but to reflect the realities of an increasingly globalized arts and cultural industry environment.

Case studies, appropriately selected and embedded in learning activities, offer rich potential for professional development – face-to-face, purely online or in a blend of modes. In sector-based management education they are particularly useful, as cases can be matched (as they are in *Creative Arts Marketing*) to specific professional contexts, as well as the generic situations that might face all managers. But the value of any case study to learners depends on the effective design of the learning experience of which it forms the core.

This is reflected in the literature advocating a structured approach to teaching with case studies (Bonoma 1989, Cameron, 2011; Andersen and Schiano, 2014). The potential sophistication and variety of digital tools and resources now available to educators working with cases amplifies the need for clear and purposive structure – whether the learning takes place face to face, online, or in a mixture of modes. We therefore outline how principles of Learning Design (Cross, et al., 2012) originally developed to navigate the increasing complexity of learning technology, can be applied to teaching with case studies in any mode to enhance their value to arts and cultural managers.

We begin by discussing the kinds of skills relevant to arts managers, emphasizing partnership working as a paradigmatic 'soft skill' in an increasingly globalized arts environment. While the 'hard' technical skills

associated with disciplinary specializations remain essential to arts and cultural organizations, they are of limited value to leaders committed to internal and external collaboration. We point to the value of case studies in education and training activities to help develop soft skills – not only as problematized in the case studies themselves, but also developed by learners in the process of working together on the material. We emphasize the importance of clear structure in supporting learners using case studies, and reflect on the various strengths of digital and face to face working in doing so. Finally we introduce some basic ideas from Learning Design as practiced at the UK Open University, the largest university in Europe and a specialist in online and distance education, which can be readily adapted to face to face and/or management development in the arts and culture.

What skills do today's arts managers need?

In conversation with Beyens (2013) Hilary S. Carty, the director of the UK's Clore Leadership Programme since 2017, itemized the skills needed by arts and cultural leaders in the 21st century. Heading her list were a commitment to diversity, understanding governance across different sectors and organizations, and the ability to manage disruption and change on a continuous basis. A little further down came effectiveness at 'making partnerships and collaborating for both creative and organizational outcomes'. Essential as Carty's first three skills continue to be, partnership working has arguably become the key skill for arts and cultural managers as we near the end of the second decade of the 21st century. For economic and creative reasons, the number of collaborations in a range of art forms is on the rise nationally and internationally (*Economist,* 2015; Youngs, 2015; Hertz, 2017). The other skills in Carty's list (fundraising, political awareness, negotiation and advocacy) all support partnership working, and are likely to develop as a result of it. In a report scanning the horizons of the arts economy in England, Armstrong et al (2018) underline the importance of partnerships both locally and at a more strategic industry level. They predict success for organizations with the capacity for: 'partnerships which allow them to reach new audiences, access specialist skills, tap into new sources of revenue and experiment with technology. Partnerships that allow for more efficient operations through shared services, facilities and procurement are also likely to become more important.' Given the rapidly globalizing nature of the arts and creative sectors in general, these predictions are likely to hold true across borders and even sectors, validating the relevance of arts and cultural management education which develops and nurtures the appropriate skills.

An important consideration for us as authors of a new edition of *Creative Arts Marketing* (Hill et al, 2018) was to produce learning materials that support relevant skills development for arts and cultural managers. Marketing, because of its coordinating role in organizations (Webster, 1992) provides a powerful focus for developing such skills. Whether or not an individual has the word 'marketing' in their job title, their work in an arts or cultural organization has consequences for marketing outcomes such as brand image and the experiences available to audiences and participants. So an understanding of marketing as it relates to the arts and culture is relevant to all managers and leaders in such organizations. Led by theoretical developments in services marketing, and the nature of arts experience itself, our conception of the arts customer is of an active partner in creating value, rather than a passive recipient of benefits (O'Sullivan, 2009; Hill, et al., 2018: 100). Partnership management skills are therefore as fundamental to arts and cultural managers at a micro-level of

operation as they are in the more strategic areas of inter-organizational collaboration and co-production. Accordingly, alongside its content on technical marketing skills such as market research, dynamic pricing or online promotion, *Creative Arts Marketing* majors on 'soft skills' (Robles, 2012) such as planning, team-work and sensitivity to context in arts marketing. This is a particular feature of its synoptic case studies – for example 'War Horse: an international theatre experience' which considers the complex interactions between new ways of producing theatre, partnership working, organizational innovation, and audience experience (Hill, et al, 2018: 295).

Because they cover complex personal attributes such as motivation and empathy, soft skills are less straightforward to develop than objective, knowledge-based technical skills. Learning a technical skill such as Search Engine Optimization is relatively simple. But learning to manage relationships in a successful collaboration is a more complex undertaking, requiring direct experience, or immersion in case studies, with appropriate reflection in each case.

How case studies can help

Using case studies in teaching and learning helps managers transition from a focused to a broad perspective. It reinforces how management is carried out in a social context, where different people act from a variety of personal and professional motivations and priorities. Because they capture something of the complex reality of organizational life, even short case studies help learners appreciate managerial challenges in the round. Extended case studies used as the basis for group working provide a safe space to develop the skills of practical analysis and deliberation which can then be transferred into authentic practice.

Case studies originated in America at Harvard University in the late nineteenth century as a way of teaching law (Jackson, 2011). The term 'case' itself has legal connotations. Perhaps in order to reproduce the high-pressure conditions of professional legal practice, students were assigned two or three major cases to study each evening and then had to discuss and make presentations on them the following day in class. Harvard's business faculty had adopted the method by 1925, and it rapidly spread to other institutions.

A century on, case studies' popularity endures. They allow learners to relate existing knowledge and understanding to a plausible situation, facilitating the co-construction of knowledge which is particularly important in professional education. They help develop problem-solving, analytical and critical thinking skills. Used as illustrations or extended examples or scenarios (as they are variously in *Creative Arts Marketing* within chapters, at the end of each chapter, and synoptically at the end of the book itself) they encourage learners to apply concepts to make sense of a situation. This deepens learners' critical understanding of the management frameworks or theories under study. Often teaching and learning activities based on case studies include assessment in the form of a report or presentation, giving the opportunity to develop business communication skills. Used in a group setting, whether face to face or online, soft interpersonal skills such as discussion or listening come to the fore. A variety of learning outcomes can therefore be targeted efficiently and effectively with the method.

Learners often enjoy case studies because they offer a variety of situations and contexts, casting the learner in the role of a management consultant or problem solver. They provide a safe space to try out ideas with others, leading to active, collaborative and relationship-based learning of the kind which promotes student engagement (Zeipke and Leach, 2010). On the other hand, the incompleteness of information which characterizes many case studies can be unsettling to learners who are used to more directive forms of teaching and learning. Such information gaps are almost inevitably a feature of management in practice, where decisions have to be made on the best information available within a limited time frame. Yet there may be an expectation amongst learners that, because it has been consciously researched and authored, a case scenario should be complete in all respects, and even carry the key to its solution – perhaps buried in the data. It's important to manage expectations appropriately, particularly when working with learners who may come from a variety of educational traditions. Interpretation in the face of ambiguity, and reasoned assumptions in the face of incomplete data, are strengths rather than limitations of the learning experience available.

For example, Ali (2017) points to their value in exposing assumptions at two levels to promote critical reflection. The first is within the case study itself. What assumptions, in the absence of better information, are the people in the case making, and with what justification? The second is at the level of the learner. What assumptions are necessary in making sense of the case, and how reliable are they? Both levels of reflection should encourage learners to be on their guard about taking things for granted, or acting out of habit. These are essential management lessons, whatever the focus of the case situation.

Case studies also have disadvantages. Because they represent moments in history they date rapidly. This may not be a serious problem, given that the issues and dilemmas at the heart of many apparently dated cases are ones of perennial interest to managers. But incidental detail which has changed with the passage of time can be a distraction. Perhaps more importantly, some learners may feel culturally distanced by references that are particular to a geography or society, such as a UK-based case study referring to arts funding structures alien to learners in other parts of the world. Finally, case studies can appear to be hard work to time-poor learners. It takes time to engage properly with a case study, often through a number of iterations and re-readings. Even relatively short cases repay repeated reading and reflection over time. Learners used to more packaged and directive approaches can feel lost and even overwhelmed.

These disadvantages can be ameliorated, and the advantages of case studies enhanced, by a structured approach to their use. Cameron (2011: 182) advocates a nine-step sequence suited to an extended case study of the sort one might encounter on a post-graduate management qualification such as an MBA. Cases like this, perhaps of several thousand words with supporting data and exhibits, are studied in either a group or individual context, where the task consists of diagnosing and solving a problem, and making recommendations in the form of a report or presentation:

1. Understand the task – in other words what is required as an output, and how does this contribute to the desired learning outcome.

2. Scan the case – taking an overview of a case, whatever its length, helps to promote holistic thinking about the situation represented.

3. Explore the situation – assumption articulation within the case (Ali, 2017) is particularly important at this stage

4. Diagnose the problem – analogous with a physician diagnosing a condition from its symptoms, this stage involves evaluating and interpreting evidence and information.

5. Decide on criteria for a solution – following the analysis stage, rational choice criteria can be developed to guide the decision process.

6. Generate options – articulating and justifying assumptions on the part of learners is important here.

7. Evaluate and select the most appropriate option(s)

8. Design an implementation strategy

9. Present your findings – in a format appropriate to the original task.

This detailed sequence can be boiled down into three main stages of analysis (1 – 4), decision (5 – 7) and implementation (8 – 9) -- a linear strategizing process which has influenced the structure of many strategy text-books (e.g. Johnson, et al., 2017). While the 9-step model is too elaborate to be universally applicable to teaching with cases, this simpler 3-step process of analysis decision and implementation has much to recommend it as a starting point for designing learning experiences around even relatively brief case studies.

Firstly, to be capable of the analysis stage, learners need to be able to understand what is required of them. From the educator's point of view, this means determining the objectives of the learning activity. Often these are expressed as learning outcomes – in other words what the learners will be able to know and do on successful completion of the activity (Edwards, 2015). In order for learners to 'understand the task', in Cameron's phrase, it is essential that the objectives or learning outcomes are shared with them in language they can comprehend. Understanding the task in this sense is a powerful motivator, encouraging learners to take responsibility for their progress towards the stated outcomes, prioritizing their activities accordingly. For example, flagging up the questions which follow the relatively brief chapter end case studies in *Creative Arts Marketing* will help learners orient themselves appropriately as they read the material. The opening stage in any structured approach to using case studies could also include managing expectations about such things as completeness of information, acknowledging apparent (but irrelevant) anachronisms, or even explaining the open-ended nature of case analysis to learners concerned about whether or not they will produce the right answer.

Decision, the second broad phase of activity by learners is also subject to choices by the educator. Having studied the case and come to some conclusions, what mechanisms are available for deliberation and choice? We will expand on some of the options available in the next section in a discussion of the strengths and limitations of online and face to face approaches to working on case studies. Differences of opinion and their

resolution are essential parts of the Decision phase – and potential tensions need to be acknowledged by the educator. In extended case study work such tensions can be resolved by providing a framework of ground rules (for example by voting after a set amount of time) or by encouraging participants to devise a conflict resolution mechanism themselves as part of the learning process. For briefer activities, task clarity can help learners arrive at conclusions with more confidence – even when working individually.

Finally Implementation, or at least its proxy in the form of a presentation, report, or other response, is a further area where the educator needs to make requirements and mechanisms explicit. This is particularly true of face to face working, where learners can enhance their presentation skills with artefacts, visual aids and role play as appropriate. By no means all case study work ends in a report or presentation. The requirement could be as simple as to contribute to a discussion about the case, or research and present further information relevant to the situation. But whatever the required output, it needs to be complemented by useful and relevant feedback from the educator to mark the end of the process and reinforce the learning achieved.

Face to face, virtual and blended approaches to case study work

As well as being available in both physical and e-book format, *Creative Arts Marketing* 3rd edition has a companion website designed to support teachers and learners using the book in face to face and online environments. Access to the site is controlled by a publisher-provided key available to confirmed adopters of the text. While this might appear restrictive in an age where open educational resources (OERs) are becoming an accepted part of the learning and teaching landscape of arts and cultural management (e.g. Goethe Institut, 2018) it reflects the mixed economy of commercial and not for profit content providers, reflecting the composition of the cultural industries themselves. A community of registered adopters of the book also provides the basis for a closer dialogue between the book and its users going forward.

Rather than being a learning environment in its own right, the companion website is a repository for materials from the book to support a variety of teaching and learning activities by educators. These include digital copies of diagrams from the text which can be incorporated into instructors' own presentation software, and a selection of case studies, including synoptic cases designed for classroom discussion (whether physical or virtual) to unite themes from across the chapters. As a dynamic resource the website has the capacity to house new and updated material in response to developments in professional practice, marketing theory and user input. But its most important contribution is to facilitate the use of the book as a resource for online as well as face to face learning.

As an educator or trainer, one's freedom to vary the form of delivery between online, face to face, or blended learning, can be constrained by institutional norms, user expectations, or even the simple availability of reliable internet connections, power, technology and software. But the rapid development in educational technology that has followed the arrival of Web 2.0 (O'Reilly, 2005), as well as market penetration by tablets and smartphones, has normalized online as an increasingly prevalent mode of learning (EDUCAUSE, 2018). The challenge to educators is not whether to use online, but how to use it creatively and effectively.

As we have noted in the previous section, teaching with case studies lends itself to extended tasks involving one or more group(s) of learners either face to face or online. Face to face, such tasks might be structured within a day-long workshop, or over a series of weekly classes, as periods assigned to stages of analysis, decision and presentation of an implementation plan by syndicate groups, culminating in a session bringing groups together to compare notes and reflect on their learning. Online a similar sequence of activity could be established, perhaps with a more directive approach by the facilitator to the relationship between individual contributions and group outcomes because of the lack of social cues available to groups in the physical world.

Something like the pressure associated with the original use of case studies to teach Harvard law students can be harnessed in a face to face setting, with teams working against deadlines to produce and present their ideas to a critical but collegial audience. This kind of productive drama is less feasible in an online setting, but is replaced by benefits unavailable in a physical environment. For example in a web forum discussions can build over a number of days from contributions made at times to suit the learners involved. Termed asynchronous conferencing because the conversation takes place discontinuously over time, this can produce more considered contributions to a discussion, as well as providing a permanent record which can be referred back to. Synchronous working is also available online, for example through tools such as Google Hangouts, but face to face working has nothing quite like asynchronous conferencing (which can also bring together learners from different time zones without disrupting their normal working and living patterns).

Based on the authors' experience of facilitating case study work in either mode, the following table sets out some practical reflections on some of the respective characteristics of online and face to face in each of the three broad stages of analysis, decision and implementation, and how they can be leveraged as strengths.

Case study phase	Online	Face to Face
Analysis	Group formation To assist group formation (aiding a shared understanding of the task and subsequent progress) introductory messages with photographs or avatars can be planned into the beginning of the process. Learners can link to existing social media profiles if they are comfortable doing so. Even if asynchronous conferencing is the main medium for communication, a live video session using Skype or Google Hangouts is a good way to reinforce introductions for effective group working.	Group dynamics Face to face groups have access to the taken-for-granted cues of body language and other non-verbal communication. While this accelerates group formation compared to what is possible in online settings, part of the facilitator's role is to attend to group dynamics which can be disruptive if left to themselves. A good way of making this part of the available learning is to ask the group early in the case study process to reflect on how it is working together and how this might be improved.

	Preparatory work For extended case study activity, the compulsory submission of preparatory work promotes a sense of commitment amongst online learners. An advance investment of time increases the benefits available from further active participation. Online information search and handling One of the advantages of online study is the ease of incorporating links to supplementary information and resources to help illustrate and clarify issues in a case study and potential solutions by analogy.	Diagramming Exploring the case and diagnosing the problem can be enriched by the use of informal diagramming techniques which are less immediately available to online learners.
Decision	Polling tools Online polls and voting tools (such as directpoll.com) promote engagement and facilitate decision making in ways unavailable offline. Collaborative documents The use of collaborative documents such as Google Docs allows consensus to emerge from a variety of contributions over a period of time. Multiple authorship and shared editing rights encourage individual accountability and group ownership of the outcome.	Group dynamics Decisions are easier to reach face to face than online. But dominant group members may cut potentially useful discussions short. Care needs to be taken in facilitation to bring out a wide a range of views and options as possible, and groups given an idea of how long the process of deliberation ought to take.
Implementation	Online artefacts A presentation using PowerPoint and its notes function, or a report using Google	Creative live presentation n a face to face setting, while detail may be limited to what can be written on a flip chart,

	Docs has the capacity to be shared, retained and referred to long after the case study process is complete. The detail and potential quality of the information is likely to exceed what is possible face to face. If asynchronous conferencing has been the default medium for collaboration, it may be worth ending using a synchronous tool note to feedback and reflect on what has been learned.	presentations can make use of visual aids, props and role play as appropriate. This can create very vivid and memorable learning experiences, but needs monitoring in advance to ensure relevance to learning outcomes.

TABLE 1. RESPECTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF ONLINE AND FACE TO FACE FOR CASE STUDY WORK

These reflections on their respective characteristics do not assume that online and face to face are exclusive choices. In spite of a persistent tendency in pedagogical research to compare them as alternatives on the grounds of effectiveness or acceptability to learners (e.g. Kemp and Grieve, 2014) they are most likely to be found in combination. As should be clear from the preceding analysis, each has strengths and limitations in different contexts. The priority for educators is to use them alone or together in ways which promote effective learning and skills development.

Planning and sharing your case study approach through Learning Design

So far in this article we have considered how a structured approach to case studies can be implemented in different modalities. But the structure in question has been relatively loose, following a commonsense, linear model of strategy as a series of stages. It has served as a container for a number of potentially useful activities to develop knowledge and skills relevant to arts and cultural management. But how might we improve this structure to make it more explicit and visible, capable of being shared, evaluated and further refined?

While it could be argued that designing learning experiences can never be a purely scientific undertaking because of the creativity and intuition involved, there is now an influential school of thought which suggests that there are advantages in making it more rigorous, objective and subject to evidence-based improvement. This approach, termed Learning Design, is defined by Conole (2012: 121) as ‘a methodology for enabling teachers/designers to make more informed decisions in how they go about designing learning activities and interventions, which is pedagogically informed and makes effective use of appropriate resources and technologies”. Part of the spur to Learning Design’s development has been the unprecedented availability of data about online learning behavior (hence Conole’s mention of ‘appropriate resources and technologies’). But its principles can be usefully applied to learning in any mode.

Learning Design encourages educators to think realistically and relevantly about the needs and capacities of their target learners at the very inception of each new piece of learning. The variety of Learning Design practiced at the UK Open University is based on the Open University Learning Design Initiative (OULDI) developed over a five year project in collaboration with a number of other higher education providers (Cross, et al., 2012). This has now been embedded in the routines associated with the production of all new learning materials by the university.

An important part of the process involves devising detailed learner personas for new courses based on a mixture of intuition and research data. The level of information to be included in building these imaginary students includes motivation for studying, expectations for the course, educational background and experiences, study skills strengths and weaknesses, name, age, occupation, and nationality. Learning Design workshop participants are encouraged to draw or collage a face to the name in order to make the persona even more concrete. The presence of these hypothetical, but entirely possible students, continually brings the workshop participants back to the realization that they are not creating learning experiences in the abstract, but for real student faced with a variety of individual barriers and incentives to success in their studies.

Another powerful technique for concentrating the mind towards producing relevant learning experiences is OULDI's typology of learning activities. Each new module or course is developed with a set of predefined learning outcomes in mind. Adhering to the principle of constructive alignment (Biggs, 1999) all the content and activities included in the module should clearly support (or 'align' to) the stated outcomes. The OULDI process invites designers to consider what mix of activities is most likely to achieve the specific outcomes of each course. A typology of seven possible learning activities is provided as detailed in the following table:

Activity type	Explanation	Typical activity prompts
Assimilative	Take in information	Read, Watch, Listen…
Finding and handling information	Search for and use information	List, Analyze, Collate, Plot, Find, Gather...
Communicative	Discuss course content with at least one other person (student or tutor)	Communicate, Debate, Discuss, Argue…
Productive	Actively make something	Create, Build, Make, Design…
Experiential	Apply learning in a real-world setting	Practice, Apply, Explore, Investigate,..
Interactive/adaptive	Apply learning in a simulated setting	Explore, Experiment, Trial, Improve, Model, Simulate.
Assessment	All forms of assessment (summative, formative and self-assessment)	Write, Present, Report, Demonstrate, Critique.

TABLE 1. OULDI LEARNING ACTIVITY TYPOLOGY

Source: Adapted from Rienties and Toetenel, 2016

On the face of it some of these categories might appear to overlap. For example, a piece of writing could fall under communicative, productive or assessment depending on whether it was, respectively, a forum post in a discussion about a course concept, a set of notes for personal use, or part of an assignment which might be graded (summative) or contribute to learning without being graded (formative). Similarly, an 'exploration' might be either in the context of applying a new skill or idea in the workplace (experiential) or in a simulated setting such as a case study scenario (interactive/adaptive). Part of the value of the Learning Design workshop is to

help understand and exploit the nuances of difference between the seven types depending on the purpose and circumstances of the activity in question.

The challenge for the l designer is to determine an appropriate distribution of the learning time available between the activities necessary to achieve the intended learning outcomes. There is no compulsion to include all seven types – in fact the principle of constructive alignment (Biggs, 1999) should encourage the use of only what is necessary. To concentrate the mind, Learning Design workshop participants have to agree on a bar chart showing the seven activities expressed as columns whose height represents the percentage of time they occupy, with the stipulation that all add up to no more than 100%. This is then used as a guide to planning the week by week unfolding of the module, with an appropriate sequencing of activities to ensure a consistent workload over time, avoiding peaks and troughs that throw learners into crisis as they struggle to balance their studies with the other demands on their time. One very positive effect of this approach to the creation of a new learning materials is to bring home to educators how relatively little time they have at their disposal. It helps avoid the temptation to overload students with more work than is justified by the credit rating of the module they are studying. Particularly for the kind of time-poor part time students in which the Open University specializes, excessive workload is a serious obstacle to perseverance and success. Arts and cultural managers face similar constraints in how much time they are likely to be able to devote to learning and development activities.

Toetenel and Rienties (2016: 982) point out that Learning Design can be applied ‘at activity, course or qualification level’. It is therefore relevant to the design of the kind of case study activities we have been discussing in this article, and its adoption by teaching and learning practitioners in the area of arts and cultural management could lead to more reliable learning experiences for the sector. At first glance, assimilative, communicative and interactive/interpretative activities are likely to feature in case study work. Depending on the nature of the process and task, finding and handling information and assessment might have more or less prominence beside the other elements. By using this typology as a common language, educators can make their design intentions explicit in a way which can be shared with others, or repeated with conscious variations. This offers the opportunity to learn from their own and others’ experience in a more systematic way than has been hitherto possible. Particularly in a resource-strapped sector like arts and cultural management, any improvement in effectiveness and efficiency is a welcome development, so we look forward to further research into the application and utility of Learning Design in this context.

Conclusion

The experience of preparing a new edition of *Creative Arts Marketing* prompted our reflections on the advantages of case studies to promote learning and development for arts and cultural managers, particularly in the soft skills underpinning collaborative activities necessary to success in the future arts economy (Armstrong, et al., 2018). The growth in online learning, and the opportunities it creates for the development of digital skills in both teachers and learners, is a welcome addition to the repertoire of arts management educators. But it needs to be approached in a way which values its unique strengths and capabilities, rather than being seen as a potentially inferior alternative to face to face education. In fact, a pragmatic mixture of

modalities is likely to be the best way to create engaging and accessible learning which is relevant to arts managers' needs.

Having advocated a structured approach to case study work based on adapting a practitioner model (Cameron, 2011) we concluded with an argument for the adoption of Learning Design principles by arts management educators. In addition to promoting more efficient and economical programs of learning and development for managers in the sector, this promises to create more opportunities for collaboration and professional development for educators as they engage with evidence-based improvements to their practice.

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