Routledge Research in Creative and Cultural Industries Management

ARTS AND CULTURAL MANAGEMENT

SENSE AND SENSIBILITIES IN THE STATE OF THE FIELD

Edited by
Constance DeVereaux

Arts and Cultural Management

Arts and Cultural Management: Sense and Sensibilities in the State of the Field opens a conversation that is much needed for anyone identifying arts management or cultural management as primary areas of research, teaching, or practice. In the evolution of any field arises the need for scrutiny, reflection, and critique, as well as to display the advancements and diversity in approaches and thinking that contribute to a discipline's forward progression. While no one volume could encompass all that a discipline is or should be, a representational snapshot serves as a valuable benchmark.

This book is addressed to those who operate as researchers, scholars, and practitioners of arts and cultural management. Driven by concerns about quality of life, globalization, development of economies, education of youth, the increasing mobility of cultural groups, and many other significant issues of the twenty-first century, governments and individuals have increasingly turned to arts and culture as a means of mitigating or resolving tough policy issues. For their growth, arts and culture sectors depend on people in positions of leadership and management who play a significant role in the creation, production, exhibition, dissemination, interpretation, and evaluation of arts and culture experiences for publics and policies. Less than a century old as a formal field of inquiry, however, arts and cultural management has been in flux since its inception. What is arts and cultural management? remains an open question. A comprehensive literature on the discipline, as an object of study, is still developing. This State of the Field offers a benchmark for those interested in the evolution and development of arts and cultural management as a branch of knowledge alongside more established disciplines of research and scholarship.

Constance DeVereaux is the Director of the MFA Program in Arts Administration at University of Connecticut. USA.

Routledge Research in Creative and Cultural Industries Management

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Arts and Cultural Management
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Foreword

Arts and Cultural Management: Sense and Sensibility of the Field

I am always on the lookout for new resources about arts and culture management, and so when Dr. Constance DeVereaux asked me if I'd be interested in writing the foreword to her new book *Arts and Cultural Management: Sense and Sensibilities in the State of the Field*, I was honored and excited to contribute. Constance and I had the privilege of being guest speakers at an international arts management conference in Beijing a few years ago, and I have warm memories of the conversations we had about arts management and life in general.

As I read through the diverse range of topics covered in this new book, I found my enthusiasm for contributing grew. I browsed through the table of contents, and I found chapters that offered fresh perspectives on the evolution of arts management and the changing role of arts managers. The international contributors to this book shine a new light on the increasingly complex landscape that cultural management occupies and is continually reshaping.

I found myself reflecting on how things have changed over my years of teaching arts management and producing shows and events, managing people, budgets, and facilities. Teaching helps keep you tuned in to the expanding theory and research in the field. But it can be challenging to parse how theory, research, and practice are interacting in organizations. It is often impossible when you are in the midst of a project to find the time reflect and ask, "What is really going on and why?" The project concludes and, before you know it, you are on to the next all-consuming production, event, or exhibition.

The topics explored in *Arts and Cultural Management* give the reader the opportunity to pause and reflect on questions about what arts management is and how it is different from business management as it is practiced. As arts managers, we are typically asking ourselves: what are the ends we have in mind, and how do we keep our equilibrium as we try to balance the inherent risk central to the process of bringing an artist's

vision to life while at the same time we try to navigate a world where failure is seldom rewarded? I believe the risk-averse thinking and behavior often seen in business and government should not be driving how arts managers function and organizations operate. However, the forces that underpin the funding ecology of the arts, the varied governance systems in place, and the multiple agendas of policy makers all seem to be relentlessly seeking assured outcomes that can subvert an organization's mission and dilute its vision.

Several chapters in this book offer insights about the problem inherent in applying business management models and philosophies to cultural organizations. Issues about addressing the lack of diversity in the arts manager training pipeline are raised, and critiques are offered about the way cultural organizations are currently evaluated. One of the chapters asks us to rethink what the core role of the arts manager should be, and another proposes cultural organizations need to be employing "post-heroic manager(s)."

These are important issues to ponder because expectations of what cultural organizations should be doing and what they have the capacity to do are often different. This means leaders and managers need to widen the view of what constitutes success. I think Mintzberg's observation that managing "is a practice learned primarily through experience and rooted in context" (Mintzberg 2011, 9) makes a great deal of sense. The context arts managers face is tightly woven into the art form and the myriad of working relationships he or she has with the artists, designers, the production team, and with many of the people who make up a diverse mix of stakeholders. It is critical that an arts manager develop the skill to be able to dig in and solve problems and then zoom back to see the whole. However, the readings in the book stress in addition to acquiring this skill to zoom in and out, arts managers need to be more attuned to the social context inside and outside their organization.

Alumni have been a source of information for me over the years on this subject of context. They have provided valuable feedback about leaders they have encountered who have high levels of emotional and social intelligence. When it comes to leading and managing in the arts, being intentional and having a high degree of self-awareness is important. For example, a recent alum lamented that the arts organization where she was working was only sporadically having an impact as a cultural catalyst in the community. Instead, she saw an organization with leaders who were struggling to align and leverage the talent of the people who worked there with the passion and purpose that was so proudly proclaimed in the mission and vision statements. Sadly, some of the people in this particular arts organization seemed to exhibit a short supply of management sense and sensibility.

And so, we return to why *Arts and Cultural Management* is a valuable new resource for people in the field of arts management. The perspectives

shared by the contributors to this book about the state of the field, new research avenues to investigate, and the issues they raise and the assumptions they challenged will help the reader better grasp the increasingly complex landscape of the arts, culture, and society. An important takeaway for me after reading this book is how critical it is for arts and culture practitioners, consultants, researchers, and academics to ensure they are working with a shared framework that promotes an ongoing dialogue about theory and practice. Rather than letting silos develop that separate us, stakeholders with interest in developing the field of arts and cultural management should be modeling the kind of collaborative behavior we use when creating the very work that drew us to the arts and that inspires and transforms the world around us.

William J. Byrnes
Management and the Arts, 5e

Reference

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Contributors

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Constance DeVereaux is a philosopher and political scientist who served as a Fulbright Senior Specialist in arts policy and management in Finland, South Africa, and Romania. Her research interests include cultural citizenship, culturally sustainable entrepreneurship, cultural management practices, and everyday aesthetics. DeVereaux is lead organizer of the Arts Management Studies Research Stream of the European Sociological Association. Her publications include *Narrative, Identity, and the Map of Cultural Policy: Once Upon a Time in a Globalized World*, with Martin Griffin, "Cultural Management and the Discourse of Practice," and "A Theoretical Framework for Sustaining Culture: Culturally Sustainable Entrepreneurship," with Kristen Swanson.

She serves on the editorial board of the *Journal of Cultural Management: Arts, Economics, Policy*. She provides training to arts managers, nonprofit boards, and individuals employed in creative enterprises. In 2017–2018, she served as Vice-Rector of Internationalization at Karaganda State Technical University in Kazakhstan. She is currently associate professor and director of the MFA Program in Arts Administration at University of Connecticut.

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Patrick Germain-Thomas is Professor at Novancia, Chamber of Commerce and Industry. He earned his PhD from Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales. His doctoral thesis was titled *Politique et marché de la danse contemporaine en France (1975–2010)*. His publications include *La Danse contemporaine, une révolution réussie?* and "The Subsidized Contemporary Dance Market in France: Creation at all Costs." He is a member of ACD (Association des chercheurs en danse), a French association for research in the dance field, and areviewer for the online journal created by this association: *Recherches en danse*.

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Kerry McCall Magan is co-founder of the *Cultural Policy Observatory Ireland: an all island research network* (CPOI), a founding editor of the *Irish Journal for Arts Management and Cultural Policy*, and a co-organizer of the Arts Management Research Studies Stream (RS01) in the European Sociological Association. A key contributor to cultural debate and advocacy in Ireland, Kerry has been director of The Sculptors' Society of Ireland (now Visual Artists Ireland) and a member of the Steering Committee and Research Working Group of the *National Campaign for the Arts* (NCFA), and was also invited to the Expert Committee of *Culture2025: a national cultural policy for Ireland*. Recently the Director of Academic Affairs in Uversity, a creative arts consortium of higher education partners in Ireland, north and south, Kerry has previously lectured in University College, Dublin, the Dublin Institute of Technology, the Dun Laoghaire Institute of Art and Design, and Queen's University Belfast. Kerry is currently Head of Teaching and Learning at Griffith College Dublin.

Anke Schad completed her PhD in Cultural Management at the University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna in 2017. Since 2006, she has worked as a scholar, evaluator, and consultant in the areas of cultural policy and management, international cultural cooperation, and cultural education and learning. Her specific expertise is in qualitative and multi-method approaches to the evaluation of cultural projects and programs. Since 2017, she has worked for the Goethe-Institut evaluation and strategy development department in a framework contract. Schad is a member of the board of Fachverband Kulturmanagement (Association of Cultural Management).

Njörður Sigurjónsson is an associate professor at Bifröst University in Iceland. His main research areas are cultural management, cultural policy, aural culture, and organizational aesthetics. Before his life in academia, Professor Sigurjonsson worked as a managing director of the Icelandic Literature Fund, marketing director for the Icelandic Symphony Orchestra, and as stage manager at the Icelandic Opera. He has taught numerous courses on cultural management, organization studies, and cultural theory and has given lectures and seminars in Finland, Czech Republic, Poland, UK, and the USA. His latest peer-reviewed

publications include "Organizational Silence" (2015), "The Noise of the Pots and Pans Revolution" (2015), "The Sound-Culture of Althing" (2014), and "Icelandic Cultural Policy" (2014).

Julian Stahl is currently working for PODIUM Esslingen, where he heads PODIUM.Digital, a newly established digital space for artistic formats. In addition, he continues his research on arts organizations at the Berlin University of the Arts. During his studies at Zeppelin University in Friedrichshafen and at Fairleigh Dickinson University in Vancouver, Julian Stahl repeatedly worked on questions concerning the future of arts organizations at the interfaces between theory and practice as well as arts, management, and sociology. After gaining experience at Schauspielhaus Bochum, Thalia Theater in Hamburg, and the German Embassy in Canada, his research interests revolve around the role of the organization as such, the immense changes brought about by digitization, and the role of complex management in arts organizations.

Martin Tröndle was manager of the first Biennale Bern and chief consultant for music and musical theatre at the Ministry for Science and Culture, Lower Saxony. From 2004–2008, he was a lecturer in the design | art & innovation study program at the Hochschule für Gestaltung und Kunst, Basel. Since 2007, he has been the leader of the Swiss National Research Project eMotion—mapping museum experience. From 2009 to 2014, he was a junior professor for Kulturbetriebslehre und Kunstforschung at Zeppelin University. In September 2014, he was appointed professor of the WÜRTH Chair of Cultural Production. From 2004–2016, he was a permanent lecturer at the Center for Cultural Management, University of Basel. Since 2008, he has been artistic director of Concerto21, hosted by the Alfred Toepfer Foundation, Hamburg. He also is editor-in-chief of the peer-reviewed *Zeitschrift für Kulturmanagement: Kunst, Politik, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (Journal of Cultural Management: Arts, Policy, Economics, and Society).

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Preface

My career in cultural management began, like this book, with Bill Byrnes, who kindly agreed to write the Foreword to this volume. I met him the first time, unbeknownst to him, through his excellent book *Management and the Arts* (currently in its 5th edition). It was the mid-1990s. The occasion was landing a job at a regional arts council in the Western United States that had earlier flourished, but which, like an ailing diva from the stage, was long past its prime. Some people had judged the organization, nonetheless, too important to let die, and so, with a bit of funding from the state, I was hired to restore its vitality. Although I had previously managed other types of organizations and possessed a talent for soliciting support and funding, the particulars of arts organization management were not as familiar to me. Navigating between the shoals of economic distress and portending decline were further challenges. A colleague suggested Bill's book as just the kind of primer that could help me through the rough spots. She was right. I might even suggest that *Management and the Arts* became my guidebook as I adapted past knowledge and experiences to the new.

My interest in cultural management and policy scholarship, research, and pedagogy were the result of that job. As the director of an arts council serving a wide array of arts organizations (ranging from theatre companies, to museums, chamber orchestras, ballet companies, and others), I saw firsthand the many kinds of difficulties an arts organization might confront. A long list is unnecessary—most readers will know that issues with funding, audiences, facilities, personnel, and governments describe only a few of the possible impediments to success. My job was to organize technical assistance in the form of grant application training, advocacy workshops, board development, marketing, and, indeed, ways to encourage and develop all of the skills areas needed to run arts organizations successfully. The mid-1990s was the end of an era. The USA Culture Wars were coming to an end (or so we thought—more recent events suggest that what followed then was no more than an interwar lull). Many organizations of the time were wrestling with public policy and advocacy issues, which also became an important part of my job, offering

seminars, advocacy training, and the like. The interactions helped me better understand the needs of organizations in terms of research and training. My background in philosophy and political science inclined me toward research and theoretical reflection. So, whereas Bill's book contributed some part to my practical formation, my eventual path was an investigation of the conceptual underpinnings of cultural management and policy practice. And so, to the present and the reason for this book.

Arts and Cultural Management: Sense and Sensibilities in the State of the Field opens a conversation that is much needed for anyone identifying this discipline as a primary area of research, teaching, or practice. In the evolution of any field arises the need for scrutiny, reflection, and critique, as well as to display the innovations and diversity of approaches and thinking that contribute to a discipline's forward progression. While no one volume could encompass all that a discipline is or should be, a representational snapshot serves as a valuable benchmark.

What commends this volume is that it is the culmination of a series of discussions over the course of many years and of many occasions for scrutiny and reflection by scholars and researchers seeking more precise documentation of arts and cultural management through its own lens. In its development, the discipline—in particular, its pedagogy—has been criticized for over-reliance on other disciplines as sources for methods and models: management sciences, mainstream economics, sociology, political science, and, more recently, entrepreneurship are just a few. As it matures, arts and cultural management's many researchers recognize a resulting ill-fit and the need for a perspective on the discipline within a distinct branch of knowledge. While theories, methods, models, and practices derived from other disciplines can provide lively insight, they may also refract the understanding that comes from fidelity to a discipline's own ways of doing, special areas of inquiry, and unique framings of phenomena and their investigations. The contributors to this volume treat arts and cultural management on its own terms, that is, as a specific domain of knowledge offering deeper insight into the phenomena of arts, culture, and their many activities—in the context of management, mediation, facilitation, and leadership—as a contribution to practice, policy, and further research.

Key conversations took place in a series of workshops organized by the Arts Management Studies Research Stream, associated with the European Sociological Association, in 2014 and 2016; they provided an opportunity for the kind of reflection that—in the words of one participant—usually happens in the hallways in between conference paper sessions. The subject of these workshops was very particularly the state of the discipline and the many constraints for an area of research that is recognizably fragmented and lacking in some of the essential features other disciplines possess: seminal theories, an agreed-upon body of knowledge, and the like.

These conversations benefitted, as well, from organized panels and less formal discussions at various other conferences and professional

meetings including, but not limited to, the International Conference on Cultural Policy Research, Sociology of the Arts, International Association of Arts and Cultural Management, Social Theory, Politics, and the Arts, International Federation of Arts Councils and Culture Agencies, and the symposium series *Cultural Management and the State of the Discipline*, which took place in Helsinki, Finland, in 2007, 2008, and 2009. Contributors to this volume have taken part in some or all of these many conversations. Many of the chapters reflect directly on arts and cultural management as an object of inquiry. Others provide new directions for conceptualizing important issues in the field, from audience development, marketing, policy, and pedagogy to conditions of cultural work, as well as new perspectives on theory and methods.

Readers of the famous Jane Austen novel alluded to in this book's title will understand that "sense" and "sensibility" are the juxtaposition between reason and emotion. Austen would have understood sensibility as having to do with the senses from which emotions arise. In more ancient terms, one might refer to the sensible world (the one in which we reside) now called the empirical world—that is, the world of senses. It is the domain, nonetheless, of science and observation, as well as the source of empirical errors, since our senses are inherently flawed and often lead us in wrong directions. In contrast, Austen's understanding of sense has to do with reason and logic—the world of concepts and intellect. The tension between the two is apt for the title of this volume which addresses many similar tensions in the field that are epistemological, ontological, logical, and ethical by nature. Resolving the tensions between the empirical and the conceptual is never really possible. Both inform the things we do and the things we claim to know as cultural managers and cultural management researchers.

In sum, *Arts and Cultural Management: State of the Discipline* offers opportunities for fresh theoretical reflection and acquaintance with new directions in empirical research, both of which make significant contributions to the state of the discipline, now and for the future.

Introduction

Constance DeVereaux

Cultural Management and the Holy Grail: An Introduction to the State of the Field

Setting the parameters of cultural management as a field, or rather, setting THE parameters of cultural management has become, among many scholars and some practitioners, a Holy Grail of accomplishments. In the case of the original, biblical Holy Grail—the chalice purportedly used at Christ's Last Supper—some narratives suggest that finding it would "bring comfort and peace to many" (Block 2014). In the field of cultural management, the same may also be true. Stretching the comparison a bit further, it is useful to note that, to date, over 200 pretenders to the Grail exist in Europe. Likewise, the problem in cultural management is less that no one has bothered to define the term or set the parameters of the field, as that the number of different, and often competing, narratives about the field and its origins can perplex, if not overwhelm. One might conclude that claiming sole authority in any area—biblical or otherwise—is a tough business and ultimately not very useful. This volume makes no such attempt.

Legitimately (and at the risk of offense to some traditions), one could ask instead if we really need to find the one and true Holy Grail. There may be something good in the fact that there are so many to be discovered. One might imagine that each grail has its unique attributes that commend it to some people and their uses, but not to others. Likewise (and also at some risk of offense), many people question the utility of an agreed-upon definition of cultural management. It is tempting, therefore, to avoid the issue altogether. But, the search for Holy Grails is not a complete waste of time. Each discovery has produced some fruit—a mini-industry of tourism and scholarship, for example, in the case of Holy Grails. Once again, the comparison to cultural management might be spot on.

This book, however, was not conceived as a means to provide yet another definition. *State of the Field* suggests an assessment of where the field is now, however one defines it. In any journey, physical or academic, locating oneself is a useful and important enterprise. From a cultural

policy perspective, where you are has a lot to do with who you are given the influences that a local culture will have, not only on natives, but also on newcomers. In other words, understanding one's surroundings—the context of where one stands—has value. This volume is intended for that purpose. It is one among many possible snapshots of the field, as understood by the authors included here and as it is understood by them at a moment in time (if only the moment of the writing of these chapters).

The authors each have their own conceptions of what the field of cultural management is about. Many of their conceptions overlap. But definitions *per se* are not the main focus of the individual chapters, nor of the book as a whole. Notably, some authors use the term *arts management*. Others prefer *cultural management*. Some, like me, are prone to use both in an effort to be inclusive. Some emphasize arts or cultural policy as an essential aspect of the management term. Others do not. In these pages, we do not differentiate, however, based on terminology. There is an understanding that whatever term is used we mean enough of the same thing that we can communicate. I liken it to the use of a *lingua franca* among members of a diverse group for whom it is not native and who share no other common langauge. Communication—sometimes deeply reflective communication—is still possible among them. Understanding occurs even beyond the words.

My own contributions to this volume are offered in introductory essays for its three sections: Arts and Cultural Management: Exploring the Field, The State of Arts and Cultural Management, and Arts and Cultural Management Discourses. The essays serve as a unifying thread. My narrative bent, in writing them, may be apparent in the literary allusions meant to illuminate the various aspects of the field addressed in each section: a 20th-century crime novel in Section Three, the Christian Bible and *Harry Potter*, in the case of this introduction, and a Jane Austen novel for the title of this book, to name a few examples.

Theodore White made history into story in his *Making of the President* series. I also think that history is more story than science, which does not at all diminish its epistemological value. Similarly, research is a kind of story we tell about a phenomenon. As noted elsewhere, "listening to, and telling of stories occupies a significant percentage of human day-to-day activity" and "narrative appears to be an essential component of human thought, communication, and interaction" (DeVereaux & Griffin 2013, 1). Reference to known stories opens up a dimension within a topic at hand that serves as a footnote, or pop-up window, that broadens and enriches a discourse.

For those not familiar with the Jane Austen novel, *Sense and Sensibility* concerns two young women, one ruled by her logic and sense, the other by her sensible capacities, her feelings, and emotions. We tend to judge one as superior to the other—logic, the supposed domain of science, is what delivers the facts of a situation. Facts, measurable sets of data, and the like

are held in high esteem as being incontrovertible. In contrast, art belongs in the domain of feelings and passions, things that are iffy and tenuous, unprovable, and value-laden. We should remember, however, that empirical science, nonetheless, also resides with the senses. It is observational, after all, by design. The philosopher David Hume recognized this, in part, in his *Treatise of Human Nature*, where he argues that reason should be the slave to our passions. That is because logical reasoning alone cannot be a moral guide. His view is pertinent in the present case because research and management should adhere to some conception of morality. Although scientific reasoning may tell us what *is* the case in the world, it cannot tell us what *should be*. And we always do well to acknowledge that sensory perceptions, and hence observations and science, are often flawed.

Art, while connected to aesthetic pleasure, or (often) to the stereotypical emotional artist, can, even so, be seen through a scientific lens. Artistic research has a place alongside other methodologies, and there are many cases of artists initiating scientific innovation (Root-Bernstein 2011). I consider it appropriate for a volume on arts (cultural) management, therefore, to emphasize the many necessary and desirable connections between the senses and sensibilities as are demonstrated in this volume.

The call for proposals soliciting authors asked that they contemplate "why it should be so," and "how it could be otherwise" in considering the state of the field. The arts sector is dynamic and ever-changing, as most observers will agree. Technology and digitization are transforming arts fields even as a I write these words. Increasing dependence for arts production, dissemination, and experiences on digital technologies creates an environment for both practice and research that, I believe, is unique. How, then, to capture the effect in a book intended as a benchmark for the current state of things? In an era of the moving snapshot (whether imagined, as in *Harry Potter*, or in reality using, for example, GIF animated loops), we no longer view photographic stasis as the norm. Similarly, research must capture the current state of things, but with an eye on the moving target that is reality.

This volume begins with a broad exploration of the cultural management field. In the section entitled Arts and Cultural Management: Exploring the Field, I contribute the introductory essay, "Cultural Management as a Field." I imagine cultural management as a literal territory to be explored with the potential to be known. Thinking about cultural management in terms of emplacement, I draw on the words of the philosopher Edward Casey, who notes that the emplacement of culture is often missing from our cultural institutions. I extend this to cultural management practice and research by wondering about the formation of early thinkers and writers in the field, about whom we generally know very little. Comparing this to our knowledge of the life, culture, birthplace, and living contexts of early thinkers in other fields, such as Plato in philosophy and Emile Durkheim in sociology, I further wonder what contributions might be

made from knowing more about the individuals who created the earliest academic programs or who wrote some of the earliest books for arts management practitioners.

A brief history of the field is developed in Fang Hua's comparative history of arts management in China, the United States, and United Kingdom. This was born from an interest that began with her appointment as a visiting researcher at City University, London, where she studied academic programs in cultural management in the United Kingdom. Subsequently, she received a grant to do similar research in the United States at Colorado State University's LEAP Institute for the Arts (full disclosure: I was at that time the director of that program). Her research compares several degree programs in the UK, US, and China as a preliminary effort to draw conclusions about similarities and differences in training within these countries, with implications for past and future directions for the field. "Within the field," she notes, "disagreements about the precise boundaries of what constitutes arts management are quite common." Not only are there "different understandings about arts management which then inform the design of arts management programs," Fang maintains that clear curricular standards do not exist "across universities despite a set of undergraduate and graduate curriculum standards publicized by the American-based professional organization AAAE (Association of Arts Administration Educators)." It is worth noting, however, that Fang finds China and the US to be more similar, in the emphasis on practical training over academic or theoretical learning, than either are to the UK. Significant tensions exist both across borders and within different countries concerning universities' professed goals of providing students with theoretical grounding coupled with practice on the one hand and focusing training on applied skills to the exclusion of theory, on the other. This may be the closest thing to an identifiable ideology in the field, which affects not only program design, but also who is hired to teach the next generation. City University, as Fang explains, exhibits a pronounced preference for sociologists, which is distinctly different from the other UK universities she examined. This is vastly different from hiring norms in the United States as well. Although not part of her research, similar tensions may be noted in hiring and teaching practices in the US, Germany, and Australia. Some evidence of this in the case of Germany is shown in Fang's quotes from the German arts management specialist Birgit Mandel, who "supports the notion that cultural management training should move away from solely a toolkit approach to a more scientific and more interdisciplinary approach."

In a particularly illuminating section of her chapter, Fang includes side-by-side comparisons of programs to demonstrate the discrepancies between them, revealing variations in content, focus, and supplementary elective choices. Differences also concern design and implementation of internship experiences available to students. Fang's detailed account

of arts management training in China reveals no less disagreement in approaches than in the US and UK; some programs emphasize skills-based approaches, whereas others favor the cultivation of aesthetic appreciation. There also appears to be greater emphasis, among Chinese researchers compared to the US and UK, in accounting for the historical development of arts management education. Fang cites the Chinese scholar Dong Feng, for example, who divides arts management into two developmental stages. In contrast, another scholar, Chen Yongjun, specifies three stages.

Fang concludes her essay by noting that while there are many common features among arts management training programs, there are just as many differences. How these factors affect practice may be the subject of future research. Despite differences in content and focus, one might wonder, for example, if the similarities are significantly influential on the students' formation to demonstrate that they have essentially learned the same things. Or, given the differences, are the arts/cultural managers who emerge from these various programs all practicing the same profession?

The questions may be answered, in part, by Vincent Dubois and Victor Lepaux, who likewise focus on cultural management training with an eye, however, to identifying patterns and commonalities among the kinds of students who enter academic training in the field and their motivations for doing so. Focusing on the case of France, "Sociology of Arts Management" is an investigation of arts/cultural managers rather than arts/cultural management. The study may also be a first in the field although Dubois and Lepaux have presented many of their findings in their recently published *Culture as a Vocation* (2016). In the present volume, they provide context for tracing the field's origins and growth both practically, and intellectually through the motivations of individuals entering the field. Although the population studied was limited to France, they suggest commonalities with the UK and US context. An interesting conclusion in their study is that the lack of precision about what constitutes cultural management, especially in practice, is part of its attractiveness to students enrolling in programs. Lack of "standardization of jobs" and "vagueness of job titles . . . might very well be a factor in explaining the popularity of these jobs," they write, due to the "degree of freedom they offer."

Anke Schad's "Situating Cultural Management" examines the field from a "situational, relational, and interpretive perspective," drawing on the work of Adele Clark's *Situational Analysis* and Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot's *Orders of Worth Framework* to examine the case of funding cuts to cultural organizations in Linz, Austria, in 2014. Questions about legitimacy in decision-making under conditions of conflict (conflicting principles and conventions, for example) lead Schad to ask how decisions and actions come about. "Decisions are made and justified by means of implicit and explicit measurement instruments, legitimate tests, and principles of order," Schad states. But conflicts produce dilemmas, not only between technical and financial constraints, but also as products

of normative-political requests, individual passion, avant-garde aesthetic aspiration, and common habit. Schad's study is fitting for this section because it addresses challenges inherent in the field. A criticism of management sciences, proper, is that the ethos of managerialism is pervasive across cultures. Do we wish the same for cultural management? That is an open question that research and ongoing conjecture about the origins of the field may be able to answer. Fang and Dubois/Lepaux suggest where we have been and what may be missing in the training of future practitioners in the field. Schad invites us to consider the influences on practice (and challenges) that arise through the interplay of multiple perspectives, suggesting that what a cultural manager needs to know far exceeds the seemingly mundane activities of fundraising, budgeting, and the like.

The section ends with Aleksandar Brkić's playful and provocative "Death of the Arts Manager." "Would anyone be sad if the arts manager died?" he asks. Let's contemplate the answer seriously, I suggest. Who loses (and who wins) if it becomes so? "If we feel dead," Brkić wonders, "are we keener to start thinking about our function within the process of the very art creation we are supposed to be part of?"

Arts management, like art, is a process rather than a thing, according to Brkić. But, we are not quite sure just what that process entails. Curating? Managing? Occupying the center of the stage in the production and dissemination of art like some diva? His professed aim is to pose questions more so than answer them. In this, he uses a method of philosophy—asking the questions that others will have to reflect upon, and answer. Yet he provides some clues in suggesting that one of the identities of the arts manager is also the "imposter." That is because the arts manager sees herself as indispensable to the process of art, raising suspicions in others (maybe in herself as well) as to whether that is really the case. Could art exist without the arts manager? Brkić contends that as long as there has been art, arts managers have been there. So, in fact, the essay offers more than just questions. There are also juxtapositions (collective compared to individual) and paradoxes (of sustainability, for example). The author's playfulness, in other words, has a specific aim—deeper interrogation of the field we think we know through setting it at odds with itself. If the arts manager is dead, Brkić suggests, it may only be a particular conception of arts manager that has passed away.

Section Two is entitled the State of Arts and Cultural Management Research. It opens with an essay that began as a presentation on meta-research in cultural management that I gave at Shanghai Theater Academy in December 2017. It explores the state of research in the field suggesting that a significant difference between cultural management and other fields is that periodic examination of methods is a regular part of what researchers should do. Procedural shortcomings, problems of method, analysis, data collection, and research design are common in any field. They receive little attention in cultural management research (CMR). I

look at characteristics in the development of the field to better understand why this might be. Drawing comparison to political science as a field that has passed its adolescent state (it was considered a young field in 1950), I demonstrate that the developmental trajectory of any field is likely to pass through stages similar to what occurs in others as they develop toward maturity. Nonetheless, the stakes are high for good research in cultural management and policy given the many complex, contemporary issues organizations and individual practitioners face. The essay, in sum, is a call to action for researchers to avoid the pitfalls that can lead to unethical applications of findings, or erroneous conclusions about the role and benefits of the arts. The title "Cultural Management Research: Putting the Cart and the Tail in their Proper Places" intends to provoke CM researchers and consumers of research (policy makers and cultural management practitioners) to see its results as tools for understanding, comparison, decision-making, and reference rather than as justification for already established points of view.

Other authors in this section also address cultural management from the perspective of critique and practicality. Goran Tomka, a scholar from Serbia, confronts some of the failings of CMR, and of cultural management, as narcissistic and adolescent in their perennial focus on their own identities. He provides an overview of current orthodoxy in CMR where "Westernized, grand, formalized organizations are chosen as the preferred objects of research, which are then studied using positivist, rationalist methodologies." He counters with some possibilities the field might explore.

Tomka is correct that the trajectory of the field has been largely from the UK and US, extending outward in its later development. A "truly international history of arts management is still lacking," he concludes. Such a history would give a much fuller understanding of the field's future possibilities, especially from a practice of discourse perspective. We cannot assume, even if it often happens, that Western habits of cultural management are the ones that work best, or should be adopted everywhere. Of value in Tomka's essay is a content analysis of journal articles demonstrating the limited array of topics and methods for CMR that seem to be in current circulation. What is largely missing from the focus on Western-style, large-sized, rationally constituted institutions is attention to the smaller, often artist-run groups operating in less formal organizational systems. Such organizations, nevertheless, manage to succeed. Their existence suggests "that the real world of organizations is much messier than researchers portray." Tomka offers a case study for a different approach to CMR. Drawing on practice theory, he examines a practice-based organization, a student cultural center in the north of Serbia operating "at the crossroads of public education and cultural institution." He charts its success and growth over a ten-year span. Tomka finds that an immersive approach—the researcher on site to capture informal data—provides more

meaningful results than traditional survey methods. The fact that non-traditional methods are rarely used by CM researchers—judging by trends in the field's top journals—is a matter Tomka highlights. For example, a chance remark by one of the organization's managers illuminates the respondent's views on audience and constituents in a way that a normally constructed questionnaire would never bring forward. In sum, Tomka finds that "the time is ripe for serious changes in the ways CMR understands and researches organizational phenomena." Changes like these may affect the ways CM researchers are trained, how research is selected for publication, and what we believe is worthy of research in the field.

Tasos Zembylas is equally critical of the status quo, focusing on evaluation in cultural management and policy drawing on his research and experience in German-speaking countries where, indeed, the context is often quite singular given the differences in how state cultural policy authorities operate (in ways unlike those in other countries, for example), and how processes for evaluation generating from those authorities may also differ. The title of his contribution reveals a great deal: "Why are evaluations in the field of cultural policy (almost always) contested? Major problems, frictions and challenges." The essay questions "the implicit promise of objective and evidence-based decision-making processes" in which evaluation often serves an important role notwithstanding "the inherent ambiguity and fragility of evaluation processes." He poses a significant question about our faith in scientific processes, which are normative for evaluation research. Is the so-called logic of science just a mask for ideological and power interests? It is an issue that other scientific fields have faced—much less so in the case of cultural policy and evaluation research in the cultural domain. Although official "cultural policy . . . has to occur within a framework . . . of cultural pluralism," he writes, evaluation of cultural policy activities "are carried out within the context of superordinate regulations . . . that shape a state's administrative political actions." In other words, the potentially conflicting values must be reconciled within the confines of statues. It also means that the range of choices is *a priori* limited by the system in which they occur. Further constraints are conceptions about "efficiency" or "effectiveness," as well as "legitimacy" and "excellence." What one finds to be excellent, depends, of course, on how excellence is defined. Similarly, "efficiency is a relational concept whose specific meaning in cultural policy action can only be gauged in connection with other properties." Zembylas highlights the challenges of evaluation research, but also challenges common assumptions in cultural policy that affect design of activities, assessment of those activities, and our expectations in the public culture arena.

Two of the chapters in this section focus on specific research cases, but nonetheless interrogate conventions for CMR. Patrick Germain-Thomas looks at marketing in the case of contemporary dance in his essay "Arts Marketing: A New Marketing Art." He suggests that not only can marketing

principles inform the arts sector, but that marketing theory benefits from application to artistic issues. Tracing the history of marketing approaches from Taylorism to the conduct of contemporary business teams, he shows how the broadening of marketing principles from traditional business to the arts may help to address particular crisis issues, like funding and decreases in audience sizes. He argues that many researchers who have considered the application of traditional marketing to the arts, focus on aspects that seem to distance the arts from other types of transactions. He concludes that while "most of the principles used in marketing can, in reality, be applied to artistic acts," it is not the case that "artistic creation" can "be reduced to an automatic response to consumer needs." Arts marketing entails a different set of values in Germain-Thomas's work that places it at odds with "the very symptoms" of today's consumer society.

Kerry McCall Magan looks at the everyday lives of working artists in Ireland to examine the challenges and choices they confront in making a living from art. "The Reality of Cultural Work" is about artists' precarious lives at all stages of their careers. Extensive interviews offer up the voices of the artists themselves as they recount their often-acute difficulties—finding enough money to heat a home in winter, or being forced to live far from the cultural centers that might feed one's work for the reason that rental costs for lodging are too high. It is rare to read such a well-researched, yet poignant account. "Little research in Ireland explores the experience of working in the cultural sector," she writes. The same is true for the cultural sector in any country where there is far too little that shows the conditions of cultural work or how cultural workers live their daily lives. Among other results, she finds that cultural workers experience an inability to plan for the future, the need to eke out a living, and pressures to earn money outside of art, which then compromise their ability to engage in cultural work.

The final section of the book, Arts and Cultural Management Discourses, examines the ways we talk about and think about arts and cultural management, its norms, habits, and assumptions, and suggests new ways to think about, and engage in cultural management practices. The lead essay, entitled "Cultural Management and its Discontents," references the work of Sigmund Freud—or at least some of the popular conceptions of his work—as the backdrop for looking at a few prevailing discourses in cultural management and policy today. Applying discourse of practice analysis and narrative framework analysis, I look at one example of current research as a sample case for uncovering hidden assumptions, ideologies, and value dynamics in cultural management discourse. I suggest that awareness of underlying discourses in research reports is an important direction in the critique of prevailing ways of thinking and doing in the field.

"Silence in Cultural Management" by Njörður Sigurjónsson is a unique investigation of the role silence may play in cultural organizations that

is quite different from the way it may be regarded in non-arts contexts. Silence has an array of uses in music. For example, the pauses between notes or the quiet reverence of an audience are essential components in music performance. Valued for its "aesthetical, spiritual, and creative qualities" silence can be desirable in one's working space, as well as a useful component of cultural products. Yet, it "is an aspect of cultural organizations that is often overlooked in management literature." We may all be aware of the power that silence can exert within a context. The particulars of its effects on workers, on organizational dynamics, or in other cultural management contexts, however, is little known. Sigurjónsson reports on a study he conducted that looks at the meaning and management of silence in the context of three cases: a museum, a concert hall, and a radio station, all located in his home country of Iceland. Among other variables, he considers how people move through the space of an exhibition hall and the deliberate muting of sound in a music performance in which "the musicians made extremely quiet gestures with bows barely touching the strings or drawn across the body of the instrument." Description of this latter performance leads to wondering whether silence is necessary and how it can be intentionally created in order to bring about particular effects. If silence in a performance elicits a set of feelings or actions among audience members, one can then ask how intentional silence in an organization will affect such things as organizational performance or the work habits of an individual. Calling attention to one of the most common features of daily life, Sigurjónsson's inquiry suggests that the things of least consideration can lead to larger revelations.

In "Managing Utopia—Artistic Visions of Sustainable Lifestyles and Their Realization," Volker Kirchberg uses ideas about literary utopias as a framework for strategic management of cultural organizations. Through interviews and observations, he suggests that utopian ideals are an essential part of strategic thinking among cultural management actors. Similar to other authors in this volume, he states that cultural management practices have "too often blindly transferred the rules and guidelines from business management literature into art worlds without considering the special objectives of this field." Understanding that cultural organizations are different from other types of business enterprises is crucial to managing them toward success. The question guiding his exploration is "to what extent are visionary *utopian* visions—untainted by capitalist rationale—important for arts production as goals that are accepted by creative workers in artistic and cultural organizations?" His answers are the result of investigations of four cultural organizations in Hanover, Germany, notable for their innovation in addressing social issues, and one, more traditional cultural institution. In the case of Platzproject (described as a "whimsical experiment"), he finds it is "a textbook example of a sociocultural urban initiative that excels in visionary ideas, wishes, and definitions of an optimistic future, unhindered by bureaucratic hurdles."

The author believes that cultural management practices should maintain visionary goals rather than succumb to the pressures of profit incentives. Utopianism, as a framework, can provide a hedge against the McDonaldization of the cultural sector. So, he intends his essay, in part, as "a warning to cultural projects not to surrender to a fear of an uncertain future but to pursue utopian visions."

The final essay in the volume is an offering by Julian Stahl and Martin Tröndle entitled "Beyond Traditional Arts Management." It fittingly ends this volume by envisioning a practical theory for managing the arts. The authors begin with an operating definition of "arts organizations" as "complex social systems that produce aesthetic experiences." They maintain that arts management only makes sense if the management of arts organizations is significantly different from what is needed for other organizations. If not, then "any MBA can do it." An ongoing skepticism about the term "management" attests to the conviction that any MBA cannot.

The authors recognize that organizational practices are not neutral. Organizations will "afford or enable habits, beliefs, procedures, as well as aesthetic preferences." They juxtapose two idealized views of organizational process. On the one hand is the highly formalized, standard organizational process, shown, in the essay, as geometric boxes exhibiting regularity and order. "Unfortunately," the authors point out, "the social world does not consist of rectangles and arrows showing clearly connected causes and effects." On the other hand is an individualized process that emphasizes "agile management" where flexible rules, a rotating system of tasks, and ongoing questioning of routine might be the norm. Organizations, of course, will never be strictly one or the other type. To maximize an arts organization's potential, however, "it is necessary to integrate more perspectives than just business administration approaches" to develop new methods of management to "deal with the complex requirements of artistic processes." The unique complexities of an arts management system require tools that embrace the complexity rather than try to tame it. So, the authors suggest that non-rational, playful methods—even a "sensible foolishness" are more conducive to success within the aesthetic sphere.

To sum up the offerings in this volume and their merits, they provide a reader with a sense of cultural management's roots as a field and the challenges for continued development. They are a combination of seriousness and provocation that open up opportunities for intensive scrutiny of a set of practices and viewpoints in cultural management that have received too little to date. While studies exist, in the various journals in the field, on particular cultural management practices, there are few that have looked at cultural management itself as the phenomenon to be studied using research, more than conjecture, to explore its landscape and boundaries.

A note about the selection of contributors. They are overwhelmingly Western European. This is not by design. Any published volume is the

victim of availability of authors and other factors that can limit the diversity of views. Future efforts to give account to the state of the field should secure participation from a wider range of authors representing Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This volume does not purport to offer the authoritative view on cultural management and related fields. It satisfies the desire of its editor and contributors, nonetheless, to initiate scholarly dialogue in a field that is still in the making.

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Section 1

Arts and Cultural Management

Exploring the Field

1 Cultural Management as a Field

Constance DeVereaux

Fields of research, of academic study, and training are naturally likened to a geographic field. Such a comparison is nearly cliché, yet perennially appropriate. Indeed, there are few other ways to consider the concept of academic fields and their activities: exploring, defining borders, making (staking) claims, extending boundaries. Rather than throw away the old chestnut, I consider how useful it is to think about the geography of cultural management and the places it occupies (or can, or should) as an academic and practical discipline. Here, I draw on abstract perspectives, matter-of-fact historical considerations, conceptual projections, ideological contemplations, and tendential ruminations as a means of exploring its contours.

Let us say, to begin, that there are two broad categories of exploration. In the first case, you may launch into the unknown—sail across the sea to an unexplored (by you) territory and see what you might find. If the land is fertile enough, you may decide to stay, welcome or not by whomever or whatever already inhabits its geography (after all, no place on earth has ever been completely uninhabited). You discover what is useful, what you can harvest, what you can make grow, what you can build, and what claim you can stake to make the land your own. If you stay awhile, you may begin to test the limits of the territory, find its outer boundaries, natural or human made. Those who people the field of cultural management sometimes claim it as virgin territory the boundaries of which are yet to be set in stone. Or, they recognize that while newly defined, there exist the native-born who have always been practicing something we now call cultural management, something uncodified nonetheless, and so unrecognized or ignored.

The second type of exploration places you, instead, in the familiar and known. Rather than travel abroad, you stay at home and probe into the contents of your own back garden, which may or may not be fertile ground. If not, you can try to render it so—adding a bit of nutrient and planting the right kinds of seed. Exploration of your own bit of land invites you to a deeper understanding of what is already there, to develop fresh insight, to see if something new will emerge in the existing loam (a

non-indigenous plant that might, after all, do better than the natives). An intense surveillance of the known might also reveal a previously hidden patch of soil waiting to be cleared of overgrowth, to be cultivated, to be elucidated in the light of the sun. Cultural management is sometimes regarded as known territory with roots in already established fields on which may be grafted new branches of knowledge and practice. What is not possible, metaphorically or literally, is to exist nowhere. Borders may be disputed or indistinct, but as Georg Hegel and Spike Milligan would agree, "everybody has to be somewhere" (1976), and so it is with academic fields.

Reference to the land, to territorial occupation or colonial expansion, depending on which perspective you take, has particular resonance for cultural management. The double meaning of the word *field* speaks precisely to this—to the notion of a conceptual landscape that can be explored and cultivated, captured and contained, claimed through research, and by performance of a set of practices and ways of doing recognized as being within *the field*. Is it not fitting, the connection between culture and cultivation, in relation to the development of a field called cultural management?

The American philosopher Edward S. Casey reminds us that:

> The very word *culture* meant "place tilled" in Middle English . . . To be cultural, to have a culture, is to inhabit a place sufficiently intensely to cultivate it—to be responsible for it, to respond to it, to attend to it caringly.
>
> (Casey 1996, 33–34)

Although Casey's aim is the conceptualization of space in contemporary Western thought, his words merit consideration for cultural management in the efforts to situate it as a field of research, study, and practice among other fields. Equally, his definition can be read as a metaphorical guide for practice, suggesting that cultural managers must respond to the culture of their time and place with responsibility for cultivating appropriate conditions for production and dissemination of arts and culture that benefit both artists and the public.

Those of us who claim cultural management as our area of study (who have built careers on it or are attempting to do so) believe we are responsible for defining it and attending to it caringly. For this reason, it matters a great deal to know what this field is about—but, more so—how knowing comes about in this case. Alternately stated, what is it we mean by the statement, "I know this field?"

Knowing always implies certainty. In the contemporary world, certainty is an indispensable characteristic of rational modes of thinking where variables are controlled (in the decision-making practices of cultural management, for example) and definitions are precisely articulated.

In the matter of teaching and training, the certainty of knowing (how to do the practical tasks of cultural management, for example) may appear desirable but is ultimately elusive because of the nature of claims like "I know." Justified true beliefs are in rather short supply. If instrumental rationality is an impossible ideal, however (at least, this author thinks so), many of us nevertheless crave, in cultural management, the kind of lexical definition that other fields enjoy. Sociology, management, political science, and philosophy are included in the most conventional of dictionaries. Cultural management, arts management, and arts administration, alas, are not.

Definitions, however, do more than set parameters. They also speak to origins. Situating the origins of cultural management as a field and tracing its subsequent historical trajectory are other ways of knowing a field. The topic of cultural management's roots or origins has figured in much research and writing on the field over the years (Pick, Colbert, Paquette and Radealli, Mandel). *Origins* suggests a specific point of departure, a place in both time and space. On the one hand, there are those who want to demarcate the precise history of the field as a means (they believe) to knowing it better. On the other, are those who reject such precision, believing that to do so would limit or even misrepresent what cultural management is, or should be. The latter position calls to mind Toby Miller's efforts to explain cultural studies. He calls it "a tendency across disciplines, rather than a discipline itself. This is evident in practitioners' simultaneously expressed desires to refuse definition, to insist on differentiation" (Miller 2001, 2). Miller's "tendency across disciplines" also fits well with the definition of *field* given by the Oxford English Dictionary (OED): "an area or sphere of enquiry or interest."

Like Miller, the OED does not suggest the necessity for commitment of mutually agreed-upon methods, theories, or expertise. Interest and the posing of researchable questions appear to be enough. It may be fitting to think about cultural management as a "tendency" too, especially given that over its history, it has attracted an eclectic mix of researchers and practitioners trained, variously, as sociologists, political scientists, educators, artists, philosophers, curators, theatre managers, and others interested in the same general area of practice and inquiry. Nonetheless, the appeal in setting more precise parameters of the field persists among many researchers, leading me to wonder if there is some practical difference between those who want to know, and those who do not care to, in their ways of practice and training, and whether empirical study might show whether one position or the other has, or has had, an effect on the development of the field as a whole.

As is the case with all histories (like all stories), where you begin is often, if not always, arbitrary. But, that does not mean that the desire to set a beginning point is naïve or without merit. In histories, as in stories, where one begins in time and in place provides coherence to subsequent

middles and ends. The practicality, as much as the aesthetics, of *once upon a time in a land far, far away* is a given.

And so—we want to know—does cultural management have a Day One? Or, is it something that has always existed, but maybe by another name? Do we recognize that activities now called cultural management have always taken place, and that people now called cultural managers performed those activities "back in the day" akin to the way that artists, philosophers, scientists, and business people have always existed, even if their activities looked somewhat different, or were called something different from what they are now? Or, yet again, are cultural management's origins much more recent, the product of the 20th century, for example, in an era of accountability and management principles? The questions are relevant because in any of these cases, we are building a tradition that gives context to our present and future activities.

Before making any further point, let me note that we are somewhat agreed, in the field, that arts management, arts administration, cultural administration, and cultural management all refer to the same thing (somewhat, but not entirely, as there are still hold outs—in the US in particular—who see a difference between arts management/administration and cultural management/administration; the distinction between management and administration in this context has also largely, but not entirely, disappeared). Most recently, *cultural management* has emerged as the preferred term. What is certain is that it is not quite certain that cultural management is the progeny of management, except for a tendency among some earlier writers and researchers to work in the management sciences. But, other contributors, especially during the years of the US culture wars, were as likely to come from other fields. As just one example, Hilton Kramer, a prolific commentator on cultural policy, with implications for cultural management, was an art critic and former editor of *Arts Magazine*. His conservative perceptions on arts funding were the cause of some friction in his day—he resigned from the *New York Times* in 1982 and later founded the conservative *The New Criterion*. His views, or possible influence on cultural management today, however, are unlikely to appear in any literature review even if many of the same conservative views are in play in some cultural management systems today. That is because, whether or not we agree on the parameters of the field, a *de facto* set of parameters is already in place regarding what to include or exclude in its history, as I discuss later. A significant point of departure for some of the chapters in this volume, however, is criticism of precisely this point.

Further, whether or not the transformation of arts administration into cultural management has historical significance for the field, in terms of research focus, content of training, or conduct of practice has also never really been explored, but perhaps should be. *Administration* suggests roots in public administration, a subfield of political science, whereas the implications of *management* are that we are much closer to business, or to

the management sciences. If so, the theories, methods, research questions, and relevance of findings associated with the field of cultural management will certainly reflect its parent domain. Including cultural policy as part of cultural management may serve to bridge the gap. But, it is still relevant to know if we are engaging in study, research, practice of political science, or business management, or something else altogether different. Interestingly, it is not clear that one term came before the other. In my own investigations, I have noted fairly contemporaneous uses, dating from the early 1970s, of both arts management and arts administration.

It is also generally agreed that the first, formal manifestations of cultural management were in the United States and United Kingdom. In consideration of the effects this may have had on the development of cultural management, emplacement seems an important matter.

The philosopher Casey, for example, states that the inherent emplacement of culture is often missing in our contemplation of cultural institutions (1996). Extending this to our contemplation of cultural management research allows us to consider the implications of *emplacement* both metaphorically and literally. What are its foundations or place of origin in the people and locations of its past? There is exceedingly little written about the early period of the field, or about the people who may have started it, taught it, or the research they may have done. As far as we know, cultural management has few Emile Durkheims, Wilhelm Wundts, or Frederick Taylors (if any). Most of the early players are no longer in the field, and, too often, only fragments of their participation remain. The wide use of books such as William Byrnes's *Management and the Arts* and Art Extension Services' *Fundamentals of Arts Management* are certain to have had much influence on the development of practice in the field, but both lack the context of theoretical development. Granted, their approach is the how-to manual providing on-the-job guidance for practice. The salient point, nonetheless, is that we have not arrived at a point in the field where we can gaze back and find theoretical perspectives analogous to those found in other fields, or those we borrow from other fields in order to have some sort of theory to point to.

In their contribution to this section, Dubois and Lepaux note that the first higher education arts administration programs in the US began in the 1960s with one of the earliest at Yale University. Not mentioned is the New School for Social Research in New York (the latter lends some credence to the claim that today's cultural management is connected to the social sciences). Most cultural management scholars are familiar with Paul DiMaggio's study (1987) on arts managers. Few may remember that there was a Management in the Arts Research Program at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) in the late 1960s, or that Harvard offered a Summer School Institute in Arts Administration in the early 1970s. Ellen Stodolsky Daniels and E. Arthur Prieve published *A Survey of Arts Administration Training in the United States and Canada* in 1977

suggesting that there were enough examples in the two countries to merit a published book. But, more importantly, who is Ellen Stodolsky Daniels and her co-author, E. Arthur Prieve? Associated with the American Arts Council and prolific in the mid-1970s, Daniels published several additional volumes on fundraising (1977), and community arts agencies (1977). But copies of her books are hard to come by, and research turns up little more than their titles. Names like Alvin H. Reiss, author of *The Arts Management Handbook* (1974) and *The Arts Management Reader* (1979), as well as John Pick, who wrote *Arts Administration* (1980), are somewhat more familiar, but like many of the earliest writers, may only be considered, by a handful of today's researchers and scholars, to have been founders of the field. Reiss, whose vast collection of literature is housed at the Ohio State University, was particularly prolific. The online *Arts Management Newsletter* includes an extended entry about his contributions. I quote it at length here to show the range of his participation in the field.

> Since 1985, [Reiss's] "On the Arts" column has appeared monthly in "Fund Raising Management." . . . Reiss's collection provides a rare chronological view of the development of the arts industry from the 1960s to the present . . . There are many books dealing with such topics as cultural policy, economics, and sociology and such pragmatic aspects of arts management as fund raising, audience development, publicity, board development, and financial administration. In addition, the materials include many internal papers, proposals, feasibility studies, and reports on topics of key concern that have not been widely available. Included among the items are a 1965 proposal for a major national rural arts development program, completed questionnaires from the first-ever chamber of commerce survey on arts involvement in 1966, a 1969 study of labor relations in the performing arts, and the proceedings from the first statewide conference on community arts councils in 1964. There are four studies alone on Chicago and the arts from 1966, 1977, 1986, and 1991. And there is a 1963 Arts Management survey of major corporations and the arts as well as data on the first business in the arts awards in 1965.
>
> (Ohio State University 2008)

A prolific producer of arts management material, however, there is little evidence that Reiss's work is in common circulation today, or that it forms part of required reading in existing cultural management programs. Imagine that early texts in music, anthropology, or other academic fields were not lost or hidden away, but rather archived somewhere, perhaps a little bit inconvenient to get to, but that no one bothered to seek them out and read them.

While commonalities emerge in who gets cited (DiMaggio and Becker are perennial favorites for the more theoretically inclined), there is also

little continuity in the literature showing clear lines of development even despite a very well-researched historical account by Raedelli (2012) establishing evidence of a historical literature. Paquette and Raedelli, incidentally, provide a handy chronology of arts administration/management manuals in their *Arts Management and Cultural Policy Research* (2015), which includes UK, US, and Australian resources. The short list, however does not quite meet up to their claim of a "steady increment of publications over the years" (Paquette & Raedelli 2015, 1) containing fewer than ten entries. Worth noting, too, is that their chronology of works from 1970 to 2002 is limited to publications in a few English-speaking countries. Not mentioned are Giep Hagoort's *Arts Management Entrepreneurial Style* (2000) and *Arts Management in Turbulent Times: Adaptable Quality Management: Navigating the Arts Through the Winds of Change* published in 2005 (Dragićević Šešić & Dragojević) just three years after their most recent example by Derrick Chong in 2002. Hagoort, I would note, is a Dutch economist. Dragiâceviâc-éSeésiâc and Dragojević are researchers from Serbia.

Harvey Shore published *Arts Administration and Management: A Guide for Arts Administrators and Their Staffs* in 1987. The book was never widely used; research on the author turns up very little information. The work of another early inhabitant of the field is Tem Horwitz, whose *Arts Administration: How to Set Up and Run Successful Non-Profit Arts Organizations* (1978b) draws on the firsthand knowledge of the author as an arts practitioner. Like many works during this period, it is out of print and hard to come by.

In contrast to many other academic fields, the study of cultural management tends not to examine the life and ideologies of past writers and researchers of arts administration/management/cultural management in the way that an academic program in philosophy might teach that Plato was a student of Socrates, and visited both Persia and Egypt (which may have then influenced his ideas and works) or in the way that a physics course might reveal that the Danish-born Niels Bohr became part of the British mission to the Manhattan Project in the later years of his life. Although the legitimacy and credibility of research are supposed to stand on their own, the question of nurture in the formation of a researcher's ideas and work also has relevance. Instead, cultural management in its present form seems divorced (with only a few exceptions) from the influences of its early researchers and practitioners, from their places of origins, and from their ideological formations.

Another undeveloped area of exploration in cultural management is emplacement as a factor in the intellectual development of its past researchers/writers. Horwitz, whose book was published by Chicago Review Press, wrote another, unrelated to the field: *The Runner's Guide to Chicago and Suburbs*, which leads one to conclude that the author knew that city well and may, indeed, have lived there. National and ethnic

origin is something that cultural management researchers have sometimes considered, claiming that differences in cultural orientations might have influence on cultural management practices (and should therefore be an object of study). But the influence of cities, regions, or urban versus rural as influences on development of ideas has not been much explored. The consideration is not far-fetched. We recognize the influence of *la Rive Gauche*, for example, on a group of bohemian artists and writers in the early 20th century, and that Vienna of roughly the same period was an incubator for intellectual innovation. Clusters of similarly inclined individuals interested in the management of arts and cultural institutions seem to have been responsible for the development of the Harvard Summer Institute and the Research Program at UCLA, both mentioned above. Unresearched observation (on the part of this author) reveals apparent ideological differences in cultural management (under its various alternate names) as it is practiced in Los Angeles, Belgrade, and Seoul. A limited number of researchers has attended to practical differences, but ideological disparities that arise from geographical differences have not been well explored.

Another early writer, Ichak Adizes, whose *Arts, Society, and Administration: The Role and Training of Arts Administrators* was published in 1971, spent most of his working career in California. Although his current renown is management consulting (his 20-plus books on leadership, management, and entrepreneurship have been translated into multiple languages), Adizes's interest in arts management arose during his time at UCLA. An internet search turns up an outdated blog post promoting an anticipated (but never realized) publication entitled *The Roles and Styles of Leadership in Arts Organizations* that was slated for 2007. It would be interesting to know why Adizes gave up on his work in arts leadership, but also whether or not his early work—had he persisted—would have influenced the field's subsequent development. Drawing on the perspectives of the French social critic, novelist, and former Minister of Cultural Affairs, André Malraux, Adizes (2006) writes:

> Malraux's aim was to provide protection from dehumanization . . . with arts leadership that examines, modifies, and adapts methods, procedures, and techniques that have been successful in business and other human enterprises . . . The sort of leadership that Malraux provided is what arts organizations need to make them viable in a society dominated by automation, alienation, disintegration, commercialization, and electronic communication. Malraux's vision suggests, perhaps, a new kind of clergy—a clergy of the arts, which could counterbalance secular forces.

Born in Macedonia, Adize arrived in California in 1967, coming to the United States by way of Serbia, Israel, and several other countries. Adize's

personal history is potentially of interest. A significant difference (among others) between the study, teaching, and research of cultural management in the United States and in Europe is the integration of philosophical and sociological perspectives among European researchers that is almost wholly absent among the former. His status as a naturalized American notwithstanding, Adize's appeal to Malraux stands out in this case. That the above-named work was never (apparently) published, coupled with Adize's turn from cultural management to business management, might be a lost opportunity for the field's development in the United States. One can also wonder if emplacement (Santa Barbara, California, versus Chicago, Illinois in the case of Howitz, for example) might have affected Adize's intellectual development as an early cultural management researcher. In the words of Casey, where else but in particular places can culture take root? Certainly not in the thin air above these places, much less in the even thinner air of pure speculation about them (Casey 1996, 33–34).

Conclusion

Speculation may be what we are left with in the history of cultural management. Too little attention has been paid to its origins other than whether it should be counted as coming from management, or some other source. I have suggested that considerations such as emplacement and ideology of particular researchers and writers should count among the areas of research and study for the field. How we tell the story or history of cultural management depends on who is doing the telling and where they decide to begin. However, exploration of the topic has been limited to date. A more thorough-going research of the field and its past is needed.

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2 Arts and Cultural Management

A Brief, Comparative in Curricular Design: Cases From the UK, USA, and China

Fang Hua[1]

Introduction

The first arts management programs emerged in the 1960s. Presently, many universities, worldwide, confer arts management degrees. Within the field, however, disagreements about the precise boundaries of what constitutes arts management are quite common. I begin this chapter with several important observations. First, while arts management emphasizes arts and management, that does not suggest that it is simply the arts plus management. Although there is consensus in the field that the arts and management should be included within the mix, the precise combination of the two is not agreed-upon among arts management programs. Second, professional work experience training has always been a part of arts management training from the beginning. The reality, however, is that practice work experience in the university setting is very limited compared to what students would gain in a real world setting. Third, arts management is an interdisciplinary field. What this means, however, is that there are different understandings about arts management which then inform the design of arts management programs, so there are no clear standards on arts management curricula across universities despite a set of undergraduate and graduate curriculum standards publicized by the American-based professional organization AAAE (Association of Arts Administration Educators). Finally, whereas some curricula reflect changing global political, economic, and technological realities of today, the degree of attention paid to such changes varies substantially among university programs. The literature review presented here is concerned with arts management education. Drawing on specific curricular design cases from the UK, US, and China, this chapter sets out common and differing features of arts management education in three countries. While the number of cases examined is limited, my evidence demonstrates that significant differences among programs even within a single country exist, and, therefore, there is reason to conduct future research in order to better understand cultural management education and cultural management as a field. My method for presenting findings is primarily descriptive.

Literature Review

The literature review offered here includes English and Chinese sources on arts management education. English sources address two main categories. The first focuses on academic perspectives on arts management as a discipline and with viewpoints based on differing approaches and understandings of training methods. The second includes surveys of arts management education. In Chinese sources, similar patterns emerge but present some different features compared to English sources. Below, I look at English and Chinese sources separately.

English Literature Review on Discipline Definition and Training Methods

In his 1992 article "Arts Management a Field of Dreams?" Charles M. Dorn quotes Thomas Kuhn's view that a paradigm must provide two things. First, it must be a model for the conduct of research. Second, it must be a system of shared beliefs. With these two points, Dorn believes the field of arts management today does not yet meet the criteria of Kuhn (Dorn 1992). Patrick Ebewo and Mzo Sirayi analyzed arts management discipline from a more practical perspective. For example, they asked, what is culture? What is management? They inquired about the discourse of arts/cultural management concerning arts/cultural management as an academic discipline and cultural/arts management as practice. (Ebewo & Sirayi 2009). Volker Kirchberg and Tasos Zembylas looked to etymology to define the meaning of arts management. In their view, arts management must broaden its discourse to include noneconomic perspectives, functions, and objectives drawing from sociological and philosophical disciplines (Kirchberg & Zembylas 2010).

For the phenomenon of excessive emphasis on practical skills training, Constance DeVereaux's views have drawn attention from other scholars. For example, she observed that arts management education needs a discourse of practice to accompany more common discussions of practice as an aid to improve the field (DeVereaux 2009). Echoing DeVereaux, Birgit Mandel analyzed arts management education development trends in Germany and supports the notion that cultural management training should move away from solely a toolkit approach to a more scientific and more interdisciplinary approach (Mandel 2016).

Educational models of arts management are a focus of the work of Corina Şuteu, who highlights three models of arts management education in Europe: the British model, French model, and German model (Şuteu 2006). In her view, the British model focuses on market values and professional training, with a labor market orientation. The French model focuses on humanistic values and academic training. The German model balances humanistic, academic, and administrative value orientations. Şuteu suggests

that arts management curricula design should reflect its country or region of application rather than adopt a more universal approach. Aleksandar Brkić provides a critical review of arts management curricula identifying four features or foci. There are curricula copied directly from business management, those that focus on the technological process of producing an artwork, curricula that integrate cultural management and cultural policy, and, finally, the focus on an entrepreneurial approach (Brkić 2009).

With these different perspectives in mind, what kinds of curricula can best support arts management as a discipline? Or, what is the most important aspect in arts management education? The literature also suggests a multiplicity of views. Dorn (1992) suggests that an arts management curriculum should focus more on the arts and the goal of delivering an aesthetic experience. He believes that the interests of sponsors and the community of arts institutions, instructional materials, and techniques should also be included for consideration in the training of arts managers. Brkić (2009) also believes that arts management education should focus on the arts, including both aesthetic and social outcomes. Michael Sikes believes arts management training should provide students with some management skills such as planning, marketing, public relations, and grant-seeking, as well as to know about and use global telecommunications technology. Meanwhile, programs should provide students with multicultural perspectives. Students, in his view, should also gain skills to support and design tourism initiatives. Arts administrators must understand policy, program evaluation, and research skills (Sikes 2000). Patricia Dewey comes from the perspective of system changes of the world, for example, relating to arts and cultural policy and funding systems, to discuss how the curricula of cultural administration education should respond to these changes, such as thinking about international cultural interactions, cultural identity, innovative methods of audience development, effective strategic leadership, and fostering sustainable, mixed-funding systems (Dewey 2004). DeVereaux describes some features of the arts management curricula setting in the United States. For example, drawing on multiple sources from her own research, she views the skill set as including marketing and audience development, economics and finance, public policy, fundraising, real estate, board development, arts education, strategic planning, and the skills of diplomacy for involvement in the international sector. She adds that a more comprehensive list would include theories of culture and arts, aesthetics, management, leadership, and evaluation, "*and a bit of psychology and sociology*" (DeVereaux 2009).

Some Surveys About Arts Management Education in the English-Speaking Context

In English-language publications, surveys focus on opinions from the staff of arts institutions and graduates of arts management programs. Some curricula also are the research objects of these surveys. Paul DiMaggio's

early research is often cited in the arts management education field. Senior administrators of art museums, symphony orchestras, resident theatres, and local arts agencies in the United States were DiMaggio's research objects. From his survey, we know that many respondents believed that the training of arts management programs offered little of use compared to practical experience on the job (DiMaggio 1987). About ten years later, Dan J. Martin and J. Dennis Rich found rather different results. They found that arts administration training was preferred by an overwhelming majority of the institutions (Martin & Rich 1998). The object of Beth Bienvenu's survey included 322 graduates of master's degrees. She found that an arts management degree helped students find a job and prepared them well for work in the arts. However, it was not easy for them to find mid-level or higher-paying jobs. Comparing their demand for more training in fundraising, accounting, and other areas of business management, the survey revealed that the most important aspects of their programs were marketing, fundraising, and business applications courses (Bienvenu 2004). Anthony S. Rhine's (2007) survey focused on the decision-making authority about hiring in theatres in the United States. He found that decision-makers believed that a theatre management program should emphasize actual management experience over management theory and not-for-profit study (Rhine 2007). Ximena Varela's survey compared the curricula of programs in the United States to find convergences and differences. From the survey, she found the need for critical skills in arts management reflected in the curricula. But she also suggested that despite convergences there was also a perceived fragmentation in the field. Her survey found that more programs pursue an arts-specific approach rather than a business theory approach (Varela 2013). Carole Rosenstein's research focused on MFA programs in North America Among her findings, she noted that the standards in this field remain too unclear. She concluded that an understanding of arts administration training should compare similarities and differences between artistic disciplines and across organizational and business models (Rosenstein 2013).

Viewpoints on Subject Position and Training Methods in the Chinese Context

From Chinese publications on arts management, it is clear that many writers focus on the issue of arts management's boundaries and definition. Since the time that arts management programs first emerged in China, the topic has been a point of discussion. There are a number of different understandings about arts management education that can be found. Zhang Wei pointed out that when a discipline is created, we should think about where the discipline's boundary is located. What is the object of study? And, what kinds of research methods should be used? (Wei 2007). Dong Feng points out that arts management has not been put into the

undergraduate discipline catalog issued by the Chinese Ministry of Education, as well as the importance of creating a basic and core knowledge system beyond specific art forms. In addition, there should be consistency in the standards of curriculum design, faculty, and enrollment (Feng 2007). Tan Wei thought the research object of arts management should be human society and the actions in society within the arts field. It should focus on the behavior of groups and the value of groups. Arts management is not simply "arts" plus "management" in his view. At the same time, he also believes arts management should be a sub-discipline belonging to management disciplines (Wei 2011). In their work, Tu Zhifen and Liu Zhenhua describe the trend of arts management education in China. First, cultural and arts management slowly developed into two fields where the specialty of arts management has been noticed: cultural industries management and arts management. Second, arts management belongs to arts disciplines that have been accepted by the arts management education field. Third, we have gradually deepened the understanding about what arts management is composed of (Zhifen & Zhenhua 2013).

Practice training is a hot topic in the Chinese arts management literature. What emerges is several different points of view. Yu Ding thinks training undergraduate students of arts management should stress practical skills; graduate students should learn about theories of the field and gain knowledge of leadership methods, and they should have the ability to integrate resources and knowledge (Ding 2015). In contrast, Lin Yi points out that if the core basic theory of a discipline has not formed or been accepted by the academic field, a sentence like "*emphasize on foundation*" as a pedagogical goal will have no meaning. She sees undergraduate students as having only "*operational practical skills*" and that no solid basic theory will help them in the job market they will shortly enter. But, from a long-term view, they might not have enough creativity to undertake a more influential mission. In addition, graduate student training only provides practical "*learning*" but not "*academic*" education[2] (Yi 2015). Huang Changyong and Tian Chanliu believe that a focus on practice or research for the training of undergraduate students should adapt to the characteristics of different students. Arts management programs should also educate students about local policy, economy, culture, science, and customs (Changyong & Chanliu 2016).

To sum up my analysis, arts management literature in both the English-speaking and Chinese contexts is mainly concerned with discipline definition, determining the object of research, with curricular design, and teaching methods. Significantly, since the time that arts management programs were created, we find that similar problems have been discussed repeatedly. Nonetheless, the process of building a mature discipline system for arts management has proceeded very slowly. The reason is that there is no consensus in the field on answers to the problems raised. Meanwhile, globalization, new economic trends, and new technologies have brought

about significant changes in the world. These changes have affected arts management education. How arts management has responded to these changes is in need of further discussion.

Practical training is always a hot topic in both English-speaking and Chinese arts management literature. Some writers, in both contexts, believe that practice skill training is the essential core of arts management education and that a university arts management education must provide practical skills training as the primary or sole learning approach. Others, in contrast, believe that too much focus on practice skill training will diminish the academic training foundation that provides educational value of a different type. In English-speaking arts management literature, there are surveys that are concerned with opinions from the management staff of arts institutions and students who have graduated from arts management programs. From the English-speaking literature, we can find that some surveys (Dimaggio, Martin and Rich) concern whether or not the training is valued by arts organizations. Meanwhile, from Beth Bienvenu's survey, we also find that even when arts management programs offer some practical courses, they still do not always meet the needs and expectations of students who seek careers in the field. In many cases, on-the-job experience is valued over practical training provided in a university program. This seems obvious given that a university could never duplicate the conditions of the real world. An important question, therefore, is what kind of training in arts management cannot be gained on-the-job and requires the formal training a university can provide instead? For those of us who teach in university arts management programs, that is the question we should asking.

Curriculum Design Cases Study

For this chapter, I selected three curriculum cases which I had the opportunity to observe closely. The cases selected are the MA in Culture, Policy, and Management at City University London in the United Kingdom, the Master of Arts Leadership and Cultural Management at Colorado State University in the United States, and the BA in Arts Administration at Shanghai Conservatory of Music. These programs were selected to take advantage of my opportunity to visit the programs in the US and the UK. As I teach in the BA program at Shanghai Conservatory of Music, I was also able to observe this program closely. For purposes of comparison, I then selected two additional program cases from each country using research articles, interviews, and other documentation in place of direct observation. The next section shows the specific results of my study.

City University of London in the UK

City University of London has the first postgraduate program in Arts Administration in the United Kingdom. The Culture, Policy, and

Management MA program was created in 1974. Full-time students of this program have a one-year study time. Part-time students need two years. Similar to other universities in the UK, students in this program are diverse and come from many different countries. According to its published material, the aim of this program is to:

- Encourage students to participate in a vibrant, intellectually challenging and informative debate about the relationship between culture, policy, and management;
- Provide students with wide-ranging and in-depth knowledge of contemporary issues in culture, policy, and management studies;
- Suit the individual needs of students at different stages of their careers;
- Enable students to experience, develop advanced knowledge and understanding of, and research different facets of, the cultural sector;
- Provide students with the opportunity to immerse themselves within the creative and cultural sectors;
- Develop the competencies necessary to carry out, commission, and use research pertinent to the cultural sector and help students to become key players leading and managing organizations or policy in the cultural sector.[3]

Students can select 50% core modules and 50% elective modules. They design their study program on their own. Students are required take four elective modules and select an additional module from another department on an elective module list.

Placement (or internship) modules give students the opportunity to work in the cultural sector. With guidance from a module leader, each student will draw up an individual plan for the placement based on their own investigations and through considering a variety of placement offers made by local cultural organizations. Internship opportunities outside of the placement modules are also a possibility.[4] According to my observations in 2012–2013, placement modules give students specific guidance, not only in skill preparation, but also include some literature reading and experience sharing. Invited guest speakers also provide a form of practical experience for students. Students are exposed to both theory and practical experience that provide them with a basic understanding of practice in the cultural sector.

As full-time students only have one year to finish the program's required credits, time is very limited. City University offers three pathways for students, such as taught, research, and placement. The different pathways have different requirements for module credits in order to give students enough time to achieve the aim of the program. A more recent look at this program in 2017, however, does not show option pathways in a new version of *Program Specification—Postgraduate Programs of City University of London*.

The key words describing the core modules are culture, culture policy, managing, research; they shape the idea of this program. Emphasis on research gives students a basic foundation to start their own research projects. Elective modules involve management, culture, art, technology, and some learning material from sociology. The curricular design of City University's arts management program demonstrates distinct features that focus on cultural policy and cultural sector management (see Table 2.1).

Another feature of this program is that it is attached to the Department of Sociology. The background of the faculty shows that this program emphasizes sociology, culture, cultural policy, and cultural industries. From my observation, invited guest speakers give presentations frequently in classes, almost on an everyday basis. There are generally two types of guest speakers: one type comes from the arts and cultural sector or related institutions, and the speaker brings his own direct experience. Normally, the other type of speaker has an academic background and presents her research achievements in the field. Faculty at City University will, according to the contents of their courses, invite guest speakers to provide students some aspect of real world experience or information on new research achievements.

Table 2.1 Core and Elective Modules of Culture, Policy, and Management MA at City University of London

Core module	• Culture • Cultural Policy • Managing Organizations • Introduction to Research
Core module	• Dissertation
Elective module	• Understanding Financial Accounts and Entrepreneurship • Audiences and Marketing • Public Culture: the Politics of Participation • Fundraising in and for the Cultural Sector • Evaluation, Politics, and Advocacy • Digital Cultures • Professional Placement • Global Cultural Industries Ethics and Social Responsibility • Popular Music and Society (Cpm) (Cpm means Culture, Policy, and Management) • Communication, Culture, and Development (Sociology), • Celebrity(Sociology) • International Organizations in Global Politics (International Politics) • Global Governance • Designing Interactive Media

Source: Adapted from *Program Specification—Postgraduate Programs* of City University of London.

Table 2.2 Core Modules of Three Programs in the UK

City University of London	*Goldsmiths University of London*	*King's College London*
Culture, Policy, and Management MA (Department of Sociology—Center for Culture and the Creative Industries)	MA Arts Administration and Cultural Policy (Institute for Creative & Cultural Entrepreneurship)	Arts & Cultural Management MA (Department of Culture, Media, and Creative Industries)
• Culture • Cultural Policy • Managing Organizations • Introduction to Research	• Cultural Policy and Practice • Either Management and Professional Practice 1: Work Placement Report • or Management and Professional Practice 1a: Culture of Management Report • Management and Professional Practice 2: Business Planning for Arts Organizations	• Arts and Management • Cultural Management: the Experience • Research Approaches
• Dissertation	• Dissertation	• Dissertation or Arts-Based Research Project

Source: Adapted from *Program Specification—Postgraduate Programs* of City University of London and Goldsmiths University of London, and Course detail online information from Arts & Cultural Management MA of Kings College, London.

For comparison, Table 2.2 shows data from two Cultural Management MA programs in London. The contents of Table 2.2 mainly focus on core modules. As is shown, training at City University and King's College focus more on theory, providing students with training in research methods. In contrast, Goldsmiths University focuses more on practical experience and research from practice.

The elective modules in Table 2.3 show that City University gives more attention to management skills, global cultural contexts, cultural industries, global cultural policy, and innovation in technology. Compared to City University, King's College places less emphasis on management skills. But courses in different arts fields give students a wider range of options to understand arts and culture. Goldsmiths' elective modules have an enterprise orientation, while the modules from other arts departments offer more specialty arts field management skill and arts background.

A comparison of these three programs shows some marked difference in orientation. Goldsmiths focuses more on practice and real world cultural experience. King's College focuses on academic training; courses aim for students to develop a deep understanding of cultural and arts fields. City's

Table 2.3 Elective Modules of Three Programs in the UK

City University of London	*Goldsmiths University of London*	*King's College London*
Culture, Policy, and Management MA • Understanding Financial Accounts and Entrepreneurship • Audiences and Marketing • Public Culture: the Politics of Participation • Fundraising in and for the Cultural Sector • Evaluation, Politics, and Advocacy, • Digital Cultures • Professional Placement • Global Cultural Industries Ethics and Social Responsibility • Popular Music and Society (Cpm) • Communication, Culture, and Development (Sociology) • Celebrity(Sociology) • International Organizations in Global Politics (International Politics) • Global Governance • Designing Interactive Media	MA Arts Administration and Cultural Policy The Module in A Complementary Area: • Entrepreneurial Modeling • Interpretation, Education, and Communication in the Art Museum • Cultural Relations and Diplomacy • Cultural and Creative Tourism Culture, Tourism, and Regeneration From the Department of Theater and Performance: • Disability Theater • Sociocultural Analysis of the Musical • Radical Performance From the Department of Music-modules from MMus programs. This also includes a module in Music Management From the Department of Design: • Enterprising Leadership: An Introduction to the Discourse of Contemporary Leadership, Enterprise, and Innovation	Arts & Cultural Management MA • Aesthetic Economy and Aesthetic Markets • Art and Globalization • Creatives: Working in The Cultural Industries • Cultural and Creative Industries in China • Cultural Management in Small Arts and Cultural Organizations • Cultural Markets • Cultural Memory • Cultural Policy • Culture and the City • Culture: Conflict, Diplomacy, and International Relations • Cultures of Technologies • Digital Media Production Cultures • Entertainment industries • Entrepreneurial Opportunity: Arts and Culture • Fashion, Culture, and Society • Film and American Culture • Gender, Media, and Culture • Inside Today's Museum • International Heritage and Cultural Tourism • Media, Culture, and Ethnicity • Museum Curating Now • Music and American Culture • Towards Tomorrow's Museum • Transnational Screen Production • Visual Culture

Source: Adapted from *Program Specification—Postgraduate Programs* of City University of London, and Course detail online information from MA in Arts Administration & Cultural Policy of Goldsmiths and Arts & Cultural Management MA of Kings College, London.

modules combine management skill training with deep understanding of the environment of cultural management. In other words, there is some balance in the curricular choices offered by City University. City's curricular design shows that this program wants its students to have an opportunity to immerse themselves into the environment of creative and cultural sectors. A significant point for programs in the UK regarding full-time students, is that one year to complete all requirements is a big challenge. The period of learning may be too short. If students have some previous work experience or some academic background in arts management fields, they may be better able to adapt and apply their learning to a cultural environment.

To sum up the findings about arts management in the United Kingdom, it is useful to note some trends in arts management education in Europe. Corina Şuteu identifies three primary models, British, French, and German (Şuteu 2006). The British model focuses primarily on market values and is labor market oriented (Sternal 2007). Indeed, while this overall trend is shown in the cases studied above, much more depends on the aims of each individual program. The next section looks at arts/cultural management programs in the United States.

Colorado State University

LEAP Institute for the Arts of Colorado State University has a program of Master of Arts Leadership and Cultural Management. LEAP is an acronym that stands for leadership, entrepreneurship, arts advocacy, and public engagement. Its program description provides an overview of its educational aims:

> The Master of Arts Leadership and Cultural Management prepares individuals to take on leadership and management roles in arts, culture, and creative sectors. They become proficient in the skills associated with advocacy and community engagement using entrepreneurial acumen. Coursework integrates opportunities for acquisition and practice of applied skills with theoretical reflection, critical inquiry, and higher order decision-making abilities. As the demand for individuals to take on leadership roles in the creative sector grows, graduates of this program will be able to meet the challenge in for profit, non-profit, and governmental arenas.[5]

It is noteworthy that some significant words emerge in the program description: for example, theoretical reflection, critical inquiry, and higher-order decision-making abilities. The presence of these key words suggests that skill training should be based on an academic requirement, not only on practical experience.

The LEAP Institute for the Arts master's program includes 23 core credits and nine credits of elective courses. Students complete two separate semester-long internships and two semester-long internship seminars. Students enroll in the internship course and the seminar simultaneously (see Table 2.4).

Table 2.4 Master of Arts Leadership and Cultural Management Curriculum at LEAP Institute for the Arts, Colorado State University

Core Courses 23 credits		*Electives Courses 9 credits*
First Year	• Leadership in the Arts • Arts Policy and Advocacy • Arts Event Management • Internship • Internship Seminar • Selected Course (according to *Curriculum Overview*, select course(s) from program list of approved courses in consultation with advisor and committee. Additional coursework may be required because of prerequisites)	• Accounting for Managers • Contemporary Issues in Business Information Technology and Project Management • Human Resource Development. • Organizational Intervention Strategies. • Design, Develop, Implement Workplace Learning • Asses Change Interventions • Multicultural and Special Populations • Financial Management Theory and Case Studies • Creating and Managing a Career in the Arts • Fundamentals of Entrepreneurship • New Venture Creation • New Venture Management • Management • Principles of Strategic Management • Marketing Management and Strategy • Theories of Interpersonal Communication • Discourse, Work, and Organization • Communication Theory
Second Year	• Arts Collaboration and the Community • Law and the Arts • Internship • Internship Seminar • Selected Courses	

Source: Adapted from *MALCM Application & Curriculum Overview* of LEAP Institute for the Arts, Colorado State University.

The core course arrangement in the master's program at Colorado State University focuses on the four areas of emphasis: arts leadership, entrepreneurial acumen, arts policy and advocacy, and arts collaboration and the community. Required courses also train students in arts events management and provide knowledge about arts law. The program was created in 2013, so it is a relatively new program. Elective courses offer some non-management skill courses, such as contemporary issues in business, multicultural and special populations, new venture creation, discourse work and organization, and communication theory. Some management theory is also included, such as financial management theory, case studies, and principles of strategic management. Special arts field courses are not featured. Although the program provides a list of elective course options, students are also permitted to explore other courses offered at the graduate level from other departments at the university.

Compared to two other university's core courses, there are both commonalities and differences. I looked at the arts management programs at Columbia University and at Carnegie Mellon (see Table 2.5).

Table 2.5 Core Courses of Three Programs in the USA

Core Courses		
Colorado State University Master of Arts Leadership and Cultural Management LEAP Institute for the Arts	Columbia University MA in Arts Administration	Carnegie Mellon University Master of Arts Management
First Year • Leadership in the Arts • Arts Policy and Advocacy • Arts Event Management • Internship • Internship Seminar • Selected Course **Second Year** • Arts Collaboration and the Community • Law and the Arts • Internship • Internship Seminar • Selected Courses	• Principles and Practice in Arts Administration • Arts in Context • Marketing the Arts, Culture, and Entertainment • Support Structures: Development and Fundraising in the Arts and Humanities • Principles and Practice in Arts Administration: Visual Arts • AND/OR Principles and Practice in Arts Administration: Performing Arts **First or Second Year** • Internship in Arts Administration • Master's Seminar in Arts Administration • Accounting I—Financial Accounting • Law and the Arts I • Law and the Arts II • Business Policy and Planning for the Arts Manager • Master Thesis (required) • Internships (a semester long) (required)	College of Fine Arts Courses • Arts Enterprises: Management & Structures • Database Theory and Practice for Creative Enterprises • Data-Driven Decision-Making Requirement • Arts Marketing and Public Relations • Exhibitions Management (and) Museum Operations (or) Producing a Performing Arts Season (and) Presenting Performing Arts & Festivals • External Relations: Fundraising and Philanthropy • External Relations: Sponsorships and Grants • Law and the Arts • Career & Professional Development for Arts Managers **Heinz College Courses** • Applied Economic Analysis • Empirical Methods for Public Policy and Management • Financial Analysis • Strategic Presentation Skills • Systems Synthesis • Organizational Design and Implementation • Business English (or) Professional Writing • Principles of Marketing • Summer Internships(between second and third semesters)

Source: Adapted from *MALCM Application & Curriculum Overview* of LEAP Institute for the Arts, Colorado State University, and course detail online information from MA in Arts Administration of Columbia University and Master of Arts Management of Carnegie Mellon University.

Arts law and short or longer internships are required by all three programs. A distinct feature of LEAP's program is there are few practical management skill courses listed in the core courses directed toward particular arts areas and arts organizations. Instead, these skills form part of the course content of courses that fall under leadership or arts events management. The other two universities focus more overtly on management skill applications in arts organizations. This is especially reflected in the focus on special arts fields: for example, the course content related to visual arts or performing arts in the cases of Columbia University and Carnegie Mellon. The difference between Columbia and Carnegie Mellon is that the first is more focused on arts sector management compared to Carnegie Mellon, which includes a range of general management in their core courses.

Comparing the elective courses of the three programs in the United States, Table 2.6 shows some features of difference. LEAP focuses more on management skills and provides content relating to information technology, communications, multiculturalism, and other diverse courses. LEAP elective courses are offered from outside of the program through other university departments. Columbia University offers a wider range of elective course options depending on diverse discipline support in the university. The elective course sample includes diverse courses in culture, arts, and management. Students appear to have more free choice within their program. Similar to its core courses, the elective courses of Carnegie Mellon come from the College of Fine Arts and Heinz College. The courses mainly include management skill courses, different aspects of arts organization management, new technology, and research methods. It is noteworthy that both Columbia University and Carnegie Mellon University offer cultural policy as elective courses, whereas LEAP requires a course in policy in its core curriculum.

Beth Bienvenu's analysis of arts management education traces the history of graduate education and discusses features of master's degree education in the United States. For example, she notes that it is largely practitioner oriented, emphasizing training in skills and pragmatic goals, and that the master's degree is overwhelmingly professional (Bienvenu 2004).[6] Reflecting on perspectives of arts management from Constance DeVereaux, German researcher Mandel describes differences featured in arts management in Germany that are relevant here. She points out that in Germany, the curricula have a tendency toward a more content-oriented, arts-specific, and academic approach. Most programs not only ask (*how to do*) but also ask (*why to do what*)[7] (Mandel, 2016). She writes:

Constance DeVereaux has pointed out "there is a real need in the field of cultural management for a discourse that turns the focus of discussion from the utilitarian to a critical and conscious reflection upon meaning, interpretations, and values"[8] (DeVereaux 2009) drawing on. With Peter Drucker's (*Every practice rests on theory*) view[9] (DeVereaux, 2009). In an interview,

Table 2.6 Elective Courses of Three Programs in the USA

Elective Courses		
LEAP Institute for the Arts Colorado State University	*Columbia University MA in Arts Administration*	*Carnegie Mellon University Master of Arts Management*
• Accounting for Managers • Contemporary Issues in Business • Information Technology and Project Management • Human Resource Development • Organizational Intervention Strategies. • Design, Develop, Implement Workshop Learning • Asses Change Interventions Multicultural and Special Populations • Financial Management Theory and Case Studies • Creating and Managing a Career in the Arts • Fundamentals of Entrepreneurship • New Venture Creation • New Venture Management • Management • Principles of Strategic Management • Marketing Management and Strategy • Theories of Interpersonal Communication	ARAD Program Electives: • Cultural Policy • Art & Pop • Making Sense of Censorship Sample Elective Courses Taken at Teachers College • Exploring Cultural Diversity: Implications for Arts Education, • Museum Education Issues I: Culture of Art Museums • Museum Education Issues II: Missions and Standards • Museums as Resource: Workshops at The Metropolitan • Popular Culture • Computing Applications in Education and the Arts • Computer Applications in Education • Introduction to Management Systems • Summer Institute: Management Systems, • Workplace Learning Institute, Sample Elective Courses Taken Outside of Teachers College: • Structuralism, Poststructuralism, Modernism • Jacques-Louis David: Art, Virtue, and Revolution • Human Resource Management: Managerial Negotiation	College of Fine Arts Electives • Research Seminar in Arts Management & Technology • Exhibitions Management (if 93–811/2 already taken as core) • Museum Operations (if 93–811/2 already taken as core) • Perf Arts Orgs: Business Models and Mgmt Issues (if 93–807/8 already taken as core) • Planning and Managing Performing Arts Programming (if 93–807/8 already taken as core) • Entrepreneurship in Creative Enterprises • Arts in Education • Public Art • Arts Facilities Management • Dealers, Galleries and Auction Houses • Advanced Topics in Fundraising • Aesthetics and Critical Judgment • Managing Cultural Heritage: Identity and Sustainability • Cultural Policy Seminar • Cultural Policy and Advocacy in the US • Audience Engagement and Participation • CFA Elective (approved by MAM Committee) Heinz College Electives (often taken and recommended by MAM students) • Women in Public Policy • Management Science • Urban Development • Budget and Management Control

(*Continued*)

Table 2.6 (Continued)

Elective Courses		
LEAP Institute for the Arts Colorado State University	*Columbia University MA in Arts Administration*	*Carnegie Mellon University Master of Arts Management*
• Discourse, Work, and Organization • Communication Theory	• Consumer Behavior • Commercial communication in the culture of consumption: media, entertainment, advertising, and the arts in the market economy • Not-for-profit marketing • Cultural Property Seminar • Theater Arts: Press, Publicity, and Audience Development • Theater Arts: Approaches to Production Management-Budgeting and reporting • Anthropology: Anthropology of Tourism • Financing the mission-based business • Social entrepreneurship: financing and growing social ventures • Consulting in the public and nonprofit sector • Customers and markets: behavioral decision-making and economics	• Urban and Regional Economic Development • Accounting & Control for Nonprofits • Real Estate Development • Advanced Negotiation • Ethics and Public Policy in a Global Society • Media and Public Policy • Multimedia • Sustainable Community Development • Desktop Publishing • Foundation of Social Entrepreneurism • Program Evaluation • Power and Influence • Social Innovation Incubator • Organizational Management • Management Consulting • Organizational Change • Planning for Innovation • Conflict Resolution • Negotiation • Acting for Management • Geographic Information Systems (GIS) • Management Consulting • Strategy Development • Project Management • Measurement and Analysis of Social Media • Creating Results Oriented Programs • Survey Design • Market Research • Interactive Marketing

Source: Adapted from *MALCM Application & Curriculum Overview* of LEAP Institute for the Arts, Colorado State University, and course detail online information from MA in Arts Administration of Columbia University and Master of Arts Management of Carnegie Mellon University.

I conducted on her program, and on the issue of arts management in general, DeVereaux explained the tendency toward more practice and job orientation training in arts management education in the United States, even in her surrounding environment. But she believes arts management education as a discipline should explore its value for society, not just for application to individual arts organizations. Academic training can provide the larger view needed. DeVereaux tries to promote the perspective in her own program, although it is not so easy to do given an environment operating, largely, in a different direction.

In the next section, I move to looking at arts and cultural management in China. The primary focus is on the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, with comparison to two other Chinese university-based arts management programs.

Shanghai Conservatory of Music in China

The arts administration BA program at Shanghai Conservatory of Music was created in 2002. The arts administration department was created in 2003. Since 2005, this program was offered in cooperation with the School of Management at FuDan University. First-year students learn management courses at Fudan University. In the second year, students come back to Shanghai Conservatory of Music to complete their studies. The educational philosophy of the program is based on "internationalization" and a "combination of production and academy."[10] The aim of program is to:

> Focus on training performing arts related administrative personnel in cultural public institution and enterprises. Students need to be familiar with the international frontier idea on arts management and the model of operation, familiar with arts law and regulations, have good modern management and market operation skill, have good foreign language communication ability and art appreciation ability in order to meet the "management" and "service" trends in national cultural system.[11]

Although his program has undergone different developmental periods, cooperation with the management school at Fudan University is a unique feature of this program. Other features include focus on special arts contexts and emphasis on practical training and management skills. These features are similar to many other arts management programs in China. Table 2.7 below shows the curriculum over the four-year span needed for the degree.

For the reason of cooperation with the management school, first-year students' training focuses more on management principles. Students in years 2 and 3 have much more time to pursue arts and arts

Table 2.7 Arts Administration BA Shanghai Conservatory of Music

Core Courses			
Year 1	*Year 2*	*Year 3*	*Year 4*
• History of Chinese Music • History of Western Music • Principles of Management • Principles of Accounting • Organizational Behavior • Principles of Marketing • Introduction to Art Management • Arts Laws and Regulations	• Music Basic • Introduction to Performing Arts • Arts Marketing • Culture and Arts Communication • Performance Planning and Production Practice • Art Management Practice	• Specialized English • Introduction to Visual Arts • Contemporary Art and Criticism • Cultural administration and Cultural Policy • Art Management Practice	• Thesis • Internship and Graduation Project
	Arts Management Special Course		
	• Performing Arts Special Subject • Artist Broker and Practice • Art Guide • Contract • Musical Intellectual Property Protection and Management • Media Practice	• Fundraising in the Arts • Network Marketing • Case Study of Cultural Industry	
Required Elective Course			
• Introduction to Arts • College Chinese			
• Higher Mathematics • Political Economy • Micro-Economics	Other Elective Course(Select Outside Department)		

Source: Adapted from *The Undergraduate Program Training Plan Version:2015* and the internal teaching management document of Shanghai Conservatory of Music.

management-related courses. In these periods, students also have opportunities to gain arts project practice. In their final year, students take on an internship and finish their thesis and graduation projects. For students, the graduation project is a big challenge, working with teams to complete it in the context of the final year. Because the Arts Administration BA program belongs to the Conservatory of Music, students will have more opportunities for projects related to the music environment. The range of other culture-related courses are limited.

Compared to two other programs located in different art universities in China, there are some similar features with differences based on their particular focuses on specific arts skill practice training. I look at Nanjing University of the Arts and the Central Conservatory of Music (Table 2.8).

Although arts practice skills training is lacking in the program at Shanghai Conservatory of Music, students are encouraged to practice music skills in their free time. Comparing the three programs shows that the program at the Central Conservatory of Music focuses more on music skill practice training because it is a specialty of the Musicology Department. Nanjing University of the Arts emphasizes different types of aesthetic experience accumulation and special arts organization management. The program of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music emphasizes aesthetic experience and attention to international arts management experience.

The three programs may very well reflect the different developmental stages of arts management education in China. Sima Yan has written on the beginnings of an arts management training demand in China (Yan 1986). After Sima Yan, Li Zhun put forward the proposal about arts management as a new discipline to meet the need of today's society (Zhun 1988). Dong Feng notes that arts management education in China has two developmental phases, but these two stages are unrelated or even broken. Around 2010, some arts management PhD programs emerged in the Graduate School of Chinese National Academy of Arts, Nanjing University of the Arts, and at Shanghai University. With this development, China had arts management BA, MA, and PhD degree programs, and arts management education could be said to have a complete system at all university-degree levels (Feng 2011). Chen Yongjun, in contrast, claims that arts management education in China has three developmental stages. The first two stages occurred in the previous century, in the 1990s. In the first stage, arts management belonged to the discipline of Culture and Arts Public Institutions Administration. In the second stage, in 1997, arts management programs belonged to Public Utilities Management discipline. In the third stage, since 2003, it has become a very complicated situation. Many universities have an arts management program, but they belong to different disciplines in different universities (Yongjun 2013). In 2017, the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China approved applications from China Central Academy of Fine Arts and Shanghai Theater Academy for arts management programs under the discipline of Art Theory. This is very significant for arts management education in China. Many universities have arts management programs, but the model of training, the curriculum design, and the standards of training are still hot topics, with many continuing discussions on issues in the arts management education field. A trend in raising these issues, in my view, comes from confusion in understanding what constitutes arts management as a discipline.

Table 2.8 Core and Required Elective Courses of Three Programs in China

Shanghai Conservatory of Music (Arts administration department) *Arts administration BA*	*Nanjing University of the arts (Humanities College)* *Arts management BA*	*Central Conservatory of Music (Musicology Department)* *music art management BA*
• History of Chinese Music • History of Western Music • Principles of Management • Principles of Accounting • Organizational Behavior • Principles of Marketing • Introduction to Art Management • Arts Laws and Regulations • Music Basic • Introduction to Performing Arts • Arts Marketing • Culture and Arts Communication • Performance Planning and Production Practice • Art Management Practice • Specialized English • Introduction to Visual Arts • Contemporary Art and Criticism • Cultural Administration and Cultural Policy • Art Management Practice • Thesis	• Introduction to Disciplines • Fine Arts Basic (Practice) • Music Basic (Practice) • Principles of Management • Cost Accounting and Financial Management • Arts Management Theory and Method • Arts Market Survey and Evaluation (Practice) • Arts Institution and District Operation (Practice) • Art Marketing • Creative and Arts Project Plan (Practice) • Arts Fundraising Approach Research and Practice (Practice) • Cultural, Arts Law and Regulations • International Art Business • Arts Management Workshop (Practice) • Report • Thesis Visual Arts Courses Group • Visual Arts Skill (Practice) • History of Chinese Art • History of Foreign Art • Arts Appreciation 1 • Arts Appreciation 2 • Exhibition Planning and Execution 1(Practice) • Exhibition Planning and Execution 2 (Practice) • Exhibition Design and Management (Practice) • Art Investment and Management(Auction) (Practice) • Audience Development and Art Museum Management (Practice) • Art Brokers and Agents (Practice)	• Arts Management Specialty Practice (Specialty Group) • Music Style Basic • Music Reviews • An Introduction to Music Management • Artist Management • Fundraising Fundamental • Classical Cases of Performing Arts • Thesis • Internship Specialty Courses • Piano (Department Piano) • Solfeggio D • Chorus • Harmony • Harmony Form and Works Analysis B • Chinese Traditional Music • The History of Chinese Music • The History of Western Music • Chinese Ethnic Music • Ethnic Music in World

Shanghai Conservatory of Music (Arts administration department) *Arts administration BA*	*Nanjing University of the arts (Humanities College)* *Arts management BA*	*Central Conservatory of Music (Musicology Department)* *music art management BA*
Arts Management Specialties Course • Internship and Graduation Project • Performing Arts Special Subject • Artist Broker and Practice • Art Guide • Fundraising in The Arts • Network Marketing • Case Study of Cultural Industry Contract • Musical Intellectual Property Protection and Management • Media Practice	• Contemporary Art Theory and Market • Art Management Review and Writing(Visual Arts) (Practice) Music Courses Group • Musical Skill (Practice) • History of Chinese Music • History of Foreign Music • Music Appreciation 1 • Music Appreciation 2 • Performance Planning and Execution 1(Practice) • Performance Planning and Execution 2 (Practice) • Stage Design and Management (Practice) • Festival Planning and Execution (Practice) • Box Office, Theater, and Orchestra Management (Practice) • Performing Arts Brokers and Agents (Practice) • Art Management Review and Writing (Performing Arts) (Practice)	
Required Elective Course • Introduction To Arts • College Chinese • Higher Mathematics • Political Economy • Micro-Economics		
Elective Course		
Taken Outside Department	Taken Outside Humanities College	

Source: Adapted from *The Undergraduate Program Training Plan Version:2015* of Shanghai Conservatory of Music, and course detail online information from program information of Humanities College in Nanjing University of the Arts, and Yunfeng (2011, 126).

***The core courses in the three programs only include arts management courses; this list does not include other courses that the college requires all students to take**

Conclusion

From case studies, there are many common but also many different features in arts management education programs in the UK, US, and China. If one can paint with broad strokes, in the UK there is more attention on cultural policy, and cultural context immersion, with a significant focus on research methods. But there are some notably different features between different universities. For example, there are different emphases on either practice or theory. City University has a balance between the two. But all three UK programs are similar in the time provided for completing the degree. Full-time students only have one year to complete their learning. Regarding their ability to provide any depth of training, Aleksandar Brkić has stated, "One-year master's programs are just a scratch on the surface."[12] As a result, arts institution work experience or a related academic background will help students better understand the cultural and arts management environment in which they will find jobs.

From my analysis of the master's program at Colorado State University's LEAP Institute for the Arts, there are some similar features also found in other programs in the US. For example, art law and internships are part of the core, required courses. Management ability training is also offered. Compared to the other two US universities where there is a focus combining special arts organization management and general management, the LEAP program gives more attention to cultural policy and arts collaboration/ community engagement, given that these courses are core, required courses. Another distinct feature of LEAP is that is does not offer special arts field-related courses; specifically, courses don't focus on theatre management or visual arts management, but rather generalized arts management. In addition, the program description suggests that theoretical reflection and critical inquiry are important and potentially unique, different features of the program.

In comparison to the UK and US, arts management programs emerged in China fairly recently. Although some university programs have engaged in exchange with other countries in recent years, many programs are more influenced by their Chinese counterparts rather than by organizations that exist in other countries, such as the Association of Arts Administration Educators in the US or the European Network of Arts Administration Training Centers.

The Annual Conference of China Arts Administration Education and the Annual Meeting of the Committee of Arts Management are two very important conferences in China. Of note is that discipline attributions are present in most of arts management programs in China. It impacts enrollment scales directly. Considering the fact of artistic attributes, a trend is for arts management to become to a sub-discipline which belongs to arts theory disciplines.

From case analyses in the UK, US, and China, there are many common features. For example, in all contexts, curricula focus on management theory and skill, aesthetic experience, and practice experience. There appear to be more similar features between the US and China, reflected in an emphasis on management theory and practice skill training. Compared to the US and China, some programs in the UK care more about research methods and cultural environment analysis. However, tendencies toward practical utility are still present as in the US and China contexts.

Notes

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3 Towards a Sociology of Arts Managers

Profiles, Expectations, and Career Choices

Vincent Dubois and Victor Lepaux

Introduction

Sociological knowledge on arts and cultural management can be of great help for students, practitioners, and newcomers entering the field as a map to find their way in a complex landscape.[1] It can also provide useful intellectual resources for critical thinking, which is a defining feature of these reflexive occupations. In turn, arts management proves a precious vantage point for a better understanding of ongoing changes at a general sociological level. Arts managers as a professional group are indeed at the core of "cultural intermediaries" (Smith Maguire & Matthews 2012) and of "creative workers" (Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2011), themselves a major locus of social change over these last decades of post-industrial, neo-capitalist, and creative economy.

Yet, if there is little sociological research on arts management (Kirchberg & Zembylas 2010), there is still less on arts managers apart from the seminal studies by Paul DiMaggio and Richard Peterson looking at the United States 30 years ago (DiMaggio 1987; Peterson 1987). In this paper, we posit that understanding arts management from a sociological point of view implies studying arts managers as a social group. This entails investigating the range of their socio-professional profiles and trajectories and, on this basis, accounting for their practices, skills, and values. It then becomes possible to locate arts management in the structures of class systems and of the work force, as well as in the complex web of relationships between the arts field, the market, private and public patrons, the media, and the general public. Eventually, such a framework enables us to specify what arts management is from a sociological point of view. This chapter proposes a first step in this direction. By posing the question of career choices in arts management by students, we shed light on the social conditions, resources, and values invested in such occupations. By doing so, our aim is to lay the basis for a comprehensive sociology of arts managers.

Methodology

This chapter sums up some of the results of a large quantitative and qualitative research project on the French case, set in a broader international comparative perspective. A more complete version is presented in our book *Culture as a Vocation*, to which we refer the reader for further information and elaboration (Dubois & Lepaux 2016). The survey research we performed initially consisted in administering a questionnaire to candidates seeking entry in core cultural management programs offered by French universities at the second year master's level (some twenty formations). We processed over 1,500 responses between February and July 2009. Having cleaned up the sample, we retained the responses of 787 individuals. In addition to the original results drawn from the questionnaires, this research relied on secondary analysis of statistics from various public bodies. Lastly, we collected three types of qualitative material: 1) a corpus of 45 application files (CVs, letters of motivation, and career plans) for one of the programs in our sample; 2) systematic observations of selection interviews for this master's program; and 3) 20 interviews with successful or unsuccessful applicants on their trajectories and educational and career choices.

In the first section of this chapter, we present the main factors leading applicants to consider arts management as a possible and desirable career choice. Then, we analyze the social characteristics of would-be arts managers in terms of class, gender, and educational background and show how these characteristics match the patterns of the job market and of French class structure. This leads, in the third section of this chapter, to a better understanding of the expectations and aspirations invested in arts management and, therefore, to insights on the social meaning of activities in this domain.

Culture as a Career Choice

Making a career out of culture has become a conceivable option within the space of professional career choices, particularly for higher education graduates. Career choices cannot only be explained on grounds of individual motivation. What is usually called a career choice, hinges on social conditions, and it is subjectively translated into an expression of individual will. Cultural work does not escape this rule (Brook 2015). In this first part, we sum up these main conditions.

The Increase in Cultural Employment and the Invention of New Positions

First, the state of the job market. Western European countries have witnessed a massive and continued long-term increase of cultural employment

since the 1980s (Feist 2000). From 1995 to 1999, the cultural sector in the EU experienced an average annual rate of employment growth of 2.1%, and, during the same period, employment figures for cultural occupations within the cultural sector grew at an annual rate of 4.8% (MKW 2001). In the United States, following a 20-year surge that surpassed the growth rate of other workers in the 1970s and 1980s, artists as a sector of the work force had grown at the same rate as the overall labor sector from 1990 to 2005 (National Endowment for the Arts 2011). Employment in the fields of culture and creative economy has more generally increased in the United States over the last several decades.

In France, the number of professionals employed in information, arts, and performing arts sectors multiplied by 1.7 between 1962 and 1982 and again by 2.5 between 1982 and 2008; as of 2008, there were 4.2 times more professionals in these sectors as in 1962—twice that number if the unemployed are also considered. This increase is far greater than that of the labor force in general. Over the entire period, these occupations accounted for between 0.35% and 1.08% of the working population (Gouyon & Patureau 2014). Depending on the definition under consideration, the cultural sector reportedly accounts for 1.7% to 2% of all employment in France, which is equivalent to the 2009 European Union average. We posit that this increase, even if not linear and variable according to specific sectors and occupations, has progressively contributed to making these occupations conceivable career choices for a growing fraction of new entrants on the labor market despite often unattractive employment conditions.

As the combined number of those employed in the cultural sector grew, cultural management occupations developed, and new, related positions emerged, making possible aspirations that were initially motivated by novelty appeal, that is, the introduction of new professional opportunities. These opportunities gradually came to reflect new divisions of labor established in the cultural field. This is a second general factor for career choices in arts management.

While organizational activities enabling the production of artworks and their presentation to the public have existed for a longtime, these activities, which were previously undertaken by artists themselves or by volunteers, became progressively specialized and elicited the development of a professional milieu. Richard Peterson showed how arts management experienced a shift, beginning in the early 1960s from a highly personalized model of the impresario to the administrative model, which relies on professional skills that cannot be reduced to personal qualities (Peterson 1987). The transformation that began in the 1960s first came with the emergence of specialized training programs. Like their functions, the backgrounds of arts administrators became increasingly standardized: they progressively shifted from using social skills and connections to maintain rapport with patrons to occupying a more organizational and

audience-oriented role, less charismatic and more technical. Paul DiMaggio emphasized the impact of these new funding methods by pointing to what he calls an "institutional isomorphism" effect: interacting organizations tend to adopt compatible structures. Orchestras, museums, and theatres began operating more like the public administrations or businesses that provided them with funding (DiMaggio 1987). This convergence was directly encouraged by the funders and was also promoted by professional organizations.

Where France is concerned, a similar long-term historical account remains partly to be written. Yet, from the 1980s on, it is possible to retrace a shift that is to some extent comparable to what happened in the United States some 20 years earlier (Dubois 2012). While cultural activities underwent a professionalization process that began in the 1960s, it was essentially after the mid-1980s that professional labels pertaining to cultural management occupations were defined and popularized. In part, new positions were created: for example, director of cultural affairs positions in municipalities. A similar process occurred during this period in other European countries (Mangset 1995). Specialized training programs and publications appeared. As in the United States, the development of new sources of funding for culture, for example, from private sources, provided conditions conducive to the rise of cultural management. In many other countries, in contrast, funding is mostly public. The recruitment of staff charged with administrative and management duties came about due to significant growth of cultural budgets that began in the late 1970s at the local level and went on to intensify in the early 1980s under the combined effects of an unprecedented increase in resources for the Ministry of Culture and of decentralization. These new funding schemes also made specialization necessary, partly in functional terms, due to the increase of administrative workload, but also in more political terms. In practice, increased public spending on culture came about as an effort to demonstrate strict control of expenditures in the public domain eliciting the rise of a managerial rhetoric. As we have seen in the United States case, a direct link can be drawn between changes in cultural policy and the invention of new professional positions.

The Open Definition of Positions as a Factor for Attractiveness

This development of cultural management positions has resulted in little standardization of jobs or of paths of access to positions. Unlike professional bodies previously formed by librarians and museum curators, for example, occupations falling into the loose category of cultural management remain somewhat ill defined. The diversity or vagueness of job titles (cultural manager, administrator, mediator, development officer, or project designer), the absence of statistical classification, and their presentation

in directories of occupations give some indications of the problem. Due to the heterogeneity of contractual arrangements (civil servants, contract workers, employees of associations, or employees under standard contracts), the strong internal divides within the cultural field between artistic disciplines and sectors, and the vast number of employers with differing statuses, there are no unified recruitment channels. The definition of functions remains largely open, and a great diversity of skills comes into play.

This vagueness and heterogeneity might very well be a factor explaining the popularity of these jobs. The diversity of paths of access makes cultural management look like a fairly open sector, and the flexible definition of these occupations allows for the commitment of agents with varied dispositions, offers them a degree of freedom in their jobs, and makes the possibility of failure appear more distant.

The dialectic adjustment between the characteristics of a function or a job and the dispositions of those pursuing it tends to compound the relative fluidity of cultural management as a well-defined occupation. This fluidity, or indetermination, attracts applicants with varied backgrounds. In turn, they contribute to sustaining this indetermination by bringing their heterogeneous dispositions into play. Indeed, another reason for the attractiveness of these fuzzy positions is that they leave those who pursue them the possibility of defining their outlines by contributing with their own personal dispositions. This indetermination can be problematic, particularly when it affects employment conditions. Yet, it also contributes to making these jobs attractive: polyvalence and pluriactivity are antidotes to routine; individuals are often, to some extent, able to define their activity on the basis of orientations that are personal or experienced, as such, instead of merely fulfilling pre-established functions. In short, their work gives them the opportunity to achieve self-fulfillment. Lastly, indetermination can also be attractive in that it offers protection against possible subjective feelings of failure. Instability may be perceived as desirable mobility in a world where discovery and change are valued; instead of brutal changes, their careers, which they experience as "personal projects," move in imperceptible combinations and shifts.

Changes in Higher Education and the Rise of Arts Management Training Programs

Along with the development of cultural employment and the characteristics of these occupations, the transformations of higher education and specifically the development of training programs specialized in cultural management have contributed to making these jobs a conceivable professional prospect. First, there is a relationship between transformations in higher education and the rise of cultural work (Ashton & Noonan 2013). In France, the increase in student populations and longer periods of schooling have produced cohorts of graduates looking for professional

guidance.[2] This is especially the case in the general tracks, including in the humanities and literary subjects. Due in part to the decoupling between these tracks and the *concours* (competitions) of higher education that were their seemingly natural extension, bachelor's-level graduates have had to seek out alternatives that fit their training and give them the opportunity to access positions that limit the risk of educational downgrading. The choice of culture is a possible response to this twofold quest; most of the applicants to cultural master's programs have this background.

Second, new training programs in cultural and arts management have contributed to occupational choices in this field. In the United States, the professionalization process of arts mangers that began in the 1960s came with the emergence of specialized training programs. The first appeared in 1966 at Yale University and at Florida State University; they were followed by programs that initially focused on theatre management but were then progressively extended to all the arts, in arts colleges and business schools alike (Redaelli 2012). In Europe, programs appeared in the 1970s and developed mostly after the 1980s, with support from international organizations like UNESCO and the Council of Europe and then the European Union at the European level (Sternal 2007). The European Network of Cultural Administration Training Centers (ENCATC) was established in 1992. France followed a roughly similar chronology. The creation of training programs specializing in cultural management came in the early 1980s, as part of a broader professionalization of the cultural sector promoted, at the time, by government policies (Dubois 2012).

In France and abroad (Rolfe 1995), the success of these programs among students ensured sufficient enrollment numbers that in turn made possible the creation of new programs which were always certain to attract enough applicants. However, this "demand" does not exist independently from the corresponding supply. The wide diffusion of the idea that one can make a career out of culture through these training programs, without necessarily being an artist, probably goes some way towards explaining why so many pursue them, especially those who are most uncertain about their career. These programs receive significant exposure in the press—especially in the mainstream cultural press and in career information magazines and handbooks. The diversity of the available training programs leads, in turn, to the diversification of the publics who see cultural management as a possible career path. Few other academic curricula are indeed likely to attract the equal interest of students in history, business, and theatre. Culture became a conceivable and legitimate career choice for all these students not only because the professional world of culture welcomes all of these backgrounds, but also because there are programs available in each of these disciplines.

Ultimately, growing competition upon entry, the rise of training programs, and—to some extent—the attractiveness of these programs and of cultural management occupations all have a mutually reinforcing effect.

Access to cultural employment was already highly selective before the development of training programs. Increasingly, however, employers are driving the demand for degrees by those seeking employment who are then encouraged to make considerable investments in their own training. These investments, in turn, reinforce the competition for access to specialized programs, which are, as a result, often highly selective despite the number that currently exist. This selectiveness likewise makes these programs more desirable or in any case contributes to making them appear as serious options, even where they might have otherwise appeared as what might be considered bohemian choices.

Profiles of Aspiring Cultural Managers

How are these objective and collective conditions transformed into subjective and individual aspirations? To answer this question, we will now examine the social features of the applicants, and show the roles played by gender, social background, education, and cultural socialization.

A Feminine Vocation

An outstanding feature of aspiring cultural managers, in comparison to those pursuing other higher education degrees, is that an exceptional proportion of them are women: 85% among the applicants and 80% among those enrolled in cultural management master's programs. Similar rates are observed in other national contexts. This proportion far exceeds that of the student populations at large (56.5% of women in 2004). The gendered identities of professional positions (a so-called man's job vs. a so-called woman's job) often explain positive (by projection) and negative career choices (resulting from the exclusion of activities reputed to be suited to one gender or another). This only partly applies to cultural management. In the French case at least, these positions are too recent or not well enough established to have a gendered identity assigned to them, and crucially, they are far from being held by women as often as one might think. For instance, the positions of directors, programmers, and producers in broadcasting and performing arts sectors, which are highly coveted, are mostly held by men (two thirds), a proportion similar to that of theatre and orchestra directors in the United States in the 1980s, for example.

The fact that there is a vast majority of women among applicants to cultural management training programs may reflect an ongoing feminization process in the cultural sector. The proportion of women executives has steadily increased, since the 1980s, in media broadcasting and performing arts, and among arts and performing arts professionals. The trend is more pronounced in younger generations. A similar trend has also been witnessed for selected categories of cultural management employment, such as directors of municipal cultural departments (Dressayre 2002).

One explanation for the high proportion of women applying to cultural management training programs is the traditionally observed tendency of young women to enter literary tracks in their studies. Typically, this is attributed to self-imposed decisions to avoid science-oriented studies based on dissuasive effects of teachers' verdicts, parental expectations, and the emphasis placed on the feminine connotations of literary disciplines. At the later stages of higher education, choices become increasingly connected to professional career plans as expectations in terms of employment rise. Cultural sector jobs then appear as a possible and desirable outcome for female students. The large number of young women in cultural management programs may thus result not so much from a direct effect of gender on the supposed choices of this sector as from a succession of past choices informed by gender rationales at every step of the way, and at the end of which the amount and type of educational capital accumulated leads women to perceive cultural sector jobs as viable. A second explanation lies in the differences between genders in the relationships to cultural and artistic practices. It has long been established that more women than men participate in cultural practices—at least in certain fields. It was the case for museum attendance in 1960s France (Bourdieu, Darbel & Schnapper 1990), and it is more generally the case in the United States today (Christin 2012). Recent studies have demonstrated a trend toward the feminization of these practices: gaps are widening for practices that were already predominantly female (such as reading) and narrowing for chiefly male ones (such as amateur music). Since a strong correlation has been observed between the intensity of cultural practices and the aspiration to pursue careers in the cultural field, the feminization of cultural practices may very well be among the factors contributing to feminization of career paths in this sector.

It is worth mentioning that the investments of men and women in these jobs differ; they do not target the same positions, and differences are particularly observed in terms of creative versus non-creative jobs. Women still are in the minority among artistic creators. Thus, the combination of women's more intense cultural practices and greater dispositions and the presence of a gendered division of labor in which creation is a male business may explain the very large number of women among those pursuing cultural management careers. The same pattern has been observed among librarians and museum mediators. Women are both less inclined to pursue creative, artistic careers and more likely to give them up. When artists become teachers, more men pursue careers as artists and teachers whereas women tend to give up their artistic work. These differences can be observed at an early stage, even before the beginning of artistic careers, when we look at professional aspirations. Among aspirants to cultural management careers, fewer women envision careers as artists (32% against 44% of men), and more women give up on this prospect (48% against 40% of men). As a career choice, cultural management

allows artists who don't expect to derive a stable income from their art to reinvest their dispositions into a stable career. The predominance of women among those who pursue careers in cultural management can therefore also be interpreted as a result of their greater tendency to give up on creative work.

A Choice for the Privileged?

Social status is too rarely taken into account to explain involvement in creative work (Brook 2013), whereas contrary to the optimistic commonsense view, access to positions in this domain is hardly "meritocratic" (O'Brien, Laurison, Miles & Friedman 2016). In our sample, many of the would-be cultural managers have a privileged social background. Nearly half of the students (more than 45%) in these master's programs are children of executives or of individuals holding upper intellectual occupations. The proportion of students in this category far exceeds that of all university students (30%) and even of all master's-level students (37%). Similar proportions are observed for applicants to the master's programs, about whom the questionnaire results give us more detailed information. Over four out of five applicants (81%) have at least one parent in the executive, intermediate occupations, or CEO categories, and nearly half (47%) have both of their parents in those categories. In addition to their high-level of employment, the applicants' parents also stand out owing to the high representation in some areas of activity: education, health, social work, and, more predictably, of art and culture. Nearly two in three applicants (62%) have at least one of their parents working in one of these sectors, which generally require high levels of educational capital. This dominance of educational capital is matched not only by reproduction strategies in which school is highly valued, but also by intellectual and cultural dispositions that may lead these individuals to pursue cultural occupations. The second characteristic shared by the sectors is that they have to do with human relations. For that reason, the cultural sector is conducive to attracting individuals who value the relational aspects of professional activities and, in some cases, invest in it their own dispositions for altruism.

High Levels of Educational Capital

The educational characteristics of our population show the high level of attainment not only of the cultural managers in place and of those who apply to work in these positions, but also of those who are looking to acquire a degree. They have accumulated high levels of educational capital even before applying to a cultural master's program, primarily exemplified by the conditions in which they obtained their bachelor's degree. Eighty percent of applicants to cultural master's programs graduated

from high school on or ahead of schedule (against 62% for the student population at large). The somewhat high representation of prestigious selective programs in the early stages of higher education constitutes the second indicator that applicants have high levels of initial educational capital.

Regarding the type of education pursued, and therefore the applicants' type of educational capital, we observe a majority of literary backgrounds in the broader sense of the term. This is shown in the negative by the weak proportion of applicants who studied economics or management at university or in a business or management school (7%), a low proportion for master's programs that often place emphasis on management. Former students in literature (11%), languages (13%), and communication (9%) are more frequently found among the applicants. Within the humanities and social sciences, history students are the best represented (over 20%, plus 10% of art history students). Then come cultural programs such as cultural mediation, which are less academic and more job market oriented. Students who have undergone training directly related to the arts and culture before applying to a master's program in cultural management make up just over half of the applicants.

This divide results from the structural coexistence of two types of educational capital that may be exploited in cultural management. The first rests on the acquisition of cultural skills during schooling under varied forms (artistic in art schools, applied in mediation programs, more academic for art history students). The second attests to the acquisition of generalist skills, and/or ones that are external to the cultural field, strictly speaking (philosophy, law), that may also be exploited in cultural management if they are combined with cultural resources accumulated outside of school. The joint presence, in equivalent proportions, of these two types of educational capital also shows that recruitment in cultural occupations remains largely open. The development of specialized programs has not resulted in a unification of the available training. Many educational trajectories lead to cultural management. This diversity is, however, nuanced by the examination of the applicants' cultural investments outside of school, which brings a modicum of homogeneity to their backgrounds.

The Role of Cultural Socialization

Most applicants readily claim that their choice of pursuing cultural management jobs is no accident, in the sense that it is associated with a personal taste for culture and intense cultural practices, which themselves result from the combined effects of gender, family background, and educational capital. The professional positions of the parents, the sectors in which they work, and their levels of educational attainment suggest that many would-be cultural managers have experienced early and

intense cultural socialization within their families (with cultural outings in the previous year for around 90% of parents). The parents' cultural practices are of course passed on through well-established mechanisms of reproduction that remain crucial factors in future practices (Coulangeon 2013). They also produce a cumulative effect of familiarization with the cultural world and of encouragement to make new investments that contribute to make culture a conceivable or desirable *professional* environment. The applicants have experienced an early cultural socialization thanks to their families and almost all of them had an artistic practice as a child. Often in connection to this artistic training, artistic practices are also widespread among the applicants: 67% of them have (40%) or have had (27%) a regular practice (at least weekly), and over 25% have two different practices or more. There is also a significant gap when it comes to cultural outings, which are slightly more frequent for applicants to cultural master's programs than for the student population in general, and even students in literary and artistic disciplines. The applicants are 11 times more likely to have been to a museum or an exhibit than the students at large. All applicants have been at least on one cultural outing over the previous month.

The Rationales of a Career Choice

A Genuine Choice

The majority of the aspirants to cultural management master's programs make a genuine choice to be trained and work in cultural management. Enrolling in a second-year master's program in cultural management is often more demanding than continuing their previous studies would have been. It is, lastly, a directly professional choice, in the sense that the program serves as the last stage in preparation for employment. While some of the students develop a vague attraction for culture at a fairly late point, most of them report having chosen to be trained in cultural management when they began their higher education (36%) or even earlier (10%). The fact that students make multiple applications to cultural management programs shows their investment in this career path. Over half of the applicants applied to at least two of these specialized programs. They almost always report wanting to work directly after graduating (88%) and, for the vast majority (68%), to work exclusively in the cultural sector. The importance of the applicants' pre-professional experiences also confirms this investment. Three in four applicants have already completed at least one internship in the field of culture; half of them have done several. Half of the applicants report having paid work experience in the cultural sector. While these jobs serve material needs, they also fulfill a specific function of student work: the anticipation of one's professional future.

Failed Artists?

In a sector that revolves around the figure of the creator, the choice of devoting oneself to organizational tasks can be seen as a second choice, where one's activity in service of artists makes up for having given up an artistic career that was out of reach. While there may be some truth to this hypothesis, depicting the applicants as failed artists would be grossly oversimplifying things; indeed, the relations between artistic vocations and the choice of cultural careers are much more complex.

Although it constitutes a minority, the proportion of students who pursue careers in cultural management after having given up on an artistic career is not altogether insignificant (12.5%). In most cases, this earlier career choice was not just a vague childhood dream, and is rooted in often recent, sometimes important, experiences as an artist. When this is the case, renouncement of the artistic career may reflect a mythical vision of the artistic vocation as an internal necessity. An applicant explained in this sense, during a selection interview, that he gave up theatre because he was interested in various things and not driven by the exclusive "faith" and total involvement he regarded as necessary to be an actor. In other cases, the experience of the everyday life of artists may be a factor, as for one young jazz musician tired with exhausting tours (selection interview). At any rate, these two forms of the rationalization of the relation between artistic vocation and choice of cultural management shed light on the meaning agents may confer on their career trajectories.

The relation between artistic vocation and the choice of cultural management cannot however be limited to a more or less forced career shift. We might also consider that they are two forms of the translation of cultural aspirations into professional aspirations, taking shape at different moments in individual trajectories. In other words, rather than seeing the artistic vocation and its vagaries as the reason driving individuals to seek out a career in cultural management, we can identify identical rationales and factors favoring these two choices, based on partly shared dispositions, especially developed during familial socialization. These are specifically cultural dispositions such as practicing an artistic activity or attending concerts or art galleries. They are, more broadly speaking, social ones: turning to non-conventional jobs, valuing personal self-fulfillment, and placing less emphasis on material wealth. Chronologically, they are expressed first under the romantic form of a yearning for art, lasting for the duration of the feeling of freedom and of open future dreams experienced during high school or the first year of academic studies, when familial, economic, and professional constraints are suspended. As personal experiences and parental or educational incentives reshape a space of possibilities, and as graduation nears, the same dispositions may be expressed in a related but outwardly less risky and seemingly more serious choice—that of cultural management. This choice is then not so much the

result of renouncement as it is the translation of an artistic vocation under what may appear to be a more reasonable form, that is, one adjusted to the constraints that were previously, and temporarily, put aside.

Lastly, and this is worth some emphasis, the choices of pursuing artistic activities and cultural management are combined as often as the latter follows the former. The applicants who still plan to pursue careers as artists are indeed roughly as numerous (15%) as those who have given up on the prospect. They are serious contenders in higher proportions—at least for admission to a cultural master's program. That is because, in comparison to applicants at large, they have accumulated more pre-professional experience (active participation in cultural associations, internships, and paid professional experience), and they more often have friends and relatives working in the fields of art or culture. For them, the acquisition of skills, or at least of a diploma in management, funding, curating, or public relations comes as a complement to their artistic skills. They appear to develop a double academic strategy consisting of obtaining a degree liable to support their perspectives of diversification and acquiring skills they can use as complements to their artistic skills, especially in management, organization, and law.

The combination of artistic and administrative activities takes two main forms. The first is the projection into a double career of artist and manager. In that case, cultural management is an activity pursued in parallel with a more uncertain artistic practice, offering a modicum of security in the same world. Cultural management can also be combined with artistic practice following a rationale of functional diversification whereby artistic and para-artistic activities are not only juxtaposed out of economic necessity but actually relate to each other. The occurrence of such combinations in professional projections reflects a trend towards the growing integration of functions of production, organization, and diffusion. The application to a cultural management program then relates to the acquisition of a second (administrative, financial, institutional) skill, considered as necessary to artistic activity. Such a strategy reflects a transformation of the capital specific to the artistic field, which is considered to include a managerial component that used to be experienced as an external constraint by former generations and is now internalized as part of the job, since art is often conceived of as a market. A somewhat new pattern thus emerges. Artists may rationalize their creative activity by acquiring complementary skills that lead to practical and economic conditions thus putting them at odds with the stereotype of the failed artist.

The Cultural Sector More Than a Specific Occupation

The choice of cultural management is more rooted in the attraction to culture and the personal and professional perspectives it may offer than in the contents of a specific activity or the characteristics of a specific job.

The applicants have a (genuine) professional interest in the cultural field, but few aim to work in a given occupation, function, or structure. This is a vocation to work in the cultural sector, not in a particular job. In this respect, cultural management stands out from other vocational occupations like journalism, teaching, art, and research, whose attractiveness comes from the corresponding practices. Choosing a career in culture management means wanting to work in the cultural sector rather than to perform management tasks. While the vast majority of questionnaire respondents report wanting to look for a job in culture immediately after graduating, they are generally vague about the specific jobs they want to pursue. Only a third of the applicants intend to work in a cultural sector in particular—most frequently theatre and music. The high representation of the performing arts reflects the fact that this is a very varied sector, which amounts for much of the employment available in the cultural field. Additionally, there are programs specific to other sectors, such as the book and publishing trades or public reading, which likely explains the scarcity of references to them in the applicants' career plans.

Less than half (45%) of the applicants aspire to hold a function (or several), in particular immediately after graduating, and only a quarter (27%) after a few years. These functions are generally referred to in somewhat elusive terms. The first explanation for that pertains to the characteristics of jobs in the field whose definitions tend to remain rather fuzzy. The general, vague, or multi-faceted nature of the functions and of their titles is not seen as an issue, as it fits the desire of many applicants to have a "complete picture" and do "a bit of everything" during the early stages of their careers. In the longer term, this may also be because polyvalence is associated with high-level executive and decision-making positions (with project supervision and management, as in the following excerpt, looming on the applicants' professional horizons). Secondly, the indetermination of career plans also results in part from the lack of linearity of the expected professional trajectories: instead of making regular progress throughout their career in the same job, cultural managers will likely experience a succession of positions entailing multi-faceted functions that may vary from one post to another. In the application letters and documents, this sense of keeping things open or even of deliberately avoiding specific mention of anything that might be limiting is rationalized and constitutes more or less deft ways of staging the search of a professional identity founded on function rather than post, on cross-cutting work rather than on a specific sector, on project rather than category-specific interests, on challenges rather than routine. This tendency illustrates an ideology of de-compartmentalization that serves both as a professional posture and as a cultural policy orientation. It is therefore hardly surprising that multi-positionality or, more precisely, the mediator's position at the crossroads, is frequently highlighted. The insistent yet elusive reference to a project or network by respondents not only reflects a vision of the social world in

which dividing lines are blurred, it is also a way for applicants to state that they share the language in use in the professional sector where they aspire to work and to use its polysemy to make their aspirations intelligible as well as extensible and adaptable.

Four Typical Cases

Having in mind the general conditions and features we have presented in the previous parts of this chapter, four typical cases can help us to account for the variety of social and individual rationales for a career choice in cultural management. The upward social mobility strategies implemented by working-class graduates are the first one. These strategies have in the past resulted in the social diversification of some cultural occupations. They have also been conducive to the emergence of a key component of a new *petite bourgeoisie*, which in the 1960s and 1970s made up the bulk of those who occupied the, then, new cultural intermediary positions (Bourdieu 1984; Dubois 2014). This social diversification process has now been halted, if not reversed, as objective chances of social promotion through access to more indeterminate positions have decreased. Such backgrounds are now strongly in the minority, even among aspirants. Only 12% of applicants to master's programs in cultural management have a working-class background, against 20% of all master's students.

The dreams and hopes of children from working-class and lower-middle-class backgrounds may now seem like unrealistic aspirations as they result from three types of disconnect: from their background, from the higher education system, and from the professional world in which they aspire to work. As they enter higher education, they are steered away from the seemingly reasonable career choices promoted by their relatives and peer groups. Studying cultural mediation at the bachelor's level thwarts their prospects of academic achievement and reinforces their disconnect from their original social circles, without being directly rewarding from a professional standpoint. Indeed, this comparatively lower educational capital does not reach its full potential on the job market due to a triple deficit. First, applicants lack exposure to culture outside of the educational framework, having less frequent or less legitimate cultural practices (i.e., more television, less reading). Yet, this personal culture is particularly expected in a world where it is customary to assert one's distance from schooling and one's attachment to the institutional and legitimate forms of culture. Secondly, they lack professional experience, having more rarely had a job in cultural domains (30% against 36%). In cases where they do, the experiences are less frequently significant. Pursuing cultural programs at an early stage in their higher education leads them to carry out numerous and often long internships; yet, it is likely that, in part because they occur at an early point in their trajectory, they consist chiefly in performing subordinate tasks or are carried out in structures enjoying little recognition

(like small independent businesses). Lastly, they lack social capital, as they less frequently have relatives in the worlds of art and culture. This is a known decisive factor of educational downgrading, hindering the social advancement of working-class graduates. For these reasons, these applicants are quite likely to see their social and educational origins catch up on them later, either by making it more difficult to land a job or by having to content themselves with less prestigious and well-paid positions (in less well-endowed structures) or less valued functions (being in direct contact with the public rather than the artists and partners).

This exclusion of young graduates from lower social backgrounds is an effect of the increasing role of social and professional reproduction, which is the second typical case. The intergenerational transmission of professional positions in the cultural field has increased over the past few decades. If we stick to the applicants that make up our study's population, it is worth recalling that around 17% of them have parents working in the cultural sector. Although they remain largely in the minority, this proportion is ten times higher than the estimated share for all jobs.

Only a longitudinal study conducted over several generations would allow us to establish this with precision, but arguably this transmission does not so much reflect the continuity of a long line as the extension of recently acquired familial positions. Many of the jobs in the field were created at a time when the parents of today's applicants entered the labor force. The older cultural occupations are frequently based on the transmission of economic capital (as in the case of art merchants) and, as such, are less in line with the typical prospects of newly trained cultural managers. Our hypothesis is that this professional reproduction applies to a large extent to the children of those who in the previous generation had some of the first cultural jobs and thereby moved up the social ladder to reach a level that the new generation is trying to maintain. Today's aspirants are probably the inheritors of the new *petite bourgeoisie* rather than a new generation of its working-class component.

In addition to contributing to raising the social barriers to entry, this heredity accentuates the institutionalization of the professional positions of cultural management—positions that are now reproduced (or passed on) more than invented. Along with a general societal decline in upward social mobility, this is another factor transforming the type of investment individuals might make toward their career. One is less likely to experience this activity as a mission—particularly one of cultural proselytism—when the parents' legacy makes it normal to follow a career in culture, than when culture is considered a means to escape a low socio-economic background.

The trend towards higher and more restricted social backgrounds is also influenced by the strategies used by upper class children to fight down-classing, which is the third typical case. As they seek to avoid the risk of downward social mobility or tone down its effects, they leave less

room for those who target the same positions in a perspective of upward mobility. In this context, cultural management programs constitute both a way to avoid teaching (now a devalued occupation), which used to be one of the main career paths chosen by students in the humanities, an outlet for cashing in on the cultural dispositions inherited from family socialization and, if not clear professional career perspectives, at least holding out the hope of finding one's place in a world that enjoys a certain degree of social prestige. This is made easier by the fact that the weak codification of cultural occupations and of the paths to access them often creates intermediate situations well-suited to avoid experiencing failure, which might happen brutally when seeking more established positions.

The fourth and last case is the career choice based on self-assertion. This factor can be found in virtually all applicants, but it tends to matter more for students whose training did not specifically prepare them to work in the cultural world and initially offered them more varied prospects, generally more stable and financially rewarding than cultural jobs. In their case, this unlikely choice, not directly resulting from their educational trajectory, gives us a particularly illuminating showcase of the personal factor that informs career choices. These applicants are less exclusive in pursuing cultural management. They more often apply to master's programs in other areas and leave the possibility of seeking employment elsewhere open. This diversification results from the self-confidence conferred by their versatile training and often by the combination of high social and educational resources. This confidence in themselves and in their future leads them to conclude that no option should be ruled out, in principle. Self-assertion in such cases lies in the feeling of freedom that leads them to think that everything is possible, even choices that break from expected standard choices.

Conclusion

Pursuing a career in cultural management can be a response to a wide range of demands that sometimes contradict each other. Applicants may seek to maintain a sense of their own freedom by investing personal dispositions into their career choices, thereby reinforcing the idea that they chose their own paths. In some cases, they try to soften the effects of down-classing or keep their aspirations of upward social mobility alive. They need to find a place in the labor market and in social space with resources that are partly out of step with the most frequent and immediate requirements of economic and social life, like graduates from literary disciplines whose knowledge is often considered useless by the wider society. They must also find a way not to disown the dispositions associated with this mismatch, such as bohemian lifestyle and a propensity for critique, while meeting the conditions to fulfill the social and material necessity of having a job.

Cultural occupations are perceived to provide relief from the harshness of the social world by those who pursue them because of the multiple forms of gratification they allow. Putting aside monetary rewards, which are here second to other priorities, these include the social prestige conferred by the cultural world, meeting artists and journalists, having varied and often collective activities, seeing one's work yielding concrete and publicly visible results, enjoying a degree of freedom in the organization of one's work, having the opportunity to leave one's personal mark, the perspective of continuing to learn, the moral satisfaction of helping out (artists, the public) or working for a common good (like the creation and diffusion of artworks). These multiple forms of gratification may be combined. Crucially, they can also be compensated (meaning that achieving some of them can make up for lacking others), thereby allowing a projection into the future where it is always possible to hope for contentment in one's position, both in terms of work and in terms of one's place in social space.

Whether these hopes are actually fulfilled, for whom, and under which conditions is an entirely different story, and one that would warrant further research. By focusing on how careers in cultural management begin, we have largely left aside what follows logically and chronologically. The study of the individuals who invest in such careers and of what they invest in them could be fruitfully extended by analyzing the conditions for actually accessing these positions. Further research could investigate the effects of these initial conditions and paths of access to employment on subjective relationships to work and its constraints. The combination of the aspiring cultural managers' enchanted relationship to work and the instability of their employment conditions might encourage a very intense investment, which in some cases can serve as the basis for a form of exploitation that is especially effective because it appears voluntary, at least for new entrants. It would then be worth documenting the evolution of this relationship to work over time, and of the succession of positions that make up a career. Insofar as cultural management is not strictly divided into clearly identified occupations and statuses, we must do away with the linear view of careers that applies to established positions. Only then can we recount the succession of positions and activities, and retrace the successive shifts that make up careers, from one function to another (from relations with the public to programming), from one type of institution to another (from a drama company to a subsidized theatre) or from one sector to another (from classical music to contemporary dance). Mapping out careers in this way would allow us to identify the space of the positions that define cultural management, a prerequisite for a morphological study of this professional group that remains largely to be done. It is our hope that our research is of some help for researchers who would contribute to the sociology of arts management through the sociology of arts managers—an outcome for which we advocate.

Notes

1. In the absence of a strict definition relevant in all national and linguistic contexts, we use "arts" and "cultural" management or managers interchangeably, even though these quasi-equivalent phrases may sometimes have slightly different uses and connotations.
2. The population of higher education students practically doubled between 1980 and 2009, the year of our study—from 1,184,000 to 2,134,000 individuals.

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4 Situating Cultural Management

Anke Schad

Introduction

Cultural management differs from other fields of management as it embraces both decision-making aimed at success in managerial terms (revenue, efficiency, and accountability) as well as being targeted towards a positive outcome for the sake of culture as a *res publica*, a public good. These two general orientations generate an inherent tension between culture and management, in other words they highlight the challenge for arranging an economic orientation within a normative orientation. Whether decisions are actually legitimate and, according to which principles, conventions, or "Orders of Worth" (Boltanski & Thévenot 2006), their legitimacy can only be assessed in relation to the contingency of a specific *situation*, the available alternatives, the instantaneous preferences, and the normative criteria (Zembylas 2004, 310). How does this tension between culture and management and other conflicts arising from different alternatives, preferences, and criteria affect practices in decision-making in specific situations, such as negotiations about funding for culture, conflicts about the replacement of leadership positions in cultural organizations, and contests between different political parties and their allies that are played out on the board of cultural organizations and the like? These are questions that are rarely posed. One reason for this might be a concern with methodology—how to access, analyze, and interpret conflicting situations? This chapter outlines a methodological approach to look at complex decision-making situations involving individual and collective actors such as politicians, cultural administrators and managers, and artists and cultural workers.

Boltanski and Thévenot's framework of six different "Worlds" or "Orders of Worth" (2006) outlines six different principles of justifications. Each order or world comprises its own coherent categories of rationalization (Boltanski & Thévenot 2006). They include the Domestic World, the World of Fame, the Civic World, the Market World, the Industrial World, and the Inspired World. The framework is useful to analytically access and interpret discursive constructions. How does conflict emerge when

different orders collide? How is compromise between different orders of worth arranged? How do actors manage, arrange, and order specific situations by justifying their actions? One can examine these questions by deductively comparing explicit arguments and judgments that actors use to legitimize their actions in situations—such as negotiation processes in cultural management—to the categories that Boltanski and Thévenot identify for each of the six worlds. Do they base their arguments on expertise and evidence, which is a principle of the Industrial World? Do they try and demonstrate the financial benefits of a decision, a principle of the Market World? Or do they emphasize the need to decide for the benefit of the community, a principle of the Civic World?

Combined with Situational Analysis, developed by Adele Clarke (A. Clarke, 2003; A. E. Clarke 2005; A. E. Clarke & Keller 2014) as an inductive, grounded approach, both aspects of management can be examined—ordering situations by justifying and taking actions and critical analyses of complexity and power constellations in specific situations. Both heuristics are practically useful: Situational Analysis offers mapping tools as instruments that this chapter will subsequently introduce and enables grounded theorizing based on what is acutally observable from different (and always limited) perspectives. At the same time, the orders of worth provide a framework of principles and categories that is useful for deductive data coding and interpretative/discourse analysis.

Tying a Theory-Method Package: Orders of Worth and Situational Analysis

Models, ideal types, and theoretical concepts might be used to disguise complex and potentially illegitimate actions as power tools that provide prescriptions of what to see. On the other hand, consciously used, they serve as "sensitizing concepts" (Blumer 1954, 7) that "merely suggest directions along which to look" (Ibid.) that help us to see from our limited perspective and reflect upon imperfect social realities. The interpretative paradigm is based on Max Weber's dictum to understand social action through interpretation and to thereby causally explain its process and effects (1922). Interpretative approaches generally regard the universalism of purely purposive, positivistic concepts of rationality (based on Karl Popper's rationality as outcome of situational logics) as reductionist in analyses of social processes. They allow us

- to understand actions in complex, contingent, and dynamic situations such as negotiations in the field of cultural management "situated agency" (Bevir & Rhodes 2016, 14–15) and,
- to make visible the power structures played out in situated constellations involving actors with different tasks, potentials, and commitments

(e.g. politicians, artists and cultural workers, cultural managers, public administration) in their restrictive and enabling function

with the result of enlarging our notion of rationalities. Management rhetoric often suggests a specific notion of rationality as leadership, overview, sovereignty, and reliability. In contrast, action in practice (the situation of action) is shaped by various rationalities. When it comes to cultural management, strategic, purposive, cost-benefit calculation often conflicts with normative, cultural, cognitive, and ethical factors, restrictions of "bounded rationalities" (Simon 1959; Stark 2000, 4) and experience-based, emotional, and intuitive decision-making factors (Böhle 2009; Tröndle 2006). Institutionalizations, general rules, and commitments structure actions in the cultural management setting. Yet, in criticizing the judgment of others, and in arranging compromise, actors use different and various principles of justification in communicative actions (Habermas 1981, 1992) often simultaneously. The relationships between different actors jointly involved in a situation are therefore always shifting, and actors actively confine and enlarge their options to act within, through, and against a regulative framework.

Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot connect with Jürgen Habermas's focus on moral and normative principles of legitimacy or justifications. Drawing on the canon of political and social philosophy and testing the framework against contemporary management handbooks, each of the six worlds or orders of worth is coherent. They may simultaneously coexist in the same social space. Think about, for example, a performing artist (subject of the inspired world) who brings her/his toddler (subject of the domestic world) to work (category of the industrial world), as he/she cannot afford (category of the market world) childcare. More precisely, these orders take shape in situations involving actors in the same space (Boltanski & Thévenot 2006, 35), as actors may refer to these principles in their attempts to deal with a given situation in a way that is not only economically, but also socially appropriate. "The central imperative confronting actors is not 'What choice is in my own best interests?' but rather, 'Given this situation, and my role within it, what is the appropriate behavior for me to carry out?'" (Scott 2014, 65). The *joint* involvement is constitutive for justifications that actors use to manage any empirically defined situation. Situations manifest themselves through collective processes of institutionalization and interpretation (Mead 1934, 261–262). Going beyond Habermas, Boltanski and Thévenot integrate strategic actions: cultural-cognitive, moral orders (conventions, judgments) are not contrary to orders based on calculations and tests; they are constitutive for calculations, rationalities, and (e)valuations. This aligns with the notion of cultural management as not only concerned with efficient calculations and judgments based on utility. Rather, it is about the production, dissemination, and mediation of

tangible and intangible cultural goods and services as symbolic and material units in a social, public space. Their value is negotiated in implicit (valuation) and explicit (evaluation) processes (Zembylas 2004, 305). This requires a sociocultural communicative space, which Habermas calls publicity (Habermas 1981). Shared cultural, cognitive, and social factors enable actors to jointly recognize a problem (a situation) and to develop a "common response" (Mead 1934, 261) that "varies with the character of the individual" (Ibid.). As Boltanski and Thévenot regard action and decision-making from a social, cultural, and economical perspective, their theoretical framework is specifically useful for analyses on the interface of culture and management. Orders of worth, as principles of evaluation, comprise shared cultural-cognitive schemes (comparable to Habermas's lifeworld) as well as implicit cost-benefit calculations (the principle of grandeur, translated into "worth" (Boltanski & Thévenot 2006, 360). Decisions are made and justified by means of implicit and explicit measurement instruments, legitimate tests, and principles of order. People refer to

> a technical definition implying a standard measure implemented by means of scientific devices, to a subjective belief influenced by common opinion, to a prevailing usage that perpetuates an entrenched tradition, to an ineffable aesthetic sentiment or even to an ethical or political requirement.
>
> (Boltanski & Thévenot 2006, 33)

Often, these principles seem incompatible; mutual agreement is rather unlikely, and there is a high effort (and cost) to facilitate conflict in organizations and negotiations. Many conflicts in cultural management develop from the dilemma that arises between technical or financial constraints, normative-political requests, individual passion, avant-garde aesthetic aspiration, and common habit. For example, a theatre director insists on a stage design involving several huge boxes made of glass—legitimate from an artistic point of view (a principle of the Inspired World, according to Boltanski and Thévenot). The sponsoring body, a public institution, requires the production to tour through different cities to increase the audience—a condition to legitimize their involvement in normative terms (a principle of the Civic World) and financial terms (a principle of the Market World). The transport company asks the theatre to pay risk insurance—from their point of view, a legitimate security measure (a principle of the Industrial World), but, from the theatre's point of view, costs that exceed the production budget. The cultural manager in charge of project management tries to facilitate a compromise and has to deal with a situation in which different points of view are all legitimate in their own "world" or logic. This example demonstrates how the Orders of Worth framework enables analyses of situations without presupposing

any implicit or explicit hierarchy between these ordering principles or any prejudiced attribution to social actors.

However, a focus on persuasive argumentation is insufficient. In order to comprehensively understand situated agency, decision-making, and meaning-making in situated action, one needs to take into account both the communicatively produced arguments and justifications that actors use to legitimize their actions *and* the often more implicit social relations and interactions between actors and other elements involved in a specific situation. Therefore, Boltanski and Thévenot's Orders of Worth are subsequently combined with the grounded theorizing approach of Adele Clarke's situational analysis. Situational analysis as a theory-method package (A. E. Clarke 2005, 4) rooted in symbolic interactionism serves the analysis of situations that are empirically defined, situations that are real in their consequences (Thomas & Thomas 1928). Pushing grounded theory through the postmodern turn, Clarke's aim is not to rigorously and authentically describe a basic social process, but to accept that various paradox, and ambiguous processes happen simultaneously in any situation. This aligns with Boltanski and Thévenot's approach. The aim is to allow, instead of erasing, ambiguities and to work against simplifying analyses (A. E. Clarke & Keller 2014). Clarke draws on feminist theory (Haraway 1988, 2008; Grosz 2008; Massey 1994; Lather 2007) in stressing that analysis as knowledge production is always partial, embodied, and situated, that there are various possible and simultaneous "truths" (A. Clarke 2003, 9). She encourages researchers and analysts to use and combine different theories and methodological tools and emphasizes that these theories and tools are elastic and do not have to be congruent or convergent. Contrarily, "moments of conceptual rupture," according to Mead (A. E. Clarke & Keller 2014, 13), may support researchers and analysts in discovering new and unexpected findings. Complementary to Boltanski and Thévenot's orders of worth and their focus on discourse and justification, Clarke focuses on the production of social order through "the constellation of constraints, opportunities, resources, and other elements in the situation at hand" (A. E. Clarke 2005, 56). This means including all elements—human (actors), nonhuman (actants), discursive, and other—and analyzing their relations, constellations, and interactions in the situation of analytical interest. Specifically, Clarke encourages researchers and analysts not only to "follow the site(s) or line(s) of power" (A. E. Clarke & Keller 2014, 32), but also to examine actors and actants who are silent, silenced, or implicated, as well as examine discursive positions that are not taken. "Representing complexity is crucial—and it is usually seen as inherently political" (Ibid.). In situations taking place in cultural organizations or negotiation processes in the cultural sector, one might encounter actors who raise their voices, the ones who remain silent and the ones who are silenced, people who are engaged in decision-making, some who are consciously excluded, and others who

are deliberately absent. Clarke's situational analysis broadens the perspective on empirically defined situations by taking into account implicit and invisible elements. Clarke uses the concept of actants developed by Bruno Latour (2005) to describe the agency of nonhuman elements. Actants condition interactions in situations through their material affordances and qualities, as well as through human actors' commitments towards them (A. E. Clarke 2005). In the situation of inquiry, actants might be materially present or discursively constructed. Their presence might be explicit or implicit. Typical actants in the area of cultural management are instruments and technologies (such as stage props, lights, seats, musical instruments, showcases, frames, and microphones). Artworks and monuments, as actants, are also highly significant elements.

The combination of Boltanski and Thévenot's framework with Adele Clarke's approach enables the joint analysis of purposive, strategic communicative actions and complex—at times chaotic—social interactions. Other than the continuous implicit and explicit negotiations in specific situations that symbolic interactionism refers to, management is characterized as a teleological process with the aim to make and act upon informed decisions and to actually *solve* problems or to *handle* situations. Negotiations framed as management serve a specific purpose and follow specific modes and practices of rationalization and institutionalization: decision-making is, notably, not the same as solving problems given that they may be pushed aside, forgotten, or deliberately ignored which may, in return, cause additional cost (Habermas 1992). Therefore, an analysis of communicative actions such as arguments and justifications as explicit elements, is important to comprehend negotiations in a specific situation. In addition, the actual presence or absence of individual and collective actors and other elements in situations of analytical interest, their changing relationships, and their explicit as well as implicit interactions help to understand power constellations and outcomes of decision-making processes more fully.

Situational Analysis in Practice

The feminist scholar Donna Haraway who shaped the concept of "situated knowledges" (Haraway 2008, 1991, 1988) highlights that what we can see and what we see are essentially linked to "the power to see" (Haraway 2008, 349). Our individual perspectives are shaped by our social positionality and the specific opportunities, limits, responsibilities, and commitments that come with it. A director of finance has a different perspective than an artistic director, and there is a need to negotiate different assessments of a situation, such as expensive production costs, in order to make a decision. For researchers and analysts in arts and cultural management, this means that our power to see, interpret, and represent social interactions is always partial and positional, although we try to look at the situation from different points of view by talking to different people involved and looking

into different data sources. Situational analysis differs from case analysis insofar as a case can be understood as a system bound by place, time, rules, and regulations and/or historic events (Pickel et al. 2009). Contrarily, situational analysis does not start by setting boundaries, but by opening up and exploring the situation of interest in order to enable observations that might be unexpected (McSharry 2013). Any boundary is a construction loaded with meaning as "local, specific, concrete, descriptive" (Massey 1994, 9). If, as researchers and analysts we encounter any boundaries, we should not accept them as a given but look into the meaning and effects they produce (A. E. Clarke 2005) in terms of construction centers and periphery, generating inclusion and exclusion, creating conflict and compromise.

The core tool of Adele Clarke's situational analysis is the creation of maps that help to empirically (re)construct the situation of inquiry (A. E. Clarke 2005). Situational maps provoke analysis of relations among "the major human, nonhuman, discursive, historical, symbolic, cultural, political, and other elements" (Ibid., xxxv) in the situation of inquiry. Initially, the maps are intentionally messy to capture the complexities of the situation of inquiry. Such maps are not produced in order to present results. They are analytical snapshots (Both 2015) placing specific elements found in a situation of inquiry at a specific locus. Also, they are topographical maps. They are topographical maps, connecting gráphein, (ancient Greek for writing) and topos, (ancient Greek for place), thus useful for both placing and describing a topic. Maps are "cartefacts" (Wood 2012, 290), or distorted abstractions. Simultaneously, they are authoritative objects (Wood 2012)—or actants—manipulating, empowering, controlling, provoking actions, and supporting orientation. Researchers and analysts creating maps as power tools need to critically reflect on the construction and usage of maps while simultaneously being aware of the opportunities they offer. Maps enable imaginary and real campaigns. Also, using (different) maps and developing maps throughout the research process helps to clarify and re-assess analytical commitments and decisions. In my own research practice, I dated and archived mappings, reexamined them at different stages (for example, after generating new data or after integrating new theories), added new elements, or revised orders and relations. For archiving purposes, I took photos of the mappings on paper or whiteboard. Additionally, I kept a research diary and produced memos on paper and on my smartphone. There is no specific software yet to conduct situational analysis (Both 2015). I have also experimented with mind-mapping software. Personally, I preferred doodling and tinkering on paper or whiteboard. Throughout the research process, starting with the choice of a research question and topic, during coding and analysis, as well as during mapping, researchers make decisions. These decisions are often implicit and remain undocumented. However, any researchers' personal competences are formed from decisiveness, and the skilled interplay of methods, tools, and interpretation (Mühlmeyer-Mentzel & Schürmann 2011). This also comprises a reflected handling of insecurity as a loyal yet cumbersome companion of any research process.

Once the major elements of the situation of interest are laid out, ordered situational maps are produced by using the messy maps as data and placing the elements into categories. Table 4.1 exemplifies a so-called abstract situational map, referring to elements that might be of specific interest in the analysis of arts and cultural management situations. This

Table 4.1 Abstract Situational Map: Ordered Version

CULTURAL MANAGEMENT SITUATIONS POTENTIALLY COMPRISE
Individual human elements/actors Important individuals as found in the situation of interest, such as the artistic director, the financial director, a politician in charge of culture, an artist, a cultural manager, the head of the cultural administration, a member of the board, or a jury member.
Collective human elements/actors Specific groups and organizations as found in the situation of interest, such as the staff of theatre x/museum z, an association of artists, a group of cultural management students, or a dance company.
Discursive constructions of actors/actants As found in the situation of interest, e.g. "artistic quality," "box revenue," "production costs," "cultural development of the city," and "community arts."
Political/economic elements As found in the situation of interest, e.g. the state, the cultural industries, the arts market, political parties, NGOs, and politicized topics (such as subsidies for the arts and culture).
Elements of time As found in the situation of interest, e.g. historical events, periods of crisis, production cycles, openings, budget periods, and application deadlines.
Main debates (mostly contested) As found in the situation of interest, e.g. "funding cuts for culture and the arts," "the replacement of the artistic director," "the cost of the new construction of the concert hall," and "the restructuring of the museum sector."
Nonhuman elements (actants) As found in the situation of interest, e.g. technologies, musical instruments, seats, costumes, light, and stage elements, stage props, frames, and monuments.
Implicit/tacit/silent actors As found in the situation of interest, e.g. audiences, visitors, museum securities, "the colleague who never engages in discussions."
Sociocultural/symbolic elements As found in the situation of interest, e.g. race, religion, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nationality, logos, icons, visual and/or acoustic symbols.
Elements of space As found in the situation of interest, e.g. geographical aspects, local/regional/national/global aspects.
Related discourses (historical, narrative, and/or visual) Related to the situation of interest, e.g. normative expectations of actors, moral and ethical elements, mass media, and other popular discourses.
Any other elements As found in the situation of interest.

Source: Adapted from A. E. Clarke (2012, 128).

abstract map is fictious, any researcher working with situational analysis will discover other elements in the specific situation of inquiry.

Analysis and Interpretation in Practice: Combining Clarke and Boltanski/Thévenot

The following section exemplifies how to combine Clarke's situational analysis, specifically situational maps, with Boltanski and Thévenot's orders of worth framework in order to analyze and interpret specific situations. The example presented focuses on Linz, the capital of Upper Austria, in the spotlight as a former European Capital of Culture and host of the world-renowned Ars Electronica Festival. The specific situation referred to, a negotiation on funding cuts affecting local independent cultural organizations/associations and independent artists (the so-called *freie Szene*, or free scene), took place in spring 2014. The situation thickened through interviews conducted with cultural managers, politicians, and staff of the municipal cultural administration in Linz, as well as through documents such as newspaper articles, blog posts, policy papers, and verbatim records of the municipal council. The data generated thus enabled a "thick analysis" (Evers 2016, 1) as the thorough and creative combination of different analytical approaches towards the specific situation—funding cuts negotiation—from different perspectives.

Using data related to the situation of inquiry, I created situational maps laying out all the elements, actors, and actants in the funding cuts negotiation as the situation of interest. Initially, these maps were just drafts and highly provisional. Later in the analysis, by adding new data and elaborating memos, they became thicker and more detailed. At a point when no new elements showed up, the map was saturated, and I focused on the analysis of the relation between the elements (actors and actants). From this relational analysis, four actors emerged as key elements in the situation: the Municipal Councilor for Finance and Vice Mayor and the Municipal Councilor for Culture as political adversaries and prominent voices in the debate, the cultural administration as actor in the background with no voice in the debate, and the Civic Council for Culture in the attempt of its members to be heard and involved. I therefore decided to focus on their collective communicative actions, as far as they were reconstructable through data.

Following Adele Clarke, I then created an ordered map. I complemented this ordered map with Boltanski and Thévenot's Orders of Worth as specific analytical categories to support the interpretation and analysis of the situation of inquiry. There is no room to present my analysis in detail, yet I hope that the following excerpt will show how I worked analytically and interpretatively. Simply stated, the ordered situational map consists of a table with three columns. In the left column, I listed the actors/actants/other elements found in the situation and their qualities (physically or materially present, silent/tacit, implicit, or discursively

constructed). In the middle column, I quoted the specific text in which they manifested or expressed themselves. In the right column, I used Boltanski and Thévenot's Orders of Worth categories to interpret the specific text. Whenever a boundary turned up in the text—constructed, for example, through a change of subject, speaker, time and/or place—I comprehensively interpreted the specific section of the situation. Drawing on Clarke, I looked into the social interactions and relations of the elements (capturing also silent/tacit and implicit actors/actants, and elements that were not present, but explicitly or implicitly represented). Drawing on Boltanski and Thévenot, I interpreted the "sayings" or communicative actions (Habermas 1981, 1995). The communicative actions I analyzed appear as hybrid. On the one hand, they are strategic, persuasive speech acts (Habermas 1981) with a specific rhetorical concept. In this sense, they produce conflicts with political adversaries. On the other hand, the communicative actions are also framed as justifications and argumentations aimed at mutual comprehension and compromise. Following Chantal Mouffe (2000), an agonism emerges between adversaries who share a symbolic space in which they interpret the rules and modi operandi from different perspectives (see Tables 4.2 and 4.3).

In the way described earlier, I analytically and interpretatively worked through data generated from different sources that related to the situation of analytical interest—the funding cuts negotiation. There is no space to present all the findings comprehensively. However, a notable finding was that politicians tend to argue as experts (using categories of the Industrial World like numbers, percentages, graphs, and measurements). In this way, their political differences are not debated along ideological viewpoints or interpretations of the actual content of the voting, but along the appropriate measures and methods deemed as right and rigorous. Party political commitments dominate the political antagonism as a routinized, symbolic action framed as a public municipal council meeting. However, the actual decision to cut the funding by 10%—which also becomes clear in the analysis—has already been taken in secret negotiations. Protest of civil society actors, through the Civic Council for Culture, is integrated into the justifications of the politicians. They reaffirm the importance of the community engagement of independent cultural organizations, and yet there is no real political intention to engage them in a deliberative, participative process with the aim to find a better solution than an across-the board funding cut. The Civic Council for Culture is reduced to acting in a defensive, advocacy, and protest mode. The city government representatives create time pressure and generate the need for efficient decision-making by holding back information about the planned funding cuts until shortly before the official decision, by vote of the municipal council, is announced. This tactic disguised as a rigid system driven by time and money serves two purposes: to limit the opportunities for public protest and to absolve the politicians from their responsibility (according to the

Table 4.2 Ordered Situational Map "Funding Cuts Negotiations," Speech of the Councilor of Finance and Vice Mayor

Elements of the Situation (Clarke)	*Communicative Speech Act*	*Allocation to Orders of Worth/ the Six Worlds (Boltanski und Thévenot)*
Actor (speaking/present): councilor for finance Collective actor (addressed/present/ silent): municipal council Collective actor (silent/ potentially present): citizens, journalists Discursive construction: reduction of subvention volumes Other Elements: time/2014 Actant: the request of the city government	"*The municipal council shall decide*" "*the subsidies shall be reduced by 10 percent for 2014 according to the amounts mentioned in the attachment*"	Decision of the municipal council as verdict of the **Civic World** (by voting) "10 percent" and "volumes" as evidence of the **Industrial World** (by measurement) "subsidies" as investment of the **Civic World** (renunciation of particular interest) "according to the amounts" relation of the **Industrial world** (measurement in figures), evidence of the **Market World** (money) "request of the city government" object of the **Civic World**

Interpretative and Situational Analysis: The Councilor for Finance constitutes the situation by defining its aims and purpose. In order to reach set aim—the decision—his speech act is persuasive (relationship of the World of Fame, according to Boltanski and Thévenot). The analysis makes visible that he integrates categories from the Industrial World, the Market World, and the Civic World. Following a rhetorical concept, he refers, later in his speech, to these categories and worlds. The categories of the Industrial World suggest systematic, rational action that can be tested against correct numbers. The decision by verdict is lawful, and thus legitimate in the Civic World, and appropriate to the situational setting, in this case, a municipal council meeting. Both references to the Civic and the Industrial Worlds show that he wants to stabilize and control the situation by providing little room for criticism. Citizens and journalists may be present during the assembly, but, according to procedural regulations, they are not allowed to speak; thus they are silenced actors. The councilor also sets the time frame. The decision is now at stake and will have consequences for the future.

Source: Gemeinderat der Stadt Linz (2014), translated from German by the author—excerpt for demonstration purpose.

Table 4.3 Ordered Situational Map "Funding Cuts Negotiations," Open Letter of the Civic Council for Culture

Elements of the Situation (Clarke)	*Communicative Action*	*Allocation to Orders of Worth (the six worlds) (Boltanski und Thévenot)*
Actor (author of the letter): spokesperson of the Civic Council for Culture Collective actor (advocated for): "the free arts and cultural scene" Discursive construction: "makes an important contribution for" Actants (explicit): "numerous studies" Discursive construction/ spatial/political/ symbolical element: "quality of life," "city of culture"	*"The free arts and cultural scene makes an important contribution to social discourse, the participation of minorities in political processes and in general for the quality of life in Linz. According to numerous studies, a diversified cultural life is one of the most important soft criteria for the quality of life in a city and therefore indispensable for city development. A reduction of the subsidies for the free scene would inevitably lead to a reduced offer and to a reduced cultural diversity and therefore destroy the image as a city of culture that Linz has struggled to developed."*	"The free arts and cultural scene makes an important contribution to" Compromise between the **Inspired World** (arts and cultural scene), the **Industrial World** (productivity) and the **Civic World** (priority to the common good, commitment to civic minority rights) "According to numerous studies . . . diversified cultural life . . . . one of the most important soft criteria for the quality of life in a city" Arrangement between the **Market World** (opportunity to choose/ choice), **the Domestic World** (life, naturalness) and the **Industrial World** (studies, criteria, quality) "reduction . . . reduced offer . . . destroy the image" Criticism by referring to categories of the **Industrial World** (inefficiency, regress), the **Market World** (reduced offer) and the **World of Fame** (destroyed image, indifference)

Interpretative and Situational Analysis: The open letter of the Civic Council for Culture pursues both advocacy in favor of the Freie Szene and protests against the intended funding cuts. The analysis makes visible that categories of different worlds (the Industrial World, the Civic World, the Market World, the World of Fame, the Domestic World) are referred to. In terms of argumentation, the Civic Council wants to illustrate the comprehensive importance of the Freie Szene for the overall public weal. The spokesperson (and author of the letter) anticipates that categories like productivity, choice, quality of life, and public image will be more persuasive in convincing politicians to avoid the funding cuts than would evoking the imminent worth of the arts. Numerous studies, conceptualized as actants in the situation, are referred to as evidence to support the advocacy purpose. The decision at stake, the reduction of the subsidies, is also depicted as inefficient and regressive in relation to the public image of Linz as a city of culture, the worth or "grandeur" (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1991; Thévenot, 2010) already generated in the World of Fame that is transformed in categories of the Market World (radiating to international visitors and thus generating tourism and revenue for the city).

Source: Diesenreiter and Stadtkulturbeirat (2014), translated from German by the author—excerpt for demonstration purpose.

dictum: "we cannot do anything, time is running out"). The situational analysis, combined with the interpretative framework of the Orders of Worth also highlights the influence of patriarchal, authoritarian gestures. The independent cultural organizations are depicted as the ones that need to be cared for and dismissed as being from the sector of voluntary, unpaid work. This means that the politicians in charge do not recognize independent cultural organizations as professional partners in negotiations. By acting in a defensive advocacy mode, the Civic Council for Culture indirectly supports this attitude. The subsequent analysis shows that the discourse mingles voluntary public cultural engagement (that is politically appraised) and involuntary unpaid work (that is criticized by independent cultural organizations) in a flawed compromise.

Summary: The Potentials of a Combined Methodology Cultural Management Research

The combination of situational analysis and the Orders of Worth framework enables a thorough and thick analysis of cultural management as a coordination process between different rationalities and actors. The combined methodology provides access to complex constellations involving not only actors but also other elements that interact in changing relationships. Actors are involved in situations, such as negotiations about funding for culture, and use different principles of argumentation in order to rationalize their actions, to arrange compromise, and to express criticism. This shows the multiple facets of relationships and actions: for example, politicians might act and argue as experts or as representatives of the state, administrative staff might act and argue as active entrepreneurs, as impartial spectators (Boltanski & Thévenot 2014), cultural workers might act and argue as engaged citizens, or as professional workers. A focus on specific situations facilitates an empirical analysis and interpretation beyond sectorial and institutional stabilizations and schematic attributions of actors and their actions (such as politicians act politically, cultural managers act economically, and administrators and public servants act bureaucratically). Instead, the combination of situational analysis and the interpretative framework of Orders of Worth equips researchers with tools that support them to "follow the actors themselves, that is to try to catch up with their often-wild innovations in order to learn from them" (Latour 2005, 12). Actors are able to adjust themselves, their actions, and arguments to the given constellation of a situation. The combination of two heuristics, Adele Clarke's situational analysis and the constitutive Orders of Worth, according to Boltanski and Thévenot, can be suggested in various contexts of cultural management research, whether to investigate situations emerging in politically charged negotiations about funding, to investigate decision-making processes on the level of cultural organizations, or to evaluate cultural projects (Lierheimer & Schad 2017).

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5 Death of the Arts Manager[1]

Aleksandar Brkić

The Arts Manager is dead.

Repeat this a few times. It is not meant as spectacularization in a time, like now, when only spectacle is what counts. Would anyone be sad if the Arts Manager died? Is the Arts Manager needed anymore? And, if she/he is—in what way?

How many times have arts managers been asked by an artist, "What, you want to manage me? You want to manage the arts?" This eventually leads arts managers to ask themselves, "Does art, or do the arts, or do the artists, function in the same way as other 'providers' in society and can they be managed?" (Bereson 2005, 28).

Then, there is process of management. How do you manage something that has a constant tendency to be unflappable while apparently the whole world is in *crisis*? How do you manage something that has a chaos theory in its core? As philosopher Emil Cioran poetically stated, "chaos is rejecting all you have learned, chaos is being *yourself*" (Cioran 2010, 43). Here, I also raise discussions of the philosophy of work and differences between notions of work and creativity (Serafide 2015), as well as the question of the hierarchy of these notions. You will always find those who see creativity as superior to work and others who consider work to be the only relevant paradigm. That is not to mention the seriously difficult task of trying to understand and define the notion of creativity (Bohm 2009). Arts managers often get involved in these discussions, since they flow between the concepts of work and creativity. How do you resist that desire to control and manage something that maybe has the concept of laziness in the core of its being, as the conceptual artist from Croatia, Mladen Stilinovic, said in his manifesto "The Praise of Laziness?"

> Laziness is the absence of movement and thought, dumb time—total amnesia. It is also indifference, staring at nothing, non-activity, impotence. It is sheer stupidity, a time of pain, futile concentration. Those virtues of laziness are important factors in art. Knowing about laziness is not enough, it must be practiced and perfected.
>
> (Stilinovic 1998)

Still, in the same way that art has always existed (Lorblanchet and Bahn 2017), arts management was also there. But it existed as a function and a process in the same way that art was/is important as a process. Depending on the balance between the importance of the process and the product are the transitions between the collective function of arts management and the individual function of an arts manager, both of which this chapter will address.

A parallel can be made with the world of performing arts. Who is actually directing a performance? If we look at the formal, structural function of the notion of directing, especially looking through the lens of the era of strong (usually male) individuals as theatre directors—it is them, directors (i.e. Ivo van Hove, Robert Wilson, Robert LePage, Alvis Hermanis, Ong Keng Sen, and Tomi Janezic). However, performance is a syncretic art form. It is a number of individuals (and collectives) that influence the process and final result(s)—writers, dramaturges, directors; stage, costume, light, and sound designers; composers, graphic designers, technicians, "and the producers should by no means be forgotten" (Groys 2013, 97). They are all engaging in the collective process of influencing the relations of ideas, characters, and objects, as well as the relations of energy in a space. They all engage in what Radivoje Dinulovic and Tatjana Dadic-Dinulovic define as the process of *scene design* (Dadic-Dinulovic 2017). If we try to connect the dilemma of arts management with the dilemma of theatre practice, it is the choice between the theatre of a strong (male) director and devised theatre (Oddey 1996) as a pathway towards a "truly creative collaboration" (Cavendish 2015). It is a choice between the arts manager as a strong individual and arts management as a function, shared between all the participants in the process of creation.

What about curating? It is a relatively young discipline that a number of people see as quite similar to what arts management claims to be responsible for (and which seems much more self-confident/self-important than arts management). Discussing the power structures within and around art creation, Groys provocatively challenges the idea of curating as one more questionable intermediary between the art and the audience/public:

> The work of the curator consists of placing artworks in the exhibition space. This is what differentiates the curator from the artist, as the artist has the privilege to exhibit objects which have not already been elevated to the status of artworks. In this case they gain this status precisely through being placed in the exhibition space.
>
> (Groys 2013, 43)

Some would see this also as the role of an arts manager. However, one would have to then ask if one of the roles of an arts manager is to place the artwork in the wider social/political/communal space and work on nurturing those connections. In other words, is it to balance the tensions

between the Dionysian (the creation) and Apollonian (structure and containment) within the process of art making (Bereson 2005) and apply some kind of Janus syndrome as a pathway closer to resolution (Brkic 2009)? If this is the case, what happens with the role of artists within this concept of separation of *tasks*? Is it that art managers implicitly say that artists are not capable of doing that? Art historian and critic Claire Bishop sees this position in an interesting way:

> The artist is conceived less as an individual producer of discrete objects than as a collaborator and producer of *situations*; the work of art as a finite, portable, commodifiable product is reconceived as an ongoing or longer-term *project* with an unclear beginning and end; while the audience, previously conceived as a "viewer" or "beholder," is now repositioned as a co-producer or *participant*.
>
> (Bishop 2012)

This all seems about power, where a number of people, organizations, and disciplines want to participate and get their piece in this alchemic game of transforming non-art into art. They may be reminding us that we live in the world of "capitalist realism," to borrow the term that Frederic Jameson, Slavoj Žižek, and Mark Fisher have used (Fisher 2009). In this context, thinking about arts management takes us to a place where we cannot give precise definitions anymore (in case one still believes in those).

Arts management is contextual, and it is about the function it plays within certain arts organizations or inside the particular art production process. Depending on the distribution of power within the organization or in the process, arts management can have a centralized/individualized position, or it can be a dispersed function that spreads within the system as a shared/collective function. Here, we have to remember that the most visible arts organizations to the *outside world* are flagship institutions (such as the Tate Modern or the National Theater in London) that have systems in place that mostly use corporate ways of structuring, while the majority of arts organizations, internationally, are small to mid-sized organizations that have much more fluid/flexible ways of operating. When it comes to art production processes, they also vary, and roles are often fluid depending on many factors. As part of that process, depending on the context and their ability, interest, and skills, arts managers float on the scale between the words "arts" and "management." Within the process, they are either more creative or more resourceful (with only rare individuals managing to get closer to the perfect balance of both).

This chapter is more about posing questions—connected with the main, ontological question concerning the reasons and meanings, in the contemporary context, that arts management exists—than about giving definite answers. It aims to contribute to a dialogue that should help us think more

deeply about the future of the field we still call arts/cultural management/administration.

Arts Management and the Questions of Authorship and Legacy

> Seen from outside, from any Archimedean point, life—with all its beliefs—is no longer possible, not even conceivable. We can act only against the truths. Man starts over again every day, in spite of everything he knows, against everything he knows.
>
> E. M. Cioran, A Short History of Decay (2010, 46)

So, I contend that arts managers are dead. And people are whispering, "I see dead people!" like in M. Night Shyamalan's film *The Sixth Sense* (1999). Is it good or bad to feel dead? If we feel dead, are we keener to start thinking about our function within the process of the very art creation we are supposed to be part of? In case we feel more alive than ever, we start getting closer to the center of the stage thinking about how to stay remembered, what to leave behind us, and ultimately, how to defeat death. The questions of authorship and legacy in this process are not questions for artists alone, but for everyone else involved in the process as well, including arts managers.

Having taught arts management in many countries in the world over the last ten years means confronting more and more with the pressures of the real life frames applied to higher education. It is all about employability, entrepreneurship, and leadership, nurtured as goals from both above (government and market) and below (family and social environment). Why is there no respectable resistance to this? Mark Fisher saw the reasons in a combination of "reflexive impotence," a self-fulfilling prophecy, "where you know things are bad, but you also know you can't do anything about it," and "depressive hedonia," or "an inability to do anything else except pursue pleasure" (Fisher 2009, 21). There are people in the field of arts management who are trying to promote the concepts of cooperation and collaboration (Hagoort et al. 2016) instead of the fetishization of leadership and individualism that are evident in the promotion of a culture of entrepreneurship, start-ups, and the *coolness of precariousness*.

In the last few decades, trends have shifted from the people's ambitions of being part of communities that share the experience of stable jobs-for-life to mobile individuals who are constantly changing their living environments, communities, professions, and the organizations they work for, often without traditional safety nets, such as health insurance and pension schemes. Various stakeholders in this process of promoting precariousness have cleverly used popular culture, media, as well as New Age ideological frameworks, to connect the ideas of risk, insecurity, and instability with

notions of freedom, individualism, and democracy (Standing 2016). As a result, the framework of *coolness of precariousness* was constructed, making new generations believe that this was their choice, their decision, and a construct they made for themselves.

The prevailing success criteria in the core of neoliberal capitalist societies was driven by the culture of egoistic self-centered individuals, interested in finding a place in the culture of the God of Capital. Everything outside of that was mostly seen as a failure where you were relegated to the periphery (of the family, society, profession, field). Only a very few chose to go, intentionally, to this periphery, resisting the benchmarks of "depressive hedonia." Today, however, when more people choose to be part of the arts and creative sector, economists have come up with a new term to describe the shift, calling it a *lifestyle economy*, "where the choice of work is partly or wholly driven by the worker's desire for enjoyment rather than remuneration" (McWilliams 2017). The problem they see in this shift to jobs "that offer less remuneration than those that their predecessors might have accepted but that offer a more attractive lifestyle or more opportunities for helping others" (McWilliams 2017) is that it undermines the growth of the GDP as the ultimate success criterion of the capitalist framework we live in. What they are saying is that, although people find enjoyment, satisfaction, and purpose in these jobs, from the perspective of economy, they are less *useful*. From another perspective, however, the issue might be the lack of scrutiny about the usefulness of GDP as a measurement of a nation's success, as well as a problem with the definitions and contextualization of remuneration and enjoyment as not very useful.

In a promotional video (Biesenbach 2010) praising a new set of interviews by Hans Ulrich Obrist (also known as HUO)—one of the most powerful and influential curators in the world—Marina Abramovic holds a sign reading:

THE CURATOR IS PRESENT
THE ARTIST IS ABSENT.

Whether this can be understood as a support for a close friend/colleague or a double-edged irony, the question remains: how to avoid this egocentric position? We can also replace the term arts manager in place of curator on that sign, and it would not look too wrong. Or, is this ego an inherent part of the process, and we just need to accept it for what it is?

These challenges from HUO can be seen as "attempts at securing his own—as well as existing, complementary—legacies, what he calls 'the protest against forgetting,' could constitute an elaborate sarcophagus, of which only pale imitations can later exist" (Balzer 2015, 21). Is, then, the ultimate goal of a successful arts manager to secure his/her legacy and not to be forgotten? Problems and frustrations become more complex

when it comes to artistic practices that have no tangible product that can be collected and preserved but are elusive and immaterial—such as in the case of the performing arts. And, if we do think of the legacy of an arts manager, is it really difficult to say what would keep it alive?

Part of the identity of arts managers is that of an impostor. The arts manager often sees herself/himself as a bridge, mediator, connector, or communicator. For this reason, every move of an arts manager has an aura of suspicion, because his/her implicit claim is that other participants in the process of creation would not be able to reach the goal if it was not for mediation performed by this individual. If we lightly accept this position of someone standing between the artwork and its viewer (as curators do too), "insidiously manipulating the viewer's perception with the intent of disempowering the public" (Groys 2013, 45), we end up being trapped in a community that has trust issues. For "anyone who speaks in the name of others is always an impostor. Politicians, reformers, and all who rely on a collective pretext are cheats. There is only the artist whose lie is not a total one, for he invents only himself" (Cioran 2010, 18). The task of an arts manager creating "bridges between the inherent bureaucracy of organizations and the typically more free-form artistic project" (Byrnes 2009, 275) then becomes even more complex.

Maybe arts management is all about storytelling. Is the work of an arts manager about generating value through PR production, with storytelling being a skill used to manipulate and manage perceptions for the sake of success and legacy? The problem comes from the current space in which we live, where "to tell people how to lose weight, or how to decorate their house, is acceptable; but to call for any kind of cultural improvement is to be oppressive and elitist" (Fisher 2009, 73). This may present a better view of where arts managers are now given the pragmatic acceptance by many of them to tell stories about the expansive and ever-growing creative industries and the fantastic numbers that the industry produces. In the recent years of austerity, that seemed an easier and more efficient story to tell, compared to finding new ways to tell the real stories about art(s). And now, arts managers are stuck in the middle of a (survival) story they created, even if they never actually liked the story or expected it to go on so long.

In recent decades, documentation and the artistic process gained the status of artwork, especially in the context of large exhibitions, such as *Documenta* or *Venice Biennale*. According to Groys, "the formulation of projects is developing into an autonomous art form whose significance for our society has yet to be adequately understood" (2013, 100). Are the projects that arts managers are constructing also some kind of autonomous art form (Groys 2002)? Maybe in the future we will have more examples of museums of rejected project proposals, such as the "Museum of melancholy," a collection of unrealized projects written by Velimir Curguz Kazimir (2015), or "A museum of refused and unrealized art projects."[2]

The question of authorship will become even more relevant in the future with tensions between the concepts of copyright (the culture of individual ownership with intermediaries who each have their own stakes in the process) and commons (the culture of sharing). Duchamp, an author, "is someone who selects, who authorizes" and "art today is defined by an identity between creation and selection" (Groys 2013, 93), but we are not sure where the power of selection will be in the future. The question of legacy may become irrelevant when the process of capturing the content of our human memory becomes a reality. The new question will be one of the "legacy of our soul," as it is referred to in Charlie Brooker's TV series *Black Mirror* (2011–2017). But, arts managers are humans, after all. Should they be the only ones to be blamed for not being able to resist the forces of "fundamental human insistence on recognition" (Žižek 2007, 13)? The issue of authorship will continue moving somewhere between the ideas of peer sharing and collective authorship (creative commons) and more efficient ways of gathering payments for creators from the users of creative works (intellectual property), without intermediaries. We can already see the example of this efficiency in the use of blockchain technology (O'Dair et al. 2016), as well as the examples of the ideology of peer sharing in the number of open source collaborative platforms that can be found online (e.g. Backfeed, Stocksy). Arts management as a function can find its place in any of these two scenarios for the future, either becoming more equal with other authors/creators or sharing the ideology of collective authorship with everyone else.

Everything Is Art and Everyone Is an Arts Manager

A poster created by Goran Trbuljak (See Figure 5.1), an artist from Croatia, was printed for an exhibition in the Salon of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade, Serbia (1981), and was the only artifact at the exhibition. It contains three sentences from his earlier posters. The sentences say:

> I don't want to show anything new or original the fact that somebody is given the opportunity to stage an exhibition is more important than what is shown at that exhibition with this exhibition I maintain continuity in my work.

Trbuljak's work became an important representation of the period of contemporary conceptual art in (former) Yugoslavia, raising the question of power in the (art) world and our relation to it. As Slobodan Prosperov Novak would say, "the one that owns the space, controls the space" (Novak 1984).

The era of arts managers as impresarios is a matter of the (romanticized) past. That past was the time of large centralized and controlled media outlets almost without alternatives (few newspapers, few TV and

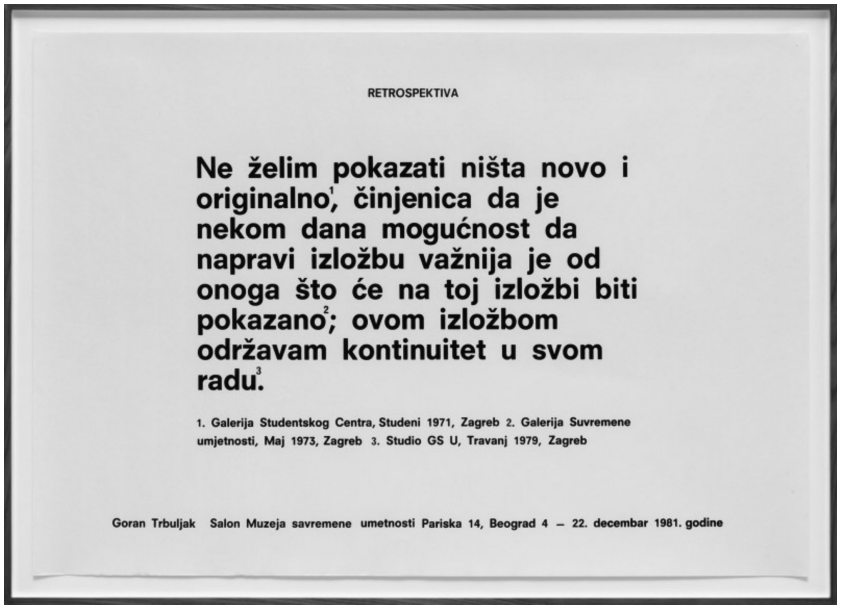

Figure 5.1 Goran Trbuljak, "Retrospective" (1981), Museum of Contemporary Arts, Zagreb, Croatia

radio stations in one's community), much more hierarchically structured societies, and only a few arts managers that were able to get close to the sources of power (economic, political, cultural). That gave them the position of being gatekeepers, deciding who would get the exclusive right to the information, contact, connection, opportunity, and who would take over that position from them when they decided to retire, or move on. It is not very difficult these days to rise in a field, discipline, or an industry. The culture of entrepreneurialism democratized the processes of entry while at the same time de-professionalizing them. Companies like Google, with their liberal and so-called cool cultures, are used as benchmarks by other industries. The notion that anyone can become anything is a leading mantra. Technology makes knowledge and access to networks available to almost everyone at any moment, anywhere. Gatekeeping is no longer a significant impediment as it was back in the days of the pioneers of arts management/administration (Mitchell and Fisher 1992).

For these reasons, arts management has also been subjected to a certain level of de-professionalization. Students more frequently ask themselves and their professors, "Why do we need to *study* arts management?" ("Why do we need to *study anything* today, when *everything is available* to us?") Walter Benjamin's prophecy that "the reader is constantly ready

to become a writer" (2008, 23) became a reality in the times of integration of our real and our internet cloud lives. This interchangeability of roles, like most other things that exist in nature, depends on the use. The culture of openness became a tool for the democratization of the process of creating and communicating with the arts and, at the same time, a tool for the de-professionalization of the arts.

If we apply this to arts managers, one of the questions to be raised is: will arts managers transition from the role of those who provide resources for the arts to happen to those who are considered artists themselves? Arts managers are making decisions and actions that deeply influence the character of art works. They do this while working with artist(s) and in their role relating to the acceptance and perception of the artwork, and, further, while working with different potential stakeholders and public(s). The question is also connected to the wider changes in the processes of art making. Are we going towards a more collective approach to art creation where arts managers are an integral part of art collectives? If we accept arts management as a function (or a set of functions related to the process of art making), rather than as a fixed individualized position, we can imagine it being shared within a collective that is working on the art project, especially in the case of a syncretic art like performing arts.

Another pathway can be connected to individual artists playing the role of being their own arts managers, as already often happens. In that case, part of the discourse of the field can move towards the idea of "Arts Management for Artists," or empowering artists to be their own arts managers, or at least understanding arts management functions better, performing some of them by themselves and outsourcing others. At the same time, the distance between artists and the public is being reduced, thereby removing the cynical echo from the concept of intermediary (the bridge) that is often presented as one of the substantial elements of arts management as a field. By making artists understand the function, as well as the issues, in the field of arts management better, the gap between them and arts managers, in the world of professional practice, may become much narrower than it often is now.

The Paradox of Sustainability in Arts Management

Knowing that our human nature cannot resist the urge to categorize (which in reality means to indefinitely re-categorize) the world around us so as to be able to understand it better, we can also categorize the roles that arts managers play in arts/cultural ecosystems:

- Managing structures (being part of the management structure of an arts/cultural organization);
- Managing processes (working on arts productions/events);

- Managing careers (taking care of the career of an artist/arts collective);
- Managing messages (creating, promoting, and monitoring the story of an arts organization/event/artist).

Thinking about strategic management in the arts and in the context of Design School Thinking, where strategy formation is a process of conception, "the strategist must have the capacity to predict the changes that will come about" (Mintzberg, Ahlstrand and Lampel 1998, 44). In all four above-mentioned categories, the arts manager's function is to deal with changes that are initiated internally or came from the external environment in a sustainable manner. But how do we define sustainability in these contexts? This is where we come to communication as a central element of arts management as a function. Communication is at the same time a central part of the multiplayer model of sustainable change as explained by Sacha Kagan (2011), with emphasis on implicit systems and the importance of understanding the diverse means of communication and their uses within these systems.

But, sustainability of what? Of structures, processes, careers, or messages? All these directions are seeking for re-definitions of sustainability in their own context. In the context of the management of structures, there will always be a tension between the priorities of organizations (long-term, venue) and the art event/installation/work (short-term, project). Looked at differently, it can be that the ultimate goal for an arts manager working with a visual artist is to find a permanent place for him/her in a flagship museum, since "the museum emerged as the new place of worship" (Groys 2013, 44). In this way, is the arts manager's role to make an artist (and maybe even himself/herself as his/her arts manager) sustainably immortal? Understanding these differences is of the utmost importance given that the constant process of negotiation between them is the core of arts management as a function. Likewise, in a wider social and political sense, we need to fight for that space where we can discuss and negotiate between the sustainability of structures and "sustainability of ideas" (Antariksa 2016) in order to fight against the cancellation of the long-term as an excuse for a progress in the cynical discourse of late capitalism (Fisher 2009). This function of arts management, divided between everyone involved in the process of creation, is responsible for this negotiation process and continuous balance that should get everyone closer to the notion of sustainability.

However, the contestability of sustainability in the context of arts management is connected with the notion of risk as a central element of every process of art creation. In this case, the management aspect of the equation strives for constant mitigation and a lowering of risk that is otherwise inherent in the arts. This tension is not exclusive to the arts, however. We can find it in any industry/sector where innovation is now the center of

its existence, mostly expressed through research and development (R&D) strategies. Maybe the main difference is that in the arts, the whole operation can end up being one large R&D adventure, where this risk, representing "cravings for the strange, the unexpected, the weird" (Fisher 2009, 76), could be described as the product of the organization. In that case, arts management tends to become some kind of anti-management endeavor, deliberately subverting business management doxa.

Waiting for RAM While Hoping for ROM

David Balzer asks a question about the position of a curator that is commonly asked in the same way about arts managers:

> What exactly do they do? Are they distant mandarins who force-feed us super-theoretical art? Hyper-professionalized agents—effectively business consultants—working for high-powered international cultural organizations? Bridges between artist and audience, showing us the best of what contemporary culture has to offer, and translating it in an effective, accessible way? The last proposition is idealist, the former too pejorative.
>
> (Balzer 2015, 54–55)

One of the questions that has been raised over the last couple of years, also discussed widely at the annual meeting of the Association of Arts Administration Educators in Edinburgh in 2017, is "What will our role/goal in this world be when we let robots/artificial intelligence (that we created) take over a number of functions that humans are currently undertaking?" Will there be a need for a Robot Arts Manager (RAM)? Let's take three scenarios into consideration:

- We stay in the realm of capitalist realism and continue with the decay of humanity in which the dominating art discourse "remains blind to any art that is produced and distributed by any mechanism other than the market"

  (Groys 2013, 6);

- Capitalist realism falls apart and we move towards an alternative still unclear to us;
- We stay in the space in-between.

If we manage to save ourselves as humans, there will also be hope for the arts and arts management in these unregulated spaces of transition, the in between spaces. This is the space where our imperfect humanity, often expressed through the arts, can find new ways of interpreting and re-interpreting the world within and around us. In that context, art might

turn the concept of Return on Investment (ROI) on its head with a new concept—Return on Meaning (ROM) in place of business-style management. Submitting arts management to ROM as a core value is something arts management should always be subsumed to.

At the risk of sounding neo-conservative, we must challenge concepts of flexibility, nomadism, and spontaneity with concepts of openness, critical reflection, reflexive professionalism, and sustainability. Can we stay liberal and open-minded without being excessively mobile? Can we be so nomadic without becoming too superficial? Is spontaneity driven by our wish for constant excitement? Would stopping or slowing down this excessive mobility mean that we would have to confront others and ourselves with difficult questions?

In the context of Europe, artists and arts managers have allowed bureaucrats to become the primary decision-makers on arts and cultural policy. It could be that one of the political spaces for arts managers in the future is educating and appropriating bureaucrats or taking their positions. There has to be a collaborative effort to resist the prescribed outcomes that are typical of governments—or anyone else who tries to own and the control the space (Pick 2005). I would dare to say that in the quest to *charm the system*, communication should also be used to manipulate the potential (political and economic) owners of the space through creative activism/*artivism* as a legacy of "infrapolitics of resistance." That is, socially and/or politically engaged acts, gestures, and thoughts not perceived as "political enough" (Scott 1990, 183). A special focus should be directed to the spaces of media, popular culture, and sports (Brkić 2014) for the sake of releasing tension from the arts (i.e. "Yes Men"[3]). These are some of the roles that the function of arts management within the process of creation should be responsible for.

Art critic Arthur Danto developed a defense in his book *After the End of Art: Contemporary Art and the Pale of History* (1998), positioning it as part of the historical narrative he was analyzing. It was, in a way, in two positions at the same time, influencing both the past and the future of a discourse. The idea of the end (or death, as suggested in this article), therefore, becomes part of a cycle, instead of being understood as some kind of point in a linear development of one field or a discipline. Arts management will still stay an element of Becker's *art worlds* (Becker 1982) that is, dealing with the Janus type of balance between "essentially uncontrollable and surprising" Dionysian ideas of the artists and Apollonian context of the world that surrounds us, reconciling the tensions, containing and (re)creating structures (Bereson 2005, 30). To be able to do this and create a position for oneself as an arts manager, one has to develop a critical eye that is, compared to (business) management, driven by ROM instead of ROI. We should not forget that all the frames in our societies first need to be imagined, then connected with the "works made in reality," and, at the end of the day, someone needs to "deeply interconnect" these two planes

(Papastergiadis 2012, 15). Arts management as it has been until now is probably dead, but the function of arts management within the process of art creation is more alive than ever, with a number of challenges and responsibilities ahead of it. That is where the thoughts for a new life of the discipline called Arts Management should go.

Notes

1. This article partly came out from the research project "Ontology of Arts and Cultural Management Education," generously supported by Research Committee of LASALLE College of the Arts, Singapore.
2. www.moremuseum.org
3. www.theyesmen.org

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Section 2

The State of Arts and Cultural Management Research

6 Cultural Management Research

Putting the Cart and the Tail in Their Proper Places

Constance DeVereaux

> *Imagine that you're going along, accumulating data points that fall into a beautiful line across the graph, and all of a sudden, some dog stands there like a dummy, refusing to salivate. You ring the bell again, louder—nothing. Is he mentally defective? Is he deaf? What will you trust: the theory you have spent years developing, or the dog?*
>
> (Adler, 2014)[1]

"Are you just pissing and moaning, or can you verify what you're saying with data?" asks one grizzled bar patron of another in the caption of a printed cartoon (Koren 1999). It is the reasonable demand we make of any researcher. The essential questions are epistemological and ontological by nature—how do you know what you know? How do you know your research methods work? Do the phenomena you observe really exist as you claim? Is the evidentiary value of your data genuine or illusory? These are also questions for meta-research; they relate to procedural shortcomings, the problems of methods and analysis, of research design, data collection, and other similar difficulties. They can lead to errors in conclusions drawn on the basis of research findings leading, in turn, to ill-conceived strategies for management and policy in the arts and culture domain. Idiomatically, permitting the tail to wag the dog and putting the cart before the horse are common enough in policy and research to merit attention. Sadly, and too often, ethical and methodological safeguards are ignored, allowing for political, economic, and even personal matters to influence research design and findings.

Fundamental, practical, and ethical problems bedevil any field at any stage of its existence, which is why a "large majority of the most used articles across science are about methodology" (Ioannidis et al. 2015). The literature on research methodologies and related topics is vast for most fields. In contrast, a concerted search discovered just one directed specifically toward a cultural management area, *Research Methods for Arts and Event Management* (Veal & Burton 2014), whose first chapter offers a definition of *the arts* as "creative activities and products which

convey beauty and/or insight into the human condition" (Ibid., 4)—a definition that this author finds both limiting and problematic.

A well-documented or comprehensive history of the development of cultural management research (CMR)—as differentiated from cultural management—does not yet exist as it does for other fields. As elsewhere in this volume, cultural management is the preferred term, which covers arts management, arts administration, and cultural administration and includes the subfield of cultural policy. In terms of available literature, Paquette and Redaelli's *Arts Management and Cultural Policy Research* (2015) includes a chapter on cultural policy research and covers some aspects of arts management research. Meta-research applied to the case of CMR, however, has been extremely limited.

My aim is to draw attention to the need both for better research and for a coordinated effort in meta-research for assessment of CMR methods and analysis, which would have value for CM researchers, cultural managers, policy actors, and others wanting to understand the field of cultural management and its effects. Interest in demonstrating the benefits of arts and culture in a variety of human activities, and in which cultural managers play a significant role, suggests the need to make sure that CMR can measure up to the task. My quarrel is not with efforts to establish that the arts have great benefits in a wide array of human domains, but that the shortcomings of much available research have not received enough attention from within CM research ranks.

Regular assessments such as those I suggest are common in other fields. By way of example, I draw comparison, later in this chapter, to political science, in part because it is one of the fields in which I received my own training as a researcher, but also because a legitimate connection exists between a political science subfield—public administration—and the cultural management (or administration) of public cultural institutions. My aim for the reader is to show that cultural management's development is not so different from that of other, now-established fields. But the need for regular assessment is still significant. For this reason, but also in cases where cultural management has unique characteristics, the historical development of other fields can offer instructive insight and precedence. I also intend my disquisition as a call to action for CM researchers to be more cognizant of the responsibilities they have toward high standards of integrity, professionalism, and intellectual honesty.

Cultural Management and the Predicaments of Research

There are many reasons that research findings in any study may be less than credible. There are certain features of cultural management however, that make it particularly vulnerable. Cultural policy researcher Eleonora Belfiore, for example, points out that from "the very beginning

of politician's renewed interest for the social impact of the arts, the question of evidence has been a delicate one" (2009, 348). Citing a set of reports issuing from a single Policy Action Team in one city in the United Kingdom, she shows that in a particular case, report authors declared the evidence "paltry" for claiming that a community benefitted from the arts. Later, the same data led to a very different conclusion. Belfiore notes that even though "the evidence to support this was, as we have seen, 'paltry' as well as anecdotal and methodologically dubious did not seem [in the second instance] to cause much concern" (Ibid.) among politicians and other policy actors whose interests were served. Belfiore also quotes a former Culture Secretary speaking candidly about using data "selectively and strategically" to build a case for arts support and funding. Welcome to cultural policy, one is tempted to add.

Belfiore's article "On Bullshit in Cultural Policy Practice and Research: Notes from the British Case" suggests that she is well aware that her cited examples are not isolated. In practice, this means that in addition to the many other, run-of-the-mill conceptual and methodological difficulties researchers might encounter in cultural management and policy, there are ongoing ethical challenges deriving from the desire, intentional or unintentional, to meet the interests of funders and stakeholders. Likewise, the ascendancy of contract and interactive research—the continuous "interaction throughout the research process between researchers, funding bodies, and 'user groups'" (Grinyer, 1999)—has the potential to produce bias. That is not to say that the participation of user groups and funding bodies has no value, but that value must be understood, and weighed, in the context of potential bias.

For readers not aware of the reference in her article's title, Belfiore takes as a starting point the book *On Bullshit* (2005) by the American philosopher Harry G. Frankfurt. Her boldness is commendable in a field where little attention is paid to misuses of research.

I am reminded of another, much earlier philosopher, however, whose student asks, "Socrates, is it your desire to seem to have persuaded us or really to persuade us that it is without exception better to be just than unjust?" (Plato trans. Shorey 1969, 357b). The standard for *really* persuading is much higher, of course, since—in the case of Plato's Socrates—truth and knowledge are at stake. In the passage of *Republic* in which the quote appears, Socrates's student, Glaucon, has metaphorically thrown down the gauntlet as a challenge, reminding his teacher that a prettily stated argument is not enough to prove one's claim. Seeming to persuade occurs when you have not fully supported your assertion. Glaucon's point is that an argument may sometimes appear convincing, especially to those who are unfamiliar with the rules of good reasoning, but ultimately is not. While unstated in the account, one could take him to mean that if an argument is flawed, you cannot actually be convinced by it—you only think you are convinced. The nuance is important. Problems in research design,

methodology, issues of bias, and the like are limitations to a research study because they limit what can be concluded as a result. For example, one may mistake the conclusions of a flawed study to demonstrate a desired outcome—that the arts, for example produce the benefits one describes. But, in the strict sense of Plato's logic, a person cannot really be persuaded if a study does not *really* show the claimed results. Correlation might be conflated with causality or research subjects were not randomly selected, thus biasing results. If your pursuit is absolute truth and certainty in knowledge (as it was for many of the ancients), then the half-measure of only seeming to persuade is not good enough.

Leaving aside the impossibility of absolute truth or knowledge (which Plato and other philosophers thought possible), no matter how exacting one's methods, the point I draw is that there is perpetually a need for members of a scholarly field to serve as watchdogs over the methods and procedures used in research in order to guard against the problems that Belfiore addresses: ethical breaches, facile data collection, and interpretation, for example. At risk, otherwise, is the professionalism and integrity of individual researchers and the overall credibility and sustainability of the field. Because challenges for researchers are ongoing, attention to rigor in methodology at the level of meta-research must be regularly occurring.

One must grant, however, that meta-research is itself an emerging discipline aimed at improving methods across all disciplines. The growth in number and diversity of research outputs and the accelerating pace of publication (Ioannidis et al. 2015) raise new opportunities for bias threats, which, in turn, increase the need for more research on research. CMR's underdeveloped nature adds a compounding layer. To begin with, although the number of researchers has steadily expanded as the field has grown, the population of CM researchers is still nonetheless small compared to other fields. In his *Managing Art: An Introduction into Principles and Conceptions*, Peter Bendixen provides one reason. "Currently, it appears that there are few opportunities at universities to join a specific PhD program in arts management that would include special empirical research as well as philosophical inquires" (2010, 191). Although master's degree programs have greatly increased over the past decade, training at that level tends toward preparing individuals for jobs as cultural managers, not as researchers. An increase in the number of PhD recipients, instead, might promote the overall interest, in the case of CMR, in "methods, reporting, reproducibility, evaluation, and incentives (how to do, report, verify, correct, and reward science)" (Ioannidis et al. 2015), and thus encourage development of a meta-research agenda. Presently, however, organized study of CMR methodology is extremely limited. Although many arts management and cultural management master's programs include research methods among required courses, the development is recent and does not include all such degree programs, and few, as suggested above, lead to training at the PhD level. The lack of preparation

in research techniques is likely, therefore, to be widespread. There is also little to no coordination within, or among, professional organizations in arts management, administration, or cultural management for taking on the issues of research methodology. There is no commonly accepted code of research conduct in the field. Although there is increased interest in stimulating research—over the last decade, for example, professional bodies such as the Association of Arts Administration Educators in the United States and the European Network of Cultural Administration Training Centers[2] have added more opportunities for presenting research—there has been no effort, from within the field, to take on the task of investigating CMR itself as an object of study. Also, and too often, advocacy for the arts masquerades as objective inquiry, or, stated the other way—supposed objective inquiry is really arts advocacy in disguise. Commenting on the construction of news reportage on the voluntary sector, media scholar David Deacon cautions that situations "where voluntary organizations can be both agents of governmental policy as well as advocates of causes is a recipe for uncertainty" (1996, 181). The same can be said where researchers occupy the same or similar positions. More concerning is when advocacy places voluntary groups (and researchers) "in direct conflict with the institutions that support them" (Ibid.) given that institutions "which commission research are unlikely to be open to findings they perceive as critical of themselves or their policies" (Grinyer 1999). The potential is particularly high in situations where researchers, academics, cultural managers, and the institutions they work for form a close-knit community whose members have many shared fidelities. It is fairly common, wherever cultural management training exists, for leaders of cultural organizations—public and private—to teach, provide mentoring, or to guest lecture. Institutions offering cultural management training supply students as interns and later, as employees in cultural sectors, typically in the same geographic location. Research grants from government arts councils and private foundations provide for academic research to individuals who may also have close alliances with the granting institution or with organizations that receive subsidies from those entities.

Another research problem that has drawn notice is the tendency to claim more than the data entitles. Guetzkow, for example, identifies a number of "advocacy studies based on quick appraisals that often exaggerate the impact of the arts" (2002, 7), citing Azmier (2002); Perryman (2001); and Walesh (2001), among others. Many claims about the arts—undifferentiated—proceed from the notion "that everything included . . . has properties in common and that 'the arts' all result in [a] desired outcome. In other words, composing a poem, producing a sound recording, dancing a tango, and fashioning a costume . . . all lead [to the same outcome]" (DeVereaux 2017, 190). Such a claim, however, ignores the significant differences among these activities and the potentially wide range of variables that are unaccounted for in trying to establish that they produce the same

result, and in a majority of individuals. A recent study on creative placemaking is also illustrative. The author discusses arts projects funded by the National Endowment for the Arts in the United States, claiming, for example, that "these projects induce reality" (Redaelli, 2018, 407) and that one project "was an important step in human development" (Ibid.). Assertions like these beg for empirical evidence, clear operationalization of concepts (a definition of reality, for example, that is conducive to empirical measure), and articulation of the methods used (other than self-reportage by individuals involved in the project). These few examples are not isolated.

Cultural management is a rather small field; the volume of literature is both sparse (compared to other fields) and narrow. In a much larger field, the distribution of high-, medium-, and low-quality research extends over a larger volume of work, resulting in a greater volume, overall, of high-quality output. Further, although journals relating to cultural management regularly publish reviews of individual books and articles, critical reviews also tend to be few in overall number given the relatively scant publications in the field, and the small overall number of articles published in each. That means, therefore, that there are fewer challenges, overall, to existing research on the grounds, for example, of methodological soundness. In sum, methodological problems in CMR may be intensified by the relatively small size and general underdevelopment of the field, as well as the desire to champion the work of institutions that fund the arts. In these ways, however, cultural management may simply be experiencing the early developmental stage that other fields have already experienced. Maturity and expansion of the field may mitigate the shortcomings exhibited by some researchers. The field of political science serves as a convenient benchmark. In the next section, I look at some notable events in the development of this latter field that have relevance for CMR and CM researchers.

The New Kid on the Block

Publication No. 426, *Contemporary Political Science: A Survey of Methods, Research, and Teaching*, was published in 1950 by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). It features articles on specific subfields, such as political institutions and international relations, as well as on general topics of theory and methodologies. The project was undertaken in an "effort to raise political science as quickly as possible to the same level as other" social sciences: for example, "law, political economy, and sociology" (1). Political science was, at that time, "of fairly recent development," according to the report, "as a distinct branch from speculation concerning political phenomena or the history of these phenomena" (Ibid.). Reading some sections of the document and substituting *cultural management* wherever the word *political science*

appears one could imagine it providing guidance for cultural management scholars as well. A similar report, for example, might distinguish cultural management as a distinct branch of study from speculation concerning cultural phenomena or the history of cultural phenomena, lay out its various subfields, and provide a wide range of perspectives from scholars around the world to be studied, discussed, critiqued, praised—or torn apart—and to form the basis for the next, continued period of development. Although UNESCO's charter specifies its interests in the educational and the scientific, one might wonder, nonetheless, why a report on the state of the field of political science merits the international organization's concern. The answer, of course, is that the stakes are high for good research from that field, by which I mean reliable research that aids policy makers and others in appropriate decision-making on issues relating to political activity around the globe that, in turn have impact on educational, cultural, and scientific activities and institutions affecting human communities and lives. The urgency to do the same for cultural management and policy in this first half of the 21st century may be less apparent; however, the increasing degree to which arts and culture figure into calculations about economies, politics, education, diplomacy, health, and social well-being suggests that a thorough assessment of the field along the same lines as UNESCO's report might have value in elevating awareness about the need for credible research findings in the field of cultural management and policy.

A closer look at Publication No. 426 is instructive (once again, imagine that you are reading about cultural management).

> We must . . . recognize the fact that the development of political science has been very uneven in different parts of the world. While it is true that numerous branches of political science continue to arouse increasing interest among qualified specialists in the United States . . . there remain vast regions of our planet where interest in political phenomena is just beginning. Inquiry into the factors on which these differences depend permit us to draw particularly interesting conclusions concerning the forms assumed by political activity among the different nations.
>
> (1)

For anyone unfamiliar with the history of political science, now an established field and a reasonably well-regarded social science, it may be striking to realize that not so long ago it was the new kid on the block subject to many similar questions and doubts experienced by cultural management actors and researchers today. At precisely mid-century, 1950 was also 15 years before Great Britain's first expression of a national cultural policy in the form of a white paper entitled *A Policy for the Arts: The First Steps*, released in 1965 under the authorship of then-Labour arts minister Jennie Lee. Appointed in 1964, Lee was, in fact, Great Britain's first minister of the arts. 1965 was also the year that the National Endowment for

the Arts (NEA) in the United States was created with its first chairperson, Roger L. Stevens.

The relevant point is that these events signaled the advent of cultural management (or arts management/arts administration at the time) as a distinguishable phenomenon, in part because, as a consequence of government action, the arts and culture came to be treated as an identifiable, consumable, and value-laden public good made available—in principle at least—for the benefit of citizens rather than just in service to the aims of the State. The development of arts management/cultural management in the United States and United Kingdom, later, had great influence on development of the field in other countries, and still does[3]

The advent of cultural management in that era, in that context, created a need for CMR in order to establish, as justification for expenditure of resources (money and time, for example) that the actions of government had produced a desired outcome. Cultural management is nothing if not a series of outcomes; cultural managers are charged with fulfilling aims, carrying out mandates, increasing access, promoting excellence, enriching audiences, and in achieving myriad other aims both measurable (depending on how defined) and intangible. The ability to establish that these aims have been achieved, and to good effect has high value for those funding them, but also for those interested in sustaining cultural management as a system that concerns itself with production and dissemination of the arts. In practical terms, the knowledge that your organizational activities have effect, what that effect is, and the magnitude or intensity of that effect can inform future action and, as previously noted, has high value, if credible. The resulting evidence can also be used for evaluation of organizations and their cultural managers. The need to show benefit or positive impact, however, raises the red flag of potential bias.

Another point of comparison to be drawn from the UNESCO report excerpt is that cultural management's subsequent development was also quite uneven, and even today there are "regions of our planet" where interest in cultural management phenomena is just beginning. That is not to say that cultural management practices are absent in these places, but that an interest in arts and cultural activities, as generated through formal systems of management, organization, and control, is not in evidence everywhere. As the field and practices spread, researchers can track its progress, evolution, and adaptation.

Worth noting is that the editors of Publication No. 426 also mention disagreements among their numbers about how to employ the term *political science* (singular or plural?) and on the definition of *science*, which bears similarity to questions that arise in cultural management (how do we define culture, and management, is cultural management an art, a science, a part of management?).

In academia, as one might expect, such questions are never properly decided—once and for all, that is—even given the authority of a

UNESCO report. Just over 50 years after its publication, political scientists would revisit some of the same questions again. At an annual meeting of the American Political Science Association (APSA), held in 2001, for example, a "civil war" ensued according to one attendee, ending in a "revolt against the dominance of the so-called rational choice school" (Hilton 2001). Cultural management has not yet incited any civil wars (there may be too few of us, thus far, for such an event), but heated disputes over the supposed researcher/practitioner divide and whether or not cultural management is or is not a subfield of management have both infiltrated conferences, suggesting again that it is not so different from other fields, at least in the ability of its members to disagree about basic parameters.

As a final note, attendees at the 2001 APSA meeting also addressed what to call their field. The observer notes, for example, that at "Harvard the subject is called Government, at Princeton Politics, at Stanford and elsewhere Political Science" (Ibid.). Contemplating these and other apparent horrors that took place over the course of the conference, the author sums up his account with a Latin phrase that might be translated as "I shudder at the memory"[4] (Ibid.). And yet, political science has survived.

While it is tempting to find humor and triviality in the notion of academics waging open war over what to call their field, it is not completely so. The lesson for cultural management is still instructive. The same account of the 2001 conference mentions the influence of the Ford Foundation on research practices. Specifically, it claims that the foundation preferred that the social sciences be called "behavioral sciences," believing it to be "more scientific" (Ibid.). And so, it offered grants to support "their promotion," sending "leaders of the new creed around to universities to decide which should get grants" (Ibid.). The too-clear suggestion is that foundation support may affect research—supporting some, killing off others from lack of support—but can also affect the developmental direction of a field where funding is otherwise scarce, even to the extent of renaming the field. It is no surprise that funders wield power over research. "Commissioned research for external organizations has always been a part of academic life" (Grinyer 1999). The larger issue is the influence funders may have over a field's trajectory in ways that serve their own potentially narrow interests by defining research intentions and methodologies and granting or denying the acceptability of its findings. A case in point is, in fact, the Ford Foundation, whose influence on funding practices in the arts in the United States is recounted in "Leverage Lost: The Nonprofit Arts in the Post-Ford Era" by John Kreidler, formerly a senior program officer for arts and humanities at the San Francisco Foundation in California. Kreidler's intent is to provide an historical account, not a critique, of the Ford Foundation's practices. Nonetheless, if Kreidler is correct, intervention by the Ford Foundation significantly transformed common businesses models in the United States for delivery of the arts. Concerning the Ford

era—as Kreidler calls it—he claims that before the foundation developed an interest in funding the arts, most arts enterprises were commercial in nature, organized as for-profit entities. As a result of the number and generosity of Ford Foundation grants for the arts, however, nonprofit arts organizations suddenly proliferated. Kreidler (1996) dubs it the "Ford-era Boom." He notes it is

> easy to forget that the formerly prevalent model for arts organizations in the United States was the individual proprietorship. In the nineteenth century, many theaters, orchestras, opera companies, performing arts impresarios, and even some museums operated as for-profit enterprises managed by individual owners.
>
> (Ibid.)

What changed was the availability of "a startling new invention . . . on the arts scene: the arts grant" (Ibid.), an invention Kreidler credits to the Ford Foundation. Unlike past granting programs, often made as one-off, individual grants, Ford Foundation funding was "a vehicle for the long-term advancement of individual, nonprofit arts organizations, as well as a means for the strategic development of the entire nonprofit arts sector" (Ibid.). The Foundation's practice for funding the arts took hold and became the modus operandi, later, for grant funding programs by the NEA and state arts councils in the United States. Kreidler likens Ford's influence on arts funding in the United States "to a chain reaction" (Ibid.) which had significant effect on the landscape for arts enterprises and the delivery of arts to the public. For example, artists who, in an earlier time, might have established for-profit enterprises subject to market demands, opted instead for the nonprofit model due to the availability of lucrative funding that could be used for essential operations. Rather than face the vagaries of the marketplace, or the prospect of diminishing audiences, performance companies and other groups of artists formed nonprofit organizations. The fact that all of this took place at a moment when public interest in performing arts attendance was decreasing does not diminish the effects of the Ford Foundation's interventions. According to Kriedler, many young artists and others who would normally have entered careers in for-profit endeavors became a ready workforce in nonprofit arts organizations instead. In an earlier time, Kreidler points out,

> this labor force probably would have founded a wave of new arts enterprises using the proprietary model. In the 1960s, however, the nonprofit model was available and convenient . . . moreover [it] had the benefit of heavy backing from the new circle of institutional arts funders led by the Ford Foundation.
>
> (Ibid.)

By the 1980s the Ford-era Boom, was over. The Foundation changed many of its funding priorities; organizations that had previously depended on grant funding for survival subsequently closed their doors.

What is the relevance of such historical developments on research, and the need for a meta-research agenda in the field? Aside from the obvious concern over how a foundation might affect research developments (and thus research outcomes) in a field, it has also to do with our perceptions of norms. The nonprofit model for arts organizations in the United States has long been accepted as a given when, in fact, it is of fairly recent heritage. The tradition of fundraising and pursuit of sponsors and donors that is typical of US nonprofits has been increasingly adopted in other countries. Yet, the viability and legitimacy of the nonprofit model has also been questioned as artists, entrepreneurs, and cultural managers seek new models for delivery of arts productions.[5] In matters a great deal, as researchers, however, to know if what we are looking at is an entirely new phenomenon, or the manifestation of something already experienced before. A dearth of comparative research (for example, of arts organizations pre-and post-Ford era or of for profits and non-profits in the pre-Ford era) can limit our understanding of the arts nonprofit model in its present state, as well as of any future contending business models. Of existing studies, we should also be able to evaluate methods, findings, and validity not only as a means for evaluation of particular instances of research, but also to allow, in the case of CRM, for testing and application of "interventions that make it more efficient and its results more reliable" (Ioannidis et al. 2015).

Underlying a number of the concerns addressed here is the matter of origins and subsequent development of cultural management—or at least, researchers' understandings of those issues, or how their perceptions are framed, which then influences the kinds of questions they ask and how they go about answering them. Question framing relates to research output and so is a relevant concern for meta-research. If a researcher regards herself as a member of a field of management, for example, the researcher will pose questions relating to such things as decision-making and problem solving in organizations. If a researcher hails from sociology, research will relate to such things as societal relationships brought about through arts/culture, or to circumstances of power, or influences of institutions. In the case of a political science perspective, the focus might be on principles of administration, public policies, or the influences of politics on arts systems and on institutions. Finally, if the framing is one of curatorial practice, CMR might be about the quality of exhibitions and performances, the disposition of cultural resources, or aesthetic decisions about display and performance. The examples here are not exhaustive of the possibilities. The research questions posed in all of these areas contribute to our knowledge of cultural management. But, different questions entail different choices in research design and different procedures for analysis, all of which should be measured according to the standards of the appropriate field.

It bears reminding that the UNESCO report cited here is focused on methods rather than outcomes. The reason for taking a full, long look in the mirror at political science's development and methods in 1950 was the understanding that research had an impact on real-world decisions. Cultural management would also benefit from the same manner and level of introspection. The growth of cultural management as a field, which includes—as considered in this volume—cultural policy, means that there are more potential consumers of research on arts, culture, cultural policy, and cultural management, and more demands on research to demonstrate—among other things—the value, benefits, impact, and sustainability of arts/cultural activities. The reliability, authenticity, and legitimacy of findings, and the methods for deriving them, therefore, should be an important concern for the integrity of the field and its members. In the next section I highlight recent research that draws attention to problems of research and meta-research on arts and culture.

Trouble in the Land of CMR

Alex C. Michalos is a distinguished scholar whose primary research is concerned with quality of life and its indicators. Among other research interests, he has studied the impact of the arts on quality of life, claiming that it has received little attention in his field. In 2005, he wrote,

> The impact of the arts broadly construed on the overall quality of people's lives is without a doubt the most understudied and possibly the most under-rated issue in the field of social indicators research. In all of the 1085 papers of the 63 volumes of Social Indicators Research published since the first issue in March 1974, there is not even one focused precisely on this question.
>
> (12)

It should be noted that Michalos's claim covers the field of social indicators research only. In fact, the impact of the arts, variously defined, on quality of lives has been the subject of research in a number of other fields and includes both independent and commissioned research. Although it is still vastly under researched, according to Michalos, his review of literature from sociology, economics, and other fields is a useful resource.

The basis of Michalos's article is a 2003 study of 315 residents of Prince George, British Columbia, who responded to a survey on life satisfaction relating to participation in the arts. Michalos repeated the research in 2006 and 2007 with co-researcher P. Maurine Kahlke. Survey respondents numbered 1,027 in 2006 and 708 in 2007. In 2003, Michalos reported:

> Summarizing these multivariate results, it seems fair to say that, relative to the satisfaction obtained from other domains of life, the arts

> had a very small impact on the quality of life (measured in four somewhat different ways) of a sample of residents of Prince George who generally cared about the arts. Even in absolute terms, arts-related activities could only explain from 5% to 11% of the variance in four plausible measures of the self-perceived quality of respondents' lives. (52)

An important aspect of these findings is that respondents all indicated an interest in the arts. Nonetheless, arts-related activities were low predictors of quality of life for the respondents. Subsequent studies had similar results. In the 2007 study, Michalos and Kahlke found, in the context of their predictors, that

> based on the relative impact of all the arts-related activities and the satisfaction obtained from those activities on our seven overall life assessment variables, it is fair to say that such activities and their corresponding satisfaction contributed relatively little. (250)

Likewise, in their 2009 study, Michalos and Kahlke found

> In the light of results from our two samples and in the context of all our predictors, based on the relative impact of all the arts-related activities and the satisfaction obtained from those activities on the seven overall life assessment variables, it is fair to say that such activities and their corresponding satisfaction contributed relatively little. (34)

Clearly, there is a pattern. If not obvious, it bears noting that the results of these studies matter for the field of cultural management. Production, dissemination, exhibition, and participation in the arts are all areas where cultural management takes place (although not exclusively). Claims made about the benefits of the arts on quality of life and on other areas of human activity are highly relevant, therefore, to the conduct of cultural management and its supposed outcomes.

Importantly, Michalos and Kahlke do not claim that the arts have no benefits relating to life satisfaction, only that it may be difficult to establish by methods currently in use. Regarding the 2003 study, for example, Michalos explains that he used "standard procedures developed at the Institute for Social Research and Evaluation," which included input from community members with knowledge of the area studied. "In the present case, 18 members of the Prince George Community Arts Council served on the instrument construction committee" (Michalos 2005, 20). His careful attention to procedures, nonetheless, failed to produce more conclusive results. Michalos and Kahlke are also careful to note that the

"total and individual community samples should be regarded as merely representative of some British Columbian residents who had some interest in the arts" (Michalos and Kahlke 2007, 248). Similarly, while acknowledging that results "may seem incredible," the authors caution that "it is important to keep in mind the initial condition," "in the context of all our predictors" and the qualifier "relatively" (Ibid., 250). Still, the results should give CM researchers, especially those with interests in the impact of the arts, some pause. We are much more used to seeing studies, especially as reports commissioned by foundations and government agencies, showing just the opposite—that participation in the arts are a strong indicator of quality of life. The gap between these two sets of findings is the area where meta-research can reside.

Results such as those shown above point to the difficulties of claiming overly specific benefits from the arts and a need to rethink how research is done in studying arts-related benefits. Michalos muses that "at a deeper level, time expended and satisfaction, happiness, contentment and so on are [perhaps] not the right sorts of measures for the kinds of values most relevant to arts-related activities" (2005, 252).

Beyond those relating to quality of life, however, researchers have identified problems in other CM related research. Concerning studies linking cognitive development for children to arts education, arts participation, arts engagement, and other arts-correlated activities, some scholars have identified problems with research design, methods of data collection, as well as additional types of research problems. (DeVereaux 2006; Perrin 2000). Regarding the effects of musical training in childhood and later nonmusical cognitive outcomes, Mehr et al. (2013) found that "no clear pattern of results has emerged". Notably, they maintain that that few randomized controlled trials (RCTs) have been employed to assess causal effects of music lessons on child cognition.

Concerning the notion that "arts impact communities" (12), Guetzkow notes that the claim admits of many possible definitions. "Specifying these definitions is an important task that researchers often ignore" (Ibid.). And, Madden (2001) suggests that while studies on economic impact

> have been popular in arts and cultural advocacy . . . the application is inappropriate. "Economic" impact studies are not designed for the purposes of advocacy. In the case of art and culture, they are more likely to be self-defeating.
>
> (161)

In their research on cultural capital and quality of life, Kim and Kim (2009) detail some of the procedural problems they found in previous studies that

> did not distinguish subjective dimensions at the micro-level from objective dimensions at the macro-level. As studies adopted more

> inclusive research designs and featured comprehensive study on various subjects, they did not execute in-depth studies exclusively on the relationship between cultural activities and the quality of life. For example, since cultural activities were partly included in leisure activities (Michalos & Zumbo, 2000), or in routine activities (Kelly et al., 2001), those studies could not analyze the independent and exclusive effect of cultural activities (Galloway, 2006; Scottish Executive Social Research, 2005).
>
> (307)

Just as problematic, in their review of articles on culture, public policy, and those that address theoretical-methodological issues on culture and its role in development, Ortega-Villa and Ley-Garcia (2017) found that the largest percentage of documents in their study contained no clear assumptions. Lack of precision in defining culture or eliding between culture viewed as a theoretical concept and culture as a "concrete and bounded body of beliefs and practices" was common. "Most of the works with a definition [of culture] are using one from a century ago" (425), they state. Further, "most of the documents lack solid foundations for their enterprise because they have no clear idea of what it is that they are trying to grasp through 'cultural indicators'" (Ibid.). The authors note that initiatives in the cultural indicators agenda lack appropriate conceptual and theoretical foundations diminishing, therefore, any prospect of dialogue between studies. In a statement that echoes the concerns I express here about CRM, Ortega-Villa and Ley-Garcia lament that "almost half of the documents do not care to define what they are trying to assess," viewing their study, in part, as "a warning for those of us who are working to come up with a set of cultural indicators" (Ibid.). In sum, the complexities involved in studying cultural indicators, arts impact, or other CM-related research are compounded by the definitional, conceptual, and procedural problems identified by Ortega-Villa and Ley-Garcia, and other researchers discussed in this chapter. The studies cited above demonstrate the very great need for development of good research methods and practices, as well as for a coordinated effort to introduce meta-research in cultural management as an important direction for CM researchers.

Looking Ahead

My aim has been to show challenges for CMR that can have an impact on the development of the field drawing comparisons to political science as an established social science field. I have identified some of the complexities that arise in CMR relating to arts/culture impact including definitional, conceptual, and procedural problems that open possibilities for meta-research. My aim is a call to action for CM researchers to hold to high standards of integrity, professionalism, and intellectual honesty that are the important attributes of a field of inquiry. Problems of methods, of

research design, data collection, interpretation, and analysis, but also the influences that may be exerted by research funders, and as the result of institutional alliances, can affect policy making and cultural management decision-making. While CMR is not unique in experiencing the shortcomings that bedevil any field of research, it has not yet developed a unified approach to these issues. As the field continues to mature, the need for meta-research will not diminish.

Notes

1. Reprinted by permission of Pacific Standard©.
2. There are many more professional bodies than these two in cultural management. But, they have been particularly prominent and are directed toward cultural management educators as members.
3. My focus on the United Kingdom and United States is not intended to ignore the development of CM and CMR in other countries.
4. mens meminisse horret.
5. See, for example, Steuer (2010), INCITE 2017, NYC/Dance 2017. It should be noted that while the discussion of new models appears with regularity in popular press, in web blogs, and as a topic informally addressed by members of the field, it is exceedingly difficult to find scholarly work investigating the viability of alternative models especially as they relate specifically to arts non-profits.

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7 The Orthodoxy of Cultural Management Research and Possible Paths Beyond It

Goran Tomka

Introduction

For some time now, cultural management research (CMR) has been occupied with questions of its maturity and authority. The claims have been made *pro et contra* the prestigious status of a discipline, field, or branch of the study, as well as on the degree of autonomy the field has as a discipline in relation to other disciplines (Evrard & Colbert 2000; DeVereaux & Vartiainen 2009). The whole enterprise of such questioning can be interpreted as indication of maturity, but also of the narcissistic adolescence of the field. While stepping out of that discussion, I argue that there are more important questions to deal with—questions that could fit into the politics of cultural management research: which methods and research designs are chosen? What kinds of images are they producing of artists, organizations, and audiences? What kind of knowledge is produced based on these images, and who benefits from it?

In this chapter, I question some underlying assumptions of current mainstream CMR which are rarely discussed, yet very much influence overall research designs and a range of taken-for-granted research practices. For example, why has it become an orthodoxy to study large, major, leading organizations and, more importantly, to study them as if they are nothing but rational, formal systems? Moreover, why is cultural management almost exclusively studied through the eyes of the managers and producers? Why are workers, partners, and audiences not treated as relevant collocutors and informants for the questions related to managing cultural organizations? Finally, why is there a domination of surveys, one-off interviews, and textual analysis of formal documents (strategic plans, brochures, website information)? I claim that that there is in fact a lot of exclusion going on in the usual research processes, and important chunks of reality are left unstudied. At the same time, these exclusions and choices are very seldom explained (and hence normalized). This is all very telling for the current mainstream CMR as a whole, and I wish to point at both underpinning reasons as well as possible alternative approaches.

The chapter begins with a brief outline of the development of cultural management research up to the present, in which I show that CMR has been oriented at producing practical knowledge to be used by managers, patrons, policy makers, and educators in the field of arts and culture, a condition that has influenced its methods and underpinning philosophies. Next, I sketch a possible orthodoxy in current mainstream CMR based on a survey of recently published texts in the top-rated journals of the field and I show how Westernized, grand, formalized organizations are chosen as the preferred objects of research, which are then studied using positivist, rationalist methodologies. Following this analysis, I provide a critique in which I identify the many missing objects and realities of study in mainstream CMR. Finally, I offer an example of a different approach to studying cultural management, which departs from such orthodoxy.

The Rationalist Roots of CMR

If we define cultural management as a profession related to the use of management discourse in organizing the processes of art production, financing, and circulation, then *cultural management research* and *cultural management* are very close siblings indeed. Since the evolution of management has a more extensive literature, let me portray their common birth and family situation by looking into the older sibling first, and then come back to their familial connections and the implications of that liaison. A full picture is impossible to present here, not only because of limited space, but also because of the complexity and heterogeneity of the subject and the lack of published research. Furthermore, cultural management, just as any other management, emerged in different parts of the world at different times, based on different knowledge and theories and recruited its first proponents from different professions. It is thus very ill-informed—as is often the case—to attempt a single, coherent biography of cultural management. What I will do instead, is point at some resemblances in that diversity, as well as select only crucial and common aspects of various cultural management evolution narratives in order to suggest reasons why cultural management research was (and is) needed in the first place and to which interests and needs it caters to.

The United States is often praised as the birthplace of cultural management. The field, typically known as arts management, came about at the time of the post-war social transformations when the work of arts organizations became much more complex. This complexity gave rise to the need for managers of arts. As the state became more interested in supporting arts directly and philanthropic systems were increasingly administrative and bureaucratized, arts organizations had to follow. As a result, the dominant model of arts organization has changed from its earlier, impresario-run proprietorship, oriented towards a relatively small

number of wealthy patrons, to nonprofits run by qualified administrators who had to collect funding from a much more diverse ecosystem (Redaelli 2016). They needed to be more accountable, and the rise of a technocratic leadership has emerged. Differentiation between "creative" and "managerial" sectors inside organizations became more pronounced, and the new profession of arts managers began to evolve (Peterson 1986).

In the United Kingdom, we see a different trajectory. During the sixties and the seventies, arts management approaches to running organizations and public funds was very much opposed by educators, researchers, and practitioners alike. The idea of an arts administrator was of someone who is more of an arts connoisseur and an analyst of cultural history and cultural policies, than a business-like manager (Paquette & Redaelli 2015). However, during the Thatcher-led neoliberal transformation of the eighties, as state funding shrank, the managerial approach to arts was advanced by Arts Councils. As the system of state support for the arts has become more complex and bureaucratized, a new "oppressive commercial language" was developed to explain the arts to the public as well as to train arts managers (Pick & Anderton 1996, 12). A particular notable example of this is an Arts Council England's pamphlet from 1986, titled *The Arts: A Great British Success Story*, which stated:

> The arts have been one of our greatest success stories—perhaps the greatest. We are asking the nation to invest in this well-proved product, to provide the cash to ensure that past glories do not become insubstantial memories, and that present achievements can be built upon for even greater returns in the future.
>
> (Pick & Anderton 1996, 12)

In parts of the world in which capitalism arrived much later, the story is somewhat different as cultural management was mostly imported and spread by foreign actors. In Russia, cultural management was introduced after the fall of the Berlin Wall and became part of the Westernization and marketization of arts production in the country (Tchouikina 2010). A new breed of civil arts organizations, which grew around new funding schemes, required new knowledge for management purposes. This new knowledge, called cultural management, was disseminated by foreign experts supported by foreign funding bodies such as George Soros's Open Society Foundation or the British Council.

In post-Yugoslav countries, a similar story can be told. During the nineties, progressive, oppositional groups took the form of civil society organizations and found support from foreign funds aimed at stimulating capitalist transformations of the region. A good number were artistic and cultural organizations; however, their position grew more and more precarious as the transition became more naturalized and they required new skills of attracting funds for their own work (Dragićević, Tomka & Mikić

2016). Existing educational institutions and individual experts trained as cultural producers for state-run institutions adopted new skills and discourses, and set the foundations for a cultural management profession.

In Nordic countries, arts management also came late, since the previous, stable system of public funding did not require market- and business-related skills on the part of those who led arts organizations (Røyseng 2008). However, as state funds tightened and introduced competition for funding to an increasing number of funding demands, the need for managerial knowledge in the fields has increased. At the same time, one can see an increased interaction between art and business, with both commercialization and managerialization of arts organizations and "culturalisation and aestheticisation" of business corporations (Røyseng 2008, 38). With a growing *dedifferentiation* of two fields, cultural management is more and more seen as a *sine qua non* of the Nordic cultural field.

A truly international history of arts management is still lacking. European and North American perspectives remain dominant. Although some attempts have been made to have an international overview, including this book, there is a dearth of available research for Asia, Africa, and other parts of the world.

What we can say at this point is that the rise of cultural management has been related to the rise of complexity, uncertainty, and dependency on market and corporate sponsorship and demands for efficiency and financial accountability in the fields of cultural and artistic production. In such circumstances, those in charge of managing arts organizations increasingly needed to collect, process, interpret, evaluate, and present a lot of data not previously required: on employees, internal and external financial flows, market trends, competition, audiences, sources of funding, and others. At the same time, those who selected and decided whom to support had to evaluate, measure, and articulate their decisions (in the case of the UK) (Pick & Anderton 1996). Consequently, they all needed some training for that, so those responsible for training them in the classroom also required findings, trends, good practices, recommendations, and other kinds of allegedly useful knowledge to support this kind of learning and outcomes.

This is where CMR came into play. The first journals in the field grew from the first conferences, and conferences were organized by associations of educators and practitioners, which in turn were kick-started by yet smaller circles of proto-experts and trainers in arts management, many of whom were primarily practitioners (Paquette & Redaelli 2015). CMR played a very instrumental role in the establishment and stabilizations of arts management. It fed managers with information they needed to run organizations in competitive, market-oriented, and precarious contexts. It supported advocates in their advocacy efforts and created arguments for claiming the value of some donations and investments in the arts, which were increasingly economic and not anymore solely social or aesthetic. Finally, it supported trainers, consultants, lecturers, and teachers

in situations in which they wanted to instruct their students and convince potential ones that they had valuable knowledge to transmit to them.

This is of course not only true in the case of arts and culture. Management in the modern sense of the word is always interdependent with some sort of scientific and rational inquiry. The first books on (scientific) management are a vocal testament to that (Taylor 1911[2004]). However, the question is not whether *some* research is needed to navigate arts organizations in changing and complex circumstances, but *which* research in particular was actually pushed and supported.

A passing comparison with cultural studies or cultural policy research, both of which grew in parallel with CMR in the US and UK, can be telling here. Cultural studies, with its leftist agenda, aimed to emancipate working-class culture and show power struggles behind the production of popular and mass culture (Williams 1996). The aims of CMR had a different message and spoke in different venues. While the original audience of cultural studies was adult education students from dispriviledged backgrounds (Williams 1996), for CMR, it was directors, managers, and board members of major operas, theatres, and museums (Redaelli 2012). MR providers maintained good relationships with the establishment and offered useful answers to those who had a leading role in the new circumstances of power and decision-making. It also helped explain the new market-oriented, increasingly precarious and competitive circumstances for many arts organizations as normal and actually great, if they were only willing to open-up, become more analytic, rational, and organized. The only thing holding an organization from success—so went the message—was the lack of appropriate knowledge (a sort of the wisdom of the day) about management. CMR was there to produce it. In such a way, it promised to make the transition to market principles smoother and lend itself to those who were interested in such transition.

However, in this chapter, I won't go into a full-blown genealogy of CMR, since that would exceed the space and ambition of this text. My particular focus here is current research in the field and only one dimension of it, which I want to question here: the positivist-rationalist pedigree. It is, nevertheless, a very pivotal dimension, since it is arguably one of the organizing principles of the whole field. By doing so, I would like to argue that the whole field as such should pay more attention to its philosophical and political underpinnings, if it aims to be truly autonomous, critical, and taken seriously.

The Orthodoxy

What follows is not the encompassing analysis of the field. It is rather a glimpse into it, yet a glimpse which can offer valuable insights for the whole. As a body of work to be analyzed, I have taken research papers published in leading academic journals. They don't represent the full

range of research in CMR, but because of the competitiveness and rigor of selection and review, these journals are often treated as hallmarks of research. In this way, they represent the mainstream of current CMR. Using "prestige" as the selection logic, the two highest-ranked journals by the Scimago Journal & Country Rank are taken as a source. They are *The Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society* (*JAMLS*) and *International Journal of Arts Management* (*IJAM*). These journals have been identified by a number of books on the field as a crucial place for exchange within, and shaping of the field (Byrnes 2009; Paquette & Redaelli 2015). My sample is taken from the last four years of both journals, depending on their availability. As for JAMLS, the range is from the first issues of the year 2013 until end of the year 2016. For IJAM, because of a longer embargo (a period of time articles are not accessible via channels available to me), papers were analyzed for the years 2010–2013. There is really no consensus on the length of time span considered appropriate; a range of four years seems to fit well with the notion of "current" research.

Out of 117 research articles (book reviews, company profiles, editor introductions and notes, and other similar entries were excluded) published in those four years in total (66 *JAMLS* and 51 *IJAM*), 38 papers were selected for further analysis based on the type of papers (24 *JAMLS* and 14 *IJAM*). The main selection criterion is that papers are empirical because this research type is the focus of my analysis, not theoretical discussions (Jung 2017, 2). The selected papers concern a specific organization(s) or organizational practice in the fields of arts and culture, so they deal actually with questions of management. The majority of published papers are literature reviews, theoretical, and conceptual discussions and commentaries, or they deal with policy, audience reception/participation, donor/sponsor behaviors, or education in the field of art or arts management.

Articles were analyzed based on the context in which they originated, type of organization they research, and research methods which they use.

Western/Rich Context

In the sample analyzed, organizations from USA were analyzed in 17 papers, followed by six from Canada. Italy, Australia, and France were featured in three papers each, while all the other countries were represented less than that (only three papers look, among other cases, at organizations from Russia, Angola, Kenya, and Hong Kong). This Westernized focus is not problematic *per se*; however, both journals state their international focus, while many papers claim to produce knowledge in arts management in general. However, it has been noted inside CMR there are large differences in how arts organizations function, and arts management is performed across the world, and there are reasons to be skeptical when importing theories produced elsewhere (Dragićević & Dragojević, 2005). Hernández-Acosta (2013) similarly claims that in the case of Puerto Rico,

colonial relations and various geopolitical pressures have greatly affected arts management and that "usual" (that is, US-based) ways of doing arts management do not work there. Such complaints are, of course, part of a much wider discussion in social sciences (Beck 2012). What is most troubling is that certain kinds of research sensibilities are developed within the field which are not suitable to many contexts.

Major Organizations

Many decisions made in the process of research are far from being purely scientific. Choice of sample is one such case. It is surely financial, oftentimes aesthetic or social, but inevitably political as well. By choosing the research subjects, researchers more or less consciously choose also which part of reality is deemed important to be analyzed and revealed. This affinity is further spread into textbooks, classrooms, policy-making offices, media, and beyond. Precisely for that reason, several researchers have noted that there is a bias when it comes to the choice of organizations (Summerton 1996; Rentschler & Radbourne 2009). Chang states that small arts organizations are too important to be neglected within research: they contribute to the diversity of cultural offerings, play crucial roles in reaching small and remote communities and, most astonishingly, arts organizations with four or fewer employees also represent over 60% of all arts organizations in the United States (Chang 2010).

Size is not the only problem, however. There is a whole world of professional arts production which happens outside formal and registered organizational structures (Boyle & Joham 2013). Although these organizational structures are hard to define, they do involve all sorts of managerial practices, so there should be at least some awareness of their existence. To be radical now, there are cases of arts management that are not only beyond formal structures, but also beyond professional status and are based on voluntary work far from mainstream research focus. All these issues are aggravated in lower-income countries in which gray economies are larger, arts management is not recognized as a profession, and arts markets and governments offer weak support for professional paid work in the fields of arts and culture.

Despite these evident issues in CMR, mainstream research seems to be unaffected. In the sample of analyzed papers, there is an overwhelming prevalence of large organizations, in terms of employees, turnover, number of audience, media attention, and the like. Out of all papers analyzed, as high as 27 (out of 38) treat large organizations *only*, no matter if they concern individual cases or pools of organizations. In all the articles examined, "major," "leading," and "largest" as well as big budgets, big starting capital or endowment, seem to be very desirable attributes. Six papers involve a span of organizations, from small to large. In four, the size could not be established because there was no data in the article, or

the names of organizations were not disclosed for me to further explore. There is only *one* paper in this time span, within the two journals, that devotes attention entirely to small organizations.

Answering why are small organizations not treated as equally relevant study objects (of analyzed papers) is beyond the abilities of this analysis. However, a preference seems to exist, and it might mean that researchers assume that findings from big organizations can be applied to all other, or that the assumption is that the "true" arts management is to be found only in large organizations. In any case, extending the scope of research in this respect would make the CMR community more knowledgeable and relevant to more diverse audiences.

Methodologies

Finally, choice of methodologies is also a telling aspect of a specific research culture. When it comes to CMR, there is still no clear preference towards methods. In the observed papers, we see that there is a wide range of methods from a sole focus on financial analysis, semi-structured interviews, to triangulation of data gathered through a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods. Overall, interviews are the most commonly used method (in 17 papers) either as a stand-alone method or in conjunction with others. Content analysis of websites, strategic documents, and social media accounts is used in ten articles and financial analysis in seven. Other papers use questionnaires or secondary data.

What is observable, however, is that, regardless of methods, the voice of managers is most prevalent. Management is a complex process, which involves and produces impacts on a range of subjects inside and outside of the organization. However, experiences of these processes are certainly diverse and most probably contradicting and opposing. Choosing whose voice is to be heard through the research is an important methodological, but also political question. In the surveyed articles, the voice of management is by far the dominant. In 12 out of 17 interview-based articles, managers are the *only* interlocutors. If we add that Facebook posts, strategic documents, press releases, and interviews by media are also under the tight supervision of management, we see that cultural management is understood mostly from the viewpoint of those in charge.

Apart from the obvious problem of exclusion, the question is what kind of organization is presented in the discourses of managers. Managers are those who tend to observe and think explicitly strategically. In the process, they might be less informed about all the details and nuances of the actual everyday work. So, what they give away as information might be only a part of what constitutes management in an organization. This is where it is important to step away from the positivist approach to gathering data as "social facts" no matter how the data is produced, invoked, inscribed, represented, and interpreted.

The Critique

If we take an influential arts organization in a rich country of the West, with a large number of employees and a big budget and invite its director for an hour-long interview, what can we find out? We will probably see a very neat, sorted-out, and coherent narrative of the organization. The same would happen if we look into major strategic documents or website content of an organization. And this is no wonder. Such organizations operate in relatively stable conditions, which enable them to maintain relatively well-organized structures (at least for a while). They have a developed network of supporters and sources of funding. Maintaining these relations (with government agencies, international foundations, and the like) often requires strategic planning processes and documents, as well as highly skilled professional employees geared towards planning, accountability, and rational responsibility. Moreover, their managers are skilled in describing and thinking of their organizations in well-structured, rational, and strategic ways. Their discourses are prepared and rehearsed. This all fits well into a positivist-rationalist ideal of an organization.

In contrast, this is not really the case with other types of arts organizations. For example, young, smaller, more flexible, non-hierarchical, experimental, and informal organizations, as well as the majority of those operating in turbulent circumstances may be less prone to develop their organizational logic in structured, planned, and formalized ways. For all kinds of reasons, they are not used to running their organizations through well-articulated procedures, formalized structures, hierarchical chains of command, and long-term planning. Instead, context and/or their mission, values, and principles of artistic production are more important. Rational-style approaches to management may not be wholly acceptable or suitable in these circumstances. Moreover, analysis of such organizations—which constitute the overwhelming majority of arts organizations globally—using positivist-rationalist research methodologies may also be inadequate.

However, this is not to say that there should be one CMR for big, wealthy organizations and new, different approaches for a range of all the other types of organizations that are currently excluded. In fact, there are many reasons for adopting new research approaches in cultural management in general that allow for investigation of the wider diversity of the field. In thinking of an alternative research program, however, one would have to rethink the ontological, epistemological, and political issues. I will mention just a few.

Starting from basics, CMR needs to rethink the notion of what is an arts organization. Opposing the idea of a coherent, rationally constituted, and reasonably structured entity, critical management studies suggest that the real world of organizations is much messier than researchers portray. As Linstead suggests, "organization is continuously emergent, constituted, and constituting, produced and consumed by subjects" (Linstead 1993, 60).

After that, how can we best gather data on organizations? Listening to a manager and taking her/his words as the complete, authoritative, and only reality is positivism taken to its extremes. The same objection stands for taking strategic documents as the main source of data. As Marsden notes in the case of positivist management studies "organizations are restricted to what is observable" (Marsden 2005, 144). Strangely enough, what is observable is often the least important and relevant. Some claim that "there is a curious absence of human actors and their actions in most strategy theories" and inside mainstream strategy research "little room . . . for living beings whose emotions, motivations and actions shape strategy" (Jarzabkowski & Spee 2009, 69).

For many researchers, as I have noted above, it is simply much easier to study strategic documents, plans or cash flow, than to interfere with the social dynamics of humans who make the organization what it is. As a result, instead of looking at the messy reality of organizations with all the contradictions, discontinuities, ruptures, and nuances, what we are left with is a cleansed, unilateral, and simplified picture of how an organization is managed. In other words, there is a whole world of arts organization management that is left unexplored in such approaches.

Finally, and no less importantly, political questions are also pertinent. When a research field gets accustomed to listening to only a certain pitch of the voice, it slowly becomes normal to treat all other sounds as noise. However, in that noise, there might be some very meaningful sounds that have the right to be heard. Most research takes into account only top management. As Jarzabkowski and Spee note that most strategic management research studies "focus primarily on top managers, as if only one elite group could act strategically" (Jarzabkowski & Spee 2009, 69).

Still, there are all sorts of alternative, oppressed, dissonant, and contradictory voices that are seemingly silent inside organizations. They all produce, evaluate, act, represent, and create meanings, values or images. With currently dominant research approaches, however, they are routinely excluded.

This is all why the time is ripe for serious changes in the ways CMR understands and researches organizational phenomena. As Feldman and Orlikowski state, "contemporary organizing is increasingly understood to be complex, dynamic, distributed, mobile, transient, and unprecedented, and as such, we need approaches that will help us theorize these kinds of novel, indeterminate, and emergent phenomena" (Feldman & Orlikowski 2011, 1240). Luckily, a new research program does not have to be invented from whole cloth. In the field of critical management studies, sociology of organizations, organizational ethnography, and others, researchers already apply different sets of tools and have different assumptions from which to start. In the last part of this chapter, I will present one instance of a research project using a novel approach in order

to show, in practice, what an alternative might look like. It will serve as a further explication of new possibilities in philosophical and methodological approaches for studying arts organizations.

Case: Cultural Management as a Social Practice

In this example, I intend to show what an alternative research program might bring to the CMR in relation to existing research. I will first offer a theoretical and methodological approach based on social practice. Subsequently, I will look at one case in which this approach was applied (Tomka 2016). I discuss research findings produced and why the approach used has merit in relation to other possible research approaches.

Theoretical Assumptions

Across the social sciences, there is a growing interest in social practices. Practice-based theories and the research inspired by them are growing more popular from media studies, to arts and from management studies to ICTs. In this rather heterogeneous group, there are certain common threads that will serve here as an introduction. Primarily, understanding social as a web of practices means taking a step away from entities, towards actions and from what things *are* to what things *do*. In management studies, as Feldman and Orlikowski (2011) wryly note, studying practices means that in the classical schemes of organizations depicted by boxes and arrows (organizational charts and diagrams), more attention is given to arrows—that is, to processes and activities. In strategic research, it is the move from strategies to strategizing (Johnson, Leif & Whittington 2003). At the same time, in management studies, the shift has been from organization to humans. Second, practice-based research is trying to overcome the long-standing division between micro and macro explanations in social sciences and agency-structure dualism (Reckwitz 2002). In place of dualism, duality is invoked, but also a sort of relation in which agency and structure are mutually constituting each other (Feldman & Orlikowski 2011). Third, it is a move from rationalist ideas of knowledge as visible and readily available content, to more practical, habitual, and unreflected ways of knowing.

A key term to be understood is practice, defined as "embodied, materially mediated arrays of human activity centrally organized around shared practical understanding" (Schatzki 2001, 11). One of the most prominent characteristics of practice is that it is routinized. As Reckwitz suggests, practice is "a routinized way in which bodies are moved, objects are handled, subjects are treated, things are described, and the world is understood" (Reckwitz 2002, 250). In order for practices to be habitual, that is repeated, there has to be certain kind of knowledge, which is both individual and structural (Giddens 1984). However, it is neither completely

conscious nor completely out of reach. It is what Schatzki calls "practical understanding," and Giddens "practical consciousness." As Swidler notes, "People do not build lines of action from scratch, choosing actions one at a time as efficient means to given ends" (Swidler 1986, 277). Instead, situations are much less clear than rudimentary scientific cause-and-effect models would suggest.

As Geiger indicates (2009 134), "practice-based organization studies make us aware that knowledge is not something formal and abstract out there, waiting to be discovered through adequate scientific methods." So where is the knowledge? Most of knowledge is not reflected, but rather implied and self-explanatory to those who act according to it. It is precisely this reproduction of the implicit, which anchors activities and turns them into routinized practices. For this reason, practices replace the concept of structure as used in many previous theories. Regarding practice, knowledge is generated through joint action within a certain collectivity (Gherardi 2012, 3). In other words, it is a relation "among people in activity in, with, and arising from the socially and culturally structured world" (Lave & Wenger 1991, 51).

It is precisely this aspect of social practice theories which stands in sharp opposition to what I called the positivist-rationalist approach to studying arts organizations. So, what is an alternative possibility for understanding organizations? They are networks of mutually interconnected collective practices (Corradi, Gherardi & Verzelloni 2010; Gherardi 2006). Hence, to understand an organization, one needs to analyze practices and practitioners within organizations as well as the social networks around them. This approach therefore moves away from the managerial fetish of organization as a solid and coherent entity.

Practice theory has serious repercussions for methodology as well. Since practices are unreflected, and many practitioners do not possess a readily available description of them, simply asking individuals to fill out a questionnaire is not the best idea. In this approach, research interaction is understood as some sort of a "critical situation" in which habit is disturbed and reflection begins (Giddens 1984, 41). However, not every interview, focus group, or other data-gathering technique will enable reflection. This is why familiarization, longer, and repeated interviews, observations, informal interactions, diaries, and projective techniques are better grounds for having insight into practical knowledge (Nicolini 2009).

Understanding SKCNS and Its Context

Student Cultural Center Novi Sad (SKCNS) is a complex and somewhat atypical organization. Officially, it is a public student cultural center under the supervision of the Secretariat for Education of the Province of Vojvodina (north of Serbia). According to its mandate, SKCNS is in

charge of "ensuring the cultural, artistic, informational, and recreational rights of students." This is also a definition that most employees would offer in any official circumstance, including formal, structured interviews. They could back up such claims by providing the number of music albums of young bands they produce, by the number of books of young authors they publish, or the number of student exhibitions they organize. As a whole, this would easily fit in socialist Yugoslavia's pattern of a student cultural center, a model which was established in all major university centers across the country during the sixties.

The organization operates at the crossroads of public education and cultural institution in Serbia, a country which, from the end of the nineties, was in transition from a semi-market, semi-planned economic system and socialist democracy, to a neoliberal capitalist society. State expenditure decreased for over two decades. State-owned companies and assets have been mostly privatized, and more and more social amenities, like free education, health services, and culture, have decreased as a result. As state intervention in cultural and educational research decreases, the perceived symbolic value of educational and cultural practices rise in segments of the society inclined to having and using their cultural capital to claim their societal positions (Spasić 2013). Consequently, being "cultured" plays an important role in social struggles of Serbia today. As for explicit cultural policies, despite the alarming decrease of state expenditures on culture (which is currently less than 0.5% of government budget), the Ministry of Culture still plays a crucial role in the field with the power to name directors and managing boards of most institutions. Inter-sectorial cooperation is underdeveloped (with departments of tourism, media, education, and employment), as well as corporate sponsorship beyond large-scale public events and festivals.

In this context, the success and growth of SKCNS in the last ten years, despite being a public institution with limited funding, might look like a contradiction. Starting from just a small basement venue, the organization has succeeded in growth and today it manages three venues: a former industrial warehouse that functions as a multimedia cultural venue for up to 500 people (for rock concerts, exhibitions, small fairs, theatre plays, and other events); a summer cultural center on the water, which is literally a ship on the central spot of the river Danube in the city of Novi Sad; and a small youth conference venue. At the close of my study in 2015, SKCNS did all that with 19 employees and a rather modest annual budget. Using new venues, SKCNS continuously produces a wide range of content, much of which falls outside its mission of being a student cultural center.

This however, becomes visible only once the researcher steps beyond the *prima facie* of the organization. Then, a whole world of other, at first sight "unfitting," elements appear. SKCNS organizes craft beer fairs and old record and comic swap events; they participate in international projects for high school children; they produce albums of well-established

musicians and publish books of famous writers; they co-produce professional theatre plays; they produce large-scale punk and rock festivals; and they stand behind a myriad of projects and events that simply could not be characterized as student culture or even youth culture in any possible way. They are renting their venues on a commercial basis; they have built a floating cultural center that travels to villages and pedestrian quays of the nearby cities; they hire employees with various types of contracts and act in other ways not usual, or even appropriate, for public cultural or educational institutions. On the other hand, they are not supporting many student organizations; they do not have students on their advisory or managerial boards; their collaboration with faculties is not that developed; and they do not organize student parties, excursions, and cultural events of many artists who are popular amongst the students, but do not fit into the tastes of the employees.

The main key to understanding SKCNS is to understand the way their employees understand themselves and make decisions (not necessarily conscious) on the everyday basis. They explicitly define themselves as countercultural ("punk," "irritating," "weird") and behave in this way. When I asked one of the music producers to imagine how others would explain SKCNS, he responded: "as a bunch of weirdoes, who do nothing, or maybe something, but no one knows what." They understand themselves to be a battlefield formation in defense of arts against cultural commercialization, media sensationalization, and bad taste. As their deputy director states: "We are a cultural quick reaction force!" "We are an institution who keeps putting fingers into people's eyes—we are always punk, always counter!" proudly states their project coordinator.

From that perspective, many oddities can be understood as a part of some pattern, and not only as mistakes and incidents that stand out from the rule and need to be rejected in the research process. Employees offer their premises widely and freely, make generous deals in publishing, and invest a lot of free time all in order to support what is (in their own view and words) "healthy," yet "endangered," "marginalized" and "refused by others" (they support contemporary dance, punk music, politically engaged theatre and other art forms that seldom find support from public cultural institutions). Their working time, contracts, and organizational decision-making processes are messy, unstructured, and often chaotic, but that is what a "punk organization" should look like. At the same time, this is why folk singers, DJs, as well as many professors have no place in SKCNS. Finally, this is also why participatory practices with audiences are not initiated. When asked to describe their ideal-typical audience member, their deputy director, while only slightly joking, offered the following image (story drawn and rephrased from a longer quote): *He is male, he comes alone, before the sound check. He stands in front of the stage half drunk. If he wasn't at the concert, he would be at a bridge, contemplating about his suicide*. The image of desirable audience is in fact an image of what

a cool, misunderstood punk music fan, might look like—image far from the reality of SKCNS core target group, as well as most members of the actual audience.

Therefore, their whole organizational logic is directed at the collaboration with artists they appreciate. All others, do not count. What sustains their somewhat unorthodox and abrupt organizational behavior is also a lack of reflexivity, self-assessment, and evaluation—which is, again, also part of their on-the-battlefield and in-a-hurry attitude. They do not see that by doing all this, they also infringe their statute and their mandate as a public cultural institution devoted to satisfying and developing cultural needs of a student population.

However, their strategy is not an official one. No planning document would claim that, nor would any of employees *easily* confirm this trajectory. Confronted with the contradictions of their behavior, the international project manager responded somewhat ironically: "yes, that is so punk, we don't care, we live in our isolated world." Thus, to understand why the organization has drifted from the statute and mission in that particular direction, it was important for me to understand the sum of their personal assumptions and discourses, as well as how they interact within the collective to normalize such contradiction.

Research Approach

In this section, I will discuss some important research decisions which contributed to understanding unique attributes of SKCNS. I will highlight the research decisions and processes that take a different path from the most commonly used cultural management research approaches of a positivist kind, which I have sketched out before. I will consider some of the key points of divergence, namely: long-term ethnographical field research with repeated formal and informal interviews; the understanding of the sociocultural context and the relation of the SKCNS to cultural battles in Serbia; collecting data beyond the socially desirable claims of the employees and submitting them to critical interpretation; going beyond manager as a key representative of the organization; and avoiding simplifications offered by certain theories.

First, my field research of SKCNS took place over almost three years with some periods where I conducted no research. Interviews and discussions happened in the spring of 2011 culminating in the spring of 2014. I have talked with the majority of employees, from administrative staff, to producers and the director. For most interviewees, my interaction with them occurred multiple times. Some of the discussions had a more formal character—usually a first interaction. But many of those happened in informal settings in the context of daily work, for example, before and after performances, during a festival, or at the opening receptions of an exhibition. In addition, I arranged talks with collaborators and friends

of the organization, and with their audience members. I also attended performances and activities by the organization during that period. I have discussed many of the findings from the interviews with members of the organization later on. In this way, information was re-circulated and used as an incentive for new and deeper understandings. Such a research process enabled me to understand many apparently confusing aspects of the organization and go beyond the usual interpretations of arts management.

Second, it was important to acknowledge the context in which SKCNS operates and observe all the employees as parts of wider networks of meaning and practice. As I have noted, in Serbia, highbrow culture and art in particular stand in opposition to what is being promoted by the majority of centers of power. In fact, the whole field of "highbrow culture" (including most of public cultural institutions) is perceived as anti-establishment (Spasić 2013). For the SKCNS employees, the anti-establishment is precisely what a *student* cultural center should be. It should have a rebellious attitude. This is also why, for employees, it is not relevant that none of them is actually a student or an educated youth worker. Moreover, when they perceive students, who should be their main users, as not rebellious and avant-garde enough, they are ready to denigrate them. "Students are a strange kind . . . like sheep in a pen . . . give them drinks, give them crowds, give them entertainment," one of SKCNS' producers commented in our conversation. Therefore, their inclination towards anti-establishment and counterculture, falling outside of their understanding of students' "wants," can be implicitly understood as the position of "enlightenment" aimed at influencing the tastes of "ordinary" students towards more cultured, punk, and cool content.

A failure to understand this context and SKCNS' particular position in it could lead to the conclusion that they are simply not doing what they are supposed to do—operating as an organization for students. The same conclusion would be made if the positivist approach to research would take researchers to studying official documents and the website. The big problem here is that they do not have any strategic documents, plans, and vision. However, this lack is not a consequence of the lack of managerial skills—making such documents stands in sharp opposition to some of the main attitudes of the employees—that is, being free, rebellious, and conforming to the hectic needs of the arts community, including the disregard of their official mandate.

Third, in the research process, all the data was submitted to critical interpretation. Of course, being a public institution, they cannot voice out their dissatisfaction with students (as in the above cited quote), their contempt with mainstream cultural policies, for example. One of the telling examples is the organization's discourse on their audiences. When directly asked, the tendency is to use superlatives. "Without our audiences, we would have no reason to exist," declares a music producer with utmost certainty. This is why projective questions like "who do you think would

miss your organization the most?" were beneficial. Half an hour before the superlative expression, when asked who would miss them the most, he recalls various groups—underground poets and writers ("independent publishing would literally cease to exist!"), young punk bands, a circus group—but the audiences never make the list. Precisely the lack of audiences in the response and prevalence of artists is a much better explanation of their organizational position than any explicit question on audience development could possibly yield. Another way around the desired discourse is of course to spend time in less formal settings. As I quoted above, the passing commentary of a producer looking through the windows of their offices and seeing a group of passing students—and comparing them to sheep—can be much more telling than formal interviews.

Fourth, the research had to go beyond the manager's view. The manager is the one who has the most pronounced official and public responsibility. In his discourse, without much pushing from the researcher, all these contradicting and problematic elements are smoothed out: "we are a public institution, open to everyone—whoever steps through these doors, we'll support them." That is, of course, not true—folk music has never been performed there, despite its popularity within the student population. Moreover, they are not as passive and receiving as this quote would suggest, but rather very supportive and creative in pushing certain artists and aesthetic forms. However, in his discourse, these selective practices are hidden, because the manager has to declare himself as publicly responsible.

Moreover, existing theoretical constructs could not be simply projected onto the organization. For example, if we take "audience development" as a conscious set of market-oriented activities (e.g. Maitland 1997), one would have to say that it is underdeveloped and lacking, so that managerial intervention is neither complete nor adequate. But that would be an external projection of what "organization" should be as some imaginary, prescribed form of organization. In that view, any organization that does not meet the ideal would be viewed as lacking in some way, and some forms of improvement would be suggested. However, such a perspective misses an essential point; it does not provide adequate explanation of what happens in the actual, rather than the ideal organization. From the perspective of employees, however, any mismatch between actual and ideal is not relevant. It does not trouble them, nor does it have an impact on employees' networks of social relations and partners as long as they perceive that what they do contributes towards a cultural and social reality that fits their desires and wants.

Finally, it would have been a mistake to characterize SKCNS as a single, coherent "organizational entity." For example, from the positivist marketing perspective, an arts organization is an economic entity which interacts with members of the audience in the context of the market in terms of supply and demand, both of which are radical simplifications. Following this reasoning, it is an open question whether audience development strategies

are truly demand driven or supply driven despite the view that most marketing experts might take (Lee 2005). It is also open to debate whether marketing logic has truly replaced Romanticist notions of arts autonomy according to which, the product (art piece or event) is more important than other factors. For me, it is not the question whether demand or supply is the principal alignment, but the very idea of "supply" (here I won't focus on the equally problematic demand side) and "product" because they are rather wild theoretical abstractions serving the purpose of easy explanation and managerial decision-making.

Contrary to that, the realities of the organizations are much more nuanced, diverting, and fluid. There is nothing as coherent and neat as a "supply" in what SKCNS does. Looked at from this point, their programming appears hectic and incoherent. However, as I have already argued, there *is* a logic behind this seemingly chaotic stream of practices. The logic is constantly negotiated and in transformation, but it is not a Romantic idea of arts which mysteriously lands on top of the organization, as one simplistic explanation might suggest. There are very concrete social relations, activities, interactions, and personal stories which, in the end, produce a trajectory which we can explain. In this case, it is SKCNS' position as an institutional outlaw, rebels with a cause of hosting all that they perceive as under threat and good for society. But we cannot arrive at such explanations if highly complex and fluid networks of agents and their practices are simplified, solidified, and locked into self-absorbing explanatory models through a positivist-rationalist gaze.

Limitations and Further Implications

None of this can be understood by way of short-term, formal, and one-off interviews or focus groups. What I needed to do is to make room for reflection, for casual talks, for getting to know the organization beyond its formal narratives, and to confront actors with insights from observation and from discussions with other employees, audiences, partners, and other relevant stakeholders.

Of course, such an approach has its shortcomings. First of all, such research requires a lot of time and effort from a researcher. It also requires a full acceptance by the organization under analysis, which might considerably narrow the scope and number of possible research subjects. With such an idiosyncratic process, it makes any comparison very difficult. Finally, some structural patterns of the wider field are probably impossible to notice with a detailed study of one organization.

Still, I posit that a real understanding of organizations as complex phenomena requires complex approaches. From the mutual interaction and comparison of findings, from understanding an organization as a part of wider networks of social practices and as a community of humans who act, deeper understandings might occur.

Conclusion

This chapter is grounded on the conviction that research over time can serve as a locking device for discourses, constructs, and identities. Over time, a certain notion of arts organization is accepted as a norm. Social relations conceptualized within this norm, as well as notions of arts, creative labor, arts policy, and funding are also normalized. The question of why researchers choose to engage in a particular type of research associated with these norms is beyond the scope of this text. Research of a different kind is needed to answer that question as well. Still, I would argue that cultural management researchers are inclined towards subjects and themes to which their chosen methods are most easily applicable and where their expertise is perceived as most useful. Following such an agenda, they describe problems, challenges, issues, and other research matters in a way that makes them readily solvable with a readily available arts management toolbox. The result may very well be that we view everything in arts organizations as ready-made for managerial-type solutions. In the words attributed to Mark Twain, "To a man with a hammer, everything looks like a nail."

A version of this critique is very well-known and has been for some time. The fight to restrict application of for-profit tools in the field of arts and culture is pervasive. Writing just when the last crisis was under way, DeVereaux teased (2009): "The idea that arts and cultural nonprofits should be more like their for-profit cousins may be less attractive now then just a few years ago." However, we might be at a point at which discussion between profit-nonprofit is no longer so relevant. It is the whole project of modernity and its positivist science and rationalist management that is under scrutiny that goes hand in hand, nonetheless with the conviction that it is possible to improve the functioning of (arts) organizations by managing them better. That is, however, often not the case—some pertaining issues cannot be solved just by doing better what we already do inside the same unchanged system.

There are many hard questions for social scientists today. However, answers are not forthcoming as long as we avoid posing critical questions about the research we do. We also need to differentiate between researchers and consultants. Researchers are less likely to reject inconvenient, unsolvable, and unpleasant findings. Nonetheless, change can happen only if researchers, themselves, put effort into understanding their own presumptions and habitual choices. Responsibility lies with the researcher as to what kind of reality is presented, in what ways, and with what consequences.

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8 Why Are Evaluations in the Field of Cultural Policy (Almost Always) Contested? Major Problems, Frictions, and Challenges

Tasos Zembylas

Introduction

Formal and systematic evaluations[1] in the fields of the arts and culture and, more specifically, in the context of cultural policy, are a means of attaining certain case-specific goals such as verifying effectiveness, efficiency, breadth of impact. Alongside this practical dimension, evaluations, their conception, methods, and application are also the subject of theoretical and methodological debate in the social sciences. That evaluations touch on ethical issues also gives rise to meta-discourse (O'Neill 1999; Sayer 1999). This article tackles a concept associated with multiple practices that have been discussed from various scientific perspectives. In this case, "practices" are "organized, spatio-temporal nexuses of doings and sayings" (Schatzki 2014, 18).

Evaluations involve multiple tensions arising from dissimilar interests, epistemological differences, and diverging professional conceptions (Dahler-Larsen 2015; Power 1999, 2000). I begin this article, therefore, with the following observation: the sense and realization of evaluations in the context of cultural policy are subjects for debate. But the dispute is not only scientific in character. It also relates to our convictions concerning the rationality of state actions. Do we trust that scientific knowledge, rational and well-argued debate, and democratic principles are at work in everyday political life, or do we consider today's democracies to be ideological phantasms? If so, are staged political programs, regular elections, the existence of reviewing bodies, and evaluation studies simply tactics—more or less successful—to conceal real power interests and hegemonic relations?

My critical perspective does not arise, as some might suspect, from "the hermeneutics of suspicion" (Paul Ricoeur 2008, 32). There is good reason to believe that evaluations in the public sector not only satisfy the growing public expectation of accountability, but also feed the hope that, despite all existing particular interests, political action follows a number of general rational principles and objectivity requirements, as discussed, for example by Stockman and Meyer (2016). The hope is also

expressed in the ambiguous concept of "epistemic governance" (Alasuutari & Qadir 2014), which emphasizes the role of scientifically generated knowledge in political decision-making processes. And yet, criticism persists denouncing evaluations by state authorities as eyewash and pretense for evidence-based policy. Let us assume that both sides—the proponents of communicative rationality as well as the doubters—have good grounds for their respective convictions. The assumption helps to capture the ambivalence often associated with evaluations.

To be clear: my contribution does not take a position against evaluations. Rather, it aims to provide a practice-oriented analysis of pragmatic conditions, epistemological problems and ethical issues related to evaluations, to reveal the inherent fragility of evaluation processes. It therefore addresses:

- the concept of evaluation;
- evaluations in the area of public cultural policy regulated by statute;
- the motives underpinning evaluations in the field of cultural policy;
- the challenges of formulating the commissioning document for an evaluation;
- selected basic problems of methodology;
- and a few specific parameters for evaluations.

While I hope to suggest conclusions applicable in various settings, my professional experience has been in three German-speaking countries—Germany, Austria, and Switzerland.

The Concept of Evaluation

There exist many different kinds of evaluation and audits, meaning there is a great variety regarding the object of evaluations (programs, regulations, processes, input/output relationships, effects), the timing (ex-ante, ongoing, ex-post), and the ways and means of execution (internal or external evaluation). (For a broad analysis of the existing evaluation literature in arts and culture management, see Labaronne 2017).

The idea of systematic evaluation as a tool for organizational management and governance is rooted in belief in rational planning and control of society (House 1993) and in the development of differentiated forms of ruling and policy legitimization (Rose 1991). The belief is genealogically essential to many kinds of social sciences; the concept of evaluation occurs in a variety of specialist discourses and is associated with different methodologies. The pervasiveness of this tool in many policy areas has led Ernest R. House (1993) to refer to evaluation as an institution. However, as Eleonora Belfiore and Oliver Bennett note, the quest for measuring the

worth of arts and culture "has tended to privilege quantitative approaches borrowed from the disciplines of economics and auditing, so that the humanities have found themselves squeezed out from this methodological search" (Belfiore & Bennett 2010, 124). Furthermore, the broad diversity of theoretical avenues and practical applications produces disagreement about what "evaluation" means.

Similar to Stockmann (2011), I understand evaluation to be a targeted, professional, and objective assessment or review, based on empirical data and limited in time, of current or completed undertakings, and measures in an institutional context. As a rule, every evaluation contains descriptive and evaluative components that are reciprocally related and thus inseparable. Evaluations are targeted because they have an in-order-to structure: they are carried out in order to gain insight into specific processes or activities; to plan, maintain or change something in a given situation; to control or legitimize the status quo; or to take, justify, or revise decisions on the basis of ascertained data and deliberative processes (at least in an ideal political world). In that sense, evaluations can be seen as part of planning, steering, and quality management (D'Angelo & Vespérini 1999; de Bruijn 2002; Stockmann 2011). Evaluation studies thus produce value judgments and recommendations for action, which, insofar as they are scientific, must be method-led, category-led, and compellingly argued. This definition of the concept of evaluation, however, is abstract and lacks practical relevance. In everyday policy making, directionality, motives, and influencing factors of evaluations are multi-layered. Moreover, the fact that evaluations have been generated in a scientific manner does not mean that they will be accepted as correct (Dahler-Larsen 2015; Selinger & Crease 2006). Evaluations usually trigger new acts of valuation[2] and themselves become the subject of assessments (Lamont 2012). Evaluations can be criticized and therefore require justification.

Evaluations of Cultural Policy in the Public-Statutory Domain

Given the broad diversity of evaluations and evaluative practices, I focus exclusively on evaluations in the area of public cultural policy, that is cultural policy regulated by statute. It is worth noting with regard to the public-statutory domain of cultural policy that most continental European countries—unlike, for example, the United States, Australia, Brazil, or South Korea—have a tradition dating to the days of royal courts of public funding for cultural activities. The largest share of public funding goes to museums, theatres, cultural, and events venues that directly or indirectly belong to the public sector. In Germany and Austria, the state is thus one of the biggest—perhaps *the* biggest—provider of artistic and cultural endeavors and therefore a powerful market actor. Simultaneously,

the state is a major stakeholder of subsidized arts organizations, heavily dependent on its funding policies.

The state's activities in arts and culture form an arc of suspense: Austrian constitutional law both stipulates state neutrality and openness towards cultural phenomena and gives the state a mission to promote culture. Official cultural policy and promotion of culture have to occur within a framework of targets and evaluations that follows the maxims of cultural pluralism. Naturally, the legal design of a state's commitment varies among countries. Nevertheless, evaluations of activities in the public-statutory domain are carried out within the context of superordinate regulations from administrative law that shape a state's administrative political actions. This means that evaluations in cultural policy are embedded in a complex mesh of legal standards. While funding models may differ in countries like the United States, the principles regarding neutrality of the state are the same.

The subjects of cultural policy evaluations are structures (including goals and resources), processes and their regulation, and the results and impacts of state action in cultural policy. Why these focal points? A domain, such as managing the state's promotion of culture or running public museums, can be over- or under-regulated. The targets of a political measure as contained in its strategic orientation and justification can be formulated precisely or else very generally and non-committally. Cultural policy resources can be either adequate for reaching the target or inconsistent. The internal set up of the state's cultural administration or the work processes in an organization can be fit for its purpose and efficient, or inefficient and unfit. The intended and unintended impacts of cultural policy can correlate more or less with the targets set and resources deployed. They can be positive or unsatisfactory. Put simply, three questions take center stage in evaluations of cultural policy actions (D'Angelo & Vespérini 1999; Stockmann 2011): are we doing the right things? Are we doing things right? And, are we achieving the desired effects?

Evaluations and their indicators thus correlate with prior concepts of effectiveness, efficiency, relevance, legitimacy, quality, excellence, and success (Lehtonen 2015). Institutional value specifications and regimes of justification also play a structuring role (Boltanski & Thévenot 2006; Friedland 2013). Concepts such as effectiveness, efficiency, quality, and success, however, are semantically open, or their practical significance "may be more a case of family resemblance than well-defined categories" (DeVereaux 2009, 155). Definitions implicitly or explicitly arrived at during evaluations can thus be rightfully contested (de Bruij 2002). For example, efficiency is a relational concept whose specific meaning in cultural policy action can only be gauged in connection with other properties. These include the quality of the process, artistic innovation and excellence, equality, participation, and fairness. This is because efficiency—understood as economical and goal-oriented action that

avoids wasting valuable resources—has no abstract and universal meaning. We can act economically and rationally, and yet ruin a museum's entire collection, trample the basic principles of public administration, or force a whole group of creative artists into financial precariousness due to the tensions between "efficiency" and the conception of "human well-being" (Keat 1999; Sen 1977). The concept of quality is just as equivocal (Chiaravalloti & Piper 2011). Objectivist approaches relate the concept of quality to an object's characteristics, which they believe is easy to describe. Social constructivist approaches, however, interpret quality, not as observable attributes, but as the result of an evaluation of an object or as the outcome of a process to negotiate the value of an object (Herman & Renz 1997).

These differences are virtually unsolvable because they build on different presuppositions, both ontological (concerning what exists and appears to be real) and epistemological (concerning what can be known and seems intelligible). Simultaneously, contested concepts, such as efficiency, quality, and success, are significant for evaluation research: without prior clarification of the type of evaluative criteria to be used, and their purpose, it would be hard for methodological issues arising during an evaluation to be solved consistently.

These examples suggest that evaluations are also ways of establishing sovereignty over interpretation and valuation. It is therefore unsurprising that evaluations are confrontational, not only because they affect different political and material interests, but also because they rely on concepts and criteria that often cannot be defined in a way that makes consensus possible in principle (Gallie 1962). This emphasizes a central requirement for evaluation studies in the public-statutory domain: they must be publicly deliberative. As long as evaluations—their basic conception, methods, and conclusions—are discussed in public, inherent problems will become visible and joint processes of learning can begin.

Motives for Initiating Evaluation Studies

Following Jürgen Habermas (1994), many see deliberation as a core characteristic of open liberal democracies (Bohman 1996), where problem-centered and solution-orientated debate on issues concerning the common good leads to collective decisions in a process of consultation. Similarly, the concept of epistemic governance highlights the role of scientific knowledge in policy processes, giving special attention to power relations in the production and dissemination of such knowledge and its integration or rejection in policy making (Vadrut 2011). From this perspective, Perrti Alasuutari and Ali Qadir argue that "professionals with recognized expertise and an authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge within a particular domain . . . influence the coordination of state policies" (Alasuutari & Qadir 2014, 69).

Neither interpretation is wrong; however, we might object that the first is normative and the second sketches a rather incomplete picture of political processes. By contrast, my own daily experience of policy confirms my impression that political power and legitimacy are stabilized by gaining control over interpreting what is right and just to do. But if evaluations are not, as a rule, a means of public deliberation and a way to take policy decisions based on reason and evidence, then we need to inquire after the real motives for ordering or commissioning evaluations in the public sector. This question is empirically complex since there exists a multiplicity of goals and stakeholders involved in evaluation processes.

Furthermore, I use the adjective "real" motives because it is rare to publicly admit to pursuing illegitimate purposes and therefore (mis)using evaluations to achieve extraneous goals. I certainly accept that many of those responsible may in fact honestly believe in the possibility of using rational inferences and evidence-based arguments in policy making processes, based on their own experience (Meyer & Hammerschmid 2006). However, one should assume that the practical orientation and particular interests involved in commissioning evaluations are more complex. For example:

- Self-legitimation is a possible motive (and one that is occasionally publicly admitted), since different sorts of evaluations and assessments are generally regarded as key elements of "good management practice" and "good governance." This includes reinforcing the legitimacy of decisions already taken and implemented, including those taken but not yet made public. In other words, evaluations serve to underline political successes.
- To resolve internal power struggles. The state apparatus is not a uniform body. Political authorities from time to time commission evaluation studies for tactical reasons, such as promoting party particular interests. This includes cultural wars power struggles waged by rightwing populists. In this case, evaluations and audits as forms of informal censorship can neutralize critics.
- To carry out internal checks, when a higher political authority such as a municipal council or a state parliament mandates an evaluation of funding policy or of cultural administration by the public audit office or outside experts.
- The existence of a genuine readiness for change should also not be ruled out, where those responsible for cultural policy hope to develop new ideas with the aid of an evaluation.
- The opposite motive is also conceivable: a political authority initiates an evaluation study precisely because leading politicians do not want to change anything. In that case, the evaluation project helps them gain time, divert the public discourse, or present quasi "objective" arguments for the maintenance of the status quo.[3]

- Finally, authorities can also use evaluations to steer public discourse and extricate themselves from responsibility. This might happen, for example, if a municipal theater has accumulated sizeable financial problems over several years.

In sum, the underlying motives for cultural policy evaluation are significant. Very importantly, motives are not observable phenomena. And yet, they are concepts gained by interpretation that make political actions understandable. Analyzing the conception and use of evaluation studies provides clues for grasping political motives. Eleonora Belfiore and Oliver Bennett echo political scientists when referring to the "tenuous link" between policy and scientific research results. "In spite of the increasing popularity and acceptance of evidence-based policy within both policy theorization and practice, the pervasive perception that policy development remains largely unaffected by research is well-documented in the literature" (Belfiore & Bennett 2010, 128). This assessment holds true even where politicians and leading civil servants consistently seek information about the results of scientific studies and subjectively believe they are influenced by policy-related research (Weiss 1995).

Based on my observations in Austria, I can state the following: some evaluation studies only analyze and assess areas of secondary importance (such as relatively small or medium funding recipients). Some evaluation studies are published only in part or filed to the back of inaccessible desk drawers right after completion, allegedly for data protection. But there are also examples of evaluation studies that have high-quality and ignite public discourse, creating productive short- or medium-term dynamics in the field.

Formulating the Evaluation Commission

Underlying motives nonetheless remain an important topic given that the commission to do an evaluation can shape the subsequent work. An evaluation is not an end in itself, but rather a targeted, method-led valuation or audit of a set of circumstances, meaning that it serves a practical purpose. It also indicates that specific questions and foci need to be formulated at the beginning of every evaluation project (Loots 2015). This preliminary work is no trivial affair since it influences the general acceptance of the subsequent evaluation results. Hence it is important that the commissioners of an evaluation ensure that the great majority of the stakeholders acknowledge that the evaluation will focus on relevant problems. However, it is also possible that commisioners have blind spots in formulating evaluation projects (Bourdieu 1997) resulting in unintended effects. For example, funding policy can lead to unfair competition or hamper innovation; the precariousness of creative artists can arise from underfunding of cultural organizations and by insufficient checks on minimum standards

set by employment law. Overall, one should bear in mind that evaluation contracts are matters of responsibility, not only because evaluations take up a lot of time and material resources,[4] but also because simplistic, one-sided, and reductionist evaluation studies—often sloppily designed and poorly executed—can cause substantial harm.

Basic Methodological Issues

In his critique of New Public Management, Christopher Hood (1991) speaks of "business-type 'managerialism'" in the public sector, which invokes cost-benefit analyses and quantitative measurements (5). Since the 1980s, managerialism has gradually entered public administration discourse (Power 1999, 2000) increasing the tendency, as I have found, to represent performance evaluation exclusively in quantitative measures (expenditures, number of visitors or tickets sold, number of performances or exhibitions, intensity of media coverage, and the like). Such approaches are frequently associated with mostly unarticulated, positivist aspirations. Appropriate elementary data such as museums' and theatres' balance sheet figures are regarded as power- and value-free quantities needed as a first step toward analysis in order to reveal true empirical facts. Critics, of course caution against the theory-ladenness of any observation data. Along with John Searle, we might object that balance sheet ratios and visitor numbers are "institutional facts," that is artifacts produced by institutional practices wrongly viewed as "brute facts" (Searle 1995, 2). Moreover, quantitative data are underdetermined for the purposes of theoretical interpretation. That is to say, a data set can be explained by a multiplicity of hypotheses. Thus, there is no deductive path from data to evaluation results. Finally, in the absence of breaching legal standards, organizations still have some leeway in manipulating balance sheets and performance indicators. For practical purposes, organizations do this constantly, precisely because they have learned to react flexibly to their stakeholders' expectations (Frey 2008).

This distorted perspective on cultural organizations becomes even more virulent if Ellen Loots (2015) is right to stress the vagueness of the two concepts of "performance" and "effectiveness" at all levels (19). She states, "There are myriad ways for operationalizing organizational performance, different ways will lead to different theoretical predictions and empirical outcomes" (Ibid.). It is reasonable therefore to argue that the selection of relevant data, data collection design, and analysis predetermines, to a large degree, the directionality of the evaluation. Evaluators and their commisioners thus have an inescapably selective viewpoint and fundamentally consider only what interests them or seems desirable (Lehtonen 2015). Moreover, it is debatable whether all the relevant aspects of organizational performance and effectiveness are commensurable and presentable in a metric system (Loots 2015). Nevertheless, evaluation

problems cannot be solved by generally dispensing with quantitative measures. Purely qualitative evaluations run the risk of reaching highly selective judgments that confirm existing prejudices and preferences. As a result, most evaluation studies integrate both quantitative and qualitative data. For example, expert interviews, visitor polls, and document analyses are guided by case-specific challenges and constraints (DeGEval 2012; Stockmann 2011). This expands the basic material and triangulates the analysis.

In general, it should be noted that every data survey and evaluation method has its own inherent limitations. Precising indicators and analytical categories nonetheless still leave much that is unrecorded or unaccounted for. More generally, there are aspects and properties that cannot be expressed in figures or words (de Bruijn 2002). In some cases, unrecorded and unmeasurable data is often considered peripheral and insignificant. In other cases, there may be great discrepancy between the evaluation logic prescribed by a contract and the intrinsic values of the activity or institution that is being assessed (Sayer 1999). In the extreme, incommensurable features of artistic production (for example, new professional experience and inspiration that nourishes future artistic creativity, or strong emotional experience that stimulates reflection and discussion upon important issues of social life) are often viewed by artists as the core components of their achievements, a factor that is often emphasized by humanities and arts lobbying associations who are often pressured to provide quantitative measures to support favorable policies. Thus, a sharp conflict arises when managerial rationality drifts away from the professional rationality of practitioners (de Bruijn 2002). Transnational organizations such as UNESCO, for example, in its *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* (2005), also conceive cultural activities as "vehicles of identity and values and meaning" irrespective of the commercial value they may have and aim at promoting the "intangible and material wealth" that derives from cultural diversity, people's own development, self-determination, equality, and innovation. Immaterial values are considered important for social and cultural development. If discounted in evaluations of cultural policy, they are generally seen as less relevant by many policy actors than elements measured quantitatively.

The gap between different rationalities and perspectives, which also manifests itself as an evaluative gap, can be politically charged. For instance, evaluators looking at cultural work and cultural organizations from the viewpoint of a for-profit or a narrowly defined instrumentalist logic will probably give strong emphasis to managerial and economic criteria and devalue noneconomic goals such as achieving "a high artistic quality," promoting "cultural participation," "development of capabilities," or "flourishing human life" (Hesmondhalgh 2017; Nussbaum 1997). Here I am also indicating a potential for an

intrinsically normative conflict, more so than just a power and interest conflict. That may be one of the reasons why creative artists are often not integrated into evaluation processes at all, or only superficially (Chiaravalloti & Piper 2011). However, such normative conflicts can only be resolved or defused (if at all) after intensive consideration. Ignoring them means understanding evaluation as something purely technocratic, which would undermine its legitimacy, acceptance, and meaningfulness in the cultural policy domain.

Further Parameters of Evaluation Studies

These reflections on the motives and methods of evalution studies in the field of cultural policy go hand in hand with a central question: why should we pay attention to the quality of evaluation studies? It is not enough to demand that evaluations fulfill the usual methodological quality criteria[5] and disclose the underlying intentions and the evaluation process. Based on my experience as leader of several evaluations in the field of cultural policy, I can certainly confirm that ambivalences and imponderables frequently crop up during evaluations to become forks in the path. It is not that the evaluative openness of the collected data makes the results arbitrary, but that numerous subtle valuations and decisions occur during studies that emphasize different features. No two evaluation studies of the same case could ever be identical. In the following sections, I discuss potential ambivalences and imponderables in more detail.

Evaluation and Governance

What part do those being evaluated play in an evaluation? This is a recurrent question to which there is no universal answer because of the many case-specific differences generated by the particularity of each evaluation. But the question is highly significant for policy: for every form of governance—meaning every practically established basic relationship between the state and its citizens, or between its cultural administration and applicants for funding—there is a corresponding relationship between evaluators and the evaluated. If, for example, the state regards funding recipients as supplicants, then it is unlikely that a cultural policy department will grant them an active contributory role in the evaluation process. If, on the other hand, the state pursues a cooperative governance approach, then it will establish forums for dialogue and discussion between its culture department and funding recipients, and probably ensure that the perspectives of those being evaluated are systematically taken into account in the evaluation process. But where the distance between evaluators and evaluated remains too great, the latter are very likely to perceive the former as technocrats with a "toolkit mentality"

(Belfiore & Bennett 2010, 124) who are far removed from practice and culture. This is why many evaluation experts now recommend choosing a participatory approach. The practical application of such an approach, however, can turn out to be difficult. For one thing, it is not always easy to identify the important target groups and stakeholders. For another, dialogue with them can be unproductive, especially if individuals from target groups or individual stakeholders take too narrow a view of circumstances that are, in fact, complex.

Evaluation Constellation and Evaluation Competence

Since evaluations matter in the social realm, the sociology of evaluations analyzes constellations of evaluative acts (Lamont 2012). Evaluators are on specific evaluative trajectories that arise from situation—and commission—related targets and epistemic presuppositions, for example, the implicit hints of the client, established evaluation practices, predetermined indicators and evaluation criteria, prior understandings of cultural organizations, and organizational performance. The term "evaluation constellation" therefore relates to the positions, characteristics, and relations of all participants in the evaluation process. A number of questions related to evaluative constellations may be important: are the evaluators academics, for example, or business consultants?[6] Are the evaluation paths prescribed by evaluation commissioners, or can they be modified in the course of the evaluation process? What are evaluators' specific understandings of the subject matter? What is their attitude[7] to the subject matter, for instance, their attitude to the cultural policy of their country and the relevant politicians, to the field of arts and culture, and to the specific art form or type of organization they evaluate, as well as to those who are subjected to the process? How do evaluators represent themselves and their achievements? Do they attempt to stay in the protected role of neutral and objective experts (to the extent it is possible), consultants or moderators? Finally, how do they convey understanding of their evaluative reasoning?

In practice, such questions are posed implicitly, and, sooner or later, the commissioners, those affected, and stakeholder groups will form opinions of the evaluation constellation and the evaluative competence[8] of the evaluators. It may be self-evident that the requirements for credible evaluation competence are not only within general scholarly competence but include sufficient knowledge of the specific cultural field under consideration (Brandt 2011). Outside of this, there is risk of generating indicators and drawing conclusions that will be considered invalid or too limited by individuals or groups affected by the evaluation. As Schuster notes, "In the arts and culture the tensions that arise in implementing such indicators have been rooted less in the theory than in the practice of performance indicators. This has meant that opposition has come not

from disagreement in theory but from actual issues arising out of practice" (Schuster 1996, 255). That is why Gilhespy (2001) and Salais (2008) advocate for individualizing indicators so that they measure the individual case rather than resorting to non-context-specific and standardized evaluative categories. While standardization might meet the needs of funding authorities, they are problematic foundations for decision-making. "We coexist" after all, "in a world filled with standards, but not in a standard world" (Timmermans & Epstein 2010, 84).

Unsurprisingly, those being evaluated are often suspicious of evaluators for the very reason that explicit evaluation and judging are normally attributes of power. Strategically motivated resistance to evaluations by those being evaluated may occur since, at stake, is control over the interpretation and valuation of an area of activity. Evaluators have a general responsibility to justify themselves, not only to their immediate client, but also to target groups and stakeholders. However, I have rarely observed an evaluation team consider these factors as part of their critical reflection. Probably individual evaluators may even take the stance that they used the standard indicators for x and are therefore not responsible for what politicians ultimately do with the evaluation study.

The Evaluation Subject and Its Context

Some evaluation studies tacitly treat their subjects (e.g. a specific organization) as isolated monads. They concentrate primarily on internal data. By contrast, the social sciences emphasize that organizations—or rather their structures, processes, and performances—are in a series of interdependent relationships with their environments. "Cultures cannot be understood apart from the contexts in which they are produced and consumed" (Crane 1992, ix). This leads logically, to the conclusion that evaluation studies should consider not only the interests, relationships, and conflicts of stakeholders,[9] but also all other contextual factors. This might include the situations of competitors, the efficacy of existing market structures and cooperative networks, gatekeeping processes, and the like. The concept of context is semantically open since there are other related concepts such as identified by a number of sociologists such as Goffman (1974) and the concept of frame, Clarke's (2005) situation, and Granovetter's (1983) social network. The concepts are widely used in the social sciences. Despite some differences, these concepts all refer to socio-ontological correlations of entitites. At times, the significance of context is exaggerated to the point of claiming, like Lawrence Grossberg that "context is everything and everything is contextual" (1997, 255).

And yet, every evaluation study is confronted with the same challenge of research practice: how to meaningfully define, for a given phenomenon, the context that is relevant for the specific case? Not everything can be considered as part of the context. Furthermore, the relations between the

subject of investigation and other contextual elements have to be clarified and empirically justified: are they causal, conditional, or transitive?[10] The same question arises concerning the connection between funding policy and observable phenomena such as artistic innovation, professionalization, cultural diffusion, developing new audiences, or the precariousness of cultural workers. Is state action, the cause of the phenomenon that we are studying, or just one condition of many? Moreover, for cultural policy decisions that follow from evaluation results, it is pertinent to know whether individual phenomena, in their dynamic complexity, are controllable in any way so that cultural policy measures can be designed and implemented (Braun 2008). Depending on the case, historical factors, which frequently play a vital role in the arts and culture (Kieser 1994), may have to be taken into consideration alongside context-specific parameters. These challenges are not only theoretical, but demand both experience in research practice and power of judgment, since the solutions needed for a specific case have to be made to measure and are almost impossible to generalize.

The Rhetoric of the Evaluation Report

The structure, terminology, and language style of the evaluation report are not coincidental. All these aspects are purposeful, which means that they are intended to communicate the objectivity and professionalism of the study, as well as satisfying and convincing the commissioning body and important stakeholders (Alasuutari & Qadir 2014; Belfiore & Bennett 2010). Drawing on personal experience, I will address the uncertainties and ambiguities in evaluative reasoning and in the formulation of results and recommendations.

First, there are several evaluation criteria involved: artistic, economic, social, and policy-related, which correspond to a multitude of cultural policy objectives. The prioritization of particular criteria demonstrates how pre-selected values are instituted and legitimized. Thus, it is worth analyzing the variety and composition of criteria used in a report. Or, to put it somewhat differently: is the evaluation report multidimensional in its approach?

Second, the relationship and weighting of the various criteria are not straightforward. For instance, the importance of evaluative criteria related to target achievement such as excellence, innovation, access, education, community building, empowerment, as well as the significance of economic criteria, may be different from case to case (Kirchberg 2005; Weil 2002). One might ask if there is critical reflection on evaluative ambiguity? Are well-argued explanations and justifications provided for rankings (important criteria versus less important criteria) that have gained acceptance during the process of evaluative reasoning?

Finally, evaluations are relational because we regularly evaluate one thing in relation to another comparable or different case. However,

comparability and difference are always partial and require justification. Does the evaluation compare and contrast several case analyses, or does it evaluate a case in isolation and without reference to other examples?

Reflexivity in the evaluation report can thus be demonstrated by articulating the inherent and almost ineradicable uncertainties mentioned above (Chiaravalloti & Piper 2011). But, this contradicts the occupational habitus of many evaluators who like to provide unambiguous results and present themselves as sovereign experts.

The Relationship Between Applied Social Research and Policy

While evaluation commissions are formulated deliberately and for specific purposes, evaluators often claim to be impartial and objective. Of course, evaluators normally possess the necessary specialist knowledge that enables them to systematically collect and analyze data in line with relevant scientific criteria. However, in my view, this methodological competence does not constitute objectivity because there are obvious influencing factors in obtaining evaluation results. The evaluative process is interactive and has several participants: commissioning client, evaluators, those being evaluated, and target groups. Their dynamic interdependencies create unpredictable and uncontrollable effects which influence the processes of deliberation and judgment. In the case of internal evaluations, this is even more of an issue.

This does not mean that academics lose their autonomy as soon as they receive a commission for a public evaluation (Bourdieu 1997). It is possible to both accept a commission and resist being absorbed or instrumentalized. Further, specific points of the evaluation commission, including goals and methods, are often negotiable. If necessary, experienced professionals who accept an evaluation commission can preserve their manuverability to generate more complex approaches to research subjects and to integrate various actors into the project (Ibid.). However, evaluators who lack criticality and self-reflexion may debase themselves into what might be thought of as intellectual assembly line workers, manufacturing epistemic governance, as suggested by DeVereaux, concerning the role of reflection in practice (2009).

I have criticized the claims to objectivity made by evaluation studies, but without challenging their meaningfulness in principle. A discussion of policy matters on the basis of (provisionally) justified knowledge is valuable in democratic politics. Experts in this context are therefore political actors. In modern societies, however, they are able to keep a relative distance from politics. Scientific evaluation studies must therefore obtain results by thoughtful weighing-up within a social field where different logics of action and justification, as well as antagonistic interests, apply.

There are no maps or signposts for a route that we could follow blindly. As a result, evaluators' aptitudes and discernment reveal themselves mainly in the commensurability of their criteria for the judgments they make and their formulations.

Overdoing It—Pathologies of Evaluation

All in all, evaluations should have a positive impact on cultural policy environments. For example, they should be an impetus for change, enable quality control, and strengthen legitimacy. But can they also have negative or paradoxical effects on cultural or artistic activities? The answer is connected to some (potentially) unintended effects of evaluations.

One effect is that those being evaluated may be too closely guided by the evaluation criteria provided, because evaluations in the field of cultural policy are usually linked to funding decisions. If you have been evaluated and approved, you will continue to receive funding; but, if your evaluation is negative, you run the risk of having future grant applications rejected or curtailed. Evaluations as gatekeeping processes may cause cultural organizations to neglect aspects of their own cultural aims in order to optimize performance indicators. Moreover, permanent efficiency requirements (reducing costs, intensifying marketing, and the like) are not always compatible with artistic creativity so that the management of a cultural organization might be inclined to adapt its hierarchy of goals to the requirements of the evaluation. In the long-term, the "permeation of organizations by evaluative practices" (Maier & Brandl 2008, 79) supports conventional behavior and institutional isomorphism (de Bruijn 2002; DiMaggio & Powell 1983). This is because regular and especially standardized evaluations make the organizations that most successfully assimilate the evaluation criteria into a kind of model for others. Such (potentially) unintended effects can sometimes lead to a loss of adventurousness, willingness to take risks, and originality in favor of programming that promises success under current evaluation criteria (Boorsma & Chiaravalloti 2010; Gilhespy 2001; Salais 2008).

It may also be that some areas of cultural policy are over-researched leading to evaluation fatigue and low responsiveness on the part of those being evaluated. Motivation drops even further when the results of several evaluations are contradictory or when their expectations of the effort and usefulness of evaluations are systematically unmet (Braun 2008; Westphal, Gulati & Shortell 1997).

Finally, when used as audits, evaluations should reduce funding bodies' mistrust towards funding recipients or executives' mistrust toward employees. But the need for control must be balanced with trust to avoid inducing dysfunctional behavior such as causing high frustration levels or destroying employees' intrinsic motivation (Braun 2008; Frey 2008).

Recapitulation and Final Comments

Evaluations in the field of cultural policy are considered steering and governing instruments. They are intended to achieve positive effects including control, comparison and accountability, professionalization, quality assurance, and redefinition of objectives. Through them, the state exerts a legitimate, but not always unproblematic, influence on cultural organizations and creative artists. This chapter advocates for critical reflection on prescribed evaluations in cultural policy.

Academic-theoretical doubts regarding the results of social science measurements are long-standing, including the way they pertain to recommendations for policy action. Implied causal patterns between results and recommendations are usually speculatively justified and, only rarely, robustly. Moreover, cultural policy issues are normally more complex than the questions formulated in a commission document or the perspective realized in evaluation results (Salais 2008). Political decision-making processes should be seen, therefore, as processes that are neither linear nor purely rational (Sanderson 2002). To put it differently, the relationship between scientifically generated insights and policy decision-making processes is complicated in several ways. Ultimately, scientific logic and insights are not central categories of the practical logic of political action (Kogan 1999; Radin 2006). It is naïve, therefore, to believe that evaluation, if carried out in a scientifically authentic manner, *automatically* improves the quality of political action. And yet, none of my critical remarks is a compelling argument against evaluations *per se*.

Unlike evaluations in a private company, evaluations in the field of cultural policy are politically relevant—not just because political action is always a public matter, and not just because the arts and culture are a collective affair, but also because the utility of evaluation (and the damage it may do) has a direct or indirect impact on the public. It is precisely because evaluations lead to valuations, which can have practical consequences for both individuals and the common good, that ethical issues are central (Chiaravalloti & Piper 2011). Because experts do not have a monopoly on knowledge and judgments, evaluations of cultural policy states of affairs should, as a matter of principle, take place within the framework of public consultations. In this way, political action becomes situated and the relationship between the goals of cultural policy and its means is negotiated, including with those affected (Salais 2008). However, this raises a fundamental question of public deliberation: how to proceed considering the real asymmetries of power, resources, and competences among those involved?

Representatives of neoclassical and neoliberal economics might ask, "How can you justify ethical-normative criteria alongside economic criteria? Is it even epistemically legitimate, or simply a category mistake?" This is because corporate key figures are often seen as indicators that are comparatively above suspicion and norm-free, whereas ethical-normative criteria are

portrayed as being non-pertinent and unscientific. This viewpoint has been regularly challenged, especially using philosophical and political-economic arguments (Hesmondhalgh 2017; O'Neill 1998). That capitalism has, over the course of its development, positioned economics as positive and factual, and uncoupled it from social and ethical issues, is singificant. But there are also examples of economists, such as Amartya Sen (1999), who do not abstract economic discourse from human well-being. Sen (1993) and O'Neill (1998) interpret the concept of well-being, not as the satisfaction of subjective preferences, but as the potential to reach valuable states of being in conjunction with the actual ability to engage in practical reasoning and ethical action. To develop such abilities, people need freedom and equal chances (Sen 1993). Although arts and culture cannot replace other social aspects of life, they are related to basic needs such as cultural alignment and participation, freedom of expression and articulation, and creative encounters. Thus, the development of arts and culture touches not only on instrumental goals such as generating monetary profit, satisfying aesthetic needs, entertainment, mediating social distinction, and status, but also operates as an intrinsic good (Ibid.). Well-being (which is closely related to the Aristotelian concept of *eudaimonia*) is therefore not a subjective mental state, but the result of practical capacities and ethical agency.

If arts and culture can contribute anything to societal freedom and development, it is only because they can highlight important topics and act as catalysts of social interaction, public deliberation, and the negotiation of meanings and values. The process of doing so presupposes free access and participation and is associated with mutual recognition between members of society. Cultural organizations may (but do not always) play a pivotal role in the process, for example where they succeed in promoting people's capacities for understanding, weighing-up and valuing, and in initiating and enhancing social interactions and free exchange in the light of factors mentioned above. Cultural goods (artworks, aesthetic activities, cultural exchange, and the like) can therefore be characterized as transactional (Dewey 1929, 5; Vanderstraeten 2002, 233), transformative (Keat 2000, 157), or practical epistemological (Janik 2005, 55ff.) goods.

To summarize: I have argued that a number of internal and external factors prestructure evaluation studies and influence them throughout. Among these, I have addressed the commissioning client's motives; several challenges in formulating the commissioning document; the chosen methods; the epistemic (in)congruity of the various logics of evaluation that shape the legitimacy and acceptance of evaluation results; the necessity for using multidimensional criteria, and others. I have also emphasized six sensitive aspects:

1. Evaluation is not a technique of logical deduction or of an algorithmic procedure, but an artful practice of interpretation to make a case intelligible in the light of certain premises, projects, and policies,

2. Scientific practice is not depersonalized. Evaluators' competencies, attitudes, and communicative abilities are therefore critical for evaluation results to be accepted,
3. Meaningful demarcation and interpretation of the relationship between the evaluation subject and its context is particularly challenging,
4. Immanent uncertainties in evaluative reasoning are equally challenging. To keep them secret could give the impression of sovereignty. However, those with experience in cultural policy will see through rhetorical tricks and tactics,
5. Evaluation studies navigate through a mesh of divergent logics and antagonistic interests that are almost impenetrable. To claim that evaluators are not influenced by this and therefore remain impartial and objective should technically disqualify them. It shows a lack of critical self-reflection as well as ignorance of the fragility of evaluation processes,
6. The inclusion of those affected, of target groups and of stakeholders depends on the form of cultural governance,
7. Routine evaluations generate unintended negative effects. If we have had positive experiences of evaluations, we should take care to avoid excessive use of evaluative instruments.

Perhaps the fundamental issue underpinning a discussion about the purpose and limits of evaluations in the public-statutory domain is pointedly as follows: does the salvation of cultural policy (and the management of cultural organizations) lie in the sciences? The emancipatory effects of science have been emphasized since the Enlightenment (Taylor 1999). This claim also applies to the status of scientifically conducted evaluations of political decision-making processes. Nevertheless, scientists as well as evaluators only ask questions that they can answer using their tools and epistemological concepts. After all, this falls within the logic of scientific research and practice. But what about the questions for which the sciences can offer no clear answer? What about fairness and just distribution of public funds? Disregarding such issues has dire consequences; dismissing them as unscientific means refusing to take them seriously or discuss them systematically. Characterizing them as subjective or voluntary means ignoring their social and political nature. When that happens, evaluations drift away from key issues of cultural policy and instead address individual cases or measurable quantities. Emphasizing this point was the aim of my chapter.

Notes

1. The terms "evaluation" and "evaluation studies" are here used synonymously.
2. Valuation and evaluation have slightly different meanings. While valuation in the sense of ascribing value is frequently tacit, subjectivized, and intuitive,

evaluation is usually associated with weighing-up, comparison, and argued justification (see Dewey 1949; Lamont 2012).

3. There may be a variety of reasons for rejecting change. After thorough reflection, the decision may be reached that alternative proposals would likely worsen the current state of affairs or not further one's own interests. But a critical attitude towards change may also be so deep rooted that we can call it a status quo bias.
4. As a rule, the public purse will pay the evaluation fees agreed, but it never reimburses those being evaluated for their efforts. The politicians responsible therefore systematically underestimate the real costs of evaluations.
5. For instance, data selection and analysis should be transparent, representative, and relevant for the subject matter, the interpretation should be intersubjective and validated by peers, the final conclusions justified by empirical data and arguments, and the like. (AEA 2004; DeGEval 2008; SFE 2006).
6. As long ago as 1993, Ernest House (1993) discussed the process of professionalization of evaluators and its problems.
7. Here, "attitude" means a combination of explicit and implicit ideals, values and modes of thinking that manifest as tendencies in current behavior. In this praxeological interpretation, the concept is thus closely related to Pierre Bourdieu's *habitus*.
8. Evaluative competence could be defined as the result of professional and methodological skills. However, such a formal interpretation cannot explain the transition from general non-contextual knowledge to the concrete ability to judge an individual case on its particular, case-specific and context-sensitive merits. That is why I view the evaluative competence integrated into action as a form of mastery—in the sense that Michael Polanyi (1958) gives to the word.
9. Actor-centered approaches are often limited in taking stakeholders into account and neglect the analysis of contextual aspects on the meso- and macro-sociological level.
10. "Causal" means a necessary relationship of cause and effect. "Conditional" means a relationship that can be either constitutive or regulatory. "Transitive" means that one attribute of a social domain (sector, field, system) is transferred to every phenomenon that enters this domain (e.g. every object that enters the marketplace receives a monetary value).

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9 Arts Marketing
A New Marketing Art

Patrick Germain-Thomas

Introduction

Generally, artists and the artistic world are not very fond of the economy, for they do not like the idea that it could have some influence on their creative work. But the more lucid ones are fully aware that without a compromise, they might as well produce art for no one to see, hear or read. The intrusion of economists into the world of art meets with hostility because it involves turning art into a business, a phenomenon which artistic circles have been opposed to since the 19th century. This does not mean that artistic creation cannot be subjected to economic transactions, nor that it cannot be produced to order, but rather that it primarily responds to the artist's intimate need for self-expression. However, the moment that a work of art is involved in a business transaction, it automatically enters the scope of a market and of its strategic interplay. It is therefore perfectly logical to refer to marketing theory in order to study these exchanges and strategies.

Philip Kotler, a specialist of world renown and author of the famous book *Marketing Management* (1967) co-authored, with Joanne Scheff in the mid-1990s, an article postulating the idea that marketing could be an appropriate answer to the economic difficulties observed in certain artistic areas (Kotler & Scheff, 1996). This chapter, while drawing on academic research carried out since the 1990s regarding the specificity of arts marketing, seeks to venture further still in exploring Kotler and Scheff's claim from the opposite angle. Not only can marketing techniques prove to be beneficial in artistic sectors but, conversely, the application of these techniques to the specificity of artistic issues can help marketing theory to evolve and to renew itself. In order to demonstrate this, it is necessary, first and foremost, to present a brief summary of the historical background to this notion, as well as of the main areas to which it is applied and, secondly, to study its potential extension to the artistic field, taking into account the possible impediments to this interaction between marketing and artistic activities. Thirdly, the entire gamut of steps in the marketing process will be analyzed in order to understand how the

specificities of artistic works can breathe new life into the discipline. This last part will draw on a study of the performing arts sector in France and more particularly on examples taken from the choreographic field, where the rapid pace of innovation provides wide scope for research, in order to apprehend the links between marketing and the arts.

The Traditional Marketing Approach

All reflection on marketing, whatever the sector of activity concerned may be, must take on board several stumbling blocks inherent to its central role in the continued rise of the consumer society. Firstly, since marketing terminology is so very widespread among the general public (through the media and daily life), there is a lot of muddled thinking about it, whereas a professional approach to this discipline requires a far greater care in the use of technical lexis. Secondly, the term "marketing" is not a neutral one. It is loaded with connotations, both positive and negative. The former stems from the prestige acquired by this profession, the social status, and the power of those in the field. The downside is that marketing is also the target of criticism which stigmatizes its vested interest and mercantile dimension and the possible manipulation of consumers, with the aim of increasing companies' profits. In reality, marketing is a very complex notion whose definition must take into account three main aspects: a historical dimension, a theoretical angle, and a practical perspective.

Historically, the word "marketing," which appeared before the Great War in several American universities, was used in order to designate a new vision of managing commercial activity. In the period between the two World Wars, it designated a scientific approach to sales management, developing side by side with the scientific organization of work championed by the Taylor Society in the production field. The French sociologist Frank Cochoy (1999) cleverly highlighted the intimate relationship between the innovations of Taylorism in the field of production methods and the development of a scientific study of marketing and sales. He showed that the links between Taylorism and marketing owed as much to members of the Taylor Society as to specialists in distribution wishing to apply Frederick Taylor's expertise to their own domain. The emergence of industrial Taylorism and of commercial Taylorism was virtually simultaneous:

> Not only did they seek to link the future of sales management to that of Taylorism but they attempted to subordinate industrial Taylorism to the scientific management of distribution: sales forecasts had to preside over the organization of the production process . . . . Clearly, certain sales specialists sought to combine their interests with those of scientific Taylorian management: the link-up was as much rhetorical as functional.
>
> (Cochoy 1999, 107)

This parallel movement continued in the aftermath of the First World War, and the basic principles of marketing were regularly stated in university research. Percival White, a qualified engineer and consultant, was one of the first to formulate the concept of marketing, publishing 20 works throughout his career. He offers the original definition of this notion.

> Marketing centers in all cases around the needs of the consumer. This is an absolute shift from the old practice of making the producer the focus of all business relations . . . Too many manufacturers have followed the tradition of making what pleased them, never dreaming they would not find a market ready and waiting . . . Scientific marketing is based on the theory of finding out what the consumer wants and then giving it to him . . . Consumption is primary, production secondary; yet it is rare to find a business which boldly faces this fact and which produces goods always with a view to the requirements of consumption. In the future, these requirements will have to be met, consciously and effectively, by business men. "What does the consumer need?" This question will stand at the beginning of every business problem.
>
> (White 1927, 100)

This quotation clearly shows that the introduction of marketing into company management signified an inversion of priorities between production and commercialization. The priority was bestowed on the adaptation to clients' needs. It represents a veritable "Copernican revolution" for the American business world: business no longer revolves around the company but around the consumer. Hence, the priority is no longer to produce the goods which the company *can* manufacture, but those which the consumer *wants*. Markets are in a state of continual flux, and the best way for a company to preserve its identity is to keep up with these changes and to match its output with the consumers' wishes.

Following from this historical review, marketing can also be defined from a theoretical point of view. On this second level, marketing implies a rational, methodical process involving three steps: market analysis, strategic planning, and implementation of this strategy.

The first phase of this methodical approach is based on a concrete definition of the market comprising four main levels of analysis: the producers, the distributors, the customers, and the environment surrounding the business transactions. Each one of these levels requires an in-depth analysis in order to answer the following points:

- the producers (supply): Who are the major producers, and what is their market share? Is the supply concentrated or dispersed? What are the commercial strategies implemented by the leading actors?

- the distributors (intermediaries): What are the major distribution channels, and what is their market share? What are the sales trends in the various distribution channels? What are the distributors' strategies within the various channels, and what are the stakes and difficulties faced in their activity, as well as the main keys to success?
- the end-users (demand): What is the scope of the market? What is the market size and that of the main segments (types of customers and products)? What are the quantitative market trends (increase, fall or stability)? What are the customers' characteristics, their behavior, and expectations?
- the environment: What are the external factors which influence the market activity, on various levels (cultural, economic, political, social, technological)?

The second phase of the approach is based on the conclusions of the analysis detailed above in order to devise a business strategy involving choices on three main levels:

- segmentation: the choice of the market segments in which an organization decides to intervene (types of customers or products), the fundamental choice of activities and targets;
- positioning: the way an organization wants itself or its brand to be situated in its clients' or the public mind, compared to its competitors;
- marketing mix: a coherent blending of the different means of action which an organization has at its disposal to intervene in its market; we usually refer to four main levers: the product, the price, the distribution, and the promotion.

These major strategic choices—segmentation, positioning, and marketing mix—underpin the everyday work of business teams. This implementation of the strategy constitutes the third phase of the marketing process, which is generally called operational marketing. We should add a third and final dimension to this attempt to define marketing. From a practical angle, marketing may be conceptualized as an entire gamut of techniques. The mass market approach involves very sophisticated tools which constitute such a wide variety of specializations: for instance, market surveys, merchandising, sales techniques, advertising, direct marketing, and digital marketing. These techniques and tools are used nowadays in many sectors and within organizations of very different sizes and natures. The notion of marketing was first applied to companies involved in the process of mass production and distribution of everyday consumer goods. However, in the last quarter of the 20th century, these methods have enjoyed a very dynamic growth in other fields of activity, including the non-commercial sphere.

The Extension of the Notion of Marketing to the Artistic Field

Broadening the Concept of Marketing (Kotler & Levy 1969) is a groundbreaking article by two American academics specializing in the field of marketing. It represented a real turning point for this area of study. The writers focused on extending the notion of marketing, limited at the time to the sole framework of the business world, to other fields of society, including politics, education, and the social sector. The introduction to the article states this objective very clearly:

> The term marketing connotes to most people a function peculiar to business firms. Marketing is seen as a task of finding and stimulating buyers for the firm's output. It involves product development, pricing, distribution, and communication; and in the more progressive firms, continuous attention to the changing needs of customers and the development of new products, with product modifications and services to meet these needs. But whether marketing is viewed in the old sense of "pushing" products or in the new sense of "customer satisfaction engineering," it is almost always viewed or discussed as a business activity. It is the authors' contention that marketing is a pervasive societal activity that goes considerably beyond the selling of tooth-paste, soap, and steel. Political contests remind us that candidates are marketed as well as soap; students' recruitment by colleges reminds us that higher education is marketed; and fundraising reminds us that "causes" are marketed.
>
> (Kotler & Levy 1969, 10)

Published in the *Journal of Marketing* directed by the American Marketing Association (AMA), the issue of broadening the concept of marketing gave rise to very heated debates during the 1970s. In the end, this broadened view won the day, and, according to an internal document written in 1976, the AMA defined its goals as

> being the focal point for the interests of business marketing, consumers, education, the government and other institutions . . ., studying and promoting the use of marketing concepts by companies, nonprofit making organizations, and other institutions, for the improvement of society.
>
> (Cochoy 1999)

In the field of arts, Philip Kotler and Joanne Scheff published "Crisis in the Arts: The Marketing Response" (1996). They argue that marketing tools could prove to be very useful in resolving what they call a crisis affecting certain artistic fields. Having mainly in mind the performing arts sector

in the 1990s, they use such a strong word as "crisis" in relation to three specific issues whose predictability had declined: a decrease in financial support from government and philanthropic organizations, a stagnation in the audience size, and a change in ticket-purchase behavior. In this context, they consider that marketing techniques could help arts organizations to analyze their markets and appropriately respond. The authors question, however, the standard opposition between the concepts of art and entertainment, emphasizing the possible contradictions between mainstream consumer marketing objectives and the aspirations of artists who, in contrast, seek alternatives to standardized mass production. Kotler and Scheff address the contradictions:

> Although much art deals with universal topics such as life and death, joy and fear, love and hatred, war and peace, there is a perception that the fine arts reflect the taste of a very small cultural elite. Some sociologists recognize a cultural hierarchy that tends to polarize into a conflict between traditional high culture (fine art) and popular culture (mass appeal). To high culture devotees, the product of popular culture is "kitsch": sentimental, manipulative, predictable, vulgar, unsophisticated, and superficial. Critics of popular culture see it as a threat to Western culture itself. They maintain that popular culture is undesirable because it is mass-produced by entrepreneurs for profit; and because it debases high culture, produces spurious gratification, is emotionally harmful to its audience; and they even claim that it encourages totalitarianism by creating a passive audience.
>
> (1996, 34)

It appears, therefore, that opportunities for transposing the principles of marketing into the world of arts and culture require a very cautious analysis, which takes on board the presence of real impediments. These stumbling blocks impact each of the three levels of the definition of marketing previously stated: historical, theoretical, and practical.

As a management vision, marketing prioritizes satisfying customers' needs. This consumerist vision cannot be valid in the sector of culture, where the supply does not necessarily set out to satisfy a public's short-term needs. An artist does not generally execute a piece aiming to satisfy an audience: he may well intend, on the contrary, to challenge or surprise that audience. According to François Colbert, author of numerous works on arts marketing:

> A work of art isn't a consumer product in the traditional sense of the term: it isn't intended for utilitarian use and isn't specifically created to meet the needs of a clientele or of a market.
>
> Indeed, creation in the fields of performing arts, visual arts or the cinema involves presenting a personal vision of humanity and

> the work of art conveys this vision. Marketing is at once a tool and a philosophy. It is a tool in as far as it enables cultural organizations to reach their customers and financers (public bodies or private companies) efficiently. But it is also a philosophy because it advocates customer satisfaction and high-quality customer relations. Hence marketing techniques can be very useful for the artist and his works by bringing them closer to the potential public.
>
> (Colbert 2014, 1)

Academic research in the field of arts marketing usually emphasizes the specific and complex nature of artistic activity (Colbert & Evrard 2000; Bourgeon-Renault 2009): the complexity of the product (unique, high symbolic value, in a constant state of flux); the complexity of the "consumer," in search of multiple experiences, both diversified and erasing boundaries (the "omnivorous" consumer); and the complexity of markets where public and private organizations interact, often prioritizing the logic of the supply (which does not necessarily depend on the demand). This research draws regularly on the institutional approach to art developed by the American philosopher George Dickie, whose definition of art is not based on the objective recognition of technique but on the subjective perspective of the potential public:

> A work of art in the classificatory sense is (1) an artifact (2) a set of the aspects of which has had conferred upon it the status of candidate for appreciation by some persons acting on behalf of a certain social institution (the art world).
>
> (Dickie 1974, 34)

According to this definition, the end-user is not involved in the creative process, and the production does not meet any particular need. Nevertheless, he plays a crucial role when he comes into contact with the work because he contributes spontaneously to its artistic recognition.

On a second level, marketing is defined as a scientific approach to markets. In this respect, it might dehumanize individuals, making them mere instruments, transforming them into client targets, and aiming to make a profit, whereas in the world of arts and culture, disinterested human relationships are valued and cherished. From the 19th century on, artists have frequently been at the forefront of the struggle against the hegemony of economic and commercial logic founded in utilitarian reasoning. The term "marketing" is full of connotations linked to the very business world which many artists are trying to escape. Several works by sociologists focus on the attitude of figures in the art world towards the realm of economic exchanges. Raymonde Moulin stresses the "monopoly of sublime altruism" (1995, 39), which the artists claim for themselves in reaction against the standardized output of the commercial sector. Pierre

Bourdieu (2002) contrasts the world of pure art founded on altruistic values, which denies the very existence of economic mechanisms, with that of cultural industries, which seeks a compromise with mass production and distribution.

No doubt bearing these comments in mind, Kotler provides a restrictive definition of the economic objectives of artistic organizations in the nonprofit sector. As he puts it:

> The purpose of a nonprofit arts organization is to expose an artist and his or her message to the widest possible audience, rather than to produce the artist and the message. Non-profit art organizations innovate and explore in the pursuit of social or aesthetic value, even when there is non-assurance of economic success.
>
> (Kotler & Scheff 1996, 38–39)

Finally, on a purely practical level, marketing techniques and tools are sometimes considered inappropriate in sectors beyond traditional marketing boundaries or in small organizations addressing limited audiences (bearing in mind that marketing was primarily developed in very large organizations dealing with mass markets).

Conversely, though, despite these hurdles, most of the principles used in marketing can, in reality, be applied to artistic acts, which give rise to economic exchanges. There is, indeed, a supply and demand for artistic goods and services. Intermediaries facilitate making these goods and services available for their potential purchasers. The management of these transactions related to everyday purchases can be transposed into the arts domain: the notions of segmentation and positioning are pertinent here, as is the essential tool of strategic planning, the marketing mix. The artistic assets naturally involve production activities, pricing, and distribution and promotion processes.

The Arts Sector at the Forefront of Marketing Research

Traditional marketing approaches are based principally on a conception of market exchanges where, in a competitive context, producers study, in minute detail, the needs and expectations of the market—both those of the end-demand and of the distributors—in order to fine-tune their commercial proposals. Artistic creation, it should be noted, is not normally carried out in direct relation to economic demand. True, musicians, writers, dancers, and actors do address a public, but it is not normally taken into account in a direct fashion in the crafting of the work as is the case in traditional marketing where there is a client to be considered. Some works may even seek to disturb the audience rather than to satisfy. Further, in the relationship between artist and public, there is a subtle balance between the expectations of innovation, the desire to

be surprised—indeed, amazed—and the need for reference points which enable identification and recognition of familiar sensations. This tension between the quest for originality and conservatism, urging consumers to find their familiar bearings, constitutes the very core of the issue of cultural marketing. In order to illustrate how various modes of marketing action take this phenomenon on board, I refer to an analysis of the field of contemporary dance in France, a very thriving and innovative artistic sector, where widening of the audience is a key issue (Germain-Thomas 2012).

Contemporary dance has its roots in the beginning of the 20th century, a period when the revolutionary impetus of Isadora Duncan, the barefooted dancer who claimed emancipation from the classically coded vocabulary, set Parisian and European stages alight. But these appearances did not lead to a radical change within the French dance world, unlike the resounding Russian ballet innovations—steeped in the classical dance universe—whose impact has been longer lasting. It was only from the 70s in France that contemporary dance attained a form of artistic recognition, going hand in hand with the initiation of public support. What, then, is the specificity of this dance style?

A rigid definition of "contemporary dance" is impossible because this expression refers to very different realities in terms of time and geographic location. However, the historian and dance critic Laurence Louppe tried to identify certain essential features of this artistic movement in her work entitled *Poétique de la danse contemporaine* (2000). In her analysis of the various techniques, which may have been included in the above-mentioned art form, she cites several key features described as fundamental in contemporary dance. She constructs an overall pattern which emerges from the recurring and transversal claims in the various movements of the twentieth century choreographic modernity, most especially those of modern and postmodern American dance and German expressionist dance, in whose core we can easily reconstitute the artistic threads which date back to the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries (the choreographers Merce Cunningham and Pina Bausch, for instance, being celebrated representatives of those threads.) The core fundamentals of contemporary dance are to be found more in the process than in the result. A priority is accorded to the authenticity of the anatomic path of the movement which, beginning with an individual impulse, runs through the body and is given concrete form, constructed without any reference to an external model. This internal journey is the object of conscious control and an exploration whose reach and depth constitute the essential part of the technical work. From limitless possibilities, without attaching oneself to pre-existing codes, the movement expresses a thought, in sharp contrast with any mechanical reproduction. These artistic goals are also shared by a great number of classical dancers, but the originality in the contemporary movement lies in granting

them an absolute priority, while there is a risk, in the academic field, that they become overshadowed when the interpreter is highly focused on attempts at virtuosity. Beyond this difference of priority, however, the real dividing-line between the two styles lies in the contemporary stance that each and every movement could become "dance," without mandatory reference to the steps and postures of classical vocabularies. Although modern dancers did not necessarily reject classical technique—as mentioned earlier, many of them came from this universe for historical reasons—they broke completely free from these rules by removing all limits to the scope for movement. One needs to speak of the sheer plurality of body movement techniques in contemporary dance, which have formed a composite universe wherein the true uniqueness lies in constructing an individual style that takes shape through an accumulation of experiences in extraordinarily diverse universes: classical dance in certain cases, gymnastics and sport, martial arts, yoga, and other body movement techniques from all over the world. This huge diversity of choreographic approaches, under the umbrella term of "contemporary dance," renders the existence of a dichotomy between contemporary choreographic creation and the "skyline of expectations" (Jauss 1978, 53) of the general public, a notion elaborated by the German aesthetician Hans-Robert Jauss:

> The reference system formulated objectively which, for each piece at the moment in time when it appears, results in three main factors: the public's previous experience of the art form in question, the form and theme of previous works whose knowledge is presupposed, and the opposition between poetic and practical language, the imaginary world and daily reality.
>
> (Ibid., 54)

For his part, the sociologist Howard Becker (1982) demonstrates that survival of art worlds depends on the spreading of their conventions (their history and techniques, a set of values and codes which are shared among the public and the artists) in society as a whole. In France, four decades of public support for contemporary dance have triggered a sharp rise in the number of productions. The interventions of cultural administration, although designed to structure the supply and protect the best-known artists, has led to a free-for-all competition. The effect of this process, in which the supply is continually renewed, thus encouraging a continuous succession of breaks with artistic tradition, is to maintain a wide gap between end-demand and the, sometimes confusing, artistic approaches, to which audiences require time to adjust. Taking from Kotler and Scheff (1996), could we consider that marketing tools might provide some solutions to the ongoing crisis in the contemporary dance market, resulting from this structural imbalance between supply and demand?

Admittedly, the use of marketing theories and techniques in the field of contemporary art meets with restrictions. Avant-garde creation, promoting aesthetic shocks, cannot be conceived as a measure of adapting to the public's expectations. Such a vision would be ill-adapted to the contemporary dance world, which claims the singularity of each artist's track record. A customer-driven approach could even impact adversely on venue performances, as demonstrated by a mid-1990s study on the nonprofit professional theatre industry in the United States (Voss & Voss 2000):

> Our findings contribute to the understanding of alternative strategic orientations by identifying one set of industry conditions in which a customer orientation may not be desirable, that is, nonprofit goals, high rates of intangible and artistic innovation, customers who may not be able to articulate their preferences, and lead customers who rely on the product experience of the artist to inform and challenge them [. . .]. As a result, we are confident in our finding that, in this industry, a customer orientation is associated negatively with firm performance.
>
> (Ibid., 78)

The authors of this study reach the conclusion that artistic organizations, by their very nature, are centered around the production. Their social value depends precisely on their ability to break free from conventional perceptual habits. It is thus not to the product that a customer-driven approach can be applied, but to the other variables in the marketing mix: promotion, pricing, and additional services offered to audiences, and, above all, development of meaningful social relationships.

The example of the French choreographer Angelin Preljocaj is highly significant in this respect. His troupe, the Preljocaj Ballet, carries out a very wide promotional program involving information and education concerning contemporary dance (lectures, public rehearsals, workshops, performances in public places). In a recent interview, however, Preljocaj very clearly made the distinction between this type of action and the creative process itself, which he engages in without bearing in mind a potential audience:

> During the creative process, I don't think of the audience at all. My first audience is myself, I look, I try to do something which interests me or stimulates me. I try to do something which suits me, which suits the way I perceive reality, my mind, and my taste. And I try to set up a dramatic structure which keeps me awake intellectually. If I notice that, during the creative process, I am less alert, less focused on what's going on, I wonder about the rhythm. But I don't try to anticipate how it will be received by the audience.
>
> (Preljocaj 2013–2014, 80)

Marketing, while it implies a knowledge of the nature and expectations of the audience, cannot be reduced to a mere mechanical reflex adaptation of the supply. There are two possible avenues which an organization may choose in its relationship with the market and which are not mutually exclusive: a market-driven approach or a driving-markets approach (Jaworski, Kohli & Sahay 2000). The first is reactive, with the organization adapting itself and reacting to the behavior of the various players in the market. The market, in this case, is considered as a given. The second is proactive, with the organization attempting to change the very structure of the market. This approach implies a restructuring of the players' roles, an alteration of their functions and behavior.

The conclusions we can draw from an analysis of the contemporary dance sector in France could also be applied to other disciplines and geographical contexts. If we agree that marketing can help to reduce the imbalance between supply and demand, it is certainly not by mechanically trying to adapt to the supposed needs of consumers. On the other end, a study of the opportunities to restructure the market, following a driving-market approach, might be justified. Since the principal problem remains the lack of accessibility of the most innovative artistic projects for the general public, this market-driving approach implies a radical re-thinking of the aesthetic debate, leaving more room for citizens' appraisals.

In a work questioning the paradoxical nature of strong support from public bodies for subversive approaches and the squaring of the circle which the creation of "anti-institutional institutions represents," the philosopher Rainer Roschlitz (1994, 194) denounced the marginalization of the mass public in the material and symbolic economy of contemporary art worlds. He likewise criticized the shortcomings of the critical debate impaired by the repeated tendency of the most influential representatives of this art world to claim how subjective their judgments were, thus distancing any aesthetic argument. Now, according to Rochlitz, there does indeed exist critical appreciation of artists and their work:

> If one is dealing with a work of art, it obeys a principle—which close examination reveals—to rules, which enable the appreciation of ambition and success. The hermeneutic puzzlement, constituting mainly modern works, split only from the then current opinion, but not from all rationality. If not, art would escape all evaluation in the name of communicable arguments, while it is a fact that we exchange arguments in order to persuade ourselves of the merits of such or such a work of art.
> (Roschlitz 1994, 194)

The arguments employed, therefore, in these aesthetic debates are underpinned by rational criteria such as the work's stakes, its topicality, its originality, its coherence, and the way in which the medium is employed to express the artist's intention. Rochlitz considers, in addition, that the

participation of the whole society is an indispensable condition in the process of cultural democratization. The recognition of works of art like these presupposes the existence of qualities which must be openly appreciated and discussed, and it is the job of the cultural administrator to make accessible to the audience "criteria which discern such a work as appearing worthy of consideration and not another" (Roschlitz 1994, 172). The will to open up the aesthetic debate to all, and not only to connoisseurs, must obviously be associated with a scheme to educate the public in order to enhance its critical taste. In the world of choreography, we are frequently reminded of the emergence of such a scheme. An important conclusion of the *Tableau chorégraphique de la France*, a survey ordered by the Ministry of Culture in 1993, reflects this point of view:

> The first observation on which one should found one's reflection regarding the public is that there is absolutely no dance culture. Dance is not part of the academic curriculum, while both theatre and music are. How many school-leavers know the names Petipa or Fokine? This "illiteracy" explains the absence of historical and aesthetic yardsticks for the audiences, which would enable them to situate what is seen.
>
> (63)

This observation played an important role in the process, leading to the creation of the Centre National de la Danse in 1998. One of its prime goals was precisely to stimulate the development of dance culture through a media library and the support of research activities.

In order to skirt round the inherent hurdles of the market of performances, it is up to public authorities to oversee a restructuring of the whole system, including both an alteration of existing actors' roles—through a strengthening of dance companies' autonomous commitment to public relations—and bringing new actors onto the stage. The development of dance culture could be achieved via a profound reflection regarding the possible means of expanding media coverage of dance in general, and most especially of contemporary dance. This could not be envisaged without a significant mobilization of the entire education system, from the nursery level to higher education. This demand was already expressed in a report by a group of choreographers, drawn up in 1970, within the framework of the *Syndicat National des Auteurs Compositeurs de Musique* (SNAC):

> The above-envisaged principle which governs the structures was the embracing of the teaching of movement and dance in school programs, from nursery to tertiary levels, with a view to ensuring that children and youngsters received a grounding in art training, sensitizing them to the cultural and human value of dance.
>
> (2)

Nearly half a century on, this demand remains an extremely topical issue. Finally, the reconstruction of the market of contemporary dance could also imply the intensification of relations with private companies, which would contribute to the expansion of financial autonomy through sponsorship or purchasing performances for company staff.

Conclusion

An overall reflection on the developments in the academic discipline of marketing since the beginning of the 20th century reveals a process of broadening and extension to all fields of social activity. This phenomenon mirrors a general trend involving a growing hegemony of managerial values and ideology in all areas of society. But as the basic concepts of this managerial doxa spread, they tend to clash with forms of resistance linked to intrinsic features of certain fields of activity. The study of arts marketing provides us with abundant relevant material since artistic creation cannot be reduced to an automatic response to consumer needs. It is characterized by a critical role in society through the humanist ideal of self-improvement which transcends the limitations of utilitarian calculation. Beyond the use of marketing tools in artistic sectors, arts marketing could, on the contrary, alter the usual representations and procedures present in marketing by transforming the traditional image of exchanges between organizations and their public. This would amount to a complete turnaround in values, towards a democratic recognition of the legitimacy of the public for appreciating and discussing aesthetic qualities and values, totally at odds with docile acceptance of standardized cultural products, which are the very symptoms of the triumph of the consumer society.

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10 The Reality of Cultural Work

Kerry McCall

Introduction to Research

The thinking behind this research was inspired by my own experience of cultural work. For many years, I have worked in the cultural sector, largely in the capacity of administration and management and, more recently, in training and education. I have been consistently struck by how often individuals engaged in cultural work articulate adverse and precarious livelihood conditions and how livelihood dissonance is experienced, along with a sense of living on a parallel track to the rest of society[1] (McCall & Durrer 2015). This led me to consider the personal and professional choices individuals make in relation to working in the cultural sector. I wanted to understand if this choice was an intentional one, and if an active decision had been taken to override economic necessity and financial aspiration for personal motivation and intrinsic satisfaction. I also sought to understand if a conscious trade off had been made, one where the choice of securing internal goods actively outweighs external goods as a measure of success in lifestyle choice and as a livelihood strategy (Chambers & Conway 1991; MacIntyre 1985, 196).

Drawing on the KEA European Affairs Circle 1 definition of the Cultural and Creative Sectors, this research explores the personal motivations and professional experiences of cultural workers across a variety of cultural domains (2006 3). KEA is an international arts and culture consulting firm based in Brussels.

Over a period of six months, 14 cultural workers were interviewed, with two interviewed from each of the seven subdomains of visual arts, film and media, design, performing arts, literature and languages, creative technologies, and cultural heritage. Of particular interest to this research are the sectoral norms and shared values that emerged alongside the "hidden costs" of this work (Menger 2002, 10).

Cultural Work

While the production and organization of arts and culture has existed under philanthropic patronage for centuries, cultural work as a distinct

career emerged in the 19th century (Di Maggio 1982). The separation of leisure from work during the Industrial Revolution, along with the establishment of the Recreation Movement in the United States and United Kingdom, led to opportunities for cultural entrepreneurship and an increased need in society for institutions and individuals to create, produce, and manage these symbolic goods (Di Maggio 1982; Henry 2001). As the 20th century progressed, a greater need for bureaucracy and accountability arose, emerging from interaction with different donors, foundations. and agencies (Paquette & Redaelli 2015). Smith Maguire and Matthews (2014) chart the rise of cultural work in the mid- to late 20th century through the growing prominence of cultural intermediary positions. This has been accompanied by an increase in higher education provision and the credentialization of arts and cultural management (Durrer 2017; Paquette & Redaelli 2015). The "promotion of cultural occupations as 'regular' jobs'" is further compounded by the appropriation of culture and creativity into national policy discourses (Banks 2017; Dubois 2016, 13; Hewison 2014; Lee 2013).

Definitions of cultural work vary, with some focusing specifically on criteria for identifying "artists" (Butler 2000; Frey & Pommerehne 1989; International Federation of Arts Councils and Culture 2002), while others highlight the usefulness of using broad definitions in this sector (Kinsella, NicGhabhann, & Ryan 2017). Becker (1982) depicts cultural managers as support personnel to artists largely concerned with the presentation of symbolic goods to the public. Through Becker's lens, a cultural manager constitutes only the organizational and administrative component of cultural work and is not necessarily engaged in the practice or the creation of symbolic goods. I am not certain this distinction remains useful.

Cultural managers, producers, and practitioners increasingly form a homogenous group; while the nature of professional activities does of course vary, these cultural workers tend to move between different types of professional activity that combine practice, production, and management. More fluid work practices, along with the weakening and unraveling of art form classifications and discipline boundaries, make it increasingly difficult to distinguish between cultural management and cultural practice (Di Maggio 1987; Kakihara 2005). Managers in the cultural sector are increasingly engaged in the creation of arts and culture, while artists are frequently involved in administration and management.

Further, alignment between cultural management and practice can also be seen in the conditions of cultural work. Those engaged in this work often experience uncomfortable working conditions, peripatetic payment, and the precarity of self-employment. Unpaid work is common, as are long hours, and standard work benefits (for example, sick leave or holiday pay) are often absent. Lack of employment security, along with unclear career progression or pathways, also are prominent. Hidden costs are also apparent, and many cultural workers experience physical and mental

stress and have limited choice about where and how to live, an inability to plan for the future, and a difficulty sustaining a reasonable livelihood (Menger 2002, 10). Strikingly similar, there is a requirement for "endurance and stamina" for this "cool" work in these "hot" industries (McRobbie 2004, 195; Neff, Wissinger, & Zukin 2005).

A person's livelihood refers to the means to secure the basic necessities in life, like food and water, shelter, and the availability to access education, work, and opportunity. It implies more than a lifestyle which is premised on an individual's interests, opinions, and behavioral orientations and is more reflective of attitudes and values (Kahle & Close 2011). In 1991, Chambers and Conway produced this definition of livelihood:

> A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term.
>
> (6)

Given the hidden and apparent costs of cultural work, questions must be raised as to the pressures experienced by this sector and if cultural work is a viable and sustainable career choice. As a livelihood strategy, it is subject to pressures that impact on physical and mental well-being and lead to foreshortened careers and economic inequality. With cultural work featuring as the "creativity *dispositif*" of our "talent led economy," it begs the question of how working in this sector is currently viable, nevermind future proofed, and if this is a broader issue that needs to be addressed by policy measures (McRobbie 2015, 11).

Irish Context

Cultural work in Ireland is highly valued, not only for the symbolic wealth it creates for cultural workers and for consumers of cultural services and products, but also for society at large (Aageson 2008). Since the catastrophic collapse of Irish fortunes in 2008, the national and international profile of the creative and cultural industries has taken on increased significance as a national asset. In a cultural turn by government, corporations, and policy makers, "there was a general consensus . . . that culture was one thing we've excelled at" (Hancock 2009). Cultural tourism, as well as arts and cultural production, has been a firm feature of the program for national recovery ever since (Creative Ireland 2017; Department of the Taoiseach 2011, 2016, May 17; This is Ireland, n.d.). While the GDP contribution of this sector remains small (approximately 2.8% in 2011),

employment numbers in the creative and cultural industries in Ireland are not insignificant and represent "around 7% of total employment in Ireland" (Higher Education Authority 2013, 16). The growth rate of this sector in Ireland is "well above the European average," with research noting that the cultural work force in Ireland continues to grow (DKM Economic Consultants 2009, iii; Higher Education Authority 2013).

Culture has been placed squarely at the center of the knowledge economy in Ireland and become essential to understandings of contemporary Irish society locally and globally (Higher Education Authority 2013). Ireland is not alone in this. Culture increasingly features on local as well as national policy agendas and has fast become the "fixer" of the service and culture-based economy (Banks 2006, 457; Curran & Van Egeraat 2010; Department of Culture, Media & Sport 2001; Garnham 2005). Politicians and policy makers stress that arts and culture are not just an "elegant add-on" to Irish society but are "the essence of who we are as a still-young Republic with an ancient people" (Department of the Taoiseach 2016, May 17). Yet, many cultural workers "find it hard to understand why there is so much talk of support" for arts and culture, yet so little real, actual, and meaningful support (Visual Artists Ireland 2016, May 10, para 3). While general economic growth is now deemed to have "recovered strongly" (Mangan 2017, 2), cultural sector funding has been slower to recover with central exchequer funds to distributive financial bodies, such as the Arts Council of Ireland, still well below the levels of pre-economic collapse—€59,100,000 in 2016 compared to €81,620,000 in 2008 (Kelly 2016). This has left key cultural figures in Ireland's institutional landscape to observe that the impact and true cost of the recent recession on Ireland's cultural heritage will only be known by subsequent generations (Glennie 2014).

Little research in Ireland explores the experience of working in the cultural sector. To date, "most research on the arts labor market deals with artists' careers, incomes and training," with very little empirical knowledge available on the experience of cultural work (Mark-FitzGerald 2016). Anecdotally, there are many stories of emigration, of multiple and portfolio-working practices, of people engaging in active strategies and tactics with which to sustain a livelihood in one of the most expensive countries in the European Union. Recent research conducted by Visual Artists Ireland (VAI), a North-South representative organization for those working in the arts sector in Ireland, found that among those surveyed, many engaged in multiple parallel jobs (in teaching, bar tending, Airbnb, translation, gallery management, and invigilation) in order to sustain a basic livelihood. They also found a constant inability to future plan and wide-ranging pressure to gain income from "both inside and outside the sector" in order to eke out a living and pay for basic costs (Kelly 2016, 9; Visual Artists Ireland 2016). Sixty percent of those who took part in the VAI survey stated they had opted to retrain or had left the sector altogether (Kelly 2016, 17).

The Reality of Cultural Work

The interviews conducted for this research study aim to explore the experience of cultural work more deeply and to consider the personal motivations, working practices, and livelihood strategies of cultural workers in Ireland. The aim is to understand if internal benefits outweigh economic need and if these benefits can be considered a workable trade-off for economic inequality, precarity, and the hidden costs mentioned earlier. While the results pertain specifically to the case of Ireland, the findings can inform research on the conditions of cultural work elsewhere. I argue that when a full and accurate picture of cultural work is considered, it becomes clear that there is something wrong with the assumption that "society is best served by an economic model based on ruthless competition" (O'Connor & Staunton 2015, 28). The next section looks at the case of specific individuals in the creative sector and their experience of work.

Coping Strategies

Kirsty, a cultural worker of critical acclaim, has won awards for her applied artwork. To many, she might be considered successful. She is well known, well liked, and her work is well received. Kirsty defines herself as an interdisciplinary artist but is also a sculptor, jeweler, teacher, project manager, curator, and retailer. Throughout her 30-year career, she has maintained a temporary [paying] position in order to "keep going." She finds her preferred choice of working in sculpture "not very sustainable and frustrating" because if she could "work on my own work fulltime, it absolutely gets better. It's like playing the piano. But I can't afford to do this" (Kirsty interview, 2017).

When she can, she concentrates on her applied practice, though "it's not 9 to 5, you just work till you get it done, 7 days a week. It's very intense." She cites basic living necessities such as food and gas or the car tax, as necessary expenses because "you have to eat, you have to pay car tax," and while she's happy to maintain a certain amount of parallel paid employment, she finds that some occupations, such as teaching, are detrimental to her creative practice. "If you're teaching, you're giving it away. You are focused on their creativity, your work suffers" (Kirsty interview, 2017).

Out of necessity, she has had to rethink how she works, what she produces, and how she spends her working time. She is continually identifying new strategies, such as "working on a main [jewelry] range as well as a diffusion [jewelry] range, I enter loads of competitions, do tons of PR and am constantly doing pop ups." Although she devotes energy to "trying to make it work," the intensity of the work and the need to engage in multiple activities to sustain a basic existence, as well as a long commute of 400 km per week (when she teaches), mean that "the energy that goes into maintaining a practice and basic livelihood is unsustainable" (Ibid.).

Receiving no support from any governmental (or non-governmental) agency such as the Arts Council, Design and Crafts Council of Ireland, or Enterprise Ireland, Kirsty "works hard at everything to earn a low salary," acknowledging that "when she started she didn't think about any of this." Unable to afford the cost of living in Dublin, she resides instead in a rural area in regional Ireland with cheaper rental prices. Despite this lower cost of housing, she still cannot afford to rent somewhere with basic heating. "It's 4 degrees [Celsius] in my bedroom and is so cold I can't have a shower there" (Kirsty 2017).

Kirsty is not alone in these economic hardships. The work of collage artist, Peter, is also well known and popular by today's standards of sales, profile, and peer critique. He also shares Kirsty's experiences of hunger, poverty, and an inability to meet regular household bills (Peter interview, 2017). Sophie, a successful textile designer and small trader, tells a similar story of living without heating and the money to buy basic goods. She discusses the impossibility of scaling up her business to meet demand and has learned that she needs "to be small or go really, really big. I realized I needed a UK agent or to show in Paris (which is massively expensive)—and that I needed to fund this personally" (Sophie interview, 2017). Her work became increasingly difficult to scale, and with a poor credit rating and no hope of the kind of advance sales that a bank would recognize as attractive to fund cash flow, she says, "it was absolutely terrifying." With three children to support, and a musician husband who also brings in a low wage, she closed her small textile design company, gave up her individual creative practice, and has gone to work for a large homewares company as an in-house designer.

Molly, on the other hand, is lucky. One "decently-paid" corporate job gave her enough economic stability "so that when people don't pay me, I have enough money to live to buy materials for the next job. I have freedom because of this and am not under day to day pressure but it's nearly run out" (Molly interview, 2017). As a project manager, stage designer, comic book artist, creative media designer, and illustrator, she is used to juggling multiple, parallel work streams. The successful award of one well-paid commission has allowed her enough cash flow to sustain relative economic stability over a sustained period of time, and she can meet basic bills. For others, such as Gerald, this has been more difficult "All this business speak, it bores me . . . I need someone to go and talk to THOSE people" (Gerald interview, 2017). A senior visual artist and a painter at the height of his career, Gerald reports that he lacks the business skills to negotiate cash flow in large-scale commissions. Highly aware of the personal risk, he recently took a substantial loan to fund himself for the duration of a recent period because no pay advances were forthcoming from the prestigious cultural institution that commissioned his work.

Ciaran, in contrast, has developed a livelihood strategy that involves two near full-time roles. He works as a university science lecturer (for

nearly 25 years) and performs almost full time as a professional musician. As he explains, he found the right job to support the work he really wants to do:

> You see there is a bit of truth in what my teachers said- playing music is a hobby. I play on massive stages to small stages and every time, this is with other professional musicians- a lot of whose livelihood is as a professional musician. It's very difficult for them, for anyone to have a livelihood as a professional musician. A lot of people I know, have had to throw in the towel, or get a job, or need to play in a "wedding band," or teach—most musicians hate doing this—but you do need to do this to supplement your income in this industry. Everyone except for the very, very few has to do this.
>
> (Ciaran interview June 7, 2017)

Others point to utilizing a Trojan horse approach, appropriating the language of business to its best effect as a means to secure funding, income, and other professional opportunities (McCall & Houlihan 2016). Saoirse (sculptor, lecturer, project manager) has learned to work within the system. After many years, she "could paper her walls with the rejection letters she received." Since then, she has learned the "art of the bottom line" and successfully secured a number of public art commissions as well as European funding to build a studio (Saoirse interview, 2017). However, she is still unable to make ends meet through her sculpture practice and (like her husband, who is also a cultural worker) has supplemented her income with teaching for the last 20 years. Her paid employment is part time, and it entails a commute of 450 km each week for a single day's work. But, she is glad for the paying work. "The teaching hours do pay for food and cover other bills" (Saoirse interview, 2017). Akin to a coping strategy, she tends to do her creative work late at night when teaching is finished and the children are in bed. She heads to bed regularly at 3 am or 4 am and wakes at 7 am or 8 am in order to maintain a sustainable livelihood and also a professional creative identity.

Cultural workers are often said to anticipate "the model figure of the new worker," in terms of flexible, and portfolio, working practices as well as insecurity of employment (Menger 2002, 10). This plurality of work, whereby individuals combine a number of different jobs and roles in order to earn enough to survive and pay basic living costs, is present amongst all interviewed. However, this does not stem from choice to work in a portfolio way. Instead, it stems from a necessity to make ends meet and to earn basic living costs. Among those interviewed, the precarious nature of cash flow, short lead times for projects (often only a matter of weeks and sometimes days), the last-minute cancellation of paid work, and a distinct inability to future plan are the distinct features of cultural work and are highly stressful. Interviewees shared not only their concerns

about cash flow, meeting basic living costs, and limited life choices, but also an unclear path to a sustainable future in terms of both career progression and a bettering of current life circumstances. High stress levels were pervasive, and many personal relationships affected. Mental and physical health issues were also prominent, as was the absence of choice about where and how to live. These features have become a shared norm among those interviewed and an implicit part of cultural work.

For the Love of It?

Caves stated that "creative artists differ in substantial and systematic (if not universal) ways from their counterparts in the rest of the economy where creativity plays a lesser (if seldom negligible) role" (2000, 2). This is because work in this sector involves unique values and motivations that are different from those of other sectors (Caves 2000). For this reason, cultural work is often viewed as vocational work, particularly with regard to the expectation of nonmonetary rewards and the pursuit of moral values or common goods (Dubois 2016). Due to the altruistic nature of vocational work, it is often aligned with caring professions such as nursing or teaching—professions which are focused on the principle of concern for the well-being of others. Cultural work as vocational work, therefore, is focused on culture as a public good and presupposes that this activity has an altruistic basis.

In this research, some of the cultural workers I spoke to highlighted that making a contribution to the public good was important to them. For Tom, "it's my way of making a contribution to the world. Through my work, I feel connected to others, I feel alive and connected. It's an exhilarating experience and a privileged way to live" (Tom interview, 2017). Still others were not particularly focused on the betterment of others. Rather, interviewees were more concerned with achieving their true self and with activating their own potential. Neven, a costume designer and theatre producer, articulates how cultural work for him is a "personal journey . . . it's about personal fulfillment" (Neven interview, 2017). Gerald describes his work as one that leads to a "litmus test of knowing you are on the right path" (interview, 2017). In the case of Ester, this is centered on "a powerful connection with self," which is her "natural flowing state . . . a coming home to herself, which is hugely positive, inspiring" (interview, 2017).

The experience of self-actualization and of engaging in an activity that has a purpose in itself has been explored most notably by Csikszentmihalyi in his concept of flow (1997, 2000/1975; Getzels & Csikszentmihalyi 1976). Flow is characterized by "complete absorption in what one does" and leads to a construction of "self" through emerged consciousness (Nakamura & Csikszentmihalyi 2009, 91). Getzels and Csikszentmihalyi (1976) found that the process of work engaged in by artists

generates significant experiences of flow and that when they are working on something that is going well, artists are inclined to be single minded in their pursuits, often ignoring hunger, extreme tiredness, and discomfort in order to follow through on work. They observed that artists actively sought flow as a salient and internal benefit of the creative process. The concept of flow is further considered by Banks, who describes it as "Being in the Zone" or "B.I.T.Z.," and "the ideal fusion of the intensively productive mind and the labouring body" (2014, 241).

To seek flow, Csikszentmihalyi notes, is typical of the "autotelic personality" where the enjoyment of life (and of occupation) is derived from benefits not external to individuals but rather "in doing things for their own sake" (1997, 117). Autotelic individuals are distinguished by the ability to do an activity or a creative work which has an end, or purpose, in and of itself. According to Nakamura and Csikszentmihalyi, creative individuals exercise "competencies that enable the individual to enter flow and stay in it" (2009, 93). These include a "general curiosity and interest in life, persistence, and low self-centeredness, which result in the ability to be motivated by intrinsic rewards" (Nakamura & Csikszentmihalyi 2009, 93). The persistence and curiosity focused on creative ends bring cultural workers "into the zone," which is "simply where the best work gets done" (Banks 2014, 242). The salient benefits arising from B.I.T.Z. are considered the trade-offs for individuals who engage in cultural work and "the special attribute of, and reward for, the most creative of workers" (Banks 2014, 242).

This persistence and curiosity is satisfied through the constant learning and challenge of cultural work: "on every job I like to learn new skills" (Molly interview, 2017), because "nothing is ever exactly as I want it to be, it drives me on, putting it out there into the world and trying again" (Ester interview, 2017). Sometimes, it's the open-ended nature of the pursuit. "I just started to make pictures with no idea of what was going to happen. I just started to make work and apply for things . . . I just kept going" (Gerald interview, 2017). For the textile designers and producers, Tess and Alice, "we don't have seasons, we don't worry too much about when it's going to come out. We are not motivated by money—it's a process. It is also a means to achieve non-verbal communication" (Tess and Alice interview, 2017). The focus of the autotelic personality in cultural work therefore, is on, and within, a process that is open-ended and constantly changing: one with indeterminate ends but one that is constantly focused on developing and building the individual and their sense of self-worth. This is stated clearly by Kirsty: "it's a personal choice, a life choice which is constantly evolving and there's never an end" (Kirsty interview, 2017).

Banks highlights how the pursuit of transcendence and "excellence" and going beyond "ordinary human capacities" drive cultural work forward (2014, 242). Ciaran articulates this well:

> the euphoria you get from playing an amazing gig is second to none. I can select very carefully who I play with and so I only play with those I really enjoy because of the day job. And so its really important to me because I can choose the situation I play in, I am totally engaged in every single note I play . . . it's what I do.
>
> (Ciaran interview, 2017)

This euphoria and flow, this sense of being in the zone, are distinct factors in cultural work; however, they are secondary to a deep-seated sense of creative identity. As Ciaran highlights, "it's who I am . . . it's where my value and my sense of self-worth is" (interview, 2017). The unself-conscious way this is articulated is best captured by filmmaker Tom, who states: "I don't think about it, it's like breathing, it's just the way" (interview, 2017), while for Kirsty, "it's thinking aloud" (interview, 2017). This connection with self and with finding and building your true, authentic self, is the basis of self-worth in interviewees and a natural extension of personality.

A sense of purpose, of doing something you enjoy while also building the self, is distinctly articulated by those I interviewed and enables them to "distance themselves from pure economically orientated occupational fields" (Dubois 2016, 1). The opportunity to express freely and creatively, hold personal autonomy over professional activities, and live in a highly individualized state of "optimal personality development" is considered as positive as well as desirable, and directly counters any hardship experienced (Baumann 2012, 168).

Typified by a need to express and articulate through creativity, cultural workers are singularly unique in their perseverance, resilience, and curiosity. Complete absorption, combined with a sense of purpose, is actively sought and leads to a certain set of working conditions, practices, and outcomes that are highly distinctive. Self-actualization and personality development are specifically achieved through any cultural work where the internal benefits are salient and internal goods are garnered. These include meaningful engagement with others and a sense of contribution to the public good, but also constant learning and challenge, the building and affirming of self-worth and the development of a distinct cultural identity.

Thinking About Cultural Work

The positive affirmation of self and learning opportunities centered on autonomy and challenge are often the basis for the desirable perspective with which work in the cultural sector is viewed. This undoubtedly leads to a passionate attachment and "extraordinary enthusiasm" that cultural workers have for their work (McRobbie 2002, 307), with scholars suggesting that cultural workers are engaged in creative labor for the love

of it (Banks 2006; Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2011; Lee 2013; Oakley 2009). This is borne out by Molly, who states: "I don't think you go into any type of creative work for the money—you go into it because you love it" (interview, 2017).

That said, achieving a value-oriented existence that actively contributes to non-material well-being and to the realization of internal goods and benefits is achieved at a cost—one that impacts significantly on mental and physical well-being as well as life choices. The possibilities for self-actualization and identity extension are numerous and actively sought, with external benefits remaining distinctly scarce and material rewards difficult to locate, secure, and sustain.

Earning a living is a constant challenge among those interviewed and poses many problems. Among all I spoke to, there remains a constant need to search for opportunities, reinvent livelihood strategies, and react (often instantly) to (any) presenting opportunities. This is the shared experience of cultural work and accepted as part and parcel of working in the cultural field. Among those interviewed, these challenges are not considered as trade-offs for personal autonomy. This is because an active choice is not consciously being made. It is an embedded norm of cultural work and not consciously weighed against more financially rewarding or stable professions. Moreover, it is a widely and unconsciously accepted experience that is a tacit requirement for individual growth, expression, and actualization.

While some may call for individuals to take greater personal responsibility, and to be more self-reliant, individuals interviewed for this research project could not be said to be lacking in this regard. Fundamentally self-reliant and taking personal responsibility for livelihood strategies, quite a number were failing to meet the Minimum Essential Standard of Living (MESL). The MESL is "the minimum needed to live and partake in Irish society today, meeting the physical, psychological and social needs of individuals and households" and includes the ability to afford regular household bills, such as food and heat, as well as the ability to re/pay mortgage or rent (Minimum Essential Budget Standards Research Centre 2017). This experience of economic hardship was pervasive among those interviewed, with too little money, or too few resources, to be able to pay reasonable living expenses and an inability to future plan. Many find it difficult to maintain a profession, have retrained, or have turned to portfolio and parallel working (in related or other sectors) as a way to maintain living costs. Trying constantly to reinvent themselves and mobilize whatever resources—psychological, physical, economic—they can muster to avail of the next opportunity and pitch for the next project or commission, interviewees were running out of livelihood strategies.

Worldwide, people in highly skilled, paid employment enjoy greater remuneration, and have a greater ability to meet their material needs. Those high in educational capital, coupled with high economic capital,

have more resources to meet their livelihood needs and aspirations. Conversely, wages and working conditions of people in less skilled jobs are lower and have fallen behind those of the more affluent. Precarity in work has also increased for the minimally skilled. Cultural work exists at a particular counterpoint between these two realms. It is a highly skilled, "socially valued" profession that materializes as a form of forced entrepreneurship with low, peripatetic remuneration and low material rewards (Dubois 2016, 4;2 Oakley 2014).

Bourdieu (1984, 1993) observed that those engaged in forms of cultural production and the mediation of cultural goods tend to be low in economic capital but high in cultural capital. Cultural workers in Ireland demonstrate the same profile. They tend toward the highly educated but earn substantially less than educated equivalents in other sectors (Arts Council of Ireland 2010; Kelly, 2016). The average industrial wage in Ireland is approximately €36,229, with the average of the professional and managerial classes earning €56,200 per annum (O'Connor & Staunton 2015, 38). By comparison, the average annual income from cultural work in 2016 was €17,848. There has also been "an increase in the number of artists earning less than the poverty threshold of €10,926" from "64% in 2013 to 76% in 2016" (Kelly 2016, 9). Research shows a highly educated creative sector compared to the rest of the population with 39% of individuals attaining the highest levels of formal qualification compared to 16% of the wider labor force (Arts Council of Ireland 2010, 7). Cultural workers are "almost three times as likely as the average worker to have a third-level degree or higher" (Arts Council of Ireland 2010, 7). The 2016 VAI survey found similar results, with an overwhelming majority of those surveyed holding an equivalence in education to their higher-paid, professional peers in sectors such as medicine, law, and business (Kelly 2016). These figures make stark reading, particularly when combined with the knowledge that Ireland has the 11th highest cost of living in the world and is ranked the 3rd most expensive country in the European Union for each of the last five years (Central Statistics Office 2013, 2015; Pope 2017, March 15). At the same time, it has "the lowest spending on social protection of all North West European countries" (O'Connor & Staunton 2015, 44).

McCall and Durrer highlight that "in order to live, it is important to recognize the forms of capital that shape our resources for, and access to, different livelihood strategies" (McCall & Durrer 2015, October 22). This centers on "securing the necessities of life" and not living within, or below, the poverty line on a consistent basis (Singh, Kalliola, & Hietala 2014, 2). The main factors that feed into our living conditions have a powerful influence on our individual experiences of life as well as exert a strong influence on society (McCall & Durrer 2015, October 22). A livelihood is considered environmentally sustainable when it maintains or enhances the local and global assets on which it depends and is only

considered "socially sustainable when it can cope and recover from stress and shocks, and provide for future generations" (Chambers & Conway 1991, 6). Arts and culture specifically, and the creative and cultural industries more generally, feature widely on many social and economic policy agendas, and enhance, or determine, the local or global assets of our nation states, particularly in Ireland. While it is clear that the work of those in the cultural sector continues to enhance policy discourses and leverage cultural tourism opportunities, it remains socially unsustainable and may be unlikely to provide for future generations unless a radical shift in policy can provide remedies (Department of the Taoiseach 2011, 2016, May 17; Glennie 2014, June 25).

Drawing on Mulcahy (2006), Durrer and McCall Magan (2017) note that cultural policy is often what governments choose to do (or not do) in relation to culture, and a certain dissonance arises when polity mobilize useful features of the cultural sector for economic and social agendas. There is an accepted societal view that those working in the cultural sector will somehow continue to manage, to find ways to cope, to sustain, to be resourceful, and even to progress in their creative capacities. While the accepted norms of this sector give no indication of changing, there is a need for a radical shift in policy to ensure a decent livelihood is available for everyone in society, including cultural workers (O'Connor 2015, October 22). Recent policy initiatives in Ireland point towards increased government interest in working towards explicit policy aimed at facilitating "an ecosystem of creativity" for "individual well-being, social cohesion and economic success" (Department of Arts, Heritage, Regional, Rural & Gaeltacht Affairs 2015, 5; Durrer & McCall Magan 2017), and, as noted by Kenny, this is "an opportunity not to be missed" (2017, 257). However, with the culture portfolio "weakest in terms of cabinet influence" and "low in political priority," this seems unlikely (Cooke & McCall 2015, 4).

Lived inequality, eeconomic hardship, and the un-sustainability of livelihood in the cultural sector are rarely focused on, with the economic inequality experienced by this sector accepted as a sectoral norm. Without a deeper understanding of the experience of cultural work, and the economic inequalities experienced, cultural work as a viable livelihood is not sustainable. Economic equality is not so much about earning the same amount as others for work of equivalence, it's about having access to the same quality of life in material and non-material well-being (O'Connor & Staunton 2015). Although many needs can be met through universal public services, people still require "adequate cash incomes to meet those needs that are best delivered via a regulated market economy" (O'Connor & Staunton 2015, 124). Therefore, understanding economic equality means moving away from traditional distributions of income and wealth towards one that "requires us to look beyond the distribution of paid work" and understands the extent to which people are able

to meet their basic material needs, "i.e. the goods and services they need for a decent life" (O'Connor & Staunton 2015, 26). As Throsby (1995), notes, it's about understanding the interdependency of policy, economy, and cultural systems and understanding that social policy needs to be premised on "interdependence" and economic equality, "not self-reliance" (O'Connor & Staunton 2015, 124).

Concluding Remarks

The aim of this research was to make explicit the experience of cultural work. It explores what it means to work in the cultural sector in Ireland, provides an understanding about the experience of cultural work, identifies its norms, and highlights the personal motivations of individuals across a variety of cultural domains. It tells the story of the deep inequality of lived experience pertaining to the material and non-material well-being among a small sample of cultural workers in Ireland. While the specific cases pertain to a specific location, the research suggests areas of inquiry relevant to investigating conditions of cultural workers in other geographic locations. Significantly, the research speaks to a stark cultural gulf between policy discourse and the reality of culture work that tends toward a top-down rhetoric focused on creative economy arguments combined with a misrecognition of the bottom-up purpose and the practice of cultural work. To cherish all equally requires interrogating existing ways of thinking and making transparent hidden processes in society.

Note

1. The author would like to acknowledge and thank Dr. Victoria Durrer for her collaboration in the framing of livelihood as a discourse relating to cultural policy in Ireland. The term livelihood is widely used in studies on development and sustainable development and draws here on the opening address by McCall and Durrer (2015) at the launch of Cultural Policy Observatory Ireland: an all island research network, Queens University Belfast, October 22, 2015. For more, please see Cultural Policy Observatory Ireland, www.culturalpolicyireland.org.

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Section 3

Arts and Cultural Management Discourses

11 Cultural Management and Its Discontents

Constance DeVereaux

Introduction

Every system of authority, according to Weber, attempts to establish and to cultivate a belief in its "legitimacy" (1947, 325). To that end, it is appropriate to recall a statement by Freud on an entirely different matter, that "things are probably not as simple as that" (1961, 11). This essay begins with the subject of discontent, an ambiguous term. It can refer to the dissatisfaction a person experiences, such as in the statement: the source of her discontent is the book's ending. It can also refer to a person who is dissatisfied, typically in the social or political context, as in the statement: the protestor was another discontent in the aftermath of the vote.

Cultural management has its discontents, those who see the failings of the field, especially in its long-occurring and increasing turn towards institutionalism and managerialism as responses to how best to support the creation and dissemination of the arts. There is dissatisfaction expressed, as well, in current discourses concerning such things as the apparent diminishing value of the arts among the general public, decreases in available funding, the aging of audiences, and insufficient policy action and support, to name a few. These are matter-of-fact issues for cultural management and the role of mediation between art/artists and audiences, which cultural managers perform. Underlying the practical are additional concerns of a philosophical bent that, I argue, get at the root of the practical ones.

This chapter is about some of the underlying, or hidden, discontents that arise as philosophical problems in cultural management—mostly to do with language—in the way, for example, that we talk about cultural management and the arts. I approach it from my ongoing interest in cultural management discourses of practice that implicate social and ideological assumptions, veiled subjectivities, and unspoken affirmations of power reinforced through those discourses. But it also has to do with what we think we are talking about when we talk about the arts, or, as framed by the literary theorist Miguel Tamen, "what art is like" (Tamen 2012, 1). In his book of that name, Tamen proffers "a

general sense of difficulties" we encounter in talking about art, including the "connection between art and having fuzzy ideas about art" (Ibid.). In the few pages I devote here to this topic, I submit that fuzzy ideas about art result in fuzzy policies about art and fuzzy management strategies about art. Further, fuzzy ideas about art occur rather frequently, even in fields like arts/cultural policy and arts/cultural management. My intent is to offer a means for analyzing normative discourses and their underlying values. In past work, I have addressed problems and consequences of some instances of fuzzy thinking in reports like *Gifts of the Muse* (McCarthy et al. 2005), the much publicized (in the United States) findings by the policy think tank, the Rand Corporation, on the instrumental and intrinsic value of the arts (DeVereaux 2006). Other work has addressed the difference between "knowing how" and "knowing that" in cultural management practice to highlight issues relating to *best-practice* discourse (DeVereaux 2009, 158). The anticipated benefit of such analysis is greater clarity, accountability, performance, and, ultimately, professionalism.

In the present chapter, I look at a recently published, commissioned report on social well-being and the arts in the city of New York (Stern & Seifert 2017). For the sake of space, I discuss only a few examples from the report to illustrate my claims. My focus is the patterns of discourse that emerge from the report rather than its findings, *per se*.

The title of my chapter is meant to evoke Sigmund Freud's *Civilization and its Discontents*, but only as a convenient beginning point rather than as the framework for deeper development of my thesis. The work of the founding father of psychoanalysis is a handy beginning point for linking contemporary discourses about art, and the arts, to cultural management practice, a device for exploring topics of importance that are often unexplored and therefore mostly absent in dominant discourses concerned, instead, with marketing and audiences, creative industries, placemaking, and the like.

An important philosophical issue is the nature of art, which informs discourses about the arts in relation to other activities—such as marketing—even if it does so under the surface of awareness. Freud's views on art, incidentally, had to do with notions of Beauty, which he related to the seeking of pleasure and—unsurprisingly—to the sublimation of sexual satisfaction. His thoughts on that subject are not relevant here. His views on civilization are. Freud explores the discontent that is inherent in a civilized world and that arise between the civilized and the savage. In such a world, we seek those things that mitigate the world's brutality, opting for pleasurable experiences instead,

Freud's original title, *Unbehagen in der Kultur*, is worth considering. *Discontent*, in fact, is not an exact translation. Better is the term *uneasiness*, which is more akin to the French *malaise* and which arises from conditions

of society. The condition of uneasiness stems from the realization that the modern world, despite its alleged progress and opportunities, is also one of violence and brutality wrought by humans. It is the nature of humanity and the nature of civilization, in this view, that cause uneasiness (one could even go so far as to say *queasiness*) in humans about the world they live in.

Freud's is a pessimistic and anti-modern view, not at all unusual for the period immediately following the First World War, which sees human nature negatively and its conflicts as inevitable and human made. The canon that art redeems humanity's brutal tendencies did not arise in the period of Freud. It was present enough, however, to find expression in a popular crime novel of the era, where one character, venting to another, wonders if he can "understand that only through cleansing torrents and cathartic hurricanes of art can the world ever again become a place—decent or otherwise—to live in" (Hext 1922, 28–29).

In this view, art is the antidote to the discontents, the uneasiness or malaise, and the brutality apparent in the world. The notion of art as redeemer or humanity's saving grace was particularly prevalent in the period between the two World Wars, extending through the Cold War era. In the United States, society-wide disagreements about what kind of art (High Art, popular, or contemporary art) could properly do that—or whether or not the arts could serve that role—contributed to the Culture Wars of the 1980s and 90s (Brenson 2001; DeVereaux & Griffin 2013; DeVereaux 2017). The belief that art can alleviate, if not erase, these woes is, thus, an inherited discourse; it continues to inform the way we envision the arts, as well as the role of cultural management and policy even today.

Of interest here is the coherency of discourse practices and cultural memes relating to contemporary cultural management, particularly in Western nation contexts. *Unbehagen*, or unease, also applies to the sense that current discourses in cultural management and policy lead in unreflective directions that affect management and mediation practices, research and formulation of policies. Some of these unreflective directions include *arts participation*, *excellence in the arts*, and *art as an economic driver*, in both popular and scholarly literature. My frames in discussing these issues are the purpose of human life, recontextualizations of knowledge, and the burdens of ambiguity. I also draw on narrative framework (DeVereaux & Griffin 2013) as a method of analysis. First, a brief overview of discourse of practice within the present context.

Discourse of Practice

Discourse of practice as I use it here focuses on the epistemological, ethical, and logical assumptions that underpin the ways of doing in a practice, like cultural management/cultural policy. Epistemological assumptions relate to presumed knowledge, or what we think we know whether or not there

is evidence to sustain it. Logical assumptions relate to connections made based on presumed knowledge (if this is true, then that must also be true). Ethical assumptions relate to convictions that actions or beliefs lead to good, or are at least neutral in effect. Concerning cultural management, I focus primarily on the arts rather than on other aspects of culture. The term, the arts, is used in its all-encompassing sense, although to do so is already logically problematic given that it gathers together a wide array of objects and experiences under its umbrella. Regarding the philosophical assumptions, indicated above, that undergird cultural management practice, they are often difficult to identify because, as assumptions, they may be so deeply embedded as to seem part of the natural fabric of things that cannot be reasonably questioned. Their legitimacy is in their seeming reasonableness. I am put in mind, however, of the old religious argument in defense of God's existence—that there must be an initial mover, which set all the universe in motion (Aquinas 1981). Common sense and the then-scientific thinking made it appear so, whereas "it is neither intuitively nor demonstrably certain" (Hume 1882, 381) that such an initial cause exists. If my example seems extreme (and I mean no disrespect to religious believers), I argue that many things that we claim to know, in cultural management and elsewhere, seem nearly (or even) God given. Our faith in the efficacy of the arts to solve a seemingly endless range of societal problems is one example.

Discourse of practice has its roots in practice theory, which looks at the "integrative practices" (Schatzki 1996, 98) that arise in the activities and behaviors of actors in a field. They include explicit and implicit rules, normative procedures, principles, commitments, and assumptions that form into ways of doing, behaving, and thinking. The language games (Wittgenstein 1958) of a particular field reflect its integrative practices. That is, the terms—rule bound, like in a game—have reciprocal influence within a structure or system. They specify what is permissible and what is not for talking about the activities and behaviors in a field, which then has an impact on those very same behaviors and activities. As one example, the demise of *artist* and the rise of the *creative entrepreneur* (Deresiewicz 2015), if it were to occur, would be sure to have consequences for the creation and dissemination of art and therefore for the ways in which cultural managers engage with both and with individuals identified as creative entrepreneurs. It may also have an effect on how artists (or creative entrepreneurs) view themselves and what they are engaged in, creatively. Imagine a system where the term *artist* is arcane. The very things we talk about as cultural managers would change considerably.

We exist in communities of meanings (Wittgenstein 1958) which, while fluid, describe for us the world we find ourselves in, with all its seeming naturalness, normalness, and familiarity. Cultural management, because it includes systems for training, mentoring, acculturating, and promoting its members, effectively raises its members within its own world. Its discourse

is like a mother tongue, or native language, where—in the present era—we have learned to say, "the arts" instead of "art" and where "arts impact studies" help us to cultivate more "vibrant" communities and promote "excellence in the arts." Are other discourses possible? Desirable? Conceivable? Also of importance is how such a system would respond to the non-native who comes along speaking a different language.

The characteristics of a native language are such that "performance of it is mostly below the level of consciousness" (Haugen, 1973, 1). This is an apt description for discourse of practice, which relates to connections of "sayings and doings" (Schatzki 1996, 98) in the system under study. Discourse of practice framework allows for analysis of a set of discourses for their epistemological, ethical, and logical implications and their real consequences for cultural management practice.

If I were less interpretively inclined in this topic, I might design a study to show specific consequences in terms of successful, or deficient policy, exemplary, or misdirected marketing efforts, effective, or insubstantial audience development. Such a research agenda would, however, be misdirected. The connection between discourses and outcomes is not easily measured or established. Its crown is not empirical proof. Instead, it points toward better clarity and better understanding of knowledge productions that, in turn, inform actions. As such, it connects well to other interpretive modes of inquiry, such as narrative framework analysis, for apprehending the social frames that can also influence behaviors and actions. An example is useful. Just as a travel memoir will have a different storyline, expectations, dialogue, outcomes, and generate different kinds of conversations than a true crime novel, a narrative emphasizing the measurable economic impact of the arts, is likely to have a different set of expectations, trajectory, discourse, actions, and outcomes than one focused on intangible, societal benefits or another showing concrete demonstrations of social well-being. The examples here suggest that several, alternative discourse frames are possible. In terms of cultural management, however, there are implications for one discourse rising to dominance over others. For example, the fact that "Art Works," as expressed in the *double entendre* slogan of the US National Endowment for the Arts, sets up a narrative understanding of the value of the arts that also has the potential to close off others that are unexpressed. "Art works" emphasizes economic over aesthetic values. The intent may be to underscore, as well, that artistic production, exhibition, and related activities are sources of income (and thus, work) for many people. But, for this observer at least, it also suggests that art, as work, may be laborious rather than pleasurable and fun, which may be an unfortunate, unintended message to give to audiences and other consumers of the arts. Unintended meanings of discourses should be heeded to in analysis. There should also be concern when we cannot see the discourse frame for the trees. Interpretive inquiry is useful for divining patterns and their

relevance that can then stimulate future research, reflection, or corrective action, if needed. In the next section, I look at the purpose of human life as it relates to cultural management, returning briefly to some themes suggested in Freud's work.

The Purpose of Human Life

The similarity between art and psychoanalysis is made explicit in an entry in *Oxford Bibliographies*. They both rely on imagery for their very existence (Schneider Adams 2014). This is true not only of visual art, but also of literature, dance, and any other art form, given that they all conjure images either manifestly, in the physical world, or in the mind (but mostly both). Psychoanalysis, as practiced by Sigmund Freud, profoundly influenced developments far beyond his own field of psychology, so it is not surprising that art would be similarly affected. The focus on dreams and on the unconscious in Freud's work is echoed in the development of surrealism in visual art, for example, and in tropes found in literature (and in literary and art criticism), in cinematography/videography, in concept art, and in other forms. Freud's theories have also influenced the fields of management and administration, for example, in recognizing the interplay of rational and unconscious processes operating in these contexts to produce contemporary expressions of organizational design and behavior, in the pervasive faith that so-called, rational organizations invest in reality principles, and in the "palliative measures" (Freud 1961, 22) that allow organizational members to deal with the difficulties of organizational life. My purpose is not to recast what has already been done into a cultural management framework, although I think it could accomplish a useful purpose as a critical devise for research and practice given the fate Freud's theories have suffered, being contested and rehashed over the many years since his demise. As outdated and discredited as Freud's theories are today, however, and despite the difficulties "inherent in the particularities of the psychoanalytic approach" (Arnaud 2012, 1122) to applications beyond psychology, I am mindful that if often Freud "was wrong and, at times absurd, to us he is no more a person now but a whole climate of opinion under whom we conduct our different lives" (Auden 1940, 33).

Less poetically stated, we cannot get Freud out of our heads, or, more specifically, out of our culture. As Auden recognized, the way we think about ourselves, our families, our jobs, and our lives carries the stamp of Freud's particular strain of psychoanalysis, especially in the more popular understandings of his theories. If this is the case, we can expect to find a bit of Freud in cultural management as well. I find such a connection in the discourse linkages evoked in cultural management and policy research studies that tie together happiness, purpose of life, and the arts.

Consider, for example, the notion that happiness is often considered to be an essential aim of life, which, although rooted in ancient Greek

thought (most notably in Aristotle), is keenly associated, more recently, with Freud (framed in terms of seeking pleasure). The idea of happiness is taken up at various junctures throughout history, occurring again in the late 20th and early 21st centuries by contemporary psychologists (for example, Csikszentmihalyi 1990; Seligman 2002; Lyubomirsky & Layous 2013). According to the ancient Greeks, happiness was the central aim of human life (see, for example, Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*). Freud, incidentally, rejected the notion that human life has an inherent purpose. Any conviction that it does he dismisses as misplaced presumption in our own importance (Freud 1961). In this view, pleasure-seeking, or happiness, is, instead, utilitarian (or, instrumental).

However framed—as pleasure, happiness, well-being, or the currently fashionable *life satisfaction* (Michalos 2005)—a narrative in which happiness is the central human aim figures importantly in cultural management and policy discourse. In other words, the arts—exposure to them, participation in them, and creation of them—are said to be productive of happiness/well-being/life satisfaction. In Aristotelian terms, if happiness is the final cause, then art appears to be something like the material or the efficient cause (Physics II).

Acknowledging that the term "art" is also perennially contested, a great deal of what counts as art, however, does not appear to assist everyone with their well-being or in attaining greater satisfaction in life. This is a problem for cultural management and policy where a number of studies purport that the arts lead precisely to these things, but where yet other studies have put those outcomes in doubt (Michalos 2005; Michalos & Kahlke 2008; Ortega-Villa & Ley-Garcia 2018, among others). We cannot be sure, therefore—based on research—that happiness, or life satisfaction, or well-being results from creating or experiencing any particular art, or the arts in general. The lack of certainty on this score is not insignificant for cultural management and policy practice, fields that, in the 21st century, are strongly invested in demonstrating concrete, measurable benefits from the arts. Such a premise, however, is historically precise (in the 18th century, for example, the arts were thought, instead, to have spiritual, intangible value). Completely apart from any other consideration (such as reliability), studies on the benefits of the arts are often intended to legitimize the (instrumental) role of the arts in society. They also provide "contextually specific legitimations" (Van Leeuwen 2008, 105) of cultural management and policy practices, or answers to the spoken and unspoken questions "Why should we do this?" or "Why should we do this in this way?" (Ibid.).

Recontextualizations and the Burdens of Ambiguity

To examine some of these issues, I look at the case of a recent report, *The Social Wellbeing of New York City's Neighborhoods: The Contribution of Culture and the Arts* (Stern & Seifert 2017), which presents the authors'

findings following a two-year study (2014–2016) of culture and social well-being in New York City. Some details about the report: the study on which it is based is part of a 20-year research agenda on "non-economic impact of the arts on urban communities" (i), the most recent of which (the study I examine here) was done at the "invitation" of the Commissioner of Cultural Affairs of New York City. In part, its goal is to develop a "*multi-dimensional* model of social wellbeing" (Ibid.), drawing on the work of the Indian economist Amartya Sen, the philosopher Martha Nussbaum, and the American economist Joseph Stiglitz. All three have written on issues of social justice and freedom as they relate to exercise of choice in attaining social well-being. Stiglitz, a Nobel Laureate, is also incidentally known for his book *Globalization and its Discontents*.

In analyzing the Stern and Seifert report from a narrative perspective, the constructivist view that "analysis should be concerned with the limitations of the system" (Colvin 1977, 104) is fitting. The report's authors intend to move beyond the intrinsic v. the instrumental components of cultural value as "part of an international conversation about the value of the arts" (Stern & Seifert 2017, VI-1) using a modified version of the capability approach as a conceptual framework. The capability approach is premised on the normative claim that freedom to achieve well-being has moral primacy, but that the freedom to achieve it is a function of life conditions. Sen, who first formulated the idea of the capability approach (1999), believed that freedom is grounded on the notion of the capability to exercise choices relating to quality of life. In terms of Stern and Seifert, for example, the presence of cultural assets in a community would provide the opportunity for an individual to choose to take advantage of them. Conversely, if they do not exist in a community, the possibility for choosing them is absent (or available only through some effort which may be costly or difficult). Social justice theories that appeal to capability take this into account. Referencing Sen's work, Stern and Seifert state,

> It is this ability to have a choice between different sets of "goods" (or sets of functionings) that differentiates the capability approach from the traditional focus on the market basket of goods that an individual actually achieves. For Sen, this freedom to choose is an additional "good" that adds to a person's wellbeing.
>
> (I-7)

In their study, Stern and Seifert ask, "what aspects of the city's neighborhood ecology are associated with concentrations of cultural resources and how is the presence of cultural resources, in turn, related to other aspects of social wellbeing" (IV-1). Their hypothesis is

> that the availability of these assets—and the fact that not all communities have them in equal quantities—should influence

> individuals' ability to translate their creative capabilities into functionings. Although the state might theoretically guarantee all residents the right to self-expression or a livelihood, it is only the presence of actual means of translating those rights into behavior that assures residents' capabilities.
>
> (I-9)

Cultural resources, or assets, include nonprofit cultural organizations, as well as a wide range of "cultural firms" (II-5) that include bookstores, designers, entertainers, advertising firms, entertainment consultants, music instructors, and a good many others. Assets also include resident artists.

Where the report succeeds is in pointing out that individuals cannot (or cannot easily) access resources that are not available to them (in their communities, for example), and that this is likely to have a negative impact on their lives. In line with the capability approach scholars they cite, Stern and Seifert see this as a matter of social justice.

My reasons for selecting Stern and Seifert's report for analysis are: it is recently published, expressly focuses on measures other than economic impact, but is nonetheless empirically directed (that is, not conceptually driven as its primary aim), but includes a significant conceptual component referencing the capability approach, which "grew out of the critique of a narrow economic definition of social welfare" (Ibid., I-7). In other words, the authors commendably seek to move outside of the dominant discourse that sees economic impact as a primary driver of arts and cultural policy.

To conduct my analysis, I use two axes of narrative framework (DeVereaux & Griffin 2013). The first is "the breaking up of a narrative act or text in order to grasp how the formal or compositional system enables it to work" (49). The second is "the examination of the narrative act to determine where the distinction lies between story and discourse" (49–50).

Compositional system, or structure, has to do with how a narrative is put together to create what the authors intend as a coherent whole. Technical components, such as word choice, sentence structure, and paragraph placement, are some examples. Coherence deriving from cultural knowledge is another. To explain, consider the compositional structure of jokes. To work, they rely on linkages to relevant cultural knowledge. A similar principle operates in a sentence like the following: *The artist is young, but talented*. The implicit cultural knowledge is that artistic skill is acquired only over time. The talent of a young artist, therefore, is unexpected. Whether it is true or not—does artistic skill really take a great deal of time to acquire?—is a peripheral matter. The composition of the statement does not invite the question. Yet, it invokes things we think we know about the world, which, compositionally tell us how to think about the narrative, and reciprocally, point back to

the world we think we know. Relevant cultural knowledge operates in much the same way in the case of Stern and Seifert's report, especially for readers familiar with cultural policy issues. The notion, as the authors state, that they move beyond the intrinsic versus instrumental debate is worth considering in this light. But, the report may resonate as well, with non-experts as it evokes narratives that have long been in place and are embedded in society-wide cultural knowledges, as I discuss below.

Persistent Tales and Cultural Forms

Intrinsic v. instrumental as a compositional element evokes events and controversies of the Culture Wars in the United States of the late 20th century. The causes and disputes are numerous and complex but, in part, raise issues about the value of the arts in society, especially in the case of art addressing controversial matters: social and political issues, gender, and sex.

In a narrative context, intrinsic v. instrumental could be considered a "widespread cultural form," or "persistent tale" (DeVereaux & Griffin 2013, 41) that has emotional force outside of considerations of truth or falsity. Such a tale pops up in different times and places, and, in some contexts, carries unstated ideological assumptions. Persistent tales can be formulated obliquely—that is, in ways that conjure narratives without explicitly specifying what the narrative is. The persistent tale, in other words, serves a purpose in the narrative (the narrator employs it with intention), but it can be difficult to untangle its precise meaning. The impact tends, therefore, to be more emotional than logical even though the cultural form may be framed in terms that seem reasonable in construction, such as when Stern and Seifert state that they are moving "beyond" the debate or when they offer it in the context of research data.

While typically associated with the Culture Wars era in the United States, *intrinsic v. instrumental* is an exceedingly persistent tale appearing at least as early as ancient Greece, where certain philosophers posed the question of whether there was such a thing as an intrinsic good (or conversely, an intrinsic evil). If no, then things have only instrumental value.

The idea of an intrinsic good, however, has inherent ambiguities.[1] Assume for the moment the statement X has intrinsic value, meaning that X is such that its existence makes the world a better place for everybody, or opposingly, that if it did not exist, the world would be a worse place. Plato famously declared Justice to be intrinsically good (although to be fair, he found it both intrinsically and instrumentally good). Later in history, Immanuel Kant believed the ability to understand intrinsic value was an important attribute of the capacity to reason (2008). Art is often seen as one of those things that has intrinsic value; there is the notion that art should be valued for its own sake—that the viewer should maintain a stance of disinterest. A disinterested judgment about a work

of art is one that is disconnected from one's own desires and purposes, but also suggests a disconnection from *any* particular purpose. The kind of judgment being made is an aesthetic one, however, and not a judgment about the value of art for purposes of policy. One must consider that the fact that *a* work of art has intrinsic value does not say that all works do. And, intrinsic value does not preclude instrumental value (as is the case for Justice). But even if all art works have intrinsic rather than instrumental value, it is not given that any particular policy response is required. To compare: friendship among individuals appears to have intrinsic value (the world is better off with than without it), but governments do not develop policies specifically in support of friendship or provide subsidies for its development. My point is that issues of intrinsic versus instrumental value are fuzzily present (or present in a fuzzy way) in cultural management and cultural policy discourse. An important question, not addressed here, is whether the discourse has any significant value, as Stern and Seifert may suspect in desiring to move beyond it. Its inherent fuzziness (that is, in the present-day application to cultural policy) renders it a narrative gauze in which to wrap policy discussions. To illustrate, I raise a quite different issue where intrinsic v. instrumental could also be applied, but is not, and probably would never be raised. Readers might find my example over-the-top, but as a philosopher, I reserve the (self-conferred) right to offer such examples to make a point. The case of comparison is to popcorn and government subsidies, in the United States, for popcorn crops.

Popcorn comes from the same plant that supplies both sweet corn (for human consumption) and field corn (for animal consumption). The difference is the amount of moisture in the grain, which determines when it should be harvested. Popcorn has merit for comparison to art in a discussion of policy because they have some similarities in this context. Although popcorn has nutritional value, it is not the primary reason it is consumed. Instead, people eat popcorn simply because they like it. However, there is economic impact for growing and selling popcorn. On the other hand, if farmers did not harvest corn as popcorn, they could still derive income from sweet corn and field corn. According to one report, growing field corn is easier and so, without the subsidies, farmers have little reason to grow it (Troeh 2012). Popcorn crops are only a very small percentage of US agriculture. What that means is that although there is no particular need for popcorn economically, or for public health (nutritionally), it is still subsidized through taxpayer dollars.

Although popcorn is covered in the current US Farm Bill (Public Law 113–79), popcorn subsidies, like arts funding, have seen their share of controversy, for example when the Farm Bill was up for debate in the US Congress in 2012. Some lawmakers and members of the public questioned why government subsidies should be granted to the crop. Nevertheless, the subsidies have survived (Chite 2014). My research on this debate does not show evidence of arguments drawing on instrumental versus

intrinsic value in regards to popcorn. Why, then, do they emerge in the case of the arts?

The importance of my example is that the appropriateness or inappropriateness of a discourse within a particular context is constructed. Narrative framework analysis elevates our understanding in this regard. Discourse of practice analysis calls into question the unreflective acceptance of discourses that push us into unthinking patterns of thought and action.

Indeed, on the surface, the relation of *intrinsic v. instrumental* to Stern and Seifert's report is not overtly clear. They evoke *a* debate (or perhaps all of those discussed above). For rhetorical impact, it may not matter. Further, by alerting readers that they are stepping out of the debate, they have effectively entered it nonetheless. This is a subtle form of the fallacy of ambiguity[2]—that is, raising an issue by stating that you are not raising it, as in "I'm not even going to mention that you were late for dinner."

Easy to miss, as well, is that they use the term *cultural* interchangeably with *art* or *the arts*, in discussing the intrinsic v. the instrumental components of cultural value. Doing so entails an odd eliding of terms. *Cultural value* refers, perhaps, to particular things that have cultural value, such as the arts. The authors wish their findings to contribute to an international conversation about this value. But, the report does not, in fact, study the well-being impact of the arts. Its focus, instead, is presence of cultural resources, or assets, in neighborhoods in New York as predictors of social well-being. Further, *culture* is used, not in an anthropological sense, but as something akin to the German word *Kultur*, which refers not only to the arts, but can include such things as science and technology as well. Although in the German context, *Kultur* can sometimes stand for *the arts*, the practice is not common in the United States. Given that cultural knowledge is relevant here, as discussed earlier, some people in cultural management and policy fields will accept the word culture as an appropriate alternative, but many others will not. Further, while a full discussion of the term *culture* is not possible here, it must be noted that a significant criticism of the term in cultural management and policy contexts is that it can refer to elite arts and culture rather than the native (non-institutional) culture of a community. In this sense, a study examining the benefits of culture or cultural assets could reinforce elitist notions of arts and culture.

I conclude that Stern and Seifert's report serves a dual purpose. It examines the effects of the presence of cultural assets, but also participates in, and contributes to a narrative discourse reinforcing existing norms relating to value of art and role of art in present-day society. In fact, the report does not make strong connections to many of the possible indicators of social well-being that interest the researchers. They look at:

> the relationship of cultural resources to variation in other dimensions of social wellbeing. If we examine the list of dimensions, it's clear

> that several are unlikely to be influenced by cultural resources . . . we examined three—economic wellbeing, diversity, and environment—that we see as influencing culture rather than being influenced by culture. Others, like housing burden and health insurance access, seem to be so anchored in economic and political realties that it is hard to imagine making a plausible argument that culture influences them.
>
> (IV-6)

What they find instead is that for some communities, presence of cultural assets has some impact on personal security, educational advancement, and health. This is not insignificant. However, it is important to note that the effects were seen in some, but not all communities, and other factors may also be in play to bring about the suggested effects.

The narrative, in other words, falls short of evidencing a clear connection between a number of dimensions of well-being and presence of cultural assets. The discourse of well-being and connections to Sen, Nussbaum, and Stiglitz, however, provide a structure for normative claims that reinforce present discourses while seeming to move beyond them. To further investigate these issues, I move, in the next section, to the consideration of the distinction between story and discourse in the context of the narrative.

Story v. Discourse

Outside of narrative theory, a distinction between story and narrative may appear narrow or of little significance. However, an analytical emphasis on the distinction between story and discourse is "an indispensable premise of narratology" according to Culler (2004, 118) because the comparison "brings to the fore ideological perspectives" (Van Aarde 2006, 22), that otherwise would not be evident. A research report, as an organized narrative, can be analyzed using this distinction. Briefly, a story has to do with the events of the narrative (what happens to whom and when it happens). A research report follows a somewhat similar structure in that it is an account of the process that was carried out, by whom, and who or what was studied.

The discourse is how the story unfolds and from which meanings emerge. The same story told from a first-person perspective or a third-person view will emphasize different features unique to each perspective. Likewise, a story told through flashbacks gives emphasis, and thus narrative meaning, to a story that is wholly different from one told in the present. Focusing on the discourse component of the narrative allows for problematizing key assumptions that, while often only implied, emerge from the way the story is told, from what is included and what is left out, what is revealed up front, and what does not emerge until the final chapter. It can also include the context in which the narrative occurs.

In the case of Stern and Seifert's report, the context is not only a commissioned research report on the purported benefits of cultural

assets, but one in which the authors are actively seeking a different discourse narrative. The predominance of economic impact in mainstream policy conversations on the arts has had a heavy influence, and, as I note earlier, thereby places economic factors as a dominant value for consideration. While economic factors may resonate for policy makers, city planners, and arts councils, individuals do not attend a concert or go to a dance performance simply because art contributes to the economy (and is probably not even a tertiary factor in deciding to attend). Individuals partake in the arts because they enjoy them—they derive some pleasure from the experience. But, providing for individual pleasurable experience is not the aim of public policy making. However, where individual experience, configured as social well-being, has the larger effect of community benefit—for example, in crime reduction or increase in educational outcomes—the logical connection to individual experience is more apparent (in the case that this connection bears out).

While their aim may have merit, some problems for Stern and Seifert's report are that the meaning of *culture* and of *the arts* are not definitionally precised, although, as the authors state, "we conceptualized culture as a core dimension of wellbeing, specifically as one dimension of social connection. Second, we wanted to explore culture as a potential contributor to other dimensions of wellbeing" (i).

While social well-being benefits of such things as personal security and education are not insignificant, as I note earlier, one may wonder if these dimensions alone have the motivational power needed to persuade policy makers to devote public funds to providing new cultural assets where they do not currently exist, or to provide other remedies for social well-being deficit. In a noteworthy passage, the authors address the number of challenges for improving the lives of economically disadvantaged New Yorkers, but also implicitly reveal that while lack of cultural assets may be an unjust condition, there are many other deficiencies in economically deprived communities. The authors state:

> At the center of New York's inequality is economic opportunity, what we label economic wellbeing. Access to education, work, and income are the fundamental challenges faced by the city's households, and the data underline how profound a challenge that is. The current mayoral administration has committed itself to reducing the number of New Yorkers living in poverty by 800,000. Our study suggests that a reduction of that magnitude would have significant ripple effects on other dimensions of wellbeing. At the same time, a multi-dimensional view of social wellbeing points to other ways to improve the lives of New Yorkers. The successful effort to plant a million trees in the city could have an immediate impact, both aesthetically and in reducing the impact of heat on hot summer days. Even apart from the

> poverty reduction, efforts to expand prenatal care, prevent diabetes, and reform schools could all bring about measurable improvements in residents' lives. At its core, social wellbeing grows out of a quest for freedom and opportunity. In attempting to measure so many variables, it is easy to lose sight of this idea. The evidence from New York reveals that too many New Yorkers lack the freedom to choose and the opportunities to live the life they have reason to value. This is the fundamental challenge faced by the city, its government, and its residents.
>
> (III-49)

In sum, there are many possible ways to improve citizens' lives. The freedom to choose between cultural assets and other advantages, if both were available, describes what might be a more socially just set of conditions. The passage, while impassioned and well-argued, however, seems odd in the context of a report on social well-being and arts/culture, since neither occur in the passage, as if the authors have taken their readers on a slight detour into a neighboring narrative. If their discourse is a meandering path, there is nevertheless precedent. The relationship of the arts (and other societal goods) to social justice is far older than Stern and Seifert suggest (they reference only 20th- and 21st-century scholars). Returning to ancient Greece, one finds the connection made in Plato's *Laws*, where an Athenian Stranger wandering along a road engages some fellow travelers in conversation. On the subject of government, he maintains that Beauty is owed to citizens by the State. While the Stranger provides few details regarding what is included in Beauty (similar, perhaps to the use of an all-encompassing term like *the arts*), the implication is that access to what brings Beauty into the life of citizens should be guaranteed and that it is a matter of justice for the State to do so. In the contemporary world, such imperatives may be less persuasive—even where justice is concerned. It may have been the case in Plato's time as well. After all, the Athenian Stranger defends his claim to a Spartan and a Cretan who have different views of government. Today's Spartans and Cretans may be more persuaded by scientific studies that demonstrate measurable benefits rather than appealing to something so intangible as justice on its own. Connecting them together has more potential for success. This, it seems, is what Stern and Seifert aim to do.

Conclusion

My analysis of Stern and Seifert's report is intended to demonstrate the value of narrative framework analysis and discourse of practice in sorting through some of the fuzziness of prevalent discourse in cultural policy and management. In making my point, I have included only

relevant examples from the report, which runs the risk of glossing over important details. That should be counted as a limitation to my study. I have referenced the work of Sigmund Freud and the lasting effects of his work on contemporary discourse relating to concepts of happiness as they intersect with discussions of the arts and their societal benefits—another source of fuzzy thinking. I have attempted to show that many of the discussions that arise in contemporary cultural management and policy have roots in old conversations—or discourses—that continue to crop up and resonate, even if we are unaware of the precise roots or the precise parameters of original discourses. The debate between intrinsic and instrumental benefits of the arts is a contemporary construct, the appropriateness of which is also up to debate as suggested in Stern and Seifert's report. In sum, I have highlighted some potential sources of fuzziness and discontent relating to contemporary discourses in cultural policy and management that may have an impact on practices in the field.

Notes

1. It can mean either an essential quality of a thing, or an accidental quality according to Dewey (1942).
2. The ambiguity has to do with whether or not one has actually raised the issue by stating that one has not. The fallacy committed here could also be considered a form of complex question.

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12 Silence in Cultural Management

Njörður Sigurjónsson

Introduction

This study of silence in cultural management used two field visits and four semi-structured interviews to answer questions about silence in three different cultural organizations: an art museum, a concert hall, and a radio station. The questions guiding the inquiry are: what is the meaning of silence in different settings? How is silence used in cultural organizations? And, how is silence managed and controlled by those who are responsible for sustaining it?

Curiously, silence as an aspect of cultural organizations has not been considered within the cultural management literature nor in management literature in general, except in a rather limited way, as I discuss in the literature section below. One reason for this may be categorical, that silence is perceived to fall outside of the main work of the organization and is in some sense the negation, non-activity, or non-response of communicational and artistic activity. Silence thus becomes the outside "frame" (Deleuze & Guattari 2000, 479), or "parergon" (Derrida 2000, 412–427; Jay 1994, 516), which we instruct ourselves not to look at or notice when we focus on the artwork or the painting. Whether it is for this reason or just a general emphasis on the negative aspects of silence in Western culture (Schafer 1977; Losseff & Doctor 2007), the meaning and management of silence are worth exploring.

In this chapter, silence is seen as an important task of managers and others involved with cultural organizations as part of work and as part of the organizational context. We can imagine that silence and acoustics have been important to cultural management from early on: from pre-historic caves to the Göbekli Tepe, and from the ancient Greek theatres to Shakespeare's Globe, performance and exhibition spaces have had acoustic qualities that were either the backdrop of, or part of, the lived experience of stories, rituals, paintings, or music. Someone, be it a patron, performer, or other organizer, had the role or responsibility to engender the right acoustic context. Some settings are noisy, while others are quiet, but acoustics, sound, and silences are part of the so-called

agreement between cultural producers and audiences, the "aesthetic contract" (Pick & Anderton 2002 16), to provide the right context for the most appropriate aesthetic experience (Bradfield 2012, 3). Acoustics are in that sense part of an artwork as John Dewey (1980) suggests, the process or nexus that makes up our experience and aesthetic involvement.

In this study, silence is examined as an essential part of organizational life in the arts and culture sector. Following discussion of relevant literature and presentation of methods, this chapter provides findings from the field visits and interviews interpreted in the context of theory and concepts of cultural management. Discussion sections are named after the underlying themes: 1) enforcing silence; 2) silences as myth and metaphor; and 3) silence techniques.

Findings of this study suggest that silence has manifold meanings and uses in cultural management depending on its context and effect. Silence can be forceful, disempowering, dominant, transcendent, overwhelming, or fragile. Importantly, the search for silence is not only part of the production or representation of cultural products, it is also needed in personal working space, and it is valued for its creative qualities. Interviewees suggest that silence must be handled with care but is not always easily managed, and, sometimes, it has to be enforced. In that sense, silence operates within cultural organizations similar to its function in music. In music, silence is both part of the musical work itself, as well as the frame that shapes and demarks the space and time music occupies. Silence is an organizing element that frames sound and creates tension, but also provides rest and resolution.

Literature and Silence Theory

In *Arts Administration*, John Pick and Malcolm Anderton (2002) reflect on what they see as conflicting philosophies of business and art. The authors note the seductive powers of describing art management with mechanical metaphors such as a "service industry" and "product line" and warn of the mechanical bureaucracy that might follow upon conceptualizing conventional management theory in quantitative terms. They emphasize the need to be aware of measurable concepts, such as "products" and "performance indicators," and suggest that the cultural manager has a deep commitment to both arts and audiences using her skills to make the best available "aesthetic contract" between the two (Pick & Anderton 2002). Curiously, William J. Byrnes (2003) reinforces this idea in his definition of arts management. "Over the last 2000 years, the basic functions of the artist-manager have remained the same. Bringing the art and the public together is the continuing objective" (2003, 64). Nevertheless, neither Byrnes nor Pick and Anderton explore what "together" means, what *aesthetical* is, or what constitutes the contract.

A better understanding of silence may help resolve these issues, taking into consideration silence as a component of the aesthetic contract.

The composer and soundscape theorist R. Murray Schafer has suggested that in defining silence, Western thought usually privileges its negative qualities (Schafer 1977). Schafer proposes that since "modern man fears death since none before him, he avoids silence to nourish his fantasy of perpetual life. In Western society, silence is a negative, a vacuum" (Schafer, Ibid., 256). Addressing similar trends in the classification of silence in Western culture more generally, musicology scholars Losseff and Doctor have suggested that silence is too often viewed from what they call a "narrow European perspective" (Losseff & Doctor 2007, 1), which, they say, equates silence with "the passive, the submissive, and the void" (Losseff & Doctor 2007, 1).

They also refer to the Oxford Dictionary definition of "silence," which stresses the absence of sound, prohibition of speech, and the refusal to communicate ("Silence," n.d.).

It is therefore perhaps no surprise that in organizational theory, silence is usually seen as a problem (Morrison & Milliken 2000), and possibly one of the main threats to a healthy organizational life (Kolarska & Aldrich 1980; Morrison & Milliken 2000; Slade 2008; Yıldız 2013). Researchers of "organizational silence" even go as far as to define silence as a paralyzing situation, a "collective-level phenomenon of doing or saying very little," that prevents necessary information sharing and hinders appropriate responses to lurking danger (Henriksen & Dayton 2006, 1540). With the notable exception of Bies (2009), who argues for a broader conceptualization of silence and its possible empowering and political dimensions, there is no apparent explanation, from reading what may be termed an "organizational silence" literature, why silence gets this one-sided treatment in organizational theory, or why only its negative qualities get the attention of management scholars.

This is curious, since silence must have some positive attributes in organizational context and for the benefit of normative or functional management theory (Bies 2009). For instance, many businesses depend on at least some discretion about their inner workings, and therefore must benefit from silence in the sense in which organizational theorists use the term. And being quiet, as in not saying or revealing everything that happens within the organization and even keeping secrets, is one of the unspoken duties of management as well as one of the most obvious signs of loyalty to an organization. Furthermore, according to research on work environments, people value silence in going about their work and prefer a quiet room to the all-pervading open office space (Costas & Grey 2014).

However, for most cultural organizations, such as, for instance, museums, theatres, and concert halls, silence is the paradoxical premise of communication and interpretation and various kinds of activities seem

to demand it. As Bradfield (2012) explains, silence is a necessary and integral part of many aesthetic experiences:

> From the perspective of reception, we are often silent in the encounter with art as a matter of concentration and convention. This holds in different media, whether in a concert hall where listening and sound are of paramount importance, or in a museum, gallery, or theater. In order to experience the work, we try to eliminate distractions in order to fully "take it in." As a result, silence is an integral part of most of our aesthetic experiences.
>
> (Bradfield 2012, 1–2)

At the museum and art gallery, visitors move silently around the space, making an effort not to make themselves heard or to disturb other visitors. Before the play begins in the modern theatre and typically during the entire performance, the audience is expected to sit quietly and, similarly, at the concert house music concert. Poetry readings, performance art, and most other things that happen on stage in front of an audience demand similar silence, while of course many other practices, such as street performances, rock concerts, or more participative events, have different rules. However, based on how widespread silence is at cultural institutions, it seems that it would be wrong to classify silence wholly negatively.

But what does "silence" mean? Is it the lack of communication suggested by the organizational theory scholars or the space for aesthetical immersion? Is there even a workable definition of the term? In her essay *The Aesthetics of Silence*, writer and critic Susan Sontag suggests that silence, or inaudibility, is where all serious art and artists are heading to escape from serving the public, and for many modern composers, such as John Cage, silence is an inspiration for the paradoxical move towards the spiritual realm of absolute silence (Sontag 1969). But Sontag also makes the point that silence is never experienced as an absolute. It is always relative, and any discussion about silence is always figurative and metaphorical. In her view, silence evokes metaphors of "unintelligibility or invisibility or inaudibility" (Sontag 1969, 7), but also spirituality, death, seriousness, infinity, or relief.

French philosopher Michel Foucault makes a similar point about the plurality of meanings associated with silence. He considers that there is not one silence, but numerous and the meaning of a silence depends upon the language games being played (Foucault 1978). In *History of Sexuality* he states, "There is not one but many silences, and they are an integral part of the strategies that underline and permeate discourses" (Ibid., 27). Foucault uses the concept of "discourse" to refer to the orders of meaning and relations among signs that communicate meaning, and silence is a part of (and not outside of) those systems. His point is that rather than seeing silence as some one thing, non-communicative

or void of meaning and external to discourse, silence is instead a part of communication and the underlying meaning system. In the context Foucault is referring to, silence is part of a system of disputes and taboos, the silencing of voices and ideas, that can take on different forms depending on the framework. Some of those meanings are perhaps more obvious than others, such as when we are asked to keep quiet when a musical performance is happening, but it also depends on what we accept as a legitimate claim to expression (Medina 2004). We silence ourselves about certain things in an institutional setting and learn (are disciplined) to keep quiet so as not to disturb what we perceive as the natural order of things, or the conventional.

The study of silence in this broader context of cultural institutions and customs has yet to be conducted but one of the more interesting attempts at systematic exploration of the different meanings and uses of silence within a particular tradition is Diarmaid MacCulloch's (2013) book *Silence: A Christian History*. MacCulloch explores the institutional and symbolic connections of silence and how it has shaped the basis of Christianity as stated in Scripture and other foundational texts, as well as how it has changed throughout the centuries. Silence has been part of how congregations and churches have organized themselves; it is used in meditation and prayers as well as for concealment and forgetting (MacCulloch 2013).

Sadly, there hasn't been any attempt at the study of silence in cultural organizations in a similar way as MacCulloch attempts within the Christian tradition, but hopefully, this small study of silence in cultural management can spark some questions and start a discussion. As we see from the interviews and field visits in this chapter, silence is part of the aesthetic contract, and such an important part of the operations of many cultural organizations that it merits all the attention we can give it.

Methods and Interpretation

In order to investigate the role of silence in cultural organizations, I conducted interviews and field visits. For the interpretation of data, I used insights from organizational aesthetics in order to illuminate paradoxes and problematics connected with silence in different organizational contexts. The unit of analysis, is the research context, the temporal, experiential, organization where organizers, producers, and audiences come together, rather than the immediate work context of the interviewee. Specifically, four semi-open interviews were conducted and the specialists selected (two women and two men) were chosen on the premise that they were willing to reflect on the role and purpose of silence in their work in cultural institutions. The questions guiding the interviews were: what is silence in different settings? How is it used in organizations? How is it experienced? How is silence managed and controlled? Interviewees

were experienced specialists responsible for artistic representation and management of the aesthetic experience for their organizations.

The interviewees were: (1) an orchestra musician, (2) a radio audio producer, (3) a curator at an art museum, and (4) a radio content producer. The length of the interviews was from 40 minutes to one hour. Interviews were audio-recorded and then transcribed. In the analysis, thematic analysis was used as the main method. While acknowledging that qualitative approaches to thematic analysis are notoriously varied (Nisbett 2013, 88), Braun and Clarke have defined the process as "a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun & Clarke 2006, 79). The process of coding for this analysis is carried out in different stages, roughly following Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-step rationalization: first, there is reading and rereading for initial familiarization with the text; the next steps involved generating codes and searching for themes among them. The next step involves reviewing the themes, seeing them as both significant for the context, and thinking of them as a whole. Finally, there is defining and naming themes which would make sense in a wider context and producing the final report.

An obvious limitation to this study is how small it is, how few the interviews are, and how limited the choice of organizations is. As such, the study should perhaps be viewed as preliminary, which sets the direction for a more comprehensive project of mapping out the uses of silences within cultural organizations.

The first of the two field visits included in this study, is performance of an orchestra work by the composer Davíð Brynjar Franzson, called *Longitudinal study #2*, in April 2014. The performance was at the newly built concert hall Harpa in Reykjavík, Iceland, and was part of the *Tectonics* contemporary music festival. The second is a visit at the Solomon C. Guggenheim museum in New York in May 2017 to experience Doug Wheeler's work *PSAD Synthetic Desert III*. The work is an installation where a semi-anechoic chamber was designed to minimize noise and "induce a sensate impression of infinite space" (Doug Wheeler 2017). Both of these works, the *Longitudinal study #2* and *PSAD Synthetic Desert III*, give an interesting perspective on the processes of silence within cultural institutions and provoked questions. Indeed, it was the performance of the *Longitudinal study* that prompted the present research and set the wheels in motion.

It should also be mentioned in this overview on methodology that my own experience of working in a small theatre part time over a period of eight years and later as a marketing manager for a symphony orchestra gave me ideas and insights that influence the choice of subject material and the interpretive context. Experience and a background in philosophy, before turning to cultural management studies, shape the methodological approach and interpretation of the material in various ways.

Management research, in the words of the organizational theorist Barbara Czarniawska (1999), is the practice of "writing management,"

not by dictating norms, but by reflecting and provoking. According to Czarniawska, the role of the researcher is to create knowledge by re-describing organizational reality through reflective observation and associations. In this view, the main role of creative institutional reflection of management is to furnish a language of interpretation and reflection to practitioners and theoreticians alike. Inspired by Czarniawska, the interpretive approach of this study falls within the tradition of "organizational aesthetics," also known as "aesthetic understanding of organizational life," which has become an important dimension of the literature on organizational research methodology in recent decades. Examples of this discourse include Antonio Strati and Pierre Guillet de Monthoux's (2002) "Introduction: Organizing aesthetics," Antonio Strati's (1999) *Organization and Aesthetics*, and Stephen Linstead and Heather Höpfl's (2000) *The Aesthetics of Organization*. Within the context of organizational aesthetics, these authors have posed questions about the uncritical construction of management knowledge, the supposed universal application of techniques, and the normative character of the way management theories are presented. Organizational aesthetics researchers often combine their interest in qualitative-hermeneutic interpretation with classical philosophical aesthetics, critical theory, and post-structural or postmodern theory (see, for instance, Adrian Carr and Philip Hancock's (2003) book *Art and Aesthetics at Work*). This study of silence in cultural management is not innocent of employing some of those traditions. In the chapter, I use multiple references to influential critics and theorists of modern society, such as Susan Sontag, Michel Foucault, and John Dewey, and use their insights and observations to inform the investigation.

Referring back to Pick and Anderton's (2002) warnings of the reductive nature of "mechanical metaphors" in arts administration, there is, in my opinion an urgent need to search for ways of addressing cultural management and cultural management theory from different theoretical positions than are offered by conventional management (Alvesson & Deetz 2000). And it is the most obvious route to explore the very institutions that are being examined from the perspective of their own traditions and raison d'être, taking lead from culture, performances, and works of art. In this chapter, I suggest that when searching for getaways out of mainstream management theory and its mechanical metaphors, we might turn our senses to the field of acoustics and particularly to the phenomenon of silence. And we will start by two field visits at two different cultural organizations.

Enforcing Silence: Take Your Shoes Off!

At the doors of Norðurljós, a large recital hall in Reykjavik's newly built concert and conference center Harpa, a gathering of around 200 concert guests is welcomed to enter. It was a cold April night, and the performance

which is about to start was the second part of the evening concert. The audience has had to move from the main hall, which is a more traditional symphonic concert hall in the same building, over to this other venue, but Norðurljós performance space is like a big black-box, especially when the lights are dimmed like on this occasion.

The performance is a part of the Tectonics music festival, which is led by the conductor and artistic director Ilan Volkov, and is dedicated to contemporary music where experimental performances of various kinds are celebrated. The work which is about to be performed is a premiere of *Longitudinal study #2*, an orchestra work by the composer Davíð Brynjar Franzson. The piece consisted of a small ensemble of string players who were placed around a podium so that the conductor was in the middle of the circle. During the performance, the musicians made extremely quiet gestures with bows barely touching the strings or drawn across the body of the instrument. When entering the hall, the audience was invited to remove their shoes and during the performance attendees were free to roam among the musicians and listen in. This was an interesting experience since, as one music critic described it: "the variation in sound quality was so slight, and you needed to prick up your ears so much to hear the music at all, much of the sense of the piece's structure came from the process of moving around the room. The auditorium space was sensibly part of the life of the music, in that sense" (Dammann 2015).

The sound of the music played was ever so slight that we, the audience, who were in the room enjoying roaming around, had to make an effort not to make ourselves heard. A musician who later was interviewed for this study happened to be performing on the night and described the music:

> like "edge of sound" somehow . . . it was like "where does it start?" . . . sounds, they were extremely weak sounds . . . the part was sparse and occasionally one did like "gggrrr . . ." some crackles, some small sound, and we were situated in a kind of circle, there was a distance between us and the conductor in the middle. And then people would walk around like this was an art show in fact, walking around the room and checking out the sound here and sound there.
>
> (1)

However, after only a few bars of music, the conductor Ilan Volkov stopped the performance abruptly and asked those who had shoes on that made a noise on the floor to either keep still or take their shoes off. Most people took the advice, me among them, and placed their shoes in a corner so we were free to circulate around the room. The music started again, but just as before, Volkov, who was towering in the middle of the hall with musicians scattered around the room, stopped the music again, and we could hear the irritation in the voice as he strongly suggested that

those who were going to move about during the performance would take their shoes off.

> the performance had to be stopped and people were asked to take off their shoes—and everything that somehow crunched or squeaked, and so people started to sneak around the room, and I can thus imagine that people have been feeling a little bit awkward.
>
> (1)

At this time, I felt it was best if I just kept to the wall and listened from there, since I was becoming so self-aware of the possible noises my movement would make. But this was at the same time so interesting and so telling of how important keeping quiet is for this kind of performance.

I was reminded of John Cage's silent piece *4´33´´* and how powerful it was for examining the concert situation and making us notice the silence and its paradoxical impossibility. I also thought of Foucault's book *Discipline and Punish*, where he describes the body as a docile, malleable site for inscribing social power through rituals and institutional practices (Foucault 1991). Foucault's theory is that discipline, through systematic play of spatial distribution, coding of activities, accumulation of time, and composition of forces, creates individualities with characteristics that correspond to these organizing elements (Ibid., 167). By controlling the individual's body and its activities, the governing system of command has total control over every aspect of the person, shaping and forming its disposition to fit the dominant ideal of manageability. Historically, the development of the modern orchestra concert in the 18th century coincides with the development of the disciplinary system that Foucault discusses. And his influential critique of modernity helps to highlight the importance of investigating the relationships between power, knowledge, and bodies at orchestra concerts, for instance, use of the *Panopticon* as a metaphor for modern "disciplinary" societies and its pervasive inclination to observe and listen. But in the concert auditorium, it is perhaps the conductor's all-hearing ear rather than the gaze of the all-seeing-eye that observes the behavior of both the orchestra and the audience (Bergeron 1996, 4).

Three years later, I am at the Solomon C. Guggenheim museum in NY on a Tuesday morning in May 2017, visiting Doug Wheeler's installation *PSAD Synthetic Desert III*. The main hall (the iconic one with the walkway leading up in a white spiral) had just been turned into a scream fest. A school group of unruly kids had just arrived, and they were not going to be told to keep quiet just because they were in a museum. In a modern art museum such as the Guggenheim, visitors are supposed to silently contemplate the works on display, or quietly communicate without disturbing others. The kids, who were around 12 years old, did not respect the protocol or the etiquette of the place, or they were

oblivious to it. The acoustics of the Guggenheim then amplified the noise, and since unlike many other museums, there was just no way out of the noise, the visitors are for the most part just stuck together in the same gallery.

The noise of the main hall was an interesting backdrop to a special installation in a separate room on the top floor. Tickets were hard to come by, and only five people were allowed in at a time. Like at the concert in Reykjavik, we were invited to take our shoes off in an anteroom if we so wished (which everyone did when they felt the gravity of the occasion and the peer pressure). We waited for about ten minutes, and at the appropriate time or when the group before us came out, we were invited into another smaller anteroom sealed by heavy doors for noise cancellation.

Doug Wheeler's installation *PSAD Synthetic Desert III* is a semi-anechoic chamber designed to minimize noise and "induce a sensate impression of infinite space" (Doug Wheeler 2017). There is almost total silence in the room due mostly to tall geometric foam cones that insulate the space and kill any echo, and they also create a visual effect of distance and sameness, even if "infinity" would be stretching it. It was like entering a church or a sacred site, and the feeling of awe somehow demanded that you would sit down, kneel, or take up a meditative position, as two of my fellow visitors did. And similarly, to *Longitudinal study #2*, I felt that the work emphasized and asked questions about mystical aspects of the role of silence within the cultural organization as the site of spirituality in secular modernity. In Sontag's (1969) words:

> Every era has to reinvent the project of "spirituality" for itself. (Spirituality = plans, terminologies, ideas of deportment aimed at resolving the painful structural contradictions inherent in the human situation, at the completion of human consciousness, at transcendence.) [. . .] In the modern era, one of the most active metaphors for the spiritual project is "art." The activities of the painter, the musician, the poet, the dancer, once they were grouped together under that generic name (a relatively recent move), have proved a particularly adaptable site on which to stage the formal dramas besetting consciousness, each individual work of art being a more or less astute paradigm for regulating or reconciling these contradictions. Of course, the site needs continual refurbishing.
>
> (Sontag 1969, 3–4)

For Sontag, the move to silence in modern art is a move towards a type of spirituality that makes sense for the times it is experienced. For achieving this, or to take part in the journey of moving away from communication and towards higher spirituality, the artist will withdraw, and silence becomes the ultimate goal. If the modern artist wants to be

taken seriously, and communicate this understanding to the audience, it is by not communicating:

> So far as he is serious, the artist is continually tempted to sever the dialogue he has with an audience. Silence is the furthest extension of that reluctance to communicate, that ambivalence about making contact with the audience . . . Silence is the artist's ultimate otherworldly gesture: by silence, he frees himself from servile bondage to the world, which appears as patron, client, consumer, antagonist, arbiter, and distorter of his work.
>
> (Sontag 1969, 6)

A second thing to observe is that in contrast to the noise of the main hall, we experienced the dialectical nature of silence in relation to the surrounding noise. This contrast accentuates how silence has come to be expected at the modern museum, almost as the white walls that characterize the Frank Lloyd Wright, iconic building. Silence, or at least quietness, is something to be expected at a modern art museum but once you heard real or serious silence, you realize how far from it the main halls are. And this contrast also reveals that the silence needs to be carefully managed and even enforced, it does not come by itself and if it is to be preserved we need strict rules and procedures, aided by architecture and special design. This reminds me of something Sontag says in her study of the aesthetics of silence:

> "Silence" never ceases to imply its opposite and to depend on its presence: just as there can't be "up" without "down" or "left" without "right," so one must acknowledge a surrounding environment of sound or language in order to recognize silence . . .
>
> A genuine emptiness, a pure silence is not feasible—either conceptually or in fact. If only because the artwork exists in a world furnished with many other things, the artist who creates silence or emptiness must produce something dialectical: a full void, an enriching emptiness, a resonating or eloquent silence. Silence remains, inescapably, a form of speech (in many instances, of complaint or indictment) and an element in a dialogue.
>
> (Sontag 1969, 11)

Thirdly, we come to experience how silence is celebrated and sought after, and particularly for the kind of transcendental, spiritual sensation this work aims to bring about here (Doug Wheeler 2017). The silence *as art* becomes precious and delicate, fetishized. John Dewey called this the "museum conception of art," which entails creating a category of fine art as objects to be stored away and appreciated in a safe environment, preferably secured in a glass box at a location people have to get permission

to enter. To Dewey, this model also applies in the theatre and the concert hall where important works of art are segregated from ordinary people and everyday life. For instance, performances of classical music take place in an environment with a particular kind of exposure and customs that shape the air and the feel of the concert experience. Concerts have a distinguished set of rules about what is appropriate and what is not. These rules are as much a part of the musical experience as any prior knowledge of the music or knowledge of the performer, and these things should not be defined as arbitrary or "extra." These rules and customs frame the aesthetic experience and create the means of contact between the audience and the music in the concert situation. In this instance, at the Guggenheim, the silence as art is put on a pedestal, in a museum glass box, to be admired, no longer the case itself but its main content.

Silences as Myth and Metaphor

There is this story of John Cage, who claimed that his *4'33"*, the silent piece, was inspired by a visit to a soundproof anechoic chamber at Harvard University. In the room, he didn't hear the total silence he expected, but heard a high noise and low noise. The high noise was, as the engineer explained to him, the sound of his nervous system in operation, and the low noise was the sound of his blood in circulation (Sorensen 2009, 143). Cage then famously realizes that silence cannot be experienced as a "literal phenomenon" (Losseff & Doctor 2007, 9), for we always hear something. During a performance of his *Silent* piece, the performer is silent and the auditorium is silent, yet they are not, and the auditorium is not. We begin to hear various noises coming from our fellow audience members, from our own stomachs, from the electrical lights, and from the outside.

One of controversial aspects of silence is that we never hear it in its pure form, not in the strict sense. For even in the empty theatre in the morning, or in the dark corner of the storage room, before everyone arrives, there is never complete silence. We hear the electric lights or the ventilation system or some unexplainable ticking or humming from the technical equipment. Or is it coming from the orchestra pit? Silence is always accompanied by some noise, which in the strict sense would mean that there is no silence, but the paradoxical reality is that we wouldn't hear those humming and ticking and high-pitched sounds if it wasn't for the silence. The silence is there, it is audible, but it also a backdrop for focusing on other things. Silence is the stage, the gallery wall, the surroundings that make other things noticeable. But we seldom hear it for itself unless artists such as John Cage or Doug Wheeler help us focus on it. But does that mean that we don't hear silence? The philosopher Roy Sorensen (2009) discusses this and maintains in the essay *Hearing Silence* that we hear silence just as we hear sounds. It is therefore incorrect to define sound as the proper object of hearing, as Aristotle did in *De Anima*, for we also hear the absence of

sound, the silence. Yet Cage's physical experiment in the anechoic chamber perhaps reveals that "literal silence is somehow incompatible with the condition of being human" (Crispin 2007 134).

Susan Sontag maintains in *The Aesthetics of Silence* that any discussion about silence should become about metaphors: metaphors of spirituality, of death, of seriousness, infinity, or relief. For instance, in Cage's *Silence*, the nothing, the blank, the white page, becomes a metaphor for silence, and the score creates a visual dialectic with silence (Sontag 1969). Or, what does the silence mean? As Nicky Losseff and Jenny Doctor explain in *Silence, Music, Silent Music*, silence is full of meaning, yet it is common in Western culture to equate silence with the passive, the submissive, or "the void" (Losseff & Doctor 2007, 1). Silence is characterized by the backdrop to other "sounds," a clean slate or an empty canvas. In this respect, silence plays a similar role as the color white, which evokes pristine monotonic landscapes of endlessness, as was the effect of Wheeler's *Synthetic Desert*.

Similar to the color white, silence is perceived as the "neutral" white wall of the gallery, the white cube, clean and innocent, yet transcendent and nonphysical. As one interviewee of this study, a visual art curator, explained:

> Same as with the white walls, it is not desirable to infect with sound or have distracting sounds, no more than having a visual element that is disturbing.
>
> (3)

Equally, in the symbolism of the modern theatre, silence is "black," as in the "black-box" that everything else happens in. Like the black scene of the theatre, silence is perceived as the dark backcloth that kills any reflection and creates an undefined space that frames the scene. Somewhere between the cave and the abyss, the blackness symbolizes nothingness. And, just as with the black of the black-box and the white of the gallery cube (O'Doherty 1986), silence has meaning and impact. Even its insignificance has significance.

The silence has a role in making the gallery space cut off from the life outside and isolating it, and the art on display, from any intrusion and disturbance from the "real world." Silence, which is supposed to create a neutral space, thereby becomes one of those mechanisms that make up the institutional setting which John Dewey called "the museum conception of art." One of the interviewees, who worked as a curator at an art museum, pointed out this characteristic of the silent exhibition space:

> The silence has this aura of neutrality, and anything that breaks it is a disturbance. The attention is scattered, or the reverence, for the admired exhibits.
>
> (3)

Silence gives a sense of nothingness where other things supposedly happen, but once it is broken and we become aware of it, we realize that it is filled with meaning and messages. It communicates the messages that the institution (its owners, managers, artists, performers, staff, and guests) wants to express and shapes its culture. There is no neutral silence within the organization; it always carries the politics and purpose of the situation with it. This is similar to the artworks Sontag discusses in her essay on the aesthetics of silence:

> There is no neutral surface, no neutral discourse, no neutral theme, no neutral form. Something is neutral only with respect to something else—like an intention or an expectation. As a property of the work of art itself, silence can exist only in a cooked or non-literal sense. (Put otherwise: if a work exists at all, its silence is only one element in it.) Instead of raw or achieved silence, one finds various moves in the direction of an ever-receding horizon of silence—moves which, by definition, can never be fully consummated.
>
> (10)

Silence Techniques

As was discussed in relation to Doug Wheeler's *Synthetic Desert*, silent spaces can have an aura of heightened purpose. It is perceived as sobering and serious and silence is an essential part to most sacred traditions. At the same time, silence can feel as belonging to another world to which the unqualified is not welcome, or that we are plainly terrified of it so that we don't want to be swallowed by it. At the Guggenheim, the silent space gave me, as a visitor, a feeling of awe and wonder so that I sat in a quiet meditative state throughout the visit. But silence can also be used in other ways and give a different kind of response. One of the radio producers interviewed for this study described how tactical uses of silences in interviews could encourage the interviewee to speak and to fill the silence which might otherwise become too uncomfortable:

> It creates a kind of a black hole in the situation and we do not want to fall into it, this black hole, and we want somehow to keep us afloat by keeping on talking.
>
> (2)

Silence in this sense creates an urge to fill it, a tension that makes us speak up and make sure that we don't sink. Police detectives use this technique, at least the ones on TV, when interrogating suspects by staying silent themselves and making the suspect feel uncomfortable.

However, perhaps this kind of silence is not only frightening or harmful, but can become the premise for creation. As Adrienne Rich asserted in her 1997 lecture *Arts of the Possible*: "The impulse to create begins—often terribly and fearfully—in a tunnel of silence" (Rich 2001, 150). My

interviewees all stated that they preferred to work in a silent space and that silence was needed for creative work. And people have to find ways to create silence so they may work in peace:

> Yes, now we work in an open space and what you do to create silence and peace is to put on headphones and usually I put on my headphones and I'm not listening to anything. This is just to create like this shield I need to have in order to work.
>
> (4)

But if we accept that silence is important and even necessary, what do cultural institutions do to preserve silence? What do people do to create silence? How do we manage silence within the cultural institution? When asked, my respondents said that they hadn't given this aspect of their work much thought. One mentioned, however, that some people seem to have a gift for playing on silences, as some actors do, but not all, and they could feel exactly how long a pause should last.

> it is the timing . . . to have this . . . to enter right into the moment. When silence has lasted long enough, when you start at the right time after the silence.
>
> (2)

An orchestra musician with a lot of experience both as a soloist and chamber musician recognized that being in command of silence was something that you had to feel and that you need to rehearse. But what about the audience? How do they know when to be quiet?

> It's just the way you come on stage and take a bow and people clap, and then they just sit quietly.
>
> (1)

When we continued to talk about this, she could tell some stories of audience members that did not behave in the way seasoned classical music fans would do. They would hum along, talk while the musicians were tuning their instruments, or clap when it was not appropriate, as, for instance, between sections of the same musical work. But these instances or examples were few and far between and, in effect, only highlight how strong the traditions are or what we can call the "culture of quietness" at the classical concert and many other cultural institutions. Those institutions, the theatres, museums, or concert halls, have not always been this quiet. In his autobiography, the composer and violinist Ludwig Spohr describes the conditions of the court musician in concert in 1807:

> the card players called out their "I bid," I pass! so loudly that nothing much could be heard of the music. [. . .] As soon as the King had

> finished his game, he pushed his chair back and the concert was broken off in the middle of an aria by Madame Graft, the poor lady having to stop with the last note of her cadenza still in her throat. [. . .] At the theatre, applause was forbidden unless the King himself applauded. The royal family however, because of the winter cold, kept their hands in muffs, and brought them out only when they felt the urge to take a pinch of snuff. At such moments, they also applauded, regardless of what was going in the theatre.
>
> (Spohr 1961, 68)

Of course, the auditorium isn't always quiet or still today, but this reality has created opportunities for artists to play on that quality. Works such as John Cage's *4´33´´*, or indeed Davíð Brynjar Franzson's *Longitudinal study #2*, would never have been performed or even perhaps conceived of, without the convention of silence at the modern concert hall. In that sense, the cult of silence within modern cultural organizations has created new paths for creative work and innovations in artistic output.

When exploring the role of silence within the cultural organization, we realize that silence is everywhere. After the phone calls at the ticket box and the conversations at the office, things go silent, and people go about their business, concentrating on their work. But it is more than that. Silence is in the very fabric of the organization: in the storage room, in the halls between visiting hours, before show preparations, or after performances. We can also hear the silence in these different rooms, halls, and spaces in part because they have been designed and built to keep unwanted noise out. Some of those silences are particular to cultural organizations; others are the kind of silences that you can also hear in other organizations and businesses and in fact are an important factor in all organizational life.

There are silences that are particular to cultural institutions and have to do with the experience we want to create. These are the quiet etiquettes of the museum galleries and the silence before a performance of a play at the theatre. An important part of the initiation of newcomers into the ethos of the cultural institution is to get them to respect those silences. This applies both to new audiences, not familiar with the operating rituals, and to new employees that don't perhaps respect the importance of silences at particular times or places: noisy deliverymen bursting into a quiet rehearsal; a new stage hand whistling in the stage wing when everything is supposed to be quiet; or a guard talking on a phone in the exhibition hall. At the radio station, silence is very much part of the programming, as one of my interviewees explained:

> [Silence] is a very important factor, and it has been a part of [the radio stations culture] to deliberately use silence to create a breathing space around music, around interviews. And these interviews and these rituals are present.
>
> (4)

In our interview, the radio producer went on to explain that with changes in personnel, and particularly in management, this silence was under threat, since new people often didn't understand the value of it. They would only see pauses or gaps in the program, while those who were more experienced understood how necessary it was to preserve this aspect of the broadcast.

> And you find that when people are just beginning their employment here and don't realize this, about the silence, and that to many employees and listeners it is close to sacrilege to break the silence.
>
> (4)

The silences, which were used throughout the broadcast as part of individual programs or in-between items, are part of what the listeners expect from the radio station, and he would explain that silence was essential to the rhythm of the broadcast and the listening experience. In a way, this is comparable to a composition and the role of silence in the music, for if there were no silences, there would be only constant noise. Silences in music not only make up the start and finish of a musical work, they are also essential to the music as such. As a musician described:

> I feel that the silence is part of the music. Silence is [. . .] silences that are written into the music are naturally an extremely important part of it so that it can be said that silence between parts of the music is to some extent also part of the work.
>
> (1)

Not only is the silence essential to the composition of the organization, it is an integral part of it, as it is in the music. And in a similar way as with music, it is as much a question to be attuned to it, to sense it. Some people have this feel, so it is natural to them to use silence, and they know when to respect it and when to break it. They don't become uncomfortable in silence, as they know that the silence is a part of the music, of the work, of the organization. Other people might need to concentrate a little bit, tune in, and learn how the magic of silence works. The challenge for cultural managers is to understand where and when silence is appropriate. New managers, as well as new staff, might not appreciate the way in which silence has been used so they should make an effort to listen in and apprehend the value of silence in the organization.

> that is why we are fighting for it [. . .] to keep those silences that make the programme as a whole human. I mean, that which gives peace and quiet after each segment of the programme and people like . . . ah . . . relax, and it prepares them for the next bit.
>
> (2)

Coda

Silence is a complex phenomenon, and the concept has many diverse meanings, many of which have only been discussed briefly in this chapter. For instance, the theories of the "organizational silence" researchers have not been given much space, that is, the silencing of employees or of dissident voices. From that literature, we learn that people's inability to speak up is dangerous for the survival of the organization. And it is the management's job to ensure that employees' voices don't get muted. In the interviews, I asked my respondents about this aspect of silence at their organizations, if they had experienced it, and if they understood silence in that way. Two of them could relate to the concept of organizational silence in that sense, but both seemed to have a contrary view to the metaphor since it was the "organizational noise" that was stifling communication and understanding, and both used similar examples:

> People attend those staff meetings, but we are being talked at, over our heads, Human Resources Manager, Director, deliver short speeches, and then the meeting comes to an end. They ask if there are any questions . . . "we have three minutes."
>
> (1)

> There is strong demand for consensus on issues, to prevent something, that something is discussed, other topics are found. And the silence is filled up . . . so, I feel the silence is usually more a creative space.
>
> (4)

This issue of communicative noise being used to kill off any discussion, and furthermore the link between silence and creativity, is something that merits further research, even if it hasn't been given a lot of space here. The general focus of this study is on the more "literal" phenomenon of silence and understanding silence as the absence of sound. Yet we know that this ideal is impossible, and we understand that silence is not absolute. It is always metaphorical or relative, for we always hear "something." This does not mean that silence is impossible, for we as listeners always hear something, but that we need to treat it as existing in a different sense (Sorensen 2009). We always hear some sound as part of the silence we hear, but that doesn't mean that silence doesn't exist.

Another aspect of silence that hasn't been given much space is the issue of power and how silence is employed in the different power games being played in the cultural organization. Silence is a power tool, and my interviewees mentioned that some people have it within their power to use silence to control situations and other people. This was the implicit subtext of the discussion about Panopticon and the conductor as "the

all hearing ear," but this issue certainly merits some more space. The main subject for this chapter is to explore the varying meanings and uses of silence in cultural management as it relates to the organization and particularly the "aesthetic contract" between the artistic production and the guests. For this I have used ideal types of cultural organizations, and, of course, there are different ones that are noisy or completely different from the standard Western concert hall/theatre/museum/cultural radio that I had in my head while thinking about these issues.

Silence has multiple meanings and uses, depending on context and effect, but we have seen that it can be dominant, spiritual, overwhelming, and fragile. Furthermore, silence must be handled and managed and sometimes enforced. The search for silence is not only a part of the programming or the representation of cultural products, it is also desirable in personal working space, and it is valued for both its spiritual and creative qualities. Silence needs to be protected and understood, and we have established that silence is essential to the cultural institution and to the aesthetic contract with the audience and visitors.

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13 Managing Real Utopias

Artistic and Creative Visions and Implementation

Volker Kirchberg

Strategic Management for the Arts and Culture

Arts and cultural management has frequently taken the easy road; it has too often blindly transferred the rules and guidelines from business management literature into art worlds without considering the special objectives of this field. The ultimate goal for commercial business, however, is profit-making, the accumulation of economic capital by a dominant market position. Outside the commercial cultural industries, this is not the goal for arts organizations.

Let me sketch out a few characteristics of business management shared by cultural organizations. For businesses, it is crucial that the company's leaders set top-down goals that are then implemented by management teams. According to Porter (1996), business has four strategic goals for management, as combinations of the pursuit of "market scope" and "market advantage." The first business goal of "cost leadership" is achievable by spreading business activity over a broad market scope and simultaneously pursuing a low-cost strategy. The second business goal of "differentiation" is achievable by likewise spreading business activity over a broad market scope but simultaneously pursuing a unique product or service for this broad market. The third business goal of "low-cost focus" goal is achievable by fixing on a narrow market scope (a specific market segment) and simultaneously pursuing a low-cost strategy. And the fourth business goal of "differentiated focus" is achievable by centering, likewise, on a narrow market scope while simultaneously pursuing product or service uniqueness in this niche market. All four goals are pivotal for profit-oriented businesses, but are they also valid for strategic management of cultural organizations? Achieving strategic goals, according to Mintzberg (1994), involves planning, that is, 1) knowing attributes of the future; 2) accurately assessing the strengths and weaknesses of the organization for this future; and 3) managing a change process that better aligns the organization with the strategic goals of the business. Strategic planning thus requires forecasting a complex, emerging future and accommodating an organization to this future. These goals and strategies may be shared by

organizations in the arts and cultural sector. Moreover, we can observe that businesses are not only driven by economic goals concerning profit and competition, costs and benefits, or efficiency, standardization, quantitative accountability, and control (Ritzer's criteria for McDonaldization, 2015), but also by the predilections and whims of entrepreneurs and leaders, which are traits typically associated with creatives.

Although cultural organizations are forced to act as business enterprises in a world dominated by a capitalist order, there are crucial differences from business. The most important is that the goal of accumulating capital is not applicable to nonprofit arts and cultural organizations. In fact, even if an arts organization had the goal of making a profit they would find it exceedingly difficult, as formulated in "Baumol's cost disease" (Baumol & Bowen 1993).[1] However, there are a few overlaps; businesses are not only driven by economic patterns such as profit and competition, costs and benefits, and efficiency, accountability, standardization, and control. Another difference is that cost minimization of production processes is not an overriding goal for cultural organizations. In other words, they do not pursue process optimization as an identity-serving goal (for itself), but only as a secondary strategy (by itself). This tension between ends and means is a reason to search for an understanding of the goals and strategies of arts and cultural organizations that goes beyond standard economic metrics often—and unfortunately—imposed on the arts.

This new understanding of arts and cultural management might draw on the work of Stephen Weil, an American museum scholar who strongly questions the viability of museums that do not provide benefits to society beyond the criteria of efficiency and accountability (Weil 2012). The *raisons d'être* of museums are to be found either in serving personal development (learning, self-realization, inspiration, etc.) or in advancing social utility (social justice, social identity formation, mediation, civil society etc., see Kirchberg 2011). In other words, the strategic management of arts organizations should not prioritize economic objectives but instead pursue *non*economic ones.

This brings me to the core question of this chapter. If a strategic management of arts and cultural organizations is not based on economic objectives, to what extent are visionary *utopian* visions—untainted by capitalist rationale—important for arts production as goals that are accepted by creative workers in artistic and cultural organizations? I first approach this question in a deductive manner by providing a short overview of concepts of utopia that might serve as signposts for arts management.

Utopian Visions as Signposts

Utopia as a concept that influences our collective and individual behavior goes back at least 500 years to Thomas More who in 1516 described a fictitious island society characterized by an idyllic social system

which included government by public gatherings, communal ownership of property, equal treatment of women, and religious tolerance. His depiction of utopia has been interpreted as a satire directed at Henry VIII of England, but his thinking stimulated an array of social philosophers to revive utopian concepts (Touraine 2000).

In *Ideology and Utopia* (2013), Karl Mannheim ascribes revolutionary potential to *utopia* because it serves as an inspiration for a dominated class striving to transform society. In contrast, *ideology* serves the members of the dominating class who use it to defend a social system beneficiary to themselves by proposing a return to a seemingly better past. An ideology is totalitarian when it condemns all other social orders from its own indisputable "rationale." Thus, a state of mind becomes utopian when it is incompatible with the present ideology but congruous with changing the social order to a better future.

This better future is also the topic of Ernst Bloch's *The Principle of Hope* (1986). Bloch observes that people who allow themselves to dream of a better life have often constructed utopias through art forms as varied as poetry, drama, music, painting, and dance, but also through fairy-tales, literature, legends, architecture, medicine, sports, circuses, and religion. Utopian dreams move societies forward towards a better future by critiquing an unsatisfactory present (1986, 1375f). Utopian thinking thus has its origins in human suffering resulting from exploitation, alienation, rootlessness, and loneliness, and in the awareness that a future could be better. For Bloch, hope in everyday life is a search for utopia, for a metaphorical home where people are alienated neither from each other nor from themselves. He states, "True genesis is not at the beginning but at the end and it starts to begin only when society and existence become radical, that is grasp their roots" (Ibid.). Utopia is a real possibility (Thompson 2016) that has latency and power. It is a concrete state in a humanistic world where oppression and exploitation have been eliminated.

The concept of utopia has shifted from a dreamlike and sometimes even satirical vision (More) to a concrete and real hope (Bloch). Since the meltdown of financial markets in 2008, utopia has a renewed fascination for social theorists. The radical critique of capitalism after the stock market crash stimulated a revival of utopian visions. It is worth citing Michael Buroway, an eminent sociologist of work and organizations:

> I think it is very important to think about alternative worlds. After the 2008 crisis some people thought there would be a re-structuring in capitalism but no, the wave of marketization that began in the 1970s for the most part continues. The crisis was exploited by financial capital to consolidate rather than undermine its power . . . . So in these circumstances it seems very important to develop alternative imaginations of what could be, because the capitalist world of today

> has an unprecedented capacity to make us believe that it cannot be otherwise.
>
> (2016, 33)

Every systematic discourse on concrete utopias thus requires a diagnosis and critique of the negative conditions generated by contemporary capitalism. Erik Olin Wright takes up Buroway's causality in his book *Envisioning Real Utopias* (2010), where he rigorously details 11 main critiques of capitalism. Utopias are real, in his view, because they are based on a realistic critique of capitalism. Debate about utopia becomes an important part of an emancipatory social science in this case. For Wright, utopias are products of the criticism of capitalism. Radical, democratic, egalitarian, and emancipatory visions contribute to the social empowerment of people in a threefold manner: (1) as direct democracy,[2] (2) as social economy,[3] and (3) as social economy enterprises.[4]

Wright calls for continuing checks and balances among the three sectors of market, state, and civil society. In the macro-societal *real utopian model* (Figure 13.1), adapted from Wright (2010, 130), a more just allocation of resources in the economy depends on the state and on capitalist market economy, with the state producing fewer goods and services (Vectors 3 and 2) in favor of a greater social provision of goods and services (Vector 1). This

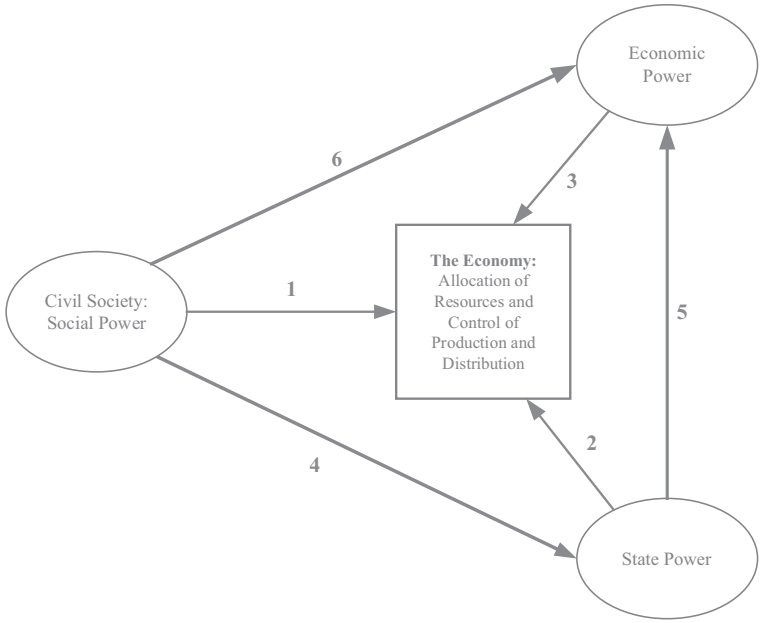

Figure 13.1 Linkings in the Pathways to Social Empowerment
Source: Wright (2010, 130).

occurs by means of a greater control of capitalist firms by civil society (Vector 6) as well as by the state (Vector 5) and of state power by civil society (Vector 4).

This societal utopia is held in place by checks and balances and is not created by a violent or revolutionary transformation of society. A better world cannot be forced into being through top-down directive strategies implemented in a managerial or engineering mindset. On the contrary, a real utopia can only be brought about through a serendipitous strategy of incremental tinkering, of experimenting in the niches, in the interstices and fissures of current society dominated by the capitalist market. Planning, creating, sometimes failing, and then retrying is part of the process. Thus, in order to transform the world and create a utopia, we have to redefine the goals of strategic management. Why do we want to leave the world in which we live now (diagnosis and critique)? Where do we want to go (alternatives)? How do we get from here to there (transformation)?

For Wright (2010), whether for pilot projects involving incremental tinkering or larger scale networked projects, transformation follows three stages. Step 1: what do we wish (desirability)? Step 2: what is feasible (viability)? Step 3: what can we realize in the face of social, economic, and political obstacles (achievability) (see also Shostak, 2003)? The difference between a visionary desire and a real utopia is that one remains at the level of wishful thinking while the other realizes the vision through the systematic execution of all three steps (Figure 13.2) as adapted from Wright (2010, 20).

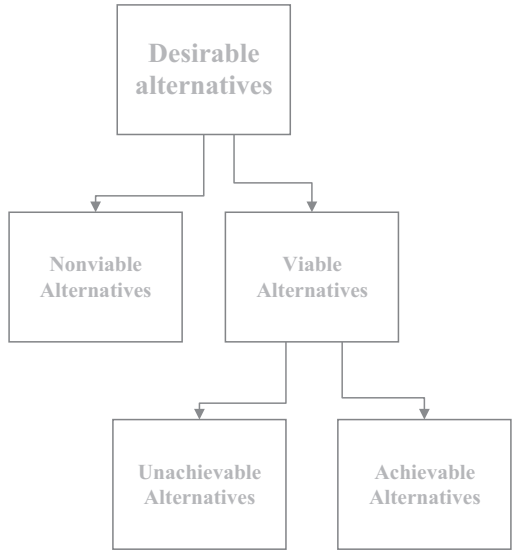

Figure 13.2 Three Criteria for Evaluating Alternatives
Source: Wright (2010, 20).

Desirability, Viability, Achievability: Managing Creative and Cultural Real Utopias

The third part of this article is an empirical examination of the concept of real utopia as found in six social, creative, and cultural projects in the city of Hanover, Germany. The six projects were selected due to their different geographical ranges (neighborhood, city, and region), their different degrees of institutionalization (organizational complexity, established regulations), and their different orientation (social, creative, or cultural focus).

The selection and analysis of these projects shown in Table 13.1 as potential real utopias is part of a research project titled City as Space of Possibility, which investigates the relevance of initiatives and institutions for sustainable urban development in the northern German city of Hanover. The focus of this research project is on cultural characteristics in the broader sense of the accepted norms, value orientations, expectations, and behavioral patterns that foster sustainability in an urban environment. This was accomplished by analyzing specific places and spaces—spaces of possibility—that are or might be points of origin for more encompassing, sustainable urban development in the future.

Table 13.1 Selected Case Studies of Real Utopias in Hanover

Project	*Geographical range*	*Institutional-ization*	*Orientation*
1. exploratory start-up "Platzprojekt"	neighborhood	low	Creative, economic
2. one-world-initiative "VEN"	region	low	Political, economic
3. urban gardening project "Internationale Stadtteilgärten"	city	high	Social, cultural
4. housing co-op "WOGE Nordstadt"	neighborhood	high	Social, economic
5. city museum "Historisches Museum"	city	high	Cultural, social
6. state theatre "Staatstheater Hanover"	region	high	Cultural, social

Remarks on Research Design and Methods

The six projects in this study were selected for their relationship to real utopias and their contribution to a sustainable urban development. Each project was analyzed with a comprehensive research design of participatory observation, document analysis, and expert interviews. All projects are located in, and focus on, Hanover. The interviews with executive managers of the Platzprojekt Start-Up Space, the VEN One-World Initiative, the Hanover International Urban Gardening Projects, and the WOGE Nordstadt Housing co-operative were conducted by graduate students in June and July 2016 under the supervision of the author; the managers of the History Museum and the State Theater were interviewed by the author in March and April 2017.

The interviews followed a semi-structured guideline (Gläser & Laudel 2010) with the following themes: 1) linkages of utopian visions and practices (desirability, viability, achievability), 2) experimental and heterotopic traits (cf. Foucault, 1986, 3) inclusiveness or exclusiveness, 4) geographical range, 5) discourse styles, 6) institutionalization and regulative structures, 7) participation in decision-making and learning, and 8) cultures of sustainability. These eight themes became the initial deductive codes in the systematic content analysis of the transcribed interviews (Mayring 2014); however, new codes were inductively introduced if they were judged important. The analysis was executed with the technical support of the QACDAS software Atlas.ti (Friese, 2014). I will now describe these six projects individually and assess their utopian potential.

Platzprojekt

The Platzprojekt (Plaza Project) can best be described as a whimsical experiment to make a space for "creative oddball start-ups" (www.facebook.com/platzprojekt/). It is located in a self-made container village of several acres in a mostly barren industrial area not far from the fashionable neighborhood of Hanover-Linden. The Platzprojekt serves as a participatory "space of possibility" for mostly young people between 20 and 40 years engaged in start-up projects that would most likely never be implemented and achieved under normal financial and regulatory conditions in a more conventional start-up environment (Pratt 2015). Everyone who participates in this space is involved in its active creation, an open-ended and ongoing process without rules or leadership. Some of the oddball start-ups in the Platzprojekt include a bicycle company making one-of-a-kind bikes, a "massage box" where you can get a massage and learn to give one, a skateboard park, a nonmonetary, barter-only flea market, a fashion atelier that loans out clothing, a sewing place, urban gardening and beekeeping spaces, a bar and cafe for artistic performances,

a microbrewery where you can learn to brew your own beer, a bakery where you can learn to bake your own bread, and seminars for learning to drive a bus, laying parquet flooring, and mixing concrete.

In the Platzprojekt interviews, there is a distinct preponderance of municipal administrative issues, mostly with a positive connotation, stressing good cooperation with authorities.

> In Hanover, the number of [creatively active] people is simply less [than in Berlin] thus, there are lower hurdles to jump here. There is a knowledge transfer from the Platzprojekt to the municipal administration, an openness and interest in the department for culture. (#00:52:57#[5])

Issues of desirability or positive visions were also frequently mentioned. The following quotation is typical:

> I would only realize projects with friends, projects that are fun . . . My dream utopia would be to enlarge our area here and to build more experimental container houses . . . where we could live and work and have a broad leisure program . . . to work a little and to skateboard in the remaining time, to spend time with my family but not alone. (#00:29:50#)

Rarely are issues of viability a part of the talk:

> We are interested in ideas that are difficult to realize somewhere else in the city . . . People with very abstruse business ideas are very welcome here! This is a perfect space to try it out, a test laboratory. (#00:15:44#)

The same is true for issues of achievability: "We have a decision structure that we label 'do-ocracy.' That's not grass-roots democracy—but deciding by doing . . . It is important that we have progress and not that everybody agrees with everybody" (#00:34:04#).

The Platzproject is a textbook example of a sociocultural urban initiative that excels in visionary ideas, wishes, and definitions of an optimistic future, unhindered by bureaucratic hurdles (more the opposite in the latter case—the municipality's support is a catalyst) and where achievability issues emphasize possibilities and doing.

VEN One-World Initiative

The Verband Entwicklungspolitik Niedersachsen (Association of Development Policy in Lower Saxony), or VEN, was founded in 1991 as an independent network of non-governmental organizations in Lower

Saxony working to increase public and political engagement in global sustainable development. VEN coordinates a wide range of projects in both local contexts as well as, together with partner NGOs, in the Global South. The Association sees itself as a lobbying organization for sustainable development policies promoting justice, equality, and diversity (www.ven-nds.de/projekte). VEN initiates, promotes, and supports many different kinds of projects for instance Weltwunder (World Miracle), an initiative that promotes post-growth changes on a local level in line with the 17 United Nations sustainable development goals; Niedersachsen kauft fair! (Lower Saxony Buys Fair Trade!), which promotes international social and environmental standards in public sector procurement; or Partnerschaft Global (Global Partnership), in which VEN advises people campaigning for human rights, justice, and sustainability in the Global South.

As a social and political NGO with broad sustainability goals, VEN illustrates Wright's theoretical model of real utopia because its activists base the vision of a better world on a critique of existing conditions. The following quote is illustrative.

> Our critique is less directed against economic growth per se; that does not really exist anymore. Our agenda is to criticize the attitude behind an expansive modernity. We criticize the principle of endless self-perpetuation, where one equates the increase of material wealth with an increase of individual prosperity. Our prosperity is thus connected with a dynamic of exploiting raw materials, cheap labor, the mindless dissipation of natural resources and the pollution and exploitation of our lands.

Similar to Wright's rationale of critique and vision, VEN's outspoken complaint about the state of the world is accompanied by a similar outspoken desire for an alternative vision:

> My biggest wish would be to make Hannover CO2-free until 2040. You have to spin many cogs to accomplish that . . . At the same time, do not export the dirty industries in the South. That's very important!

As with the Platzprojekt, issues of viability and achievability are not as much on the mind of VEN; instances of these variables according to the code counts of the surveys are only half of those for critique and desirability:

> Our issue of post-growth is related to the global context, but we have to bring everything down to the local level. Industrial livestock farming is huge in Oldenburg, issues of refugees and migrations are taken on in Göttingen, and we focus on procurement in Brunswick and Wolfsburg because VW is just around the corner . . . To pursue

> the big goal of eminent domain[6] [to nationalize] the biggest petroleum multinationals we have to leave our niches and must arrive at the center of society.

VEN emphasizes its critique of the existing capitalist condition in the present Global North. Directly derived from this critique, the network formulates radical goals for a better society that resemble Wright's "alternatives" or "real utopias." These goals are radical in a political sense because they do not limit themselves to the achievable. VEN thus picks up a slogan from leftist 1968 pedagogy: Be realistic—demand the impossible! (Seid realistisch, verlangt das Unmögliche)! (Baader 2008).

WOGE Nordstadt

The housing co-operative WOGE Nordstadt was founded in April 1988 after the Hanover neighborhood of Nordstadt was officially designated an urban renewal area as part of an effort to prevent further deterioration of its Wilhelmine period houses. The goal was to create an inexpensive alternative to speculative redevelopment projects that carry out renovation in order to hike rents and prices. Nonprofit WOGE Nordstadt received public subsidies to buy neglected buildings being auctioned off, then, together with less well-off local residents, to renovate them and mandate rent control. The new residents became members of the housing co-op and received extensive rights to participate in current and future decisions about their homes and WOGE Nordstadt policies. The WOGE has been praised as a model for sustainable renovation of social housing (www.woge-nordstadt.de). This approach to preventing profiteering in rental markets has proven popular, and many similar housing co-ops have been since set up in Germany (Kuhnert & Leps 2017). WOGE Nordstadt promotes sustainable public housing and acts as a counterforce to the real estate market in three ways. First, WOGE has social objectives like strengthening local resident identification with their neighborhood and intensifying resident relationships, developing housing for diverse lifestyles, and supporting precarious social groups otherwise excluded from the normal housing market. Second, WOGE works to implement environmental objectives such as creating a "city of short distances" (no longer reliant on cars for transportation), energy-efficient retrofitting, and renovation of buildings, eliminating empty lots between buildings, converting attic spaces, and reforming zoning regulation. Third, WOGE works to realize economic objectives like preserving, protecting, and expanding affordable housing, providing alternative financial arrangements where future tenants provide their labor as equity partners, and reinvesting housing equity gains for coop purposes.

For 30 years, WOGE housing co-op has been an actor in the Hanover real estate market, and it has become a well-established provider of

affordable housing in the Nordstadt neighborhood. However, its institutionalization has also resulted in its everyday work being highly routinized, leaving little time for developing radical housing concepts that challenge the prevailing methods and practices in the real estate sector.[7] In contrast to the first two projects, WOGE Nordstadt does not focus on what is abstractly desirable, but instead centers on how to achieve more pragmatic goals. In interviews, the theme of achievability is mentioned twice as often as the theme of desirability. The following quote illustrates what dominates the activities of the housing co-op:

> At the beginning, sixty supporting members paid DM 1,000 to become members but that wasn't enough to buy a building, and the banks did not give us a loan. Only because of a government guarantee and the substitution of our own capital resources by sweat equity were we able to buy our first building.

Applying for public subsidies still makes up much of the everyday work, overriding other issues like the desire to have a more engaged tenant community:

> There is of course the wish that the project would succeed in more engagement for the neighborhood, as a whole. This works out, sometimes, but we would wish to see more of that engagement from the members of the WOGE.

The housing co-op WOGE Nordstadt has a long and successful history in realizing inexpensive living spaces for a mostly precarious population in an inner-city neighborhood. However, a decade-long fight with aggravating economic and political situations of a slowly gentrifying district has resulted in a pragmatic and less extraordinary array of goals that are far away from utopian ideas. Aspriations, such as more neighborhood engagement and identification, are definitely put on the back burner.

Hanover International Urban Gardening Project

The initial idea for this project came from a Hanover municipal employee who had visited similar projects in Cuba. The gardening project is actually an association of six urban gardening projects that bring together migrants and longtime residents in gardening allotments. The gardens are community owned and maintained by more than 60 registered users. But, all are welcome to develop their own gardening skills. The allotments are often created in plots in underutilized spaces such as above underground parking garages, near mass housing projects, or in areas with populations of poor residents of migrant

origin. The association is mainly financed by municipal funds, and the hierarchical organizational structure is led by a single executive (www.isghannover.de).

The association has a clear objective, which it no longer questions:

> We give the people here first the possibility to fulfill themselves, second to harvest organic vegetables and third to sell what remains at the local farmers' market. In addition, of course, we promote intercultural gardening because it is acknowledged as a uniting element.
>
> (#00:02:43#)

Since the issue of desirability is considered settled, the thinking of the management tends to revolve around issues of viability and achievability, in particular working with limited finances and generating political support, "We very much have to watch our budget in order to achieve quality results with limited funds" (#00:46:31#).

> I expect more courage from local politics; they should support projects that are uncertain in their outcome . . . And from the municipal administration I ask for a more creative approach to compliance with regulations.
>
> (#00:51:56#)

Obstacles to everyday work are as much on the mind as are issues of achievability. According to one interview, "I told them we need more personnel to grow because we have now reached the limit of our capacities" (#00:12:22#).

This urban gardening project has reasonable and attainable goals for the betterment of a precarious population in some of the mass housing projects of Hanover. However, the undisputed success of this project is based on limitation towards only achievable objectives.

Hanover Museum of History

Two of the projects in this study involve institutions of High Culture, a history museum and a state theatre. The mission of the Hanover's Museum of History is to collect, study, and exhibit items illustrating the history of the city from the 13th century onwards. Unfortunately, it is housed in an unattractive modernist building from the 1960s and the exhibitions are badly outdated. A new exhibition will open in 2019, and the museum director for education and communication (who was interviewed for this study) is developing a concept to engage the public in the museum's new direction. He is also carrying out very active marketing and communication campaigns linking pedagogy and participation, reaching out to museum non-visitors as well.

Because the museum is a municipal institution, the main issues arising in the interview were bureaucratic obstacles and the city itself. The museum Communications Director is well aware of the constraints.

> I have to admit that I am really too trapped by pragmatic considerations to achieve the museum's everyday objectives; it is hard for me to define a vision or utopian goals for the museum.
>
> (#00:17:27#)

> There is an occupational hazard; you cannot avoid certain narrow thought patterns caused by [working in] the institution. If you are preoccupied by the museum's history and so on, it is very hard to break these thought patterns.
>
> (#00:20:31#)

Since he is aware of his limitations, the Communications Director is also able to speculate playfully; his comments include his aspirations, or desirability, in Wright's term for the future.

> My dream for this museum is to connect all discourses about this city, real, and virtual. We should be an agency that helps to answer questions such as, What is the identity of the city I live in? What is the spirit of my city? and, What does this have to do with my life-world?
>
> (#00:11:59–0#)

> We would be everywhere in the city, we would sit in everybody's living room, anchored in the everyday life of our residents.
>
> (#00:13:24#)

He even imagines the possibility of prioritizing participation over preservation:

> To be frank, if I would really think about a utopian idea, I would allow visitors to climb into the Gold Carriage, our most expensive exhibit! That's what 80% of our visitors would like to do.
>
> (#00:21:22#)

As a museum administrator, however, he immediately moderates this speculative utopian thought by reasserting the dimension of achievability over the dimension of desirability:

> To climb in the Gold Carriage is of course a crazy vision. As a museum professional, I would object to it for preservation reasons and for safeguarding a very important item of our cultural heritage.
>
> (#00:21:22#)

The two goals inherent in museum work of participation and preservation seem to exclude each other but they are nothing other than Wright's tension between desirability and achievability. According to one interviewee, "This puts me in a contradictory position because I also want visitors to use this museum" (#00:04:45#). The path to reconceptualizing the new permanent exhibition as a participatory space is rough, with many struggles between the Communications and Curatorial Departments:

> We have a fundamental consensus about the renewal of the permanent exhibition but the path to that renewal is filled with dissent about its implementation. I want a participatory event with a world café but [the curator] does not gain anything from that participation. Ideas about the degree of participation swing tremendously, don't they?
>
> (#00:50:22#)

The Hanover Museum of History is a part of the municipal apparatus, and thus a sub-department of a highly bureaucratic organization. This explains its complete immersion in everyday activities that do not allow any far-reaching or very innovative, utopian ideas—except in the creative minds of its employees, where they must remain.

Hanover State Theater

The other institution of High Culture examined for its real utopian visions in this study is the State Theater of Lower Saxony. It is one of the most successful German theatres, the recipient of many awards, that consists of seven performance spaces in different parts of the city offering performances in theatre, opera, ballet, and other genres. The main theatre in the center of town was built in 1992 for 620 spectators. Smaller theatres include the Ballhof Eins and Ballhof Zwei as well as the Cumberland Theater and the Cumberland Gallery. Since the State Theater closely integrates theatre pedagogy and dramaturgy, the director of theatre pedagogy, the drama director of the Cumberland stages and the dramaturge of the Cumberland stages were present at the interview.

For these three theatre professionals—all of them at home with experimental theatre—utopian thinking is a central part of their work and an important message to be communicated to the public:

> Actually, the theater is a playground and a think tank for a city, for a community. Here, you can try out "as if" in a playful and unrestrained way what the "future" might be; theater is a simulation of the future.
>
> (#00:02:53#)

Desirability is the experience of the friendly Other:

> Theater is a vehicle of a collective experience. In a manner of speaking, it is like going to church. It is about understanding what is happening there in front of you, and that communal togetherness is utopian.
>
> (#00:41:46#)

The inclusion of this experiential community is based on the exclusion of everyday constraints:

> Theater always has a utopian potential if you base it on the heterotopy concept . . . Out there, people suffer under the economic paradigm and its requirement to be efficient. However, here is a space of possibility that reflects, liberates, and enables other rules and forms of togetherness.
>
> (#00:05:06#)

Theater is not only such a heterotopic space of possibility but also an important method for studying utopian thinking. In other words, "The utopian vision is the vision of a better society. And I believe that is what I regard as interesting in the theatre as a means for utopian research" (#00:06:13#).

This close relationship of utopian discourses and theatrical performances is not only of interest to philosophers and social scientists. Asked how the theatre could exist under less favorable conditions, the pedagogic director replies with a statement about its strong viability, that is, the resilience of theatres outside contexts where they are heavily subsidized:

> You can perform drama without financial support. I have seen it in Africa, Malawi, far away from bourgeois constraints, embedded in a community . . . Accessibility to the theater is paramount, with cheap entrance fees and the freedom of artists and others to decide what to play . . . This kind of post-dramatic, socio-cultural theater is indestructible . . . We have to get away from the main theater buildings, towards the young people, into the public spaces. The ties to this kind of public, to the city—their participation is unbelievably important.
>
> (#00:11:10#)

Despite this optimistic outlook, these theatre professionals did not forget the everyday obstacles they face. The interviewees frequently mentioned their struggle against the external constraints on their work. One interviewee stated, "Well, finances, funds, sources for financial support, money and also frequent failures . . . are obstacles to the viable"

(#00:29:05#). The list of obstacles that cause a lack of achievability is topped by political influences:

> From the institution's point of view one should reconsider the political pressure brought to bear by counting audience size, capacity rates etc. These numbers do not show the quality of contacts to people, the exchange of feelings and thoughts, experience shared . . . I believe deeply that innovative ideas in theater is thus only possible at the non-hierarchical periphery, in small theater companies, because you can experiment there without political influence.
>
> (#00:10:05#)

Their grievance against politicians is especially directed towards a certain type of policy. For example, "They restrict us too much; they excessively limit the concept of culture. The more conservative a politician is the more conservative is his or her idea of culture" (#00:32:43#). This critique of political influence is paralleled by a comprehensive critique of our society's dominating forces. One interviewee wondered, "Why do all projects have to be evaluated by economic reasoning? We work in social structures that bow too much to economic constraints" (#00:38:54#).

The State Theater is a very significant cultural venue, highly institutionalized, and with an established bureaucracy. However, it is able to remain experimental and utopian in certain areas because it strictly separates the spheres of commercial management and artistic creativity. The former has to do with the daily work of running a theatre, including acquiring public subsidies necessary to survive in a capitalist economy, which allows the latter to reinvent theatre in the subversive and provocative niches and interstices created by utopian thinking. Nevertheless, the two sides are mutually interdependent and the border between them is more permeable than the creatives in the theatre might desire.

The Impact of Organizational Structure on Utopian Visions

The theoretical sampling of the six case studies reveals that projects continue either to pursue a utopian vision, or have succumbed to the pragmatic need to overcome everyday obstacles. This finding is an empirical confirmation of Wright's distinction between desirability and achievability. Two-thirds of the interviewed managers and directors identify with the pursuit of utopian visions (Bloch) while one-third have chosen an ideology of pragmatism and apparently refrain from utopian thinking (Mannheim).

Table 13.2 presents the results of a document code count (using Atlas.ti). At first glance, this table reveals similarities in the themes mentioned during the interviews but also several clear differences. All

Table 13.2 Main Themes of Interviews With Project Representatives

Code ranking/ Project and themes	*1st*	*2nd*	*3rd*	*Lower ranking*
1. Platzprojekt Start-Up Space	City/ Municipality	Desirability	Obstacles	Achievability (4th)
2. VEN One-World Initiative	Social critique	Desirability	Obstacles	Achievability (7th)
3. Hanover International Urban Gardening Project	Achievability	Obstacles	City/ Municipality	Desirability (11th)
4. WOGE Nordstadt Housing co-operative	Engagement, Self-reliance	Obstacles	Achievability	Desirability (12th)
5. Hanover Museum of History	Obstacles	City/ Municipality	Desirability	Achievability (10th)
6. Hanover State Theater	Obstacles	Social critique	Desirability	Achievability (16th)

interviewees frequently mentioned obstacles they face in their work. For instance, interviewees from WOGE complained about the municipality's requirement to sell public real estate to the highest bidder. Those from VEN mentioned the social habits and cultural conventions that prevent people from using other means of transportation. The interviewees from Platzprojekt mentioned everyday problems arising from work, studies or family that prevent their actors from steadily contributing to the container village. Those from the State Theater referred to its elitist reputation as an obstacle to reaching out to new target groups. These obstacles can be categorized as either concrete legal regulations or policy requirements (affecting urban gardening, WOGE, and the History Museum) or as more abstract obstacles related to the prevailing capitalist social system (VEN and the State Theater). The abstract themes of social critique and the emancipatory call for a better world raised by VEN and the State Theater are close to Wright's desirability dimension with their emphasis on utopian ideals and visions. On the other hand, the everyday obstacles that prevent members of the urban gardening project or WOGE housing co-op from reaching their concrete goals are connected to Wright's achievability dimension.

If we look only at the first four case studies, then a general pattern emerges. The two established organizations with a high degree of institutionalization—the WOGE housing co-op and the urban gardening

project—are less interested in a utopian visions of a better world than in issues of achievability (small steps leading to everyday progress). On the other hand, the two less well-established, less hierarchical, and less institutionalized initiatives—Platzprojekt and VEN—do not prioritize small everyday accomplishments. Instead, they maintain a culture that keeps big visionary goals alive. Based on these four case studies, we might conclude that the greater the degree of institutionalization, the less it is that utopian visions play a role in the project.

In contrast, when we look at the History Museum and the State Theater, this causality loses its plausibility. Since both are highly institutionalized organizations, we would expect to find them more concerned about achievability than in utopian visions. But the code rank for both interviews yields a different result. Interviewees from both institutions stress the importance of utopian visions, with desirability being the third most frequently mentioned category in both sets of data (Table 13.2). A look at the contexts of the references—and not just their count—allows us to better understand this different picture. Only after being prompted by the interviewer does the History Museum manager verbalize his utopian visions. And then he is able to describe them in detail, even fantasizing about letting museum visitors use the Gold Carriage of King George IV of Hanover. This utopian ideal is expressed as wishful thinking and then immediately withdrawn because it would go against museum rules and regulations: the preservation of valuable exhibits takes precedence over participation by visitors. The frequently expressed utopian desires in the State Theater are similarly complex in analysis as they are articulated by the creative staff employed there, and not among the management staff in the museum's administration.

The six case study projects can best be understood using Peterson and Anand's (2004) six-facet model of cultural production, which distinguishes three forms of organizational structure in cultural venues. The first is the bureaucratic form, with its "clear-cut division of labor and a many-layered authority system committed to organizational continuity" (316). This form is found in the History Museum, in the WOGE housing co-op, as well as in the urban gardening project. The second is the entrepreneurial form, with "neither a clear-cut division of labor nor a many-layered hierarchy" (Ibid.). Both Platzprojekt and VEN have this form of organizational structure. The third is the so-called variegated form, which "tries to take advantage of the potential flexibility of the bureaucratic form without giving up central control" (Ibid.). It does this by outsourcing needed creative services, which shields them from efforts by management at control. This variegated form is found in the State Theater, where creative staff—functionally separated from management—express their utopian desires.

Managing real utopias is an endeavor that involves formulating utopian visions and then implementing what is achievable. It means

striking a balance between "order" and "chaos." The ability of a project's management to embrace and implement a utopian vision depends on whether the form of its organizational structure is bureaucratic, entrepreneurial, or variegated. The bureaucratic form found in the housing co-op, the urban gardening project, and the History Museum is inclined to reject utopian desirability as irrelevant and define its organization goals in terms of achievable pragmatism. The entrepreneurial form characterizing Platzproject and VEN embraces utopian desirability and regards achievability as a necessary evil. The variegated form practiced by the State Theater does both. With its organization divided into two parts, one attends to the everyday small steps of manageable, achievable goals, while the other is free to develop exuberant visions in the name of innovative cultural production.

This six-facet model of cultural production extends the strategic business management models introduced at the beginning of this chapter. Porter's (1996) distinction between cost minimization and product differentiation is reflected in the bureaucratic cultural organizations' reduction of goals to what is achievable in contrast to the entrepreneurial cultural organizations' wide-ranging utopian thinking to create a unique market position. Mintzberg's (1994) definition of planning as knowing the future and then adjusting to its constraints is nothing other than the retreat of a creative cultural project from potentially utopian visions. Moreover, Ritzer's (2015) warning of a McDonaldization of society (blindly accepting the goals of more efficiency, standardization, quantitative accountability, and control) is a warning to cultural projects not to surrender to a fear of an uncertain future but to pursue utopian visions. Arts management ought to live up to visionary goals beyond the metrics of (cost) efficiency, standardization, accountability, and control. The realms of arts, culture, and creativity should be courageous enough to formulate and pursue visionary alternatives to business goals, in the sense of Wright, that are limited by profit- and cost-considerations. The main task of arts management is to help bring about these alternative visionary goals through culture and the arts.

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Notes

1. Certainly, this is truer for nonprofit high culture than for commercial popular culture. I would argue that discourse on utopian visions is found more often in culturally adventurous nonprofit start-ups and organizations than in the commercial culture of, for example, Hollywood or the music industry because the rewards are very different in these two sectors. Crane's (1976) study on reward systems in the arts supports this statement.
2. In direct democracy, ordinary citizens are directly involved in the activities of political governance, for example, as a plebiscitary democracy in which citizens vote on laws and policies. Direct participation is closely related to public hearings and testimonies over legislation in town meetings. Fung and Wright (2003) list empowered participatory governance (EMG) initiatives as examples of direct democracy, including neighborhood councils, stakeholder ecosystem governance, participatory city budgeting and democratic decentralization.
3. A social economy allocates resources fairly and democratically controls the production and distribution of goods and services; it replaces an elitist system by the social organization of power over production, distribution, and consumption. Examples given by Wright (2010) are Quebec's social economy (with comprehensive care for children and elderly people), universal basic income, social capitalism, and a cooperative market economy.
4. The goal of these enterprises is to serve their community independent of the state by establishing democratic decision-making processes and prioritizing people and work over capital, with strong principles of participation, empowerment, and collective responsibility. Wright's (2010) illustrations are employee stock ownership plans (ESOPs), worker cooperatives, cooperative corporations, market socialism, and participatory economics (Parecon).
5. The numbers set off by hashtags (#) gives the timestamp in the interview: #hrs:min:sec#.
6. Compulsory purchase by the state for purposes of public utility.
7. The most politically outspoken German initiative in this field is the Mietshäuser-Syndikat (Apartment House Syndicate), which invests in housing projects so that they can be taken from the real estate market (Rost, 2012), but WOGE Nordstadt is not part of this network.

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14 Toward a Practical Theory of Managing the Arts

Julian Stahl and Martin Tröndle

What's at the Core?

If managing the arts does not require the acknowledgment of the specifics of artistic production, arts management is not needed; any MBA can do it. It would be enough to learn and apply theories and techniques from management and marketing to run, for example, a theatre or an opera house. Only if one respects that there are essential differences between the production of aesthetic experiences and the manufacturing of shoes and fridges or selling insurance, does it become relevant to consider what arts management might be. The production of aesthetic experiences is at the core of what art organizations do. One visits the theatre, the concert, or a fine art museum to have an aesthetic experience (Kirchberg & Tröndle 2015). Surely you also can have a good time with your friends or learn something, but the surplus of the aesthetics is the aesthetic, even if it seems hard to define what an aesthetic experience is (Tröndle & Tschacher 2012).

Therefore, it is not astounding that since the 1960s—when the field of arts/cultural management started to rise—concerns have been heard that managing the arts threatens the autonomy of the arts as an aesthetic discipline. Until today—at least in German-speaking countries—an ongoing skepticism can be identified against the very term management in arts management (Heinrichs 2006; Klein 2007). The dominance of business administration within the field of arts management is one reason for this skepticism (Höhne 2009). And from the perspective of the arts, especially critical artists, it is understandable that the logic of management, in terms of rationality, linearity, standardization, operationalization, and optimization, meets rejection. This is especially the case if the arts are about novelty, surprise, beauty, mindfulness, engagement, and the unpredictable, all getting manifested into an aesthetic experience (Tröndle, Kirchberg & Tschacher 2014), one may ask what the tools of classic management might offer to support the production of aesthetic experience, which is at the core for theatres, opera houses, festivals, and other entities. How do textbooks and research in art and cultural management respond to that?

Looking at the literature of arts and cultural management, three categories can be discerned. First, one finds traditional handbooks for arts management education that try to give a general insight into the field of arts and cultural management (Bathurst & Stein 2010; Bendixen 2000; Byrnes 2015; Chong 2010, Heinrichs 2006; Klein 2007). Second, there are many publications focusing on specific functional areas in organization, e.g. marketing (Bekmeier-Feuerhahn & Ober-Heilig 2014; Colbert 2007; Jyrämä, Kajalo, Johansson & Sirèn 2015; Klein 2011), fundraising (Stockenstrand & Ander 2014; Preece 2015), innovation (Bakhshi, Freeman & Desai 2010; Benghozi & Lyubareva 2014; Castaner & Campos 2002; Koch 2014), and leadership (Cray, Inglis & Freeman 2007; Järvinen, Ansio & Houni 2015; Krause 2015; Reid & Karambayya 2009). And, third, one finds a few approaches trying to integrate manifold perspectives apart from specific single functions of an organization (DeVereaux 2009; Kirchberg & Zembylas 2010; Tröndle 2006; van den Berg 2009).

Summing up, until now, there have been only very few attempts to develop a specific management theory that corresponds to the specific needs of arts organizations. Most publications transfer techniques or concepts of general management to the arts without questioning if this transfer is useful or may even be counter-productive, due to the inherent logic and affordances of the arts, or of management. But what do we mean when using the terms *logic* and *need*?

In almost any handbook of organizational studies we find the idea of a hierarchical bureaucratic organization as the underlying principle of the production logic. Sometimes it is more elaborate and sometimes as plain as the following (*Figure 14.1*).

The basic principle always remains the same: we find standardized responsibilities, qualifications, and communication channels. One person

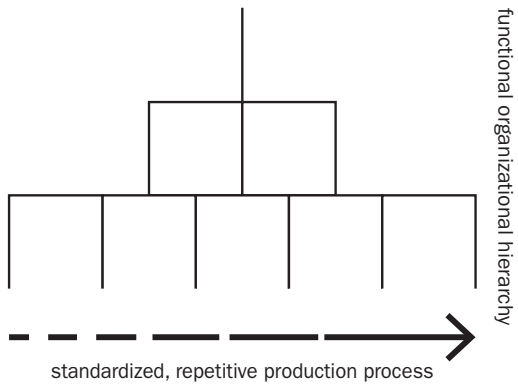

Figure 14.1 Standardized Organizational Processes

or entity is at the top overseeing the organization, taking strategic decisions, and communicating decisions to the levels below. The processes are highly formalized and we find the centralized power of decision-making at the top of the organization. In addition, there is a clear distinction between the organization's different entities; each is specialized in their task (e.g. planning, production, sales, marketing, etc.). The single working steps of the linear production process are subsequently followed one by the other in order to sustain the production line. The idea is to optimize this production line to minimize costs and also to standardize products. Therefore, most of the operating work is routine. Based on Max Weber's analysis of bureaucracy, Henry Mintzberg describes this structure of organizations, in great detail, as *The Machine Bureaucracy* (1979). This production logic is still the underlying principle of many industries engaged in producing mass goods or services. It seems obvious that most arts organizations do not follow the logic of mass production and standardized outcomes. But what is needed, then, if you are not producing masses and masses of the same thing, but instead are producing individualized, or even singularized, services?

At the core of the second model is the aesthetic experience. In contrast to the model above, the production process is not organized in a linear sequence, but as singular project. There are several productions continuously going on in various arenas; our model shows three (*Figure 14.2*).

Organizational discourses fluctuate in order to realize an intended idea or aesthetic experience. This highly flexible structure does not rely on specialized tasks, clearly separated entities, and formalized communication flows. In contrast, its main characteristics are flexible rules, rotating systems of tasks and responsibilities, and the permanent questioning of routines. There are various conceptualizations of this model, which emphasize different features, e.g. agile management, holacracy, or the idea

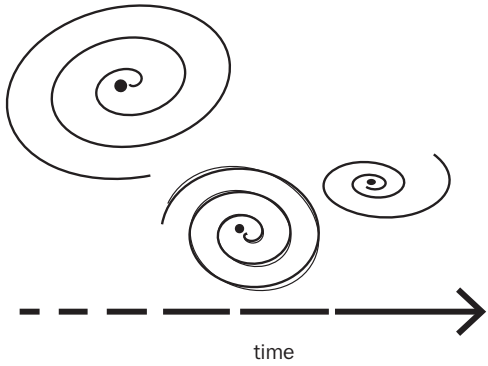

Figure 14.2 Individualized Organizational Processes

of collective practices (Chen 2009). Organizations that largely build on their inherent production portfolio and that have to be *innovative* such as contemporary theatre, music theatre, music festivals, or film production, follow this organizational model.

We should emphasize that both models are idealized structures of organizations that are often intertwined in practice, although it is important for us to understand the different needs of production processes that have to be met by organizational structures. However, for some arts/cultural organizations, the focus on strong project orientation might not be the most appropriate. That is, for organizations that focus on the same content for many years, for example, a fine art or antique museum that only rarely changes its exhibitions and which is concerned with collecting, protecting, preserving, and documenting rather than producing constantly new shows. Nonetheless, in such cases, the aesthetic experience evoked in the visitor is the main task of the organization. The feeling of being aesthetically moved, surprised, or having a deep connection to the artwork might then bring a motivation to learn something about its provenance, how it is made, or by whom.

Can Management Be a Neutral Practice?

In the beginning of arts management, especially in Germany, *management* and artistic aspects were clearly separated in arts management.[1] Managing the arts should be *neutral* and only set the framework within which artistic production and distribution should happen. From a current perspective, this seems somehow naïve. Certainly, a festival or museum director is not just involved in the programming, but also in the management process as well as building the organization, selecting employees, building governing boards, among other activities. Also, the use of specific tools or concepts, such as marketing (Colbert 2007), is not neutral at all; these tools or concepts afford a specific way of thinking and problem solving and thereby inhabit a specific mindset that implicitly forms the organization from the day-to-day business up to its every strategic decision.

Until now, arts management rarely sheds light on the fact that organizations themselves have a tremendous impact on what the visitor is going to hear and see. Most of the time, arts management is only looking at the optimization of specific processes. However, the organization will afford or enable habits, beliefs, procedures, as well as aesthetic preferences. This is why the Catholic Church remained as the Catholic Church for far more than the last thousand years. There have been some changes, but the core beliefs, aesthetics, and procedures have been preserved over decades and generations. The same might be said for the opera or the classical concert; they perpetuate what they began in the early 19th century. If we believe the literature of change management (von der Reith & Wimmer 2014), this is the reason why change management is taxing: it means

altering the self-conception and beliefs of the organization to allow for novel ways of acting. Asking what causes this stability of arts organizations creates the necessity of understanding the intertwined relationship of what affords the production of aesthetic experience in the respective organization (and this alters from one arts organization to another). A holistic, or better, systemic approach will help us to understand the *art organization* more thoroughly.

Taking such an approach, it seems reasonable to ask for a management perspective that is empirically grounded in artistic practice and embedded in the practice of arts management in order to enhance the field of arts management (DeVereaux 2009). Doing so, we will see that it is necessary to integrate more perspectives than just business administration approaches to develop prospective methods of arts management that can deal with the complex requirements of artistic processes (Tröndle 2010). Undoubtedly, arts organizations will also have to carefully consider their budgets (economic perspective), try to raise money from their municipals of state (political logic), or private donors and friends (social logic), conduct education programs (pedagogic logic), build their organizations (managerial logic), and try to get public attention (medial logic). But first and foremost, the discussion in the organization will be about their self-understanding (mission), the aesthetics they stand for, why they exist, and what program they will offer to their audiences, whether it be a bit more critical, historical, beauty, or community based. The director and the employees will carefully select the artists/artworks and build their programs, and only after this artistic decision has been made, all other decisions to enable this artistic experience will follow—financial, managerial, or pedagogical ones. This raises the issue of the complexity of arts organizations: integrating these different logics while following the artistic vision that is manifested in aesthetic experiences. Nonetheless, the currency of experiences is not easily convertible into the other logics. This is the advantage of an economically driven perspective; here everything can be calculated, and whichever alternative promises the highest profit will be selected. But again, if your primary goal is not to be *profit-* but *experience*-oriented, what instrument or models do you have for making decisions in such an organization? Does the existing body of literature prepare students and practitioners to understand the complexities art managers are dealing with/working in?

The Organization as a System

Moving one step away from the arts management literature, one could ask what kind of insights organization theory can offer us. It might be astounding to realize that organizations as they exist today are rather young phenomena, having appeared only in the 19th century and then having overwhelming success in societies. Nowadays every one of us has,

from childhood on, been surrounded by and been part of many organizations, be it kindergarten, schools, hospitals, universities, federal services or private businesses, retirement communities, or the funeral industry. We all are *organizationalized*. But even if it appears natural to act with and within organizations, questions of how they function are not easily answered. In the last 100 years of organization studies several theoretical approaches have been developed to understand how organizations function and what they are.

Organization Theory: Plain Idealization or Fuzzy Complexity?

We begin with Frederick Taylor, an early scholar of organization and management studies. His pioneering ideas of *Scientific Management* had an enormous influence on organizations and organization theory, which can be seen even today. His idea of scientifically analyzed, rational processes was just the beginning of so many different ideas, concepts, theories, and models that developed for thinking about organizations from the 1920s until today. Organization theory, in its very beginning, was based on a mechanical understanding of society which led to a permanently repeated organizational narrative of rationality and efficiency (Nassehi 2005; Tsoukas, Starbuck & Knudsen 2005). The organization—due to this understanding—is seen as goal-oriented, and it is the aim of the organization, understood as a machine, to fulfill these goals in the most efficient and effective way possible (Kühl 2011). To this day, we can find this idea of organizations in the majority of publications and manuals, most likely because its theoretical approach can be easily put into practice. In addition, the manuals suggest easy, step-by-step instructions on how to decide, in specific situations, to come from an analyzed problem to a well-suited solution. Obviously, the very clear instructions do not lead to the desired outcome very often. In the real world, outside the textbook, it is not as easy as the rational narrative wants us to believe. Unfortunately, the social world does not consist of rectangles and arrows showing clearly connected causes and effects.

That is why, more recently, a second perspective evolved on how to observe organizations. It attempts to describe organizations *as they are* or as the organization and their members *really behave*, and *not as they should behave* according to textbook descriptions (Kühl 2011). The leading idea is that organizations are much more diverse and multi-layered than the machine-image can picture. The rational organizational narrative is criticized and discussed, which is crucial for broadening our understanding of organizations. Up to the present, most concepts in organization theory are located between these two poles (Scott 2004), one side an idealized, sober master plan, the other a fuzzy, multi-layered picture influenced by an empirical approach. We cannot deny that

rational master plans, how-to-guides, and ideal organization designs like Henry Mintzberg's *Structure in Fives: Designing Effective Organizations* (Mintzberg 1993) are appealing. However, it is increasingly obvious that we need more differentiated theories to describe organizational reality.

From the variety of theoretical approaches available in organization studies (mathematical, psychological, ecological, and power-related perspectives), we decided to choose a perspective influenced by social science. Social systems theory seems suitable for our aim to describe arts organizations and the complex requirements they must meet. Systems theory is not a well-defined object, it is rather a way of talking and conceptualizing that began at least 80 years ago. It has been adopted by various disciplines such as psychology, sociology, organization studies, and management. With respect to the various influences integrated into the theory discourse over time, the labeling has periodically changed (System Theory, Cybernetics I and II, Self-Organization Theory, Synergetics, Social System Theory). Irrespective of its labeling, system theoretical thinking is always focused on the system and its sustainability within its specific environment.

This theoretical approach will help us to leave the rational narrative behind and to look at different aspects of arts organizational decision-making. Therefore, organizations will be presented as dynamic social systems. We could even speak of organiz*ing* instead of organiza*tion* (Weick 1979) to foster the dynamic perspective.

Organizations as Social Systems

Niklas Luhmann, the most prominent scholar of social systems theory, started his research on organizations with the question of why and how they portray themselves. It is necessary to take his underlying point of observation into account. Luhmann does not ask how an external assessor describes the organization, but how the organization describes itself from within the system (Nassehi 2005).

In general, the term *system* refers to a whole consisting of parts. In contrast, we follow a definition of systems from a contemporary systemic approach. Systems consist of processes, which create closed entities. Only by doing so can a system survive in its environment. In order to close itself, each system has to create and sustain a threshold. An organization, as a system, has to constantly maintain its threshold against the environment, and by doing so it can secure its autonomy, sustainability, and thereby its future. The organization maintains its threshold through manifold internal communicative processes or decisions about what is valuable, important, or threatening to the organization (Luhmann 2012).[2] As Armin Nassehi (2005) points out "systems theory begins with the dynamics of self-enforcing and self-energizing processes which bring about order from and against the noise of the world" (181). Due to their inner processes,

systems are able to generate information on, and meaning about, what they base their decisions on in order to secure their sustainability.

If we conceptualize organizations as social systems, they do not consist of people, members, products, clients, production-lines, hierarchies, or cash flows, but *communication*. This may be a rather uncommon perspective, because we often think of tasks, goals, people, or even buildings when we speak of organizations (Baecker 1999; Luhmann 2000). But as Weick, Sutcliffe, and Obstfeld (2005) point out, it is only by verbalization that realities in organizations come into existence. Every decision in the specific organization—for example on programs, curatorial concepts, board development, and PR-strategies—is discussed (becoming a theme) and carefully evaluated in hindsight to the self-conception of the respective organization. This process is continuously repeated, and each time, the organization decides whether or not something is meaningful for the organization or not.

In the latter case, the theme will be dropped and the communication turns to something else; in the first case, the theme will be implemented into the organizational communication. The organization *remembers* its repertoire of themes. Every new theme coming up (for example, crowdfunding) will be evaluated in accordance with the existing repertoire of themes in the specific organization. If the new theme *resonates* within the repertoire (Plönges 2012), it makes sense somehow, and the organization can deal, within in its repertoire, with this new theme. By doing so, the organization *learns*. Organizations as systems are therefore not static objects, but processes in time, that constantly have to (re-)act in order to deal with their environment. The specific environment of each organization brings unforeseeable (contingent) events, which may advantage or threaten the organization's sustainability (Tröndle 2006; Weick, Sutcliffe & Obstfeld 2005).

Up until now, we have been able to agree that there are systems and that they have to be distinguishable from their respective environments. Therefore, each system endeavors to keep its boundary, otherwise it will dissolve into its environment. Only if the system can decide by itself on the conditions for how to maintain its boundary will it be autonomous in its decisions. Explicitly, only if a film festival can decide about its programs and venues, rather than the film production company, the city, or the sponsors of the festival, can the festival follow its own artistic ideas. Surely the festival takes other logics into account (financial, legal, or political), but by doing so it tries to set and follow its own artistic criteria.

Self-Referential Closure

While this may seem obvious, the dependencies of system—boundary—environment are not as easy they sound: elements from the environment do not cause linear effects inside the organization/system, but rather

adapting effects, which have to be processed within the organization (Nassehi 2005). We will examine the link between organization and environment in more detail later. For the moment, it is important to emphasize that the difference between organization and environment is the essential difference for the constitution of the organization. Only by distinguishing between environment and system can we observe and describe the organization (Luhmann 2012). Consequently, the organization has to decide permanently from what to distinguish itself in order to maintain the difference between itself and the environment. Which leads us to the next open question: what are the organization's criteria for deciding what is part of the organization and what is not? Why is, for example, one artist invited to do a show and the other not? The criteria, whatever they will be, can be found in the (self-)narrative of the organization, when it comes to the decision (Luhmann 2012). In social system theory, this is called *self-reference*. Self-reference means that the system uses itself as the point of reference for observing the other; according to Humberto Maturana and Heinz von Foerster, there is no observation without observer (Glanville 2001). In order to observe, the organization has to conceptualize itself as an entity, which means creating an image and an understanding of what the organization is. The boundary of the organization is the discrimination of what makes sense in the logic of the organization. All the rest makes no sense, and therefore will be rejected. An artist who is considered to be good, interesting, provoking, or magic, will resonate in the system and might become a part of it, being exhibited, performed, or screened. This is called *system-specific rationality*. Therefore, in system theory, rationality does not exist in itself, but instead as system-specific rationality, which is generated by each system autonomously, by its own self-referential communication, oriented in its history, self-conceptualization, and narrative. In the end, this means that all decisions made in organizations are contingent; they are based on their system-specific rationality, and other arts organizations would have decided differently.

The Organization as an Ongoing Act of Communication

The important question now is how the organization can distinguish itself again and again over time from its environment. If we understand organizations as social systems based on communication, we are looking for a procedure, that provokes, again, communication—in other words, a process that has the ability to connect the recursive chain of communication (Baecker 1999). Referring to Gregory Bateson's definition of information as "difference which makes a difference" (Bateson 1972, 453), in systems theory the *decision* itself is suggested as this very operation. This is because with its incidence, further decisions are provoked. And to be precise, it is the communication of decisions that builds the basis for upcoming

decisions (Luhmann 2000). The advantage of this very notion is that not only economic but rather many logics (aesthetic, political, managerial) can be integrated. Everything that is communicated as a decision in the organization becomes relevant for the organization and will be remembered. It will become part of the self-concept of the organization and will serve as a reference when it comes to future decisions.

Complex Environments

As we have seen, we can understand the organization as a closed social system which is constituted by its own operations. However, where is the link between both the organization and its environment?

The system recognizes changes/differences in its environment. Here, these differences are considered as *data*. In order to transform data into *information*, the system has to evaluate the data in hindsight to its own knowledge/ its repertoire of themes, its self-reference. In doing so, the system constructs an image of its environment: what is important, what is dangerous, who is an enemy, what might be an opportunity. Due to its self-reference, the organization creates an image of its specific environment, the environment that is relevant to the specific organization (Weick 1979). Other organizations conceptualize other environments and therefore exist in different rationalities (the existence of filter bubbles creating specific mind-sets and truths, maintained by ongoing communication, gives a hint what goes on in social systems such as organizations). This notion matches well with the ideas of Niklas Luhmann and Dirk Baecker. Since the organization is closed, the environment can only be reflected in the organization's very own operations (in the sense of communicating its own decisions). However, there is a mechanism that allows the organization to adapt to a changing environment. It is again Gregory Bateson's definition of information that allows us to formulate the link between both. "A difference which makes a difference" (Bateson 1972, 453). Something outside the organization can cause a difference to create a *meaningful* communication within the organization, which might lead to a decision. As a consequence, the organization adapts to a changing requirement without a linear direct intervention from the exterior to the interior of the system (Luhmann 2000). This implies that the organization only adapts to differences of the environment that can be observed by the organization—to all others it is *blind*. The organization is not able to transform data into meaningful information as long the data does not resonate with the constant ongoing organizational discourse constituting its self-reference. Through this means we can draw a comparison to Karl E. Weick's idea of sensemaking, "organizations with access to more varied images will engage in sensemaking that is more adaptive than will organizations with more limited vocabularies" (Weick 1995, 5).

But why does this—quietly challenging—theoretical approach matter? As sketched out in the beginning of this article, we aim to find a theoretical concept of organizing that integrates diverse and more complex perspectives. Arts organizations, in particular, deal with complex requirements on a daily basis. There are many different stakeholders who have a diverse set of requirements: artists, audiences, critics, financial exigencies, the political sphere, the organization itself, strategic partners, and competitors, just to name a few. And all of them have their specific perspectives on the organization, which have to be respected and dealt with in the organization's decisions. However, they do not only affect the organization but also interrelate with each other in unpredictable ways. It is necessary for the organization to deal with this highly uncertain and complex network without reducing the complexity by only looking at a few stakeholders while overlooking others. Following this, we have to examine the internal consequences for the organization when we remember that the organization has to notice and observe the relevant elements of the environment in order to integrate them into the organization's decisions. How can the organization raise its awareness for relevant factors in the environment? In respect to Ashby's *Law of Requisite Variety*, only internal variety can deal with external complexity; it is necessary to increase the internal complexity (the repertoire of themes and the recombination of it) in order to generate more and diverse information on the environment and to raise the systems adaptability (Ashby 1958). A way of increasing the internal complexity is to strengthen the different areas of activity within the organization. For example, the marketing department has a different point of observation toward the environment than the artists or the education team; but also to involve people temporarily in the organization who bring in unaccustomed perspectives, such as (non-)visitors or critics. The most important of these areas may be establishment and institutionalization of an open communication culture where everyone is heard. In the end, it is about how much irritation, variability, and ideas people are unaccustomed to that can be brought into the organization in order to enlarge its self-referential discourse without endangering the organization.

On the one hand, the organization has to increase its abilities for noticing the different requirements of its stakeholders or even to bring in new stakeholders in order to process more information. On the other hand, it is not sufficient if the organization has just the ability to be irritated. The organization must have the capability to process the information inside its operations. Otherwise, it would soon be overwhelmed by the diverse flows of communication.

At the same time, while it is necessary to increase the internal complexity (variety), this very complexity has to be reduced again in order to process the information. The different parts of the organization have to find ways to get into conversation with each other and to exchange their diverse

views of relevant information from outside and inside the organization. The organization needs increasing internal complexity while reducing it drastically at the same time in order to be able to handle it (Baecker 1998). Again, there is no easy way to deal with complex questions. We have to understand that the organization must oscillate between different perspectives. Thus, *as-well-as* thinking has to substitute the often too simplified *either-or* approach. Art/cultural organizations need the ability to decide whether it is necessary to increase opportunities to get positively irritated by the environment or to reduce communication in order to move in its established direction. Fortunately, in contrast to for-profit businesses—often based on standardized and rationalized concepts—arts organizations are used to working with oscillating processes in their daily workflows, and integrating different perspectives without the necessity of deciding on either one or the other.

Managerial Effects of Complexity: Management Impulses

Subsequent to this brief insight in social system theory and organizational studies, we are asking how this may lead us to develop management concepts that go beyond the traditional notion of arts management, and more likely fulfill the needs of the artistic production of aesthetic experiences? Therefore, we will give three different management impulses based on demands we have analyzed in the previous section:

Coincidence, Sensible Foolishness, and Mindfulness

The concept of rationality is still influential, especially in management, and there are many models that try to propose instruments for rational decision-making. However, the influence of rationality is questioned not only in organization theory. Organizational models such as *bounded rationality* (March & Simon 1958; Simon 1991) or the *garbage can model of organizational choice* (Cohen, March & Olsen 1972) try to integrate different approaches.

In the course of these considerations, the sociologist Maren Lehman introduces the coincidence as a concept that can be only understood in the interplay of coincidence and order (Lehmann 2010). According to Lehmann, coincidence and order are mutually dependent; the organization permanently oscillates between both sides. With the help of this approach we can try to integrate the unpredictable and non-rational in the organization's self-understanding. On the one hand, it is now possible for the organization to be open to complex and uncertain influences of the environment. On the other hand, diverse logics beside the rational narrative can be considered as worthy. This again is close to Dirk Baecker's analysis referring to challenges for organizations in the *next*

society. Organizations have to practice how to deal with high uncertainty that cannot be integrated into cost-benefit calculations (Baecker 2007), questions that arts organizations have to deal with every day. But how can we integrate the interplay between coincidence and order in management practice?

In this regard, we can find two promising ideas in management literature: the idea of *sensible foolishness* by organization theorist James G. March (1988), and Karl E. Weick's and Kathleen M. Sutcliffe's (2007) idea of *mindfulness*. March criticizes the rationality paradigm and emphasizes that, for example, *intuition* and *tradition* lose their influence in organizations even if they can be helpful guidelines. March therefore introduces the concept of *sensible foolishness*. He wants to give organizations the possibility for trying out new ways, which may be not seen as useful from a rational point of view. Due to this, organizational goals are rarely static (they are constructions, made up of self-reference) and coincidences will always disturb the order of the organization, March tries to see this as an opportunity and not as a threat. Therefore, he proposes to bring in *playfulness* as a concept for the exploration of alternative ideas:

> Playfulness is the deliberate, temporary relaxation of rule in order to explore the alternative of possible rules. When we are playful, we challenge the necessity of consistency. [. . .] Playfulness allows experimentation. At the same time, it acknowledges reason.
>
> (March 1988, 261)

This could help us to enable the integration of coincidences within the order of organizations without questioning the order itself. The organization could become more sensitive to the adaption of uncertainty within its own operations. At the same time, as rational processes are acknowledged, intuition, and tradition could be taken into account. Interestingly, playfulness was the central term in Friedrich Schiller's (1974) *Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man*. Schiller was convinced that only by being playful can individuals, or even societies, live up to their true (humanistic) potential.

In addition to *playfulness*, another powerful concept for enlarging an organization is *mindfulness*. The individual itself has the possibility of looking beyond a specific rational logic and enabling the organization to become irritable for the complexity of its environment. Weick and Sutcliffe define the specific ability of *mindfulness* as follows:

> Formally we define mindfulness as "rich awareness of discriminatory details." By that we mean that when people act, they are aware of context, of ways in which details differ (in other words, they discriminate among details), and of deviations from their expectations.

> Mindful people have the "big picture," but it is a big picture of the moment.
>
> (Weick & Sutcliffe 2007, 32)

A management that would follow both concepts would promote either the rational narrative or the openness for coincidences depending on the specific context, looking at details while having the big picture in mind. Management would decide the premises and frames in which decisions would be made, rather than deciding every detail. In other words, a management is needed that is more sensible for the process of observing the contexts of observations than actually deciding on it. The context of decisions must be observed to find ways to irritate the organization and enable different perspectives to oscillate between order and coincidence, and possibilities and impossibilities of the organization. Therefore, the organization can become aware of the variety of possible opportunities and the interplay between the organization and its environment. This enables organizational learning.

Post-Heroic Management

In contrast to the heroic manager who knows how to handle and make decisions in order to solve problems and to advance any plan powerfully and hierarchically, the *post-heroic manager* knows that there is no easy answer for complex questions and no easy-to-follow recipe to reach the rational goals of the organization (Baecker 1994). Post-heroic management is based on an idea by Charles Handy who states in *The Age of Unreason* that any post-heroic manager asks repeatedly "how every problem can be solved in a way that develops other people's capacity to handle it" (Handy 1999, 166). Taking this as a starting point, Dirk Baecker explicates this idea in terms of organizations. While the concept of heroic management understands organizations as goal-oriented rational machines, post-heroic management is based on the understanding of organizations as social systems. The rational narrative in organizations helped to develop mechanisms for basing decisions mainly on the criteria of efficiency and effectiveness, without questioning these criteria. One reason for the success of this narrative is described by James G. March and Herbert A. Simon in the principle of *uncertainty absorption*. They describe the effect where decisions once made are not again brought up for decision. The premise itself becomes the basis for upcoming decisions. This is a very successful mechanism for reducing complexity and to increase the capability for further decisions; in March's and Simon's own words: "Uncertainty absorption takes place, when inferences are drawn from a body of evidence and the inferences, instead of the evidence itself, are communicated" (March & Simon 1958, 186). For example, top-down decisions are rarely challenged by employees. This is very functional;

otherwise the internal complexity would increase with every newly challenged hierarchic decision until the organization would be unable to process all its internal generated information. Because of this, uncertainty absorption became the fundamental of the efficient organization (Baecker 1994). And this is the very moment when post-heroic management comes in. It observes the absorption of uncertainty and brings it up for discussion again. It asks for the premise of the decision made and puts forward the absorbed uncertainty, knowing that the reduction of complexity is not always beneficial (Baecker 2015). This is especially relevant to the scrutinizing of routines or when the underlying logic of the decision-making process does not apply to this coincidence. Therefore, it is the accomplishment of post-heroic management to observe the premises and mechanisms of uncertainty absorption and to re-introduce the uncertainty into the process of organizational decision-making. Thus, it is made possible to rewind the reduction of complexity and challenge the premises of previous decisions that might help to understand different criteria of decision-making apart from efficiency, effectiveness, or routines. In other words, post-heroic management observes and communicates the alternative knowledge of the organization, points out contradictions and irritations, and decides when to increase and when to reduce the influence of hierarchies. The organization can reflect on its different perspectives and can go beyond either-or thinking by oscillating between diverse logics.

These theoretical approaches can be subsumed as developing a *reflexive organization*, thereby creating an awareness of its own logic, argumentation, restrictions, and blind spots. Lastly, we want to support these with some empirical results:

Engagement and Exploration

We know from Alex Pentland's empirical studies (Eagle & Pentland 2006; Olguín-Olguín et al. 2009; Olguín- Olguín & Pentland 2010; Pentland 2012) that two factors largely influence the performance of teams: *engagement* and *exploration*.

Engagement can be described as social learning within a group. By adapting behavioral norms, the individuals of the group adjust their behavior and start to work toward the same direction (Pentland 2015). They participate in the organizational discourse and become part of it. Engagement has much to do with interaction, cooperation, and trust. All in all, engagement as the first category describes the internal interaction of groups, the communicative processing of information internally.

In contrast, the second factor, *exploration*, looks at the interplay of the group with its environment. It is defined as the group member's frequency of communication with external contacts. As a result, it is possible to harvest diverse ideas of the group's network and integrate them into the team's communication. It is not only the frequency and equal distribution

of the internal communication that defines the performance, but also the quality of new ideas. This depends on the integration of preferably diverse, external perspectives, which should be independent from each other and the group's internal tolerance for opposing ideas (Pentland 2012, 2015). According to Pentland, both factors, engagement, and exploration, are equally important for the performance of groups. However, they do not determine each other. High levels of engagement do not necessarily come with high levels of exploration, or vice versa. Therefore, it is—in particular—the ability to oscillate between the internal and external perspective that explains the performance of a group.

It is interesting that oscillation between the two perspectives is very similar to our theoretical approach of increasing and decreasing internal complexity, mindfulness, and openness to get "access to more varied images" (Weick 1995, 5) of the environment and be adaptive to new ideas.

Summary and Consequences for Arts Organizations

The above suggestions try to initiate a process of re-thinking the understanding of arts management as complexity management. The balance of order and coincidence is a challenge for traditional organizations looking for rational ways of organizing. However, it is necessary (and in practice, unreflectingly in place) to also integrate "non-rational" and noneconomic perspectives in order to find guidelines to deal with the contending demands of arts organizations such as beauty, unforeseen, mindfulness, or engagement. Using concepts such as *sensible foolishness*, the management can facilitate the integration of coincidences without weakening the organization. Consequently, the individual becomes central for the organization, because the individual connects different logics and ideas by giving awareness to weak signals *mindfully* without losing perspective. The same applies to the concept of *post-heroic management*. The perspective of management switches from the actual process of decision-making to observing the very process and irritating, disturbing, and re-connecting well-known patterns. Unquestioned decision premises and underlying logics are observed and communicated by post-heroic management, which helps the organization to question its current order and to include new perspectives if necessary. The *absorbed uncertainty* is re-introduced in the decision-making process of the organization. Arts organizations especially depend on the integration and internal connection of diverse logics. Therefore, the concept of *engagement* and *exploration* helps us to understand the importance of oscillation between the awareness of external influences and the internal processing of that information. In particular, arts organizations that produce their content, such as theatres, opera houses, and the like cannot rely on standardization but instead must focus on the individualization of the organization. From

time to time, standards and routines have to be irritated in order to let novelty evolve. The management therefore must decide when patterns have to be re-configured or to be continued.

All in all, this stands in contrast to the concepts of traditional arts management, which pretends to have (easy) solutions for complex problems. Instead of following and uncritically transferring or perpetuating the narratives of idealized management concepts, researchers in arts management therefore should aim for theoretically informed ethnographic research within arts organizations. Only then we will know what is at stake when it comes to producing aesthetic experiences.

Notes

1. For the early development of the field also see (Chong 2000, 2010; DeVereaux 2011).
2. Unfortunately, Niklas Luhmann's books on organization theory have not yet been translated into English. For a good overview of his central ideas, we recommend the following books. Tor Herne & Tore (2003): *Autopoietic Organization Theory: Drawing on Niklas Luhmann's Social Systems Perspective*. David Seidl & Kei Helge Backer (2005): *Niklas Luhmann and Organization Studies*.

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