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

FREQUENCY

This journal is intended to be a yearly publication. However, depending on the number of articles submitted and the topics, an extra issue could be considered.

ARTICLE SUBMISSION

Only authors who present at ENCATC's Annual Research Session may submit their full articles for publication.

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ENCATC
Place Flagey, 18
B-1050 Brussels
Belgium

CONTACT

Tel: +32.2.201.29.12
Email: info@encatc.org

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Sibelius Monument
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The Sibelius Monument is dedicated to the Finnish composer Jean Sibelius (1865–1957). The monument is located at the Sibelius Park in the district of Töölö in Helsinki, Finland.

LAYOUT & DESIGN

Elizabeth Darley

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Journal Presentation

A word from the ENCATC President

ENCATC is the leading European network on Cultural Management and Cultural Policy Education. Established in Warsaw in 1992, today ENCATC is the only European network gathering over 100 higher educational institutions, training and cultural organisations in 40 countries. ENCATC has the status of an international non-profit organization, an NGO with operational links with UNESCO, and of “observer” to the Steering Committee for Culture of the Council of Europe.

It is becoming more and more evident that education in cultural management and cultural policy cannot and should not be separated from research being conducted in the field. Since its creation, ENCATC has recognized this need and has always been very active in pursuing, publishing, presenting, and disseminating research in arts and cultural management and cultural policy to strengthen the understanding of cultural management and cultural policy issues. In line with this objective, ENCATC's research activities already include over the past years the organisation of the Young Cultural Policy Researchers Forum, the organisation of the Cultural Policy Research Award competition, and the Online Researchers' Forum in partnership with the European Cultural Foundation. To continue pursuing this objective of creating an even stronger synergy between education and research, ENCATC organised, during its 18th ENCATC Annual Conference in Brussels in 2010, the first ENCATC Research Session where many papers were submitted by members and non members for presentation, covering a wide range of topics within the vast field of cultural management.

As ENCATC is a multidisciplinary network, we encourage contributions and interdisciplinary exchanges from the different scientific sectors that inevitably lead to expansion and innovation of educational capabilities for cultural management and cultural policy. Thanks to the appreciation of the ENCATC community and our active members, we will issue the first *ENCATC Journal of Cultural Management and Policy*. This new publication aims to be a platform for multidisciplinary debate and new perspectives among re-

searchers. Indeed, we are convinced that our strength in the diversity of our members' research fields and this multidisciplinary approach are key factors for a new "renaissance" in the field of arts and culture. The objective of the ENCATC Journal of Cultural Management and Policy is to stimulate the debate on the topics of cultural management and cultural policy among scholars, educators, policy makers and cultural managers. The Journal is based on a multidisciplinary perspective and aims to connect theory and practice in the realm of the cultural sector. The submitted papers regard different fields: culture and creativity, cultural management, cultural policies, marketing, local development, entrepreneurship, and education applied to the cultural sector. For this first issue of the *ENCATC Journal of Cultural Management and Policy*, after a blind review process, seven contributions have been selected by an international Advisory Board made up of 19 well established researchers and experts in the field of cultural policy from 10 countries. The ENCATC journal is intended to be a yearly publication. However, depending on the topic an extra issue could be considered. From 2012 onwards, the Journal will be published to coincide with the ENCATC Annual Conference. Our intention is that this Journal will contribute to improving the knowledge and the capabilities for crafting advanced cultural policies and cultural management systems at the European level and beyond. Finally, we would like to remark that the ENCATC journal is a free online publication. It will be available for online consultation and a printable version will be made available on the ENCATC website.

We are very excited to launch this new publication and hope it contributes to sharing knowledge in our research community, exchanging new ideas and encouraging debates and discussion on important cultural management and policy issues.

Cristina Ortega Nuere
ENCATC President

The Financial Crisis and its Impact on the Current Models of Governance and Management of the Cultural Sector in Europe

Lluís Bonet

University of Barcelona, Spain

Fabio Donato

University of Ferrara, Italy

ABSTRACT

The objective of this paper is to promote a critical debate among scholars and professionals on the impact of the crisis on the European cultural sector. The world is living a structural crisis, a crisis that is based on the lack of reliability of the current social, economic and political systems. The majority of the cultural actors, as well as the majority of the other social stakeholders, are not entirely aware of the changes that the crisis will provoke on the future. However, deep crises offer a great opportunity for improvement when people and institutions are fully conscious of their potential for a change. Hence, the crisis could be a great opportunity for a structural change of the cultural sector, both at the policy and at the organizational level. This paper aims at analysing some strategies for an improvement of the governance and management models in the cultural sector. Some relevant modifications of the governance and management approaches are suggested.

Keywords:

Management models

Governance systems

Financial crisis

Introduction

Nowadays, no one ignores the huge importance of the current economic crisis for the whole society, both in Europe and in most developed countries. It has had not only economic effects (on the financial, production, consumption and labour markets) but also political and social consequences. National governments are becoming unable to solve by themselves events beyond their possibilities of action. Also the European institutions are having difficulties reaching a consensus and efficiently working together. Most social groups are frustrated by the implications of the crisis in their everyday lives.

Some very specific economic characteristics of the cultural production sector and markets explain, to some extent, some of the opportunities, threats and difficulties they are facing in relation to the economic crisis. This is a risky sector of prototype products, most of them with a high but subjective symbolic value (Throsby, 1994). At the same time, the sector is living a huge transformation of its business models as a consequence of the impact of the digital communication technologies (Rifkin, 2000). A great part of the cultural initiatives and activities survive thanks to the generous support of public funding (and in some cases also of additional philanthropic contributions), as a result of a historical process of social valuation. The crucial importance of governmental policies might explain why the transformation of the welfare state and the new socio-economic trends have been affecting this sector in particular.

Our goals when writing this article are: a) to explain what kind of crisis we are facing and how it would have an impact on the cultural sector; b) to promote a collective reflection on the systemic framework and the priorities of the cultural sector; c) to strengthen the awareness of the future viability of the models of management and financing for culture and to raise the debate on these issues. Therefore, we will not talk about the effects of the economic crisis on the cultural values or on the contents of arts and heritage production. In this article, our aim is to stimulate the debate - among cultural professionals and cultural and economic academic communities - on the impact of the economic crisis on the current models of governance and management of the cultural sector in Europe.

This paper is permeated by our responsibilities as cultural management educators and academic economists. We believe in the importance of sharing visions, especially in a sector which is sometimes too self-referential.

The article begins by describing the milestones of the on-going process and giving an interpretation of the current economic crisis. We argue that we are facing a structural crisis that will radically transform the current economic, social and political context. However, beyond the obvious and implicit threats there is a huge opportunity to restructure the whole system. In the second part, we analyse the consequences of the economic crisis on the cultural

sector and its short-term reactions, focusing our reflections on the outcomes of the crisis for the weakest cultural actors. In the third section, we highlight the fact that cultural organizations must overcome some of their serious traditional weaknesses if they want to survive the crisis. Basically the Achilles' heels of cultural organizations are their close and self-referential vision, their incapacity to measure and communicate their performances and their social impact, and finally their inappropriate models of management and governance.

A structural crisis

From 2008 onwards, when the financial crisis began, we have been living a rapidly increasing process of bad news. Below, a synthetic description of the steps of the crisis is displayed:

- The Social Welfare Department, and within it, the Buenavista Social Centre, the Repélega Social Centre, the Villanueva Social Centre, the Gure Bakea Social Centre and the San Roque Social Centre.
- A wrong and aggressive mortgage strategy in the US generated toxic assets on the balance sheets of American banks. Since the whole financial system had an excess of self-confidence, the toxic assets spread worldwide through the mechanism of derivatives.
- In order to solve this financial situation, central banks and major countries' governments agreed on decreasing interest rates, giving liquidity to the system and creating warranty funds.
- Banks used the liquidity provided by central banks mainly to solve their own balance sheet problems. Companies' investments decreased as a result of the contraction of bank credits. As a consequence, the production levels declined and that was followed by the crunch of the labour and consumption markets, especially in the field of long terms goods and services. Hence, the difficulties shifted from the financial system to the real economy.
- In order to stimulate the economy, some governments decided to increase public expenditure (i.e. infrastructures, strategic sectors, new technologies). However, this action had a positive effect only in the very short term. Actually, it was performed in a situation of structural disequilibrium - the real estate bubble in some countries, a lack of productivity or a huge accumulated debt in others. As a result, the overall economic crisis has accentuated. Most European countries have registered a falling (decrease) of tax incomes and at the same time an increase of the costs of the welfare state. That provoked a relevant increase of the deficits of the governmental budgets.

“WE ARGUE THAT IT SHOULD BE INTERPRETED AS A RELEVANT OPPORTUNITY, SINCE ONLY IN PERIODS OF GENERAL CRISIS STRUCTURAL CHANGES ARE POSSIBLE.”

- In the weakest countries the level of the state debt became no longer sustainable under a financial perspective: the interest rate of state bonds has increased and the concern about the capacity of these states to reimburse them has grown (Greece, Ireland, Portugal, and also bigger countries like Spain and Italy). The United States' difficulties in balancing their governmental deficit deepened and further spread the crisis all around the world.

- Thus, most countries have started a process of spending review aimed at rebalancing their deficits. This led to relevant cuts on governmental investments and on traditional welfare state policies, which include cultural contributions. Nowadays, this is producing growing social diseases and is de-stimulating the economy.

This is not a temporary but rather a structural economic crisis that would probably affect not only the current economic system, but also the political and social ones. The welfare state model built in Europe during the last fifty years is moving to a different form. It would be difficult to go back to the pre-crisis situation and to the same level of welfare state, even when a new equilibrium will be reached. This is a global crisis although it initially affected mainly the developed countries. The new-comers (for instance China, India, Brazil or Indonesia), the providers of primary goods and even the major investors will be affected, because they are the main suppliers of our markets.

Dealing with this crisis is difficult because it is a structural crisis and, in addition, it is embedded by a lack of reliability of the overall system. There is a lack of confidence in the economic and financial system, as well as in the model of governance and in the mechanisms of the current social system. This is the biggest crisis ever experienced by our generation and

most of the actors are not completely conscious of its implications. The different governance levels are trying to face the current challenges either alone or in cooperation but unsuccessfully. Thus, a systemic reaction at the European and world level is necessary in order to answer to the global financial forces and stakeholders.

In this context, the European Union represents a leading inter-governmental model, a quite effective system to share common challenges, strategies and values. However, its decision-making structures are too bureaucratic and too oriented towards national interests. Indeed, the members of the European Council and of the Council of the European Union feel they are primarily accountable to the constituencies of the individual countries. The European Commission and the Parliament, that should represent the European common interests, cannot counterbalance national pressures. The overall situation is further accentuated by the differences in the degree of economic development of the individual countries, that make it difficult to react using a single strategy. Moreover, in the European countries there are different traditional social values and a diverse perception of the severity of the crisis. Mostly in the case of the richest countries, where the percentage of elderly people is higher and where people are used to live with a good and stable quality of life, the fear of the future is increasing more and more. Nationalist forces dream on isolationist solutions although everybody knows (even them) that we live in an interdependent global society.

This situation is perceived as a threat for the development of Europe. On the contrary, we argue that it should be interpreted as a relevant opportunity, since only in periods of general crisis structural changes are possible¹. In times of crisis modifications of the institutional, financial and social structures are legitimated and citizens are more likely to accept

¹ Europe experienced a similar situation in war times.

socio-economic sacrifices and risks (Anselmi, 1995). Hence, the crisis should be considered as an opportunity both at a national and at a European level. At a national level it allows to develop large scale reforms (Guthrie et al, 2005). For instance, countries like Italy and Spain are changing some articles of their Constitution, thus making the balance of their state budget mandatory. This decision has been taken to counteract financial speculative forces. At a European level, the crisis gives the opportunity to renovate the Europe Union's institutional framework moving towards a more incisive and less bureaucratic system. Thus, nowadays the crisis should be interpreted with a different attitude. A systemic vision and a long term orientation are necessary for shaping a better Europe (Osborne, 2006).

The impact of the crisis on the cultural sector

During the last fifty years, Western European countries have developed relevant welfare policies. Cultural policies have played an important role in this process. The number of cultural activities and facilities (i.e. museums, libraries, theatres, festivals, films) has significantly increased together with the expansion of public expenditures. Thus, the cultural sector depends deeply on governmental policies. Directly, regarding public funding; indirectly, regarding the regulatory system and public policies. In Eastern and Central Europe, the situation has been more complex. During the communist regimes, culture (like sports) was supported as part of a "prestige policy". After the fall of the Berlin wall, they needed to entirely restructure their cultural system and policies. Nowadays, this is paradoxically an advantage for them, since they know how to face processes of radical change better than Western European countries. They are more aware of how to deal with instability and how to move to a very different political, social and economic system.

In the cultural sector, the majority of the European countries have reacted to the crisis with a process of gradual adjustment without structural changes of their cultural policies. From 2009 to 2011 some governments have reduced the level of public funding, while others have strived to maintain the previous amounts of contributions (Council of Europe, 2011). However, it is predictable that the degree of public contributions might significantly decrease in the next years, due to the deepening of the crisis and its impact on public budgets.

The cuts of public contributions have directly caused a reduction of cultural productions and activities, and indirectly a decrease of cultural consumptions (Eurostat, 2011). Cultural organizations have tried to replace these cuts through two main behaviours: 1) marketing strategies (Colbert, 2001)

and more popular artistic and cultural programming to increase the box office incomes; 2) partnership strategies for drawing private donations and sponsorships.

The first strategy has had a good impact, although the duration of the crisis is causing a fall down of private consumptions. The second strategy has not succeeded because the level of private donations and sponsorships usually collapses in times of crisis (Bertacchini et al, 2011).

The reduction of financial resources has generated a clearly negative effect on the weakest actors of the cultural sectors, such as the youngest generation of professionals, independent organizations and projects promoting experimental works and artists.

The situation of the labour market is increasingly difficult for young cultural professionals. So far, they have tried to find a job in established cultural organizations (i.e. museums, theatres, publishing houses, audiovisual companies), or to set up their own business after getting some work experience in this sector. As a result of the crisis, the possibilities to get a job have been dramatically reduced. New occupations are not created, young professionals are often employed only as freelancers, and even the current employees are in some cases dismissed (Lloyd, 2010).

The independent sector organizations are trying to survive the public funding cuts by mainly striving to reduce costs and increase productivity. In some cases they succeed using volunteers to replace full time employees; in other cases the organizations disappear after a few attempts to survive. This is more frequently the case of the youngest companies.

In order to avoid economic risks, many organizations are promoting well-known artists or popular and traditional cultural activities. Therefore, those projects that focus on avant-garde, innovative or experimental works have the greatest difficulties in surviving.

In addition, part of the public opinion is questioning the value of the public funds devoted to the cultural sector. The cultural community reacted with campaigns both at the national and the European level (e.g. the "we-are-more" campaign promoted by ACE and ECF²) to highlight the public value of culture. These campaigns and street demonstrations organized in a few big cities received only the support of the cultural community. Only few citizens have taken part in these initiatives, whereas there had been a greater participation in the campaigns and protests against cuts to other public services, such as health and education.

Concluding, in most European countries, culture is struggling to keep its position in the welfare state. However, only a minority of people do really believe in the strategic role of culture as a key factor of social development. In the last decades, a broad cultural system has been created, and nowadays its financial sustainability is questionable. In the same period of

² <http://www.wearemore.eu>

time, the ever largest and best trained generation of professionals is ready to apply its knowledge and competences. But the crisis makes it impossible to hire most of them in cultural organisations.

This has had highly negative economic, personal and social consequences. The economic consequences derive from the waste of the public money invested in their educative process (i.e. arts schools and universities, grants at the national and European level, and so on). Furthermore, these young people will pay a huge personal price if they will not find any possibility to develop in some way their vocation. So far, even if a young professional could not get the job of his dreams, he could nevertheless find a different occupation in the cultural sector. Nowadays, this is increasingly difficult. Thus, social problems like unemployment, identity misperception and lack of social cohesion have been constantly rising.

Perspectives and challenges

Our society is not yet fully aware of the implications of the current economic crisis on its future. This breaks its capacity for dealing with the global challenges through long term strategies. In this context, the cultural sector is a weak actor. Artists, curators and even cultural administrators frequently behave in a self-referential way, pursuing their mission with an autonomous approach. They justify any financial deficit on the basis of the importance of artistic quality, of creativity and of heritage conservation. Hence, the crisis is perceived as a temporary and external constraint. They are waiting for the end of the crisis and for the recovery of the previous levels of public funding. Instead, this is a structural crisis, and we should face it through a radical change of the strategies and management systems.

The history of cultural policies is deeply related to an elite of professionals and scholars who have saved our common heritage and created and promoted artistic projects and organizations. They lobbied for the development of cultural policies in their countries and, due to their vision and interests, focused basically on the advance of activities and initiatives in the field of arts and heritage. Nowadays, the main stakeholders of public cultural agencies are the representatives of the different sectors involved. Some artistic directors, curators and producers do not take into great consideration the needs and the requests of

the community when they decide their cultural programs. This clarifies the lack of citizens' involvement in defining the priorities of the potential cultural activities. Furthermore, this might explain the low perception of the public value of culture by large parts of the population, who declare only a rhetorical support to arts and heritage.

In general, cultural organizations have not developed advanced performance measurement systems that highlight both cultural/economic performances and the external impact on the territory (Turbide and Laurin, 2009). This is particularly evident in the case of not-for-profit and public cultural organizations. This attitude could be explained by different factors: a) the intrinsic difficulties in measuring a symbolic value (Donato, 2008); b) the frequent inability to define the mission and the strategic goals, and consequently the difficulties in setting up a consistent performance measurement system (Kaplan, 2001); c) the presence of governance systems that are little oriented to the stakeholders, resulting in less attention to the external communication of the performances (Freeman, 1984). Furthermore, some curators and artists believe that their cultural productions are so innovative or excellent that their value could

never be caught by any standard performance measurement system. In some cases, the situation is even worse. Sometimes the measurement is not carried out in order to avoid signalling a balance deficit. Indeed, in such cases the personal interests (prestige, career, salary and so on) are related to the magnificence of the projects, even though the available financial resources are not sufficient. However, we must admit that the conventional performance measurement systems have been designed bearing in mind for-profit industrial companies. Thus, there are difficulties in making them consistent with the characteristics and information needs of cultural organizations (Ames, 1991). Therefore, there are responsibilities, as well as big challenges, for cultural politicians and for cultural management researchers.

To summarize, the crisis could be overcome only through a radical change in the current governance and management models. As for the governance models, they vary in each country on the basis of the institutional and legislative frameworks, the social values and the organizational cultures. A leading role is played by the financial funding mechanisms that strongly influence the behaviour of the single actors. Nowadays, the decrease of the public contributions

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makes it necessary to restructure the size and the priorities of the cultural sector (Merlo, 2011). However, this collides with the current governance models and values. The different subjects (organizations and artists; not-for-profit institutions and for-profit companies) use their traditional strengths and connections only to defend their individual positions and interests.

Hence, a change is requested both at an institutional level (policy) and at an organizational level (management). As for the cultural policy level, some decisions have to be taken urgently. There is an on-going tension between contrasting forces: centralization versus decentralization; organizations' dependence versus autonomy; general objectives versus specific objectives; extrinsic goals versus intrinsic goals. In this context, the key factors to successfully overcoming the crisis are: a) building decision-making processes that should be fluent, non-bureaucratic and participatory, and at the same time able to combine responsibility with autonomy; b) moving towards a long term strategic approach defining policy and organizational priorities.

Traditionally, the total amount of the public resources invested in arts and heritage depends on the perceived value of the activities and projects proposed by the cultural sector. In times of general reduction of the welfare state, and consequently of the public funds to this sector, each community needs to (re-)evaluate the role of culture for its development (Sen, 2001). Before the crisis the cultural sector was in an overall financial sustainable condition since the public contributions (together with other revenues) were enough for the existing cultural activities and projects³. Nowadays, the cultural sector is no longer in a financial sustainable condition, and it is strongly unlikely that it will be in the future. However, even though the public contributions are deeply decreasing, the cultural sector is trying to maintain its dimension.

Adaptation to less financial resources could be reached in two opposite ways: competing or cooperating. In the first option, each actor fights to survive trying to keep its funds at the expense of the others (as a result, the weakest ones will disappear). In the second option, the aim is to establish priorities and to look for the best strategies to increase productivity and non-public revenues. In this case, a participatory approach should be sought to decide on the level of priorities. Furthermore, a change of the governance system would be requested in order to reduce the costs of each project and of each organization (and consequently the whole costs of the sector) and to enhance their revenues. We believe that this could be reached only moving from the current micro-perspective approach to a multi-scale approach capable of combining the "micro" and the "meso" level. That would mean that cooperative and network systems should be promoted both at a territorial and at a sectorial level in order to share the

structural and operational costs of single organizations. Moreover, the cooperative system would allow the cultural organisations to reach the critical mass necessary to increase the non-public revenues (commercial, fundraising, membership, box office, target related projects, etc...). We are fully aware of the difficulties implied by these institutional and managerial changes, but new structural frameworks can be accepted only in situations of severe difficulties, as this one is.

Hence, in a multi-scale approach the "meso" level allows reducing costs and increasing revenues. Nonetheless, the change should occur at the "micro" level too. The main challenge is to build the management system around knowledge and competences instead of around tools and techniques. In this perspective, some possible actions should be encouraged:

a) Improving the decision-making process. In this respect, the focus should be on designing adequate internal responsibility structures, developing performance measurement systems, promoting participatory approaches towards the local communities and the other involved stakeholders.

b) Stimulating organizations to cooperate with other subjects. Referring to this point, a networking culture should be promoted, public-private partnership should be increased and higher transparency should be pursued.

c) Addressing the on-going process of technological innovation using these innovations to develop new business models that could be shaped around market opportunities and challenges, as well as around people's expectations.

The improvement of the European cultural sector will derive from its ability to exploit its enormous potential. The creative industry is already generating the 2.6% of the European GDP (European Commission, 2010). The production and distribution of cultural contents through digital platforms could be a great opportunity to develop new markets and to improve the occupation levels (KEA, 2006). Moreover, culture plays a fundamental role for strengthening social cohesion and for developing local identities by means of participation processes. Thus, culture could acquire growing importance both at the economic and at the social extrinsic side. These sides are interconnected and could generate a multiplier effect.

Conclusions

We are living a structural crisis, a crisis that is based on the lack of reliability of the current social, economic and political systems. The majority of the cultural actors, as well as the majority of the other social stakeholders, are not entirely aware of the changes that the crisis will provoke on our future.

³ Even if it could be questionable whether all the cultural projects were worth public contributions or not.

“OUR GOAL IS TO PROMOTE A
CRITICAL DEBATE AMONG
PROFESSIONALS AND SCHOLARS
ON THE CRISIS’ IMPACT ON THE
EUROPEAN CULTURAL SECTOR.”

However, deep crises offer a great opportunity for improvement when people and institutions are fully conscious of their potential for change.

A pessimistic approach interprets the cultural sector as a weak and inefficient one, unable to create shared collective values. The downsizing of the welfare state will decrease cultural public funds and will probably not allow for the survival and development of many interesting arts and heritage initiatives. Many organizations are suffering from myopic vision and internal operational inefficiencies. This could lead to a smaller cultural sector, composed of a mix of commercial and elitist cultural organizations. Unless a multi-scale approach based on cooperation and joint strategies is established, only the biggest and most connected organizations will survive (i.e. already settled institutions, market-oriented projects, and experienced professionals). Besides, the youngest generation of professionals and the avant-garde organizations will disappear.

An optimistic approach interprets the crisis as a great opportunity for a structural change of the cultural sector, both at the policy and at the organizational level. A real improvement of the governance and management models is necessary to overcome traditional inefficiencies. Moreover, trans-sector and international cooperation could lead to a new development of the sector. However, some relevant modifications of the management approach are needed: to get over the traditional ego centrism, to implement non-bureaucratic and participatory decision making mechanisms, to build the management system around knowledge, transparency and competences, and to adopt long term strategic thinking.

Our goal is to promote a critical debate among professionals and scholars on the crisis’ impact on the European cultural sector. Nowadays the sector is facing a very relevant challenge. The main actors of the sector should interpret the crisis as an opportunity instead of a threat, in order to continue to be the forth pillar of development (Hawkes, 2001). More focused research on this sector and on the performances of

cultural organizations are requested. In times of crisis, understanding present conditions and the on-going trends are crucial points for positively facing the current and future challenges. As part of the research community, this is one of our main responsibilities towards the cultural sectors.

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Artistic quality as leadership success

The conductor's leadership role in the act of music making

*Sanja Petricic
University of Arts, Belgrade, Serbia*

ABSTRACT

Art can be valued in many different ways. For example, it could be valued from an economic, social, cultural or any anthropological perspective, depending upon the desired outcomes of the research. This article elaborates on a concept of defining artistic quality of the orchestra as the conductor's leadership success. To specify the artistic quality of the orchestra the researcher relies on the model introduced by Boerner (2002) that has been further developed in this paper. The objective of the researcher is to further develop a model for the evaluation of performance quality in the framework of the artistic quality as the leadership success of the conductor. Comparing the results of acquired data in the first set of interviews and the model presented in Boerner's study (2002), the researcher proposed a new version of the model for the artistic quality of the orchestra. Also, in designing the model, the researcher relied on her artistic experience as well as music training in a highly recognized institution such as The Juilliard School in New York. It is also pertinent to this research that she received her graduate degree in collaborative music that provided her with in depth understating of ensemble playing. The results of this research aim is to offer syllabus suggestions for majors in conducting, music education and art management at undergraduate as well as graduate levels. Conclusions are drawn both for leadership theories and for the selection and training of orchestral conductors.

Keywords:

Art management
Artistic quality
Conductor
Leadership
Music making process

1. Introduction

Preparing an orchestra for a concert provides a great example of art management in practice, using similar techniques and principles applied in the highly competitive world of business. Motivation levels inside the orchestra must be maintained, conflicts among orchestra members must be resolved and effective time management skills are required for the high quality performance. Leadership skills of the conductor determine how well the entire concert will go (Byrnes, 2009). By comparison, the skills required to prepare a successful concert are also the skills required to run a successful business. However, one of the essential differences between business and art management is the idea of goal achievement. For business management financial profit is considered as the primary goal where as in art management the artistic excellence is perceived as the main goal achievement.

Chiaravalloti (2005), argues that from the cultural management point of view, the perspective view of artistic quality implies that the only way to build indicators of artistic quality is to use a standardized questionnaire and to work with quantitative data, thus omitting a priori all other existing possibilities to inform the management about the artistic experience of the audience, for example through the visual or narrative indicators.

One of the most systematic attempts to the evaluation of artistic quality in opera houses has been made by Boerner (2002). She argues that the *definition* of artistic quality has the same meaning as the *conception* of artistic quality, and it presents the necessary basis for the evaluation of the results of different management styles in opera houses.

The objective of her research was the development of a model for the directive management style in opera houses including both profile and performance quality. The profile quality describes the season program offered by an opera house, consisting of works selected and artists involved, where as the performance quality describes the quality of the performed program, the individual performance.

The goal in this research was to further develop Boerner's model for the evaluation of performance quality in the orchestra, as the leadership success of the conductor. This research is included in my PhD thesis where I further explore the effects of conductor's leadership style on the artistic quality of the orchestra applying mixed research methods as part of the naturalistic inquiry.

There have been studies done where orchestra members have responded to surveys and questionnaires (Boerner, 2005). It has been concluded that often times what is needed to examine leadership effectiveness is to simultaneously examine constructs at both individual and group levels of analysis (Kirkman and Rosen, 1999). Based on extensive reading, I have concluded that there is a need for the use of qualitative research in order to add depth and meaning to statistical findings that were done in previous research studies on the same topic.

Comparing the results of acquired data in the first set of interviews and the model presented in Boerner's study (2002), I proposed a new version of the model for the artistic quality of the orchestra. Also, in designing the model, I relied on my artistic experience as well as music training in highly recognized institutions such as The Juilliard School in New York. It is also pertinent to this research that I received my graduate degree in collaborative music that provided me with in depth understating of ensemble playing. Aside from presenting numerous attempts to analyze these phenomena, I have provided my personal in depth understanding of the issues raised.

2. The conductor as the leader in music the making process

According to Boerner and Krause (2004), the main focus of the artistic endeavor for the conductor is the success of an orchestra. The artistic quality of the performance is perceived as the joint interpretation produced by multiplicity of musicians in the orchestra. Further more, they suggest that individual quality criteria such as sound and tempo must be coordinated through synchronized playing of the orchestra by the guided conception of the interpretation. On the other hand, Adorno (1968) points out that the decisive factor in the performance must be the congruity of interpretation.

In her study Boerner (2004), points out that it is a conductor's duty to determine the artistic conception and particular interpretation of existing works as well as new commissioned works of the orchestra's music repertoire. The members of an orchestra usually do not participate in developing a conception for the interpretation and also they do not have much freedom in realizing that conception either. Their responsibility is to realize the conductor's ideas for interpretation where they are immediately controlled and criticized by the conductor (Boerner and Krause, 2001).

Since most of the orchestra members are trained for solo performance, this could have a negative impact on their motivation because of their artistic freedom being restricted. However it is assumed that if a conductor displays confidence, superiority, power, reliability and charisma, musicians tend to follow his lead expecting that the result or artistic quality will be satisfying (Boerner and Krause, 2004).

As Allmendinger (1996) describes musicians in the orchestra as well – trained professionals with a high degree of intrinsic motivation, Boerner (2004) raises the question of why the conductor's leadership style is not participative or delegative, but instead directive. This question is interesting in reference to the model of goal-directive leadership (Gebert and Ulrich 1991) assuming that directive leader behavior in the orchestra can be explained in terms of the leadership goal, which in this paper refers to the artistic quality of

the orchestra. Their point of view was confirmed by one of the participants in this research:

In the act of music making, the conductor is following his own voice, his own wishes, desires, convictions. He is trying to convince us that this is a great piece of music. By doing so, he needs to be able to persuade us that we want to do what he wants to do, having a clear vision and inviting us into that vision, making us feel that we are the ones who are making it happen (participant 1).

There is a certain duality in this kind of leadership behavior that needs to be addressed. First, there is a common attitude of orchestral musicians who very often come to rehearsals well prepared, able to play all the notes perfectly, but without any character, waiting for the conductor to add the musical expression or to make music for them. In this case, a conductor is taken as the symbol of power; an authority figure who dominates not only in the interpretation of the music but also over the music in general (Guzelimian, 2002).

The second part of duality in conductor's leadership behavior is the fact that even though the conductor is defined as the power figure, one of the main goals in his work, which is a production of sound, at the same time, presents the limitation of his power. The actual sound is not produced by the conductor, but instead by each individual musician in the orchestra, which means that the conductor could only organize or change the character of music without producing the sound himself.

This poses the question of the conductor's actual power in the act of music making. In her research, Boerner (2004) claims that in the interest of congruity in the orchestral performance, a balance of sound and rhythm among all members of the orchestra must be obtained. The degree of synchronization of intonation, articulation and dynamics between individual players in the orchestra presents the essential quality in the performance. Along with that idea, precise ensemble playing requires individual mastery on the instrument as well as the ability to collaborate. This presents one of the biggest challenges for the musicians in the orchestra since each one of them has a different sound, for example intonation or articulation, which has to be adjusted to the orchestra's sound. My

personal point of view was confirmed by another participant in the pilot research interview saying the following:

Our personal contribution is not required. The conductor is not after individual sound in the orchestra, therefore we have to repress ourselves as artists being completely responsible for the final product. This is very frustrating for us (participant 2).

The conductor needs to be aware of the fact that each member of the orchestra has been trained as a solo performer before entering the orchestra. Because of these phenomena, the conductor's goal in the act of music making is not only to dictate but to enable musicians to be themselves in a state of creative participation. This argument introduces the first research question: *Do limitations of the conductor's power enhance creative participation within the orchestra?*

The question relates to Byrnes's (2009) argument of leadership presenting the use of power to influence the behavior of others. He further argues that in organizational settings of the arts, the power to control others is more often potential than an absolute. Within each employ group in art organizations, there are limits to how effectively power can be used to control the work output. Unfortunately, history provides many examples of individuals abusing their power through leadership. The following section gives examples of famous conductors who abused their leadership power but kept a high level of artistic quality performance and how that contradicts the contemporary view

of conductor' leadership approach towards the orchestra.

“THE CONDUCTOR NEEDS TO BE AWARE OF THE FACT THAT EACH MEMBER OF THE ORCHESTRA HAS BEEN TRAINED AS A SOLO PERFORMER BEFORE ENTERING THE ORCHESTRA.”

3. The Servant-Leader approach of the conductor's leadership style

A contemporary view of leadership by which the conductor is defined as a leader who serves the ensemble in all aspects of the job, from programmatic decisions to day-to day methods used in rehearsals, is crucial for optimal growth of individual members as well as the group (for example symphony orchestra).

By this theory, conductors in “servant-leader” role reject the notion that leaders must be autocratic and believe that all the musical goals could be reached if the focus is on serving the musicians and the music.

However it is worth noting that some of the most famous conductors in the music history such as Toscanini¹ or Karajan² used the opposite leadership approach that proved to be very successful. In his essay, Wierzbicki (1987) explains the entire Karajan’s leadership phenomenon by the following statement:

A conductor is, more than anything else, a leader. Musical knowledge and interpretive insight might be listed among a conductor's assets, but they count for nothing unless he is somehow able to make the players do his bidding. Sweet-talking an orchestra into going along with him won't do the trick. Whether he gains it through respect or through brute force, the conductor has to have firm command over all that happens both in rehearsals and in concerts (Wierzbicki, 1987).

Contradicting the theory of servant-leader approach, the second example raises the question of how much power becomes too much power for the conductor. In his essay, Wierzbicki (1989) states that Berlin Philharmonic, under Karajan’s baton, displayed perfection in sound and was famous for most polished orchestra in the world, because of conductor’s authority over what they did with their instruments. This is well exemplified by Karajan’s own words quoted Barenboim’s discussion with Said: “I think it was Karajan who said that there are only six things that you should tell the orchestra : too loud; too soft; too late; too soon; too fast; too slow “ (Barenboim, Said & Guzelimian 2002:51).

His power seemed to have been absolute in the act of music making. However, many players in the self-governing Berlin Philharmonic often times felt that Karajan over-stepped the boundaries, in terms of his administrative power and had more power than he or any other human being deserved. An example of the conductor’s limitless power is the scandal from 1982, when Karajan hired a twenty three year old clarinetist, Sabine Mayer, despite the fact that the members of Berlin Philharmonic highly disagreed with this decision, claiming that her sound and style did not fit in with their own.

When the orchestra refused to accept his decision, Karajan announced a suspension of all of the Philharmonic’s recordings, touring and festival activities. Finally, Mayer was offered a one- year probation contract, but she decided to leave the

orchestra before the contract had expired. Karajan blamed the orchestra for driving her away and in order to punish them he canceled one of their concerts at the Salzburg Festival and instead invited, at his own expense, the rival Vienna Philharmonic to perform (Wierzbicki, 1989).

From this example, it is clear that the earlier assumption of the conductor presenting a symbol of power by displaying confidence, superiority, reliability and charisma that musicians tend to follow is challenged by the contemporary leadership theory of servant-leader approach.

Wis (2002) argues that autocratic leadership views power as coercion (for example: “You will do this because I say so”), where as servant leadership views power as persuasion (for example: “You will do this when you understand why”). In the second example, conductors serve rather than impose, they empower rather than control.

I feel that there are certain challenges in contemporary leadership theory of servant-leader approach that need to be addressed. Due to the fact that high performance standards of orchestral pieces (for example Toscanini or Karajan’s interpretations of Beethoven symphonies) have been set in the past and are available for the public on numerous recordings, contemporary conductors as leaders are expected to follow these standards. This is well exemplified by one of the participants in the interview who agreed with my point of view:

Conductor is going after perfection, mainly because of music critiques that are looking for perfection. They have listened to many recordings of the same pieces and make comparisons that are always there and make pressure for the conductor (participant 3).

This raises the following question: if the conductor’s artistic freedom for the interpretation of familiar orchestra pieces is limited by the standards of previous interpretations, would the orchestra members trust his new vision? A second question is: if such performance standards were set by conductors who were extremely autocratic in their leadership approach, would contemporary orchestras follow the conductor who was less autocratic and move towards the servant-leader approach?

Beorner and Krause (2004) argue that the originality of the conductor’s concept for new interpretation of familiar orchestra pieces could be stimulating for orchestra musicians. The conductor, who is perceived as the charismatic leader, conveys trust and optimism among orchestra members, who accredit him with high artistic competence and by

¹ Arturo Toscanini(1867-1957), Italian conductor, one of the greatest virtuoso figures of the first half of the twentieth century. He was the musical director of La Scala, Milan and the Metropolitan opera, NY Philharmonic and NBC Symphony Orchestra in New York.

² Herbert Von Karajan (1908-1989), Austrian orchestra and opera conductor, a leading international musical figure of the mid twentieth century. He was the musical director of Berlin Philharmonic and Vienna State Opera.

“INSTEAD THE MORE
CHARISMATIC THE CONDUCTOR IS,
THE MORE THE MUSICIANS WILL
IDENTIFY WITH HIM.”

identifying with him, follow his artistic conception for the interpretation of the orchestral piece. This idea relates to empirical research conducted by Krause (2004) who found that high level of identification by employees with their leader resulted in significantly improved leadership success. Boerner (2004) on the other hand, makes a point that if the musicians see the conductor only as sympathetic figure, they would not expect a high artistic result or any restrictions on their artistic freedom. Instead, the more charismatic the conductor is, the more the musicians will identify with him. Therefore she made the assumption that a directive-charismatic leadership style improves the artistic quality of the orchestra more than a sympathetic leadership style.

In conclusion, despite the limitations to the artistic freedom, the motivation of the orchestra members is supported by directive-charismatic leadership style. Therefore, the second research question in this paper is: *could transformational leadership style support the musician's alignment to conductor's vision which results in positive influence on the artistic quality of the orchestra?* According to Byrnes (2009), norms of behavior and cohesiveness are most important elements of group development in art management, therefore an effective leader must understand the group dynamics of people that are brought together to achieve a common goal.

4. Methods and indications of researching the artistic quality

The experimental process is considered essential in determining artistic quality, therefore the factors forming the current conception of artistic quality are the ones that could be found or measured empirically. However, there are some limitations to the research. While the research objective is considered appropriate if the definition of artistic quality is instrumental to

manager's research on the effectiveness of different leadership styles, the consequent use of a standardized instrument for its measurement could be considered as a step towards *technocratisation*, since politicians or administrators may also have an objective instrument for quality evaluation, allowing them to make funding decisions (Nielsen 2003). This is what Chiaravalloti (2005) calls *perspective* view of artistic value, since there could be a unique definition of artistic quality and that it could be measured in different contexts and times for different works or productions.

The power of qualitative research comes from the level of involvement of the researcher with the participants of the research. Patton (2002) argues that the task of the qualitative researcher is to provide a framework within which participants can respond in their own way, how they view the world or that part of the world about which they are talking about. Through interaction within the situation, the human instrument can extend awareness of the realm of the felt and of unconscious wishes. Further more, the human instrument is able to provide depth and richness to the understanding of social and cultural settings (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

Interviewing is an important source of qualitative data because it allows the researcher not only to enter another person's world but also to understand that person's perspective (Petricic, 1998). According to Patton (2002), there are three approaches to qualitative interviewing: the informal conversational, general interview guide approach and the standardized open-ended interview. Since all participants in this research were musicians from professional orchestras, deeply involved and affected by the issues that were discussed in the interview, the researcher felt it was appropriate to use the interview guide approach. Applying the human instrument, both the researcher and the participants (conductors and the members of the orchestra), have evaluated the artistic quality of the orchestra as the measurement for the leadership success.

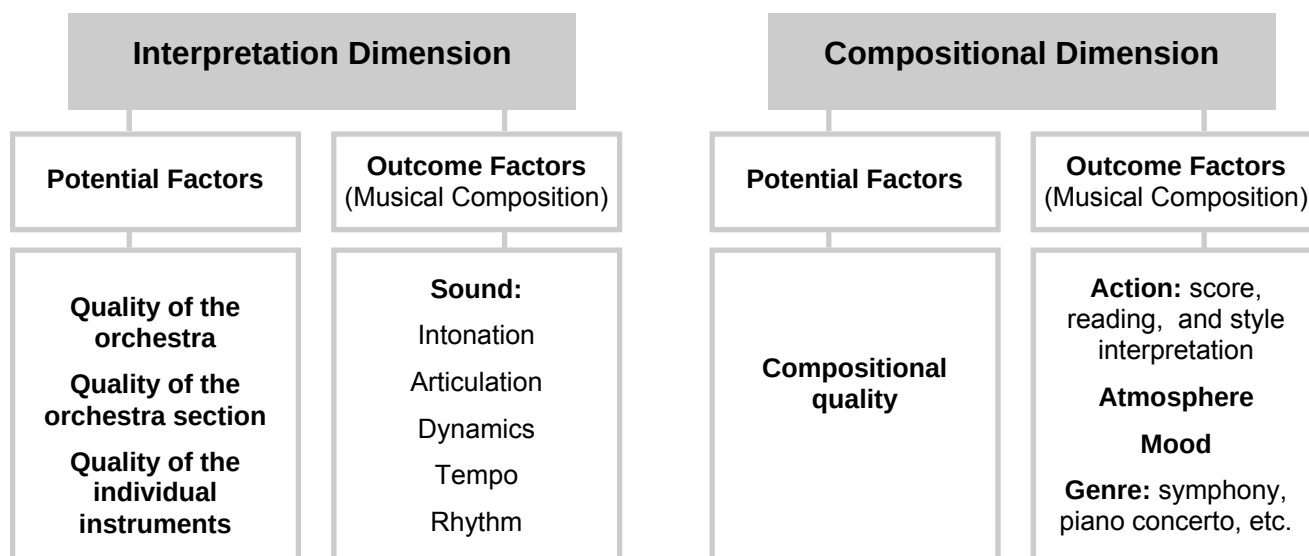


TABLE 1. PERFORMANCE QUALITY OF THE ORCHESTRA

Taken and adopted from *Artistic quality in an opera company - Towards the development of a concept* (429) by Boerner, S. (2002), Nonprofit Management and Leadership

Lincoln and Guba (1985) state that in contrast to the conventional approach of the inquirer "knowing what is not known" the naturalistic approach of the inquirer is "not knowing what is not known". Because of this approach, the naturalistic inquirer goes through several phases in order to get some knowledge on what is *silent* or what he/she needs to find out about, to check the findings in accordance with trustworthiness procedures and to gain some kind of closure.

The object of the first phase, the so called "orientation and overview" phase, is to obtain sufficient information in order to find out what is important enough to follow up in detail. The initial approach to respondents is made in a very open-ended way, using questions of the "grand tour" type (Spradley, 1979), such as, "Tell me what you think I should know about the conductor in your orchestra." Depending upon the nature and complexity of the focus (problem, evaluand, and policy option), this phase can take from few days to many months. In this study I worked on the first phase for a week at the International music festival in Casalmaggiore, Italy interviewing six professional musicians and four graduate students from different orchestras in the United States of America, Canada and Europe.

Topics and issues covered were prepared in advance in outline form. The sequence of questions depended on the participant's preference. I discussed issues and topics with participants and let them choose which ones they were most comfortable with. The acquired data of the first set of interviews indicated some *silent* elements such as "the conductor as the power figure in the act of music making" and "the conductor as both charismatic and directive leader with a strong vision towards the artistic goals" that will be further explored in my PhD thesis: The effects of conductor's leadership style on orchestra's

artistic quality, using a mixed method (qualitative and quantitative) including: survey questioners, interviews and field notes of the researcher.

5. Application of Boerner's model for measuring the artistic quality of the orchestra

Performance quality is not something that has been systematically investigated. With reference to performance quality in an opera company (Boerner, 2002), this paper refers to the performance quality of the orchestra. Boerner presents two key components: music dimension and stage dimension in her model for the performance quality of the opera, where as the researcher uses different key components: interpretational dimension and compositional dimension pertained to the model for performance quality of the orchestra. Each component is classified in terms of potential factors and outcome factors. Combining potential and outcome factors allows the viewer to define characteristics describing the quality of the performance such as: the sound of strings, the color of the woodwinds and so on.

Based on the above components, I further developed the model by introducing sub elements for the potential and outcome factors in both dimensions such as: section in the orchestra and individual instruments (for potential factors in interpretation dimension), compositional quality (for potential factors in compositional dimension) and score reading, style interpretation, genre (for outcome factors in compositional dimension).

The congruity of the factors described in the model, presents the essence of the performance quality (Adorno, 1968). This is understood as the

Fit	Conceptual - Abstract	Technical - Concrete
1st order fit: Interpretation dimension and compositional dimension	Atmosphere and sound	Tempo and music genre
2nd order fit: within dimensions (for example interpretation dimension)	Sound	Dynamics (volume of orchestra sections, individual instruments)
3rd order fit: within the potential factors of a dimension (for example, section of the orchestra)	Sound	Tuning and intonation of individual instruments in the orchestra

TABLE 2. THE FIT CRITERION FOR PERFORMANCE QUALITY OF THE ORCHESTRA

Taken and adopted from *Artistic quality in an opera company - Towards the development of a concept* (430) by Boerner, S. (2002), Nonprofit Management and Leadership

integration of all sub elements of a piece of music to form a whole (See Table 1).

In the next stage Boerner introduces the *fit* criterion for performance quality of the opera that determines only the congruity of music dimension and stage dimension within a given performance and not the agreement between a given performance and standard or ideal performance. The *fit* is, therefore characterized on three levels in a hierarchical model. Again, I adopted the model to the needs of performance quality of the orchestra introducing sub elements such as atmosphere and sound (first order fit: conceptual –abstract), tempo and music genre (first order fit: technical –concrete), dynamics (second order fit: technical - concrete), tuning and intonation of individual instruments (third order fit: technical – concrete) (See Table 2).

First *fit* determines the congruity between the interpretational and compositional dimension (fit of dimensions). For example, the tonal image that the interpretational dimension produces should match the atmosphere that the compositional dimension conveys. Secondly, the orchestra must achieve *fit* within each dimension (fit of potential factors). For example, within the interpretational dimension; potential factors (sections in the orchestra, individual instruments in each section) must be synchronized with outcome factors (for example, rhythm or articulation). Finally, the third fit (fit of sub factors), presents the synchronization within the potential factors of a dimension (for example, sections within the orchestra).

As a whole, congruity presents the outcome factor describing the interaction of sub factors, potential

factors, and dimensions, constituting a sort of meta-criterion of performance quality (Boerner, 2002). Decisive for a performance fit (or congruity of the performance) of the orchestra is the guiding idea of the conductor. Consequently it is very important to establish the role of the conductor as the leader who provides a clear vision in the process of music making, that the members of the orchestra can align with. The acquired data of the first set of interviews in this paper, that indicated elements such as “the conductor as the power figure in the act of music making” and “the conductor as both charismatic and directive leader with a strong vision towards the artistic goals” provides the basis for further research on the effects of the conductor’s leadership style towards the artistic quality of the orchestra.

6. Conclusion

For the practice of performance quality and leadership in the orchestra, the following issues are relevant. The more performance quality as the essential part of the artistic quality needs improvement, the more important are the findings of the practice of leadership in the orchestra. Respondents took a largely positive view of the performance quality of their orchestra when the conductor was perceived as the directive-charismatic figure that provided them with a clear musical vision that could be aligned with or supported by the musicians in the orchestra. In other words, if the

musicians perceived their conductor as charismatic and could identify with him, the performance quality of the orchestra improved. Therefore, it would be beneficial to implement an appropriate employment selection process. When choosing a conductor one should look not only for musical skills but social and leadership skills as well. Nevertheless, this does not imply the standard competencies such as communication abilities, but to identify constructs relevant for leadership success, such as charisma, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and individualized consideration. If a conductor with such abilities, both musical and leadership abilities, was deliberately selected, the result could be a contribution to the improvement of the artistic quality and successful increase of leadership competence within the orchestra. The results of this research aim to offer a curriculum design for majors in conducting, music education and art management at undergraduate as well as graduate levels.

Limitations and suggestions for future research

One of the main limitations in this research was the size of the sample. Because all the information was collected from the same respondents, the level of the ascertained connections could be related to overestimation of the connections between predictor and criterion. For this reason, future studies should collect data on leadership style and the artistic quality of the group from the dependent sources such as: conductors and sectional leaders in the orchestra. The second limitation of this study is the use of single-item measures; future research should develop a mixed method (qualitative and quantitative) for leadership role of the conductor and the artistic quality as the leadership success. Despite these limitations, the results of the present investigation have theoretical and practical implications for the improvement of the performance quality as the leadership success in the orchestra.

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Local art museums and visitors: Audience and attendance development

Theoretical requirements and empirical evidence

Mara Cerquetti
University of Macerata, Italy

ABSTRACT

During the 20th century museum visitor studies have used different approaches with varying results. They have covered not only individual demographic and psychographic characteristics, but also the motivation, needs and expectations of both visitors and non-visitors. According to the visitor-oriented approach, most research has been suggested to attract and satisfy new audiences promoting social interaction and the emotional involvement of visitors through edutainment, new technological devices, exhibitions and other 'block-buster' events.

In this paper we will analyse the content and language of art museum communication, to verify if the general knowledge people have when they visit a museum is sufficient to understand and appreciate the complex value of exhibits in museums and if museum communication strategies are suitable to the *mise en valeur* of local cultural heritage. Analysing the findings of a local survey on the relationship between museums and their real and potential visitors, carried out among students, the following paper argues that museums and education should enhance the distinctive features of local cultural heritage, both to promote the understanding of its complex value and to reach new audiences.

Keywords:

Audience development

Local museums

Museum communication

Museum visitors studies

1. Cultural assumptions: the Italian 'threefold natural museum'

According to Throsby's definition there are six different dimensions of cultural value: (1) historical; (2) aesthetic; (3) spiritual (or religious); (4) social (to the extent that something provides people with a sense of identity); (5) symbolic (to the extent that cultural objects act as 'repositories and conveyors of meaning'); and (6) authenticity (because a work is the 'real, original, and unique artwork which it is represented to be') (Throsby, 2001: 28-29).

Sharing these assumptions, the mission of cultural organizations is to enhance the broad spectrum of value of the cultural objects they preserve, communicating all these dimensions to different sectors of the public and focusing on their specific features: 'maintaining and managing the quality of ongoing exhibitions is a first priority in a museum. Each museum should identify what makes it distinctive' (Kotler, Kotler, 1998: 176).

in the continuity of cultural heritage, in the ubiquity and pervasiveness of material evidence of humanity and its environment (Toscano, 1998). For this reason Chastel (1980) called Italy a 'threefold natural museum', where the collection, the historical building where it is preserved and the town which hosts it are mutually linked in an exemplary manner as three different components of the same museum.

According to a marketing-oriented approach the characteristics of the Italian cultural heritage could be synthesized in 3 C's: capillary, contextual, and complementary (Golinelli, 2008). Also the Ministerial Decree of 10 May 2001, which provides the guidelines to set minimum standards for museum management (user services, facilities, collection management, etc.) encompasses a section on the relationships between museums and cultural heritage in their context. According to these requirements, some recent studies (Siano, Siglioccolo 2008; Siano, Eagle, Confetto, Siglioccolo 2010) have investigated the role of location reputation to enhance Italian cultural heritage and the appeal of museums, suggesting museum marketing strategies based on the analysis of competitiveness in

“THE COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGE OF ITALIAN CULTURAL HERITAGE DOES NOT MERELY EXIST IN A FEW MASTERPIECES PRESERVED IN THE MOST IMPORTANT AND BIGGEST ITALIAN MUSEUMS, BUT ALSO IN THE CONTINUITY OF CULTURAL HERITAGE, IN THE UBIQUITY AND PERVASIVENESS OF MATERIAL EVIDENCE OF HUMANITY AND ITS ENVIRONMENT.”

As far as Italian cultural heritage is concerned, distinctive features of museums – especially local ones in the central regions of Italy – are not only the aesthetic value of the exhibits, but also their historical value; the deep relationship between cultural objects – artistic and archeological, historical and ethnographic – and the local context: squares, monuments, other museums and cultural goods preserved not only in museums but also beyond their doors, in churches, convents, monasteries, and other historical buildings. These institutions – public, small and almost unknown – do not preserve artifacts brought together by a collector: most of them were created at the end of the 19th century to gather and preserve goods removed from churches and other ecclesiastic institutions after Italian unification.

Therefore, the competitive advantage of Italian cultural heritage does not merely exist in a few masterpieces preserved in the most important and biggest Italian museums, such as the Uffizi Gallery in Florence or the Academia Galleries in Venice, but also

the context of where museums are located.

Therefore school education and museums – especially local cultural institutions – after understanding the needs and levels of competences of different audiences, should recognize and communicate the distinctive features and value of Italian cultural heritage, without neglecting the relationships with their territory of reference.

2. Theoretical background: knowing the public needs

Since the second half of the 20th century, the role of museums has been changing from one of mastery to one of service (Weil, 1997: 257). Museums are not only about something, but also for somebody (Weil, 1999). Therefore, attention to the public has gradually increased (Macdonald, 1993; Doering, 1999; Weil,

1999; McLean, 2005) and museum visitor studies¹ have advanced with different approaches and various results both in the academic field and among museum professionals (Black, 2005). Unlike in the United States – especially in science and children's museums – the first studies were carried out at the beginning of the 20th century by museum staff or consultants (Hooper-Greenhill, 2006: 363), Europe and art museums realised the need to know their publics later in the century.

From the 1930's to the 1990's most research focused on the socio-demographic profile of museum visitors, to answer the question: 'Who comes to museums?' (Dickenson, 1992: 141)². In the United States surveys revealed that museum attendees were more likely to be white, middle or upper class and exhibited higher education and higher income levels than lower attendees³ (Robbins, Robbins, 1980; Yucelt, 2000). In 1969, in Europe, transnational research carried out by Bourdieu and Darbel confirmed these demographic data, also claiming the role of a museum as a tool for cultural democratization and criticizing the social discrimination of people to access to culture.

Only since the 1980's have visitors studies focused on decision process and motivations to visit a museum, as well as investigating psychographic characteristics of visitors – their values, attitudes, perceptions, interests and expectations. Additionally, research started to analyse visitor behaviour and museum experiences.

According to the marketing-oriented approach (Rentschler, 2002), visitor surveys have subsequently evaluated customer satisfaction and service quality (Rentschler, Reussner, 2002; Solima, 2008), in order to measure and improve museum performances (Donato, 2008). In this way, visitor-responsiveness has become a criterion to judge exhibitions, educational programmes, cultural events and other museum services. Therefore, nowadays visitor studies and evaluation⁴ are important means for strategic management of visitor-oriented museums, useful not only 'to gather reliable information about museum visitors in a systematic way', but also to support 'goal-defining, strategic planning and implementation of measures' (Reussner, 2003: 104):

a strategic focus on visitors puts audience development among the primary aims of museums.

Audience development implies maintaining the core audience, building a broader audience base, attracting diverse audiences and building relationships with the community. (...) In order to develop marketing activities, information is needed from strategic analysis on the actual and the potential audiences, their preferences and characteristics, and on the audiences and services of competing museums (Reussner, 2003: 103).

The involvement of both current and potential visitors is also an example of co-production (Davies, 2010: 307), which is 'a process through which inputs from individuals who are not "in" the same organization are transformed into goods and services' (Ostrom, 1997: 85).

Sharing these assumptions, since the 1990's studies have been focusing on non-visitors of museums through qualitative research – interviews, focus groups, etc. (Bollo, 2008). Without discussing this literature in detail – recent literature reviews and useful critiques have already been provided by Merriman (2000) –, suffice it to say that in order to improve the cultural role of museum visiting, it is essential to understand the reasons for non-visiting as well (Schäfer, 1996). Non-participants perceive museums to be 'formal, formidable places, inaccessible to them because they usually have had little preparation to read the "museum code" – places that invoke restrictions on group social behavior and on active participation.' (Hood, 1983: 54) Therefore, we have to look at how barriers that deter people from visiting local museums might be removed.

3. Aims and scope: enhancement beyond edutainment

In order to reach new audiences and offer a high-quality museum experience, research has suggested to make museums places for exploring and discovering, promoting the interaction and the emotional involvement of visitors – especially young people –, through edutainment and immersion exhibits (Addis, 2002; Rentschler, Hede, 2007; Calcagno, Faccipieri, 2010; Mortensen, 2010). According to a constructivist perspective, science centres and museums are driven by the recognition that 'informal

¹ Museum visitor studies bring together scholars from different sciences (museology, economics, sociology, management, etc.), with the common goal of audience development, not only increasing, but also satisfying museum visitors: "Visitor studies" is an umbrella term for a range of different forms of research and evaluation involving museums and their actual, potential, and virtual visitors which collectively might be termed the "audience" for museums. These studies focus on the experiences, attitudes, and opinions of people in and about museums of all sorts (art, history, science; national, local, private, and so on)' (Hooper-Greenhill, 2006: 363).

² These studies did not investigate people's motivations and needs and did not indicate 'the reasons why some adults choose to frequent museums and why some do not' (Hood, 1983: 51).

³ Surveys also revealed that a very small minority of blacks in cities with a large black population felt comfortable in the museums (Dickenson, 1998: 144).

⁴ *Front-end evaluation* provides information at the first stage of the planning; *formative evaluation* takes place during the planning; *remedial evaluation* helps to identify and remove problems during the planning; and *summative evaluation* assesses the effectiveness and efficiency of a programme (Reussner, 2003: 105-106).

learning' can be an important contribution to awareness and understanding not only among children but also among adults (Falk, Dierking, 2000).

However, even though there is a growing commitment to enhance individual 'interactivity', some video-based field researches have revealed that most of the computer-based interactive exhibits neglect the possibility of social interaction, co-participation, shared experiences and mutual engagement (Heath, vom Lehn, 2008): 'the innovation rarely goes beyond designing exhibits that rely primarily on conventional human-computer interfaces such as keyboards, pushbuttons, and touch-screens' (Meisner, vom Lehn, Heath, Burch, Gammon, Reisman, 2007: 1532).

In summary, as far as education and visitor services are concerned, museum studies have focused on the interactive construction of meaning through new technological devices, innovative exhibits, exhibitions, and other 'block-buster' events. However, research has not sufficiently investigated the role of words in exhibit communication. Therefore, surveys should also analyse museum verbal communication – its contents and language – to verify: (1) if the general knowledge people have when they visit a museum is sufficient to understand and appreciate the complex value of exhibits in museums, and (2) if museum communication strategies are suitable to the *mise en valeur* of the uniqueness of each museum collection (Cerquetti, 2010).

Indeed, the rich value of museums is not accessible to everyone. Considering the role of addition in cultural consumptions (Stigler & Becker, 1977), an appreciation – positive evaluation and memory – of a museum experience is necessary for a repeat visit – as well as for future visits to other museums. However, if we did not understand what we have seen, we would not come back to the museum (Vergo, 1994).

Moreover local and small institutions usually fail in enhancing the distinctive features that make them different from big institutions and competitive in the global context.

4. A local survey: method and findings

Sharing these theoretical requirements, this paper reports the research results concerning the

relationship between museums and their potential public. During January 2010 a 30-item structured questionnaire – with open and closed questions – was submitted to 394 students aged between 16 and 18. The survey took place in Fermo (FM, Italy) among students studying art history. The research consisted of a wide range of questions, which examined: (1) the comprehension and evaluation of written art museums communication; (2) the students' experience and perception of the local art museum; and (3) young people's cultural consumption.

The findings presented in this paper focus on the analysis of the first and the second part of the questionnaire. Firstly, the students were asked to participate in the innovation of the local museum's labels and boards, choosing the caption they preferred among some short texts taken from guides, catalogues and other publications about the museum, to verify their confidence with the scientific specialized language. They were asked to explain the reasons for their choice, generating descriptive data for analysis and interpretation. The students also had to underline in the text words or phrases they did not know. Furthermore, questions were asked about students' perception of the Fermo local museum and their recollection of the visit.

When asked about the labels' basic contents, a large majority of the interviewed (74%) answered they prefer information about the style and aesthetic value rather than about the history of the paintings and their original location (26%). (See Figure 1).

Students justified their choice by saying they preferred to receive a visual description of the paintings, focusing on stylistic and technical details (colours, lights, composition, etc.), rather than about their purchaser or finding.

They revealed much more confidence with the artistic language rather than with historical information – boring for most of the students. Only a few students preferred information about the original location of the paintings, the social context of their production and the relationship with other monuments of the town.

This difference is less when we analyse more detailed information. In general students confirm a preference for information directly referring to the visual component of the paintings (style and iconography) exposed in a museum (54%) rather than for socio-cultural and historical meaning (40%), far less 'concrete'. Nevertheless, in some cases students even chose texts they considered more difficult and which contained words they did not know!

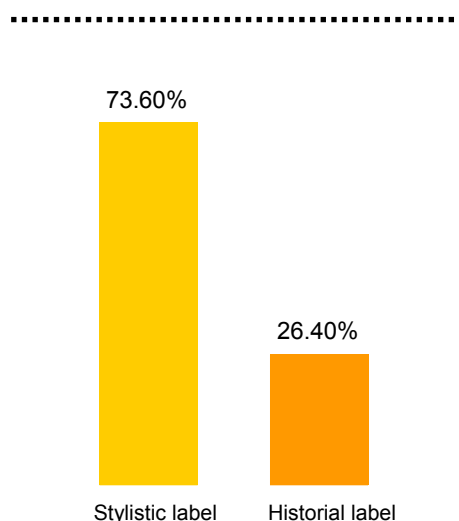


FIGURE 1.
STUDENTS'
PREFERENCES FOR
COMMUNICATION
CONTENT IN AN
ART MUSEUM

In summary, the lead factor – which determines the choice and the preference for some information – is the “look” point of view. Moreover, despite difficulties in understanding the professional jargon, young people seem to be “in awe” of museum language.

Focusing on the second part of the questionnaire, 59% of the students have already visited the local art museum, and 86% of those on a school trip. In most of these cases they have a blurred memory of the visit.

Analysis of the data reveals that education has an important role in establishing future potential museum visitors, not only because the first visit was with teachers, but also because education gives students important tools to understand and appreciate the value of objects exhibited in museums.

When analysing customer satisfaction we avoided considering these preferences the real wishes of the young public, that museums should satisfy. The comprehension and the appreciation of the value of cultural heritage require a level of competence, which higher education has to provide and whose lack is the first obstacle to intellectual accessibility. The role of the State in cultural heritage policies – the State is involved both on the demand-side and on the supply-side – (Graziani, 1990) means young people’s preferences are not absolute, but dependent on the cognitive tools provided by education (Bourdieu, Darbel, 1969), determining cultural skills and customs.

Therefore, students’ critical evaluations illustrate that they have much more confidence with aesthetic and stylistic categories rather than historical and social ones. Under Throsby’s classification, education focuses on the aesthetic value of cultural objects, with a hierarchic approach, neglecting other important aspects of value – historical, symbolic, spiritual, etc.

Indeed, schools teach history of art and artistic values, but not history of cultural heritage and its cultural value. Of course this approach prepares visitors for big museums, which preserve well-known

and artistically important masterpieces, but does not help the understanding and appreciation of the value of the dense net of little known local museums throughout Italy. The competitive advantage of these museums – of local interest and exhibits, of which the study case provides an example – is not necessarily artistic or aesthetic quality, but the deep relationship with the local cultural heritage. Therefore the knowledge of their historical value could be an efficient means of visiting the town and surrounding area, as well as understanding its history. Furthermore, even though the cultural objects inside local museums have an artistic value, their distinctive feature is not only aesthetic, but also historical.

Finally, the survey revealed that the Fermo local museum is not well remembered by some of its potential visitors – such as students who do not remember previous visits and have no clear perception of the location of the museum. Therefore, museums – especially local ones – have to create a clear image and identity for their product, brand and organization.

5. Conclusions

These findings, even though they relate to a specific study, could have broad applications and involve important implications for school and university programs and local museum management both to help reach a new audience and to enhance Italian cultural heritage (Figure 2).

When the purpose of school education is to prepare and stimulate demand for cultural heritage, then higher education has to develop a broad spectrum of value of cultural heritage (Figure 3) – not only aesthetic and stylistic, but also historical, documentary, artistic, social, etc. (Montella, 2009) –, innovating the dominant processes and categories of



FIGURE 2 -
IMPLICATIONS FOR CULTURAL MANAGEMENT AND EDUCATION

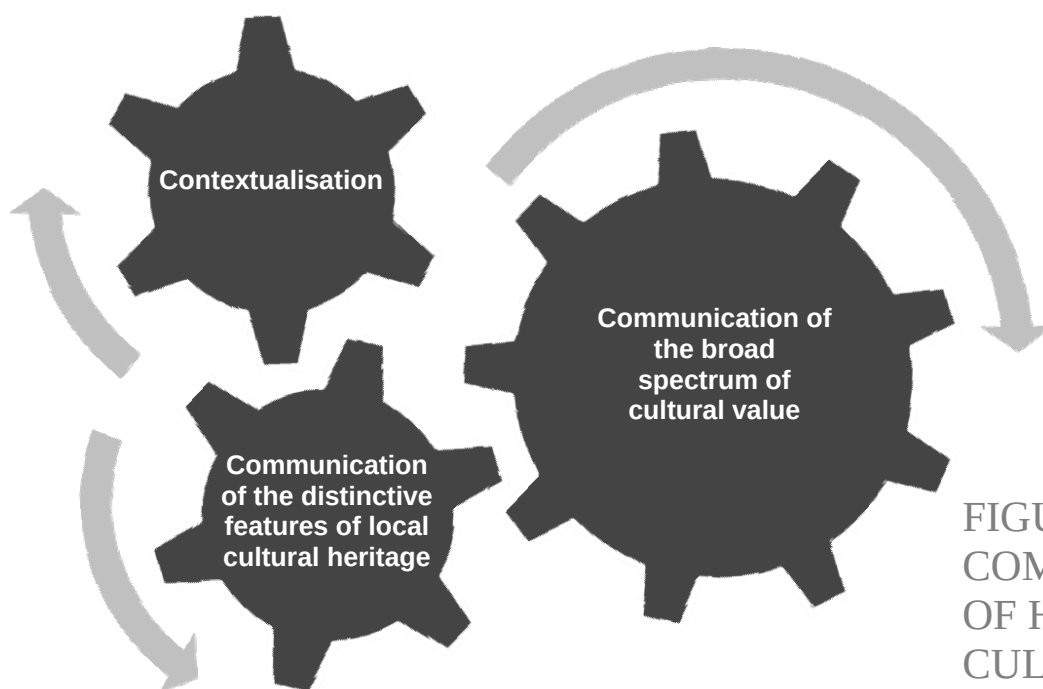


FIGURE 3 - THE COMMUNICATION OF HERITAGE CULTURAL VALUE

knowledge transmission (Macdonald & Silverstone, 1990). This approach could enhance the uniqueness of Italian cultural heritage and, if started from the bottom and developed in a local dimension, could promote a deeper relationship between museums and local communities – including schools – according to ICOM’s guidelines for the active protection of cultural heritage.

Universities training cultural heritage managers and curators should not avoid this perspective. Graduates should have the competence and skills to position local museums in a global context, promoting both audience development (that is the process of reaching new audiences) and the enhancement of Italian cultural heritage (which includes the communication of its cultural value).

At the same time, local museums should focus not only on the communication of formal and stylistic values of cultural heritage, but also on the enhancement of its distinctive features – often related to the local context (Figure 3). Moreover, considering that people are often standing during the visit, communication in museums should be clear, brief and nontechnical (McManus, 1989; Bitgood, 1991; Serrell, 1996), using images when possible rather than written texts (Montella & Cerquetti 2008). Photos, video and contextual exhibitions could be very useful in constructing new narratives and avoiding most of the difficulties related to verbal communication, supporting the transmission of historical information connected to paintings and other objects, without direct and figurative examples in the museum.

Finally, the approach based on the innovative communication of cultural value could also have economic implications for local sustainable development (Grefe, 1999): (1) positioning peripheral areas and their assets in the minds of potential visitors; (2) making local museums into pivots of a cultural itinerary rather than unknown destinations; (3)

benefitting from the new and increased experience-based tourism and in search for authenticity; (4) reducing negative externalities and diseconomies due to the concentration of tourism flows in a few art cities; (5) opening new possibilities for local entrepreneurship in tourism and “Made in Italy” production.

Local cultural destinations proactively addressing these innovative trends will be able to gain a long-term competitive advantage which combines durable socio-economic benefits with the conservation of cultural resources and identity.

Moreover, this approach should be extended to a broad area, analysing different strategies used in museum communication.

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Analysing the Public Cultural Supply

Leisure as an innovative tool for the generation of values

*Ana Goytia and Agustín Arosteguy
University of Deusto, Spain*

ABSTRACT

Culture managed by the public sector has always been a demagogic tool used for the benefit of the government in power. However, the necessary time, resources (human and financial), nor the detailed strategic planning required for such a fragile and crucial aspect have been dedicated to this when identifying a society, country or region. Particularly in such a globalised world as ours, it is time that the public sector truly realises the power involved in using this tool to strengthen social identity and create social capital. This project tries to throw light on the radical importance of thinking through and planning the supply of public cultural activities, as they implicitly entail values (social, cultural, individual, among others) that make up the identity of a people and make them unique in the eyes of the world. Therefore the aim of this project is to study the way in which two municipalities of the Basque Country handle their cultural activities and define what types of social values are behind those activities.

Keywords:

Concept of value
Social values
Social identity
Social capital

I. Introduction: leisure as an innovative tool for the generation of values?

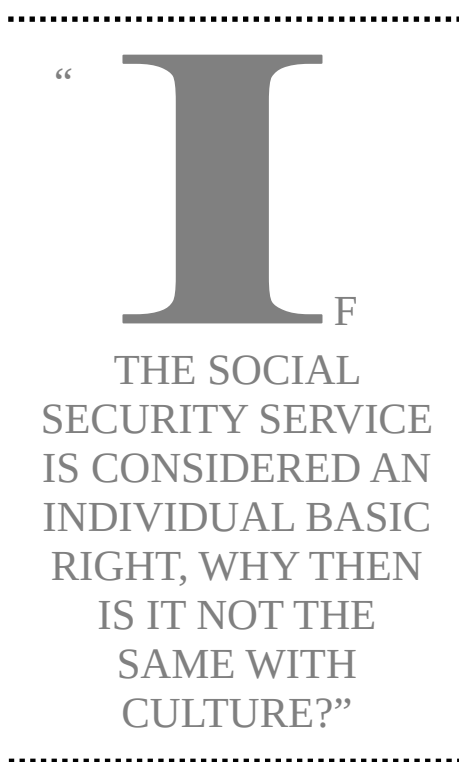
This study tries to respond to the third point of view. Within this topic we focus our study under the question that is the key basis of this research: is it possible to make the supply of public cultural activities an innovative tool for the generation and subsequent transmission of values?

We have noticed that the public sector is not aware of the huge importance of offering cultural activities to society in a strategic way. We must also admit that public policy has its own vices and inertias that make it difficult to adapt or change from one day to another. For one reason or another, when there is a change of government it is always the cultural sector which is affected in two different ways: either because the new government does not want to continue with the previous government's policies, or because they want to restructure the cultural sector in order to make cuts to the budget and to reassign funds to another sector. So we ask ourselves: if the social security service is considered an individual basic right, why then is it not the same with culture, as a vehicle for the transmission of habits, customs and values from one generation to another? Perhaps the public sector does not see the relevance of culture's role? Or maybe they are not sure of the benefits brought by the transmission of a set of values which represent social identity through the cultural supply. Based on this point we would like to respond to the following questions: what do we understand as values? In which way could we relate values with leisure? And after that, why are values so important in a person's life and/or in society? Or what do we need the values for, at an individual and collective level? Through this set of questions and in connection with the question in the second paragraph, we want to find the answer to the following: what are the social values that Portugalete and Getxo transmit through their cultural supply?

Our purpose is to show how the municipalities of Portugalete and Getxo (Spain) tackle their cultural supply proposal, and to define which social values support or back their proposal. This paper aims to study the relationship between values and leisure

(especially culture) framed in today's society where, paradoxically, the so-called crisis (or loss) of values has been increasingly important in recent years. This, understood as a positive opportunity for change, as a replacement of values with new, different, better ones, which could grow towards a horizon with favourable expectations. More precisely, we want to analyse whether the public cultural supply is based on social values and in which way they are reflected in them.

The first four questions concerning values will be responded in sections II.1, II.3, II.1, II.1, respectively. The fifth question will be answered in the Diagnosis section VI.2. Finally, the last question, which gave rise to this study, will be responded in the Conclusion.



II. Theory of Values

1. The concept of value and its relative importance

We can say that individuals always look for value in what they do, whether it is to find the intrinsic value of the activity or to grant it added value. We could also mention that individuals are governed by certain values when setting out to achieve certain goals with the ultimate aim - though well conscious- of standing out in their activities and receiving recognition from their peers and, why not, from society. Even if the main purpose is not to receive the recognition of society,

because these daily activities are governed by values they give meaning to their lives or justify their existence. In one way or another, implicitly or explicitly, values are always present in the life of any human being and, by extension, to the life of any society. Even societies with a civilisation so different to Western civilisation, such as indigenous tribes, are governed by well-defined values that function as the demarcators of the social personality that characterises the said community and distinguishes it from the rest, making it unique.

Faced with this approach, we go back to the concept of value to clarify what we understand it to be. It is worth pointing out that its definition depends on the discipline used to approach it and that there are many approximations to the study of values depending on the perspective we want to offer¹. Our interest lies

¹ Consult: Clark, Hendee, Campbell (2009); Elzo (2002); Gau, Korzeny (2009); Kahle, Beatty, Homer (1986); Rokeach (1973); Ruiz Llamas, Cabrera Suárez (2004); Schwartz (1992); Setién (2002); Stewart, Parry, Glover, (2008); Tanner, Freimund, Borrie, Moisey (2008); Veira Veira (2007).

in establishing general similarities between the different definitions and not in contemplating them all, because we understand that to consider all the disciplines and all the concepts of value would be a vast and unencompassable task. Based on the bibliography consulted we can see a common theme on which the authors coincide when defining value. There is a clear consensus on considering that values determine the conduct and behaviour of the individual as an isolated subject and as part of a social group. That is, the individual not only has principles that govern their life in society but they also have them for their own existence (Elzo, 2002; Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992; Setién, 2002). To continue with this idea, a social group formed by individuals without values or with values that are conflicting with the rest of society cannot be guaranteed survival. Even without values (or with opposing values), the coexistence of the individuals who make up this social group could not be preserved. On the other hand, the authors point out that the importance attached to each value is subjective and untransferable, and that each individual or society has their own hierarchy of values. Put differently, values do not have the same relevance for all individuals, even within the same social group and/or society, but are rather part of a scale of relative importance to each person, which can be modified -or not-during their life, but this does not have to be identified with the scale of another person, social group or community. Regarding this last aspect, we think it is important to emphasize that, although we can establish a direct relationship between the set of values of each individual and that of the society they live in, it is reasonable to say that a significant percentage of personal values must be aligned with the social values.

Focusing on the specific aim of our work, we carry out a cross-sectional interpretation of the concept of value directed exclusively towards our purpose and stick to Schwartz's definition (Schwartz 1992:4) who understands that:

"values are concepts or beliefs that pertain to desirable end states or behaviours that transcend specific situations, guide selections or evaluation of behaviours and events, and are ordered by relative importance".

2. Types of values

Among the different types of values we can distinguish various categories. For example Rokeach (1973) classifies values as terminal and instrumental; López de Llergo (2000 in Ramírez 2005:41) divides them in two classes: immanent and transcendent; Schwartz (1992) classifies them bearing motivations in mind: power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, universalism, spirituality, self-direction, benevolence,

tradition, conformity and security. While Allport (1961 in González Fernández, 1999:99) classifies them as theoretical, economic, aesthetic, social, political and religious. Closer to Allport's distinction, we use the classification described by the Seneca College of Applied Arts & Technology (2001), where different types of values are summarised as:

"Personal² values: principles that define you as an individual. Personal values, such as honesty, reliability and trust, determine how you will face the world and relate with people".

"Cultural values: the practice of your faith and customs, they are principles that sustain connections with your cultural roots. They help you feel connected to a larger community of people with similar backgrounds".

"Social values: principles that indicate how you relate meaningfully to others in social situations, including those involving family, friends and co-workers".

"Work values: principles that guide your behaviour in professional contexts. They define how you work and how you relate to your co-workers, bosses, and clients. They also reveal your potential for advancement. (Seneca College of Arts & Technology, 2001).

Before continuing we would like to make a distinction between cultural values, social values and individual values. We believe that a single society can include more than one culture depending on its composition. Therefore, today it is not difficult to visualise in a single society the co-existence of very different cultures such as Moroccan, Japanese, Chinese, African, etc. This helps us understand that there are values that come from culture and other values that come from society. Because the values of a group of Africans who always lived in Africa are not the same as those of a group of Africans who for whatever reason settled down in the city of Bilbao. This last group will continue with its cultural values but the social values they are immersed in will influence them in one way or another if they stay long enough for it to happen. In addition to the two categories of values mentioned above, we must not forget individual or personal values. We want to emphasize that there can be total coincidences -or absolute differences- between individual, cultural and social values. This means that certain individuals are more prone to relating to certain cultures and in turn, certain cultures find themselves more comfortable in certain societies. Although the specific aim of this work is not to tackle these issues, we can say that not all individuals can live within any culture, nor can any culture live within

² For a conceptual coherence matter, we rather change personal for individual.

“EVERYONE HAS THE SAME
OPPORTUNITIES UNDER THE
UMBRELLA OF LEISURE, EVERY
PERSON IS CONSIDERED AS SUCH
REGARDLESS OF SKIN COLOUR,
CLOTHING BRANDS OR
IDEOLOGY.”

any society. But in order for an individual or a social group to be able to lead their life within a culture or society respectively, there must be a minimum percentage of shared values or a lowest common denominator of values.

Due to the nature of this study and based on our own interest, given the typology of values mentioned above, we are going to focus on social values as we consider them representative, when studying a specific community, of the internal image the inhabitants have of themselves and of the external reflection they build and project on a municipal, provincial, national and, why not, international level.

3. Social values in the context of leisure

We must take into account that in order to analyse values it is essential to define the context in which they are framed. It is not the same to study values within the family as to do so within religion, in the same way that it is not the same to study them within the context of work as within that of leisure. As we already said above we will focus on leisure, and more specifically, on culture.

In principle, we will confine ourselves to the field of leisure as it allows us to deal with social values in a more integrated, true and relaxed way. Integrated, because today leisure makes up a large portion of people's lives, that is, it is present in most activities carried out, from the most simple and day-to-day activities such as shopping in the supermarket, walking the dog and buying the newspaper, to leisure activities par excellence, such as going to the cinema, playing football or reading a book. True, because any activity can be carried out one or two times to see if it is pleasurable, but when it is repeated and becomes sustainable through time it is because with it one truly finds the opportunity to be oneself, to develop and relate to their surroundings, whether it is with other

people or with physical space and nature. Relaxed, because, it predisposes people to learn about themselves in a non-competitive atmosphere, where there is nothing at stake apart from enjoying the moment, sharing time with others and exchanging anecdotes, stories and opinions.

Unlike other contexts (family, work, religion) we understand that leisure is the most flexible and least structured of them all. It can be constantly influenced and in turn influence all the actors that come into play in society, it encourages socialisation and interaction, it helps to integrate people with disabilities, illnesses or people who are racially marginalised. In this respect, a strong point of leisure is its democratic power, because it promotes the disappearance or reduction of differences that may exist between social classes, races, religions, families, genders, or sexual orientations. Everyone has the same opportunities under the umbrella of leisure, every person is considered as such regardless of skin colour, clothing brands or ideology.

This leads us to understand that leisure functions as a social binder and facilitator, encouraging citizen participation and opening new spaces so that citizens can meet spontaneously without an utilitarian aim. Thus, all citizens, without really being conscious at the time it occurs, build a social identity, shape the social personality and consolidate social ties with the aim of strengthening the social group they are part of.

In the next section we study this aspect in more depth, that is, leisure as a transmitter of social values through an instrument we consider to be innovative, which is to offer cultural activities from the public sector.

3.1 Leisure as a transmitter of social values

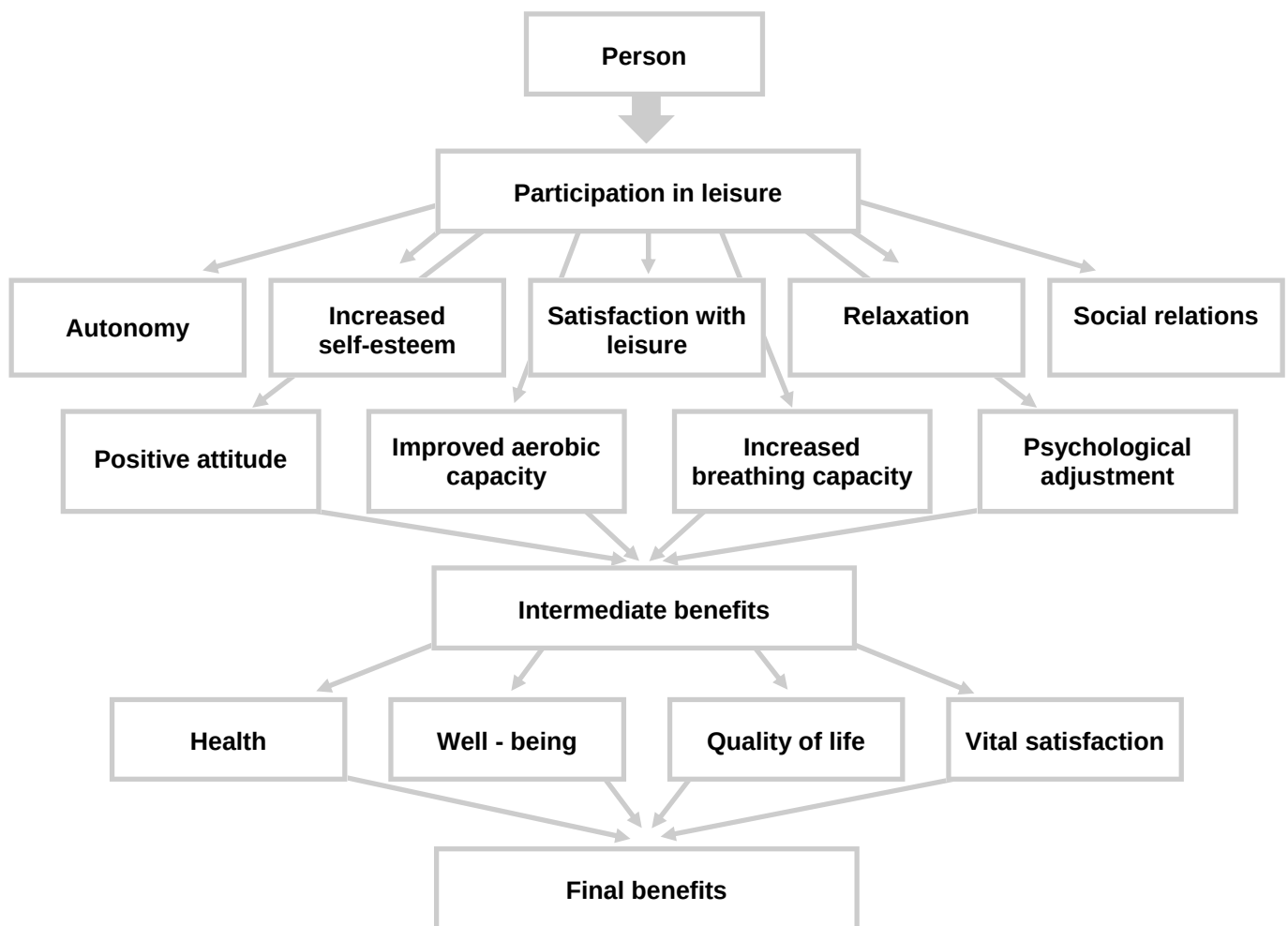
There is no doubt that leisure offers benefits to the people who practice, conduct and exercise it.

Among them we can find those that are therapeutic, those that supply equal opportunities, those that improve quality of life, or the benefit it offers in itself. We are particularly interested in studying leisure at a social level, the types of benefits that by being part of a certain society brings and the types of values that leisure transmits or should transmit, in this case through public cultural activities, with the aim of protecting and reinforcing beliefs concerning desirable end states or social behaviours that bind a social group together and give it a specific personality, tacitly agreed upon by most of the population. Using the classification by Driver and Bruns (1999) of Final Benefits and Intervening Benefits, and with respect to the latter, the distinction between improvement and life projection, and prevention and/or maintenance, we focus our study on the benefits that involve improvement and life projection because we want to know what benefits leisure produces as a generative or pro-active phenomenon that enables the progress and evolution of the individual and the social group.

With the graph below we can visualise all the aspects in which leisure generates benefits. Within this diagram, we mainly insist on the aspect of Social Relations, because we are interested in analysing the

role played by leisure in social relations that are woven within a community and what makes a group of individuals stay in the same geographical area sharing experiences, resources, customs, habits, and of course, values. Above all, we are interested in observing how individuals co-exist internally, that is, committing themselves to the building and strengthening of a personality or social identity where they all (or most of them) feel represented, and how externally, through this identity or social personality, they manage to differentiate themselves from other societies. We think it is crucial for an individual to feel represented by the values of a particular social group, because ultimately this is what will make them choose a certain social group and not another to lead their life in. And this in turn will make a social group choose a particular society and not another as their environment-framework to consolidate their social ties, therefore moulding the personality and identity of this society in co-existence with the other social groups.

A clear example of this is a cultural project that started in the town of Saladillo, a province of Buenos Aires, where two friends decided to make films in their own way, which was with -and for- their fellow citizens. The impact was such that after a few homemade films



GRAPH 1. INTERMEDIATE AND FINAL BENEFITS OF LEISURE

Source: Monteagudo, 2004:64 based on Driver and Bruns, 1999.

Level	Social problems	Quality of life
Individual	Improved method and and physical health Stress reduction Recreation	Self-actualisation Peak experiences Personal growth
Sociocultural	Group cohesion Social integration Crime control	Social innovation Cultural creativity
Benefit	Compensatory function	Intrinsic meaning

TABLE 1. A CLASSIFICATION MODEL OF THE BENEFITS OF LEISURE ACCORDING TO ERIC COHEN (1991)

Source: Cohen, 1991.

they have managed to organise a film festival that focuses on the locals and which has already celebrated its seventh edition, not counting the one to be held in November 2011. This case shows what we are expressing in words, and we are aware of the huge acceptance and cohesion that this project has for the inhabitants of Saladillo, which started out as a game and is now part of the city's cultural heritage, undoubtedly something that characterises it as a society and defines them as a population. In addition, it is a factor that integrates and makes the inhabitants feel proud of living there, and to quote Driver and Bruns again, it acts as a generative phenomenon that enables positive progress and evolution of the social group.

From another point of view, as illustrated in Table 1, Cohen (1991:441) summarises the crux of the matter by saying that the values promoted at a social level are integration and group cohesion.

From here on we are interested in knowing what values leisure can transmit and in particular we are interested in the role of leisure regarding the transmission of social values. In other words, we would like to know whether leisure is capable of communicating the benefits of belonging to a social group, encouraging and stimulating the sense of fulfilment of a town, fostering and being pro-active in the creation of social capital. All this aimed at establishing the relative importance that social values have in the projection of a more responsible, inclusive and sustainable life in society.

III. Hypothesis

From our point of view, we believe that the cultural offer always implicitly involves a certain quantity of associated values. Within the cultural spectrum certain activities aimed at a wider public can coexist with others aimed at a more restricted public, there can be activities with a clear political bias, others can be apolitical, or simply demagogic. In short, the range of activities that could be carried out from the public sector are innumerable and could encourage all types of values. The most important issue is that the public sector is truly aware of it and uses this tool in an altruistic, disinterested or autotelic manner in order to provide social welfare and increase the quality of life of each and every citizen with the subsequent goal of provoking an open and fluent social dialogue, so that social values are not manipulated or pre-established, but are constantly under construction between the public sector and society.

IV. Aims of the investigation

General aim: To see whether the public cultural activities of Portugalete and Getxo reflects values.

Specific aim 1: To identify the concept of value and determine: What are they? Which ones are they? And, how to measure them?

Specific aim 2: To describe the cultural activities of Portugalete and Getxo.

Specific aim 3: To evaluate the relationship between the values identified in (SA1) and the cultural activities described in (SA2).

V. Methodology

Among the different scales or tools available to measure values we find that of Kahle (1986) which uses nine (9) different types of values, then we have that used by Rokeach (1973) who divides them in eighteen (18) terminal values and eighteen instrumental values. We also have that by Inglehart (1981 in Bearden and Netemeyer, 1999:152) who contemplates twelve (12) values, and in turn we have that by Schwartz (1992) which contains eleven (11) values. Although we had started by using the scale by Kahle (1986), we later realised that the scale proposed by Schwartz (1992) was more operative and functional for our study. We understood that it was the most adequate because the author makes a distinction between values aimed at the individual and values aimed at the social collective.

Among these values, Schwartz (1992) distinguishes between those that are closely related to personal interests: Power, Achievement, Hedonism, Stimulation and Self-direction, from those that are in the collective interest: Benevolence, Tradition and Conformity. In turn, he considers that the values of Universalism and Security can be appropriate for both types of aims. And last of all, the value of Spirituality is variable depending on the set of values that constitute it. Therefore, as our analysis only attempts to study social values, we limit ourselves to the values of: Security, Conformity, Tradition, Spirituality, Benevolence and Universalism.

In this study we will apply the scale by Schwartz (1992) because it has been used in transcultural studies which allow us, if it's necessary, to use this scale to make comparative analysis between different cultures.

That said, we will make a reference to the components of our analysis.

- 1) Universe: the universe chosen for this study is composed of all the cultural activities of Portugalete and Getxo.
- 2) Sample: the monthly cultural programmes with daily activities of Portugalete and Getxo corresponding to the year 2009.

Sample Size: In the municipality of Portugalete we have obtained four brochures corresponding to the following months: the first one corresponds to February, March and April; the second one to May, June and July; the third concerns the municipality's anniversary celebration which goes from the 12th of June to the 4th of October; and the fourth contains the whole month of December until the 10th of January. We could not get the complete information for the entire year; there were only three months that we could not get the cultural information on: January, from the 4th to the 31st of October and for the month of November. We understand that this lack of information does not hinder the main purpose of this analysis

although however we will be able to extract worthwhile conclusions which will allow us to provide answers for the goals proposed in this study.

As for the municipality of Getxo they provided us with the cultural activities programme in digital format. It contains twelve word files which describe the daily cultural activities month by month.

3) Variables studied: the variables chosen for content analysis are the six social values proposed by Schwartz (1992)³. Based on these, conceptual relationships between the variables in the scale by Kahle (1986) and the scale by Rokeach (1973) are established. Below we list and describe in detail the six values worked on in this study, based on the texts by Schwartz (1992), and Brinkmann and Bizama (2000):

V6. Security: what is pursued is the harmony and stability of society, of its relations and of oneself, like a projection of the need to get on in harmony. We can distinguish two kinds of securities: the one referred to the individual security and related to the mental and physical health, and the second referred to groups security, for example the national security. Kahle (1986) summarizes this concept in only one, named/ denominated Security, and in the opposite side, Rokeach (1973) makes the difference between Health and Inner Harmony, and Family Security (take care the ones someone love), National Security and a World without wars and conflicts.

V7. Conformity: this implies that individuals are capable of inhibiting their antisocial inclinations so that the interaction and operation of the group is done in harmony. The aim of this value is to restrict actions, inclinations and probable impulses that could alter or damage others and violate expectations of social rules. This concept can be related to what Kahle (1986) calls Warm relationships with others on the one hand, and on the other, a Sense of belonging. And in turn, Rokeach (1973) summarises the concept under the term Equanimity, understood as fraternity and equal opportunities for all.

V8. Tradition: this value is related to the respect, dedication and acceptance of the customs and ideas that the actual culture or religion imposes on the individual, such as: respect for tradition, respect for parents and elders, humility, accepting your role in life and in society. Under this concept we can establish some similarities with what Kahle (1986) called the Sense of belonging, as the tradition will be given in relation to the social group one belongs to.

V9. Spirituality: based on the basic foundation of beliefs, traditions and customs that give life meaning and coherence faced with the apparent meaninglessness of our daily existence. The aim of this type of value is explained by the search for inner harmony through the transcendence of daily life. It can be linked to the concepts of Salvation and Wisdom proposed by Rokeach (1973), which refer to eternal life and religious belief, and to a mature understanding of life, respectively.

³ For a more detailed description of the scale used, consult Schwartz (1992).

V6. Security	V7. Conformity
I1. National security I2. Reciprocity of favours I3. Family security I4. Sense of belonging I5. Social order I6. Health I7. Cleanliness	I1. Obedience I2. Self-discipline I3. Courtesy I4. Respect for parents and elders
V8. Tradition	V9. Spirituality
I1. Respect for tradition I2. Devout I3. Accepting my role in life I4. Humbleness I5. Moderate	I1. A spiritual life I2. Meaning of life I3. Inner harmony I4. Detachment
V10. Benevolence	V11. Universalism
I1. Useful I2. Responsible I3. Ability to forgive I4. Honesty I5. Loyal I6. Mature love I7. True friendship	I1. Equanimity I2. Connection with nature I3. Wisdom I4. A world of beauty I5. Social injustice I6. Open mind I7. Protection of the environment I8. A world in peace

TABLE 2. VARIABLES AND INDICATORS

Source: own elaboration based on Schwartz's scale (1992)

V10. Benevolence: it refers to the concern for other people's well-being through the daily interaction of individuals. It means the need for a positive interaction between individuals, with the aim of encouraging the blossoming of groups and the organic need for affiliation. The aim is the preservation and improvement of the well-being of people with whom the individual is in frequent personal contact. This concept can be linked to the Sense of belonging defined by Kahle (1986), because it is understood that if an individual feels part of a group they will look after others because they are their peers. And with the concept of Mature love (sexual and spiritual intimacy) and True friendship, defined by Rokeach (1973).

V11. Universalism: the aim is understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection. Its purpose is to achieve the well-being of all people and of nature in general. In a way, Kahle's (1986) concept of Warm relationships with others could be comparable with Universalism. But we believe that Rokeach's (1973) concept of True friendship, which implies proximity between people and the concept of a World of beauty, where nature and the arts play an important role, has a more direct relationship.

Continuing with Schwartz (1992), for each variable he establishes the indicators needed to

measure them. Below, in Table 2, we will list each variable with its respective indicators.

This study will be carried out through an analysis of the content of the cultural activities of a municipality from each of the countries chosen, taking into account whether they encourage or not, directly or indirectly, certain social values contained in the variables presented above. For this purpose each value will be analysed on a social level and the cultural activities of each municipality will be studied, bearing in mind how the respective indicators are reflected in these activities throughout the year 2010. It is worth remembering that the guiding values for the content analysis are those that according to Schwartz (1992) pursue collectivist interests. They are these: Security, Conformity, Tradition, Spirituality, Benevolence and Universalism.

VI. Results

1. Introduction concerning the cultural programmes of Portugalete and Getxo

Before we start we would like to show the number of activities in each municipality. For that purpose we have counted each and every activity and for the subsequent diagnosis we took into account the types of activities or categories which make up the monthly programme (for more information see Annex 1 – Programme Composition).

We can clearly see that the municipality of Portugalete has over twice as many activities as the municipality of Getxo. There are three crucial aspects that we would like to go into in more depth, because they complete the global image of each municipality regarding the cultural programme. These aspects are:

A) Programme planning:

In the case of Getxo, the planning of the activities that make up the cultural programme is scarce and with little variety. This has a bearing on the types of activities on offer and on the lack of segmentation of these activities. For example, we could hardly find any activities for women, or activities for people over sixty years old.

Overall, it is quite surprising that there were not any popular sports activities at all. On the other hand, in Portugalete sports are very present throughout the year and the cultural programme composition is well balanced in an attempt to satisfy, in a coherent way, the largest number of people possible. However, we could still say that immigrants and people with disabilities are not taken into account in either municipality.

B) Programme orientation: It is quite interesting to find that in the municipality of Getxo almost the entire programme is about art in general, such as paintings, photography, music, theatre. But in Portugalete, the cultural programme has a very strong social and popular slant, while still taking care of the artistic and sports aspects.

C) Organisational Structure: In Getxo the organisation of the activities that figure in the

programme is more centralised because they are only carried out by the Culture Department of the Municipality and in very few cases, this Department allows another foundation or organisation to work with it. In addition, Getxo is directly committed to outsourcing. This means that Getxo relies, almost entirely, on associations that are subsidised by the municipality, even though Getxo does not interfere in

their role. Thus, the activities programmed directly by the municipality are not varied and plentiful enough. Therefore, all the activities related to youth, equality between women and men, sports and immigration are controlled by these associations. These kinds of subsidies have the following characteristics:

- The Municipality does not interfere nor participate in the programming of activities carried out by the associations.

- The relationship between the Municipality and the associations is merely economic: the Municipality grants the subsidies and provides the resources to help the associations to communicate their activities (e.g.: the Municipality webpage).

On the other hand, the municipality of Portugalete offers a more decentralized and in a certain way more democratic structure, because depending on the type of activity one, two or more Municipal departments can

participate. In addition, when the activity is very specific, they look for cooperation from an external institution or foundation. The departments involved in the development of the cultural activities are:

- The Social Welfare Department, and within it, the Buenavista Social Centre, the Repélega Social Centre, the Villanueva Social Centre, the Gure Bakea Social Centre and the San Roque Social Centre.

- The Culture Department, which includes the following institutions: Rialia Industrial Museum, Salazar's Tower House, Santa Clara Cultural Centre and the Library.

- The Sports Department, represented by Portugalete Municipal Sports S.A. (initials in Spanish: DEMUPORSA).

- The Youth and Education Area, which includes a

	Number of Activities	
	Portugalete	Getxo
January		
February	52	19
March	48	24
April	40	33
May	100	23
June	77	39
July	49	38
August	99	4
September	27	52
October		
November		
December		
TOTAL	587	259

TABLE 3. NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES PER MONTH

Source: Own elaboration based on the activities of the monthly programmes of both

Youth Room, a Youth Information Centre, a Professional Initiation Centre, the Municipal School of Music and the Municipal Basque Language School.

2. Diagnosis of the relationship between the cultural offer and social values.

In this section we will analyse each and every variable with the purpose of elucidating what sort of relationship there is between the cultural supply and social values in both municipalities.

V6. Security: This value is reflected in a more evident way in the municipality of Portugalete, because it is clear that they take into account the whole community, procuring harmony and social satisfaction through the inhabitants' stability. Thus the aim of the cultural programme is to make society as a whole feel more supported and secure through the different activities promoted by the public sector. It is possible to see among them those that seek to promote the reciprocity of favours and the sense of belonging, taking into account the different ages and genders. It is relevant to point out that in Portugalete the public sector is in contact with the population's needs and based on them they plan the activities (workshops, training or social courses) that make it possible for individuals to feel protected and secure, and to be organized as a society. Other remarkable indicators are social order and family security, much less developed in Getxo, where the concentration of both diversity and the number of activities does not allow the public sector to reach all citizens nor transmit a more familiar atmosphere. We could say however that the most remarkable indicator in Getxo is the sense of belonging. And last but not least, aspects such as national security, health and cleanliness are not developed enough in either of the municipalities.

V7. Conformity: As Portugalete has a more socially-oriented programme, we might say that it seeks to promote relationships and social bonds among all its citizens more diligently, trying to get individuals to meet more often in groups, so that through obedience, self-discipline, courtesy and respect for parents and elders, they can interact in harmony encouraging coexistence and social capital. We are not saying that the cultural supply in Getxo does not transmit conformity, but it does so in another way. It chooses a more elitist way, perhaps due to the average and average to high economic level of the population. This is reflected in the type of activities carried out. For example, in general, the activities carried out in Portugalete are more modest and smaller, but in Getxo they are more grandiloquent and eye-catching.

V8. Tradition: In this aspect both municipalities are very connected with their customs, habits and beliefs, in an attempt to maintain them so they can be passed down to the younger generations. Despite the fact that both municipalities have religious celebrations, they do not hold them very often. In

Portugalete tradition is more focused on geographical locations that they have or on the excursions that they make to many relevant areas within and nearby their territory. They also give a lot of importance to sports and to popular celebrations as well as local artists. As for Getxo, they pay much attention to popular celebrations (e.g. carnivals) and take special care and are very concerned about locals artists, although we see a lack or complete absence of activities related to sport. In both municipalities, among the most represented indicators we could mention respect for tradition and devotion, while humbleness is more noticeable in Portugalete.

V9. Spirituality: In the municipality of Portugalete we can see that the activities are more in contact with the citizens' daily needs and are focused on making the lives of individuals easier. Throughout the cultural programme we can see that Portugalete is more in touch and concerned about what happens in society and how to solve its problems. Among the most prominent indicators we could mention the two that are most present: the meaning of life and inner harmony. Meanwhile, in Getxo, we could say that the public sector plans the cultural activities without considering society's needs. In general, the series of activities does not have any bearing on the day to day life of its citizens and the cultural programme includes cultural offers that leave aside the courses and workshops aimed at giving meaning to people's lives and pursuing inner harmony of society as a whole.

V10. Benevolence: In Portugalete we can clearly see that the public sector programmes such a diversity of activities to allow the largest number of people to enjoy them, and with this pretext people can meet, get to know and interact with each other with the aim of promoting the creation of social groups and reinforcing the need for affiliation. Through sport –very present in the programme– this value can be encouraged and it is a very adequate vehicle to transmit responsibility, honesty, loyalty, the ability to forgive, true friendship and mature love. In this respect, we could say that the cultural activities in Portugalete depend on its community and not the other way around as is the case in Getxo, the activities of which, from our point of view, with the exception of some months, are quite superficial, without any in-depth analysis of the situation or state of its inhabitants. You get the impression that Getxo only makes a half-hearted attempt and does not clearly and directly incentivise social interaction, the development of groups or the organic necessity of affiliation. In this sense, its cultural programme is thus quite impersonal and maintains a certain distance between the community and the public sector.

V11. Universalism: This is maybe the least developed value of the cultural programmes of both municipalities, though we must say that indicators such as equanimity, social justice and open mindedness are more present in Portugalete than in Getxo. As we said Portugalete is closer to its population's needs and in this matter, the activities on offer are more equitable regarding elder adults,

women and children. At the same time, it carries out social concentrations and other activities in order to defend and repudiate gender violence and tries to encourage its inhabitants to have an open mind, always offering them attractive, challenging and diverse activities. In Getxo, this value is reduced by the small number and the monotony of the activities, it does not seek to cater to many social sectors, –for example there are very few activities designed exclusively for the female public– and socially it does not endeavour to balance the predominant justice/injustice. We have to say that neither municipality has activities targeted at particular groups such as immigrants and persons with disabilities. In regard to this matter, neither municipality (Getxo less than Portugalete) has activities planned from the point of view of inclusive leisure. Last of all, we could also mention that indicators such as connection with nature, wisdom and protection of the environment are the most neglected aspects by both municipalities. Consequently we could conclude that they are more concerned with the welfare of people than that of nature itself.

VII. Conclusion

After the analysis of the cultural programmes of both municipalities of Biscay we could conclude that it is not only possible to make the cultural supply an innovative tool for the generation and transmission of values, but that it is also very necessary. Because it is through culture that we can communicate and reinforce characteristic social aspects and features, in order to mold a social personality that is so necessary in these convulsive times, marked by a constant and fast-paced globalisation.

We found that at a general level both municipalities, although they reflect certain values through their own cultural supply, do not do it in a planned, intentional way; rather they do it in a more intuitive, improvised and casual way. We understood that the cultural supply as a tool for the generation and transmission of values is quite relevant and has an unrivalled importance. But to become a truly innovative tool, the public sector must make the cultural programmes in a strategic and systematic way. This will have the purpose of communicating the values that, on the one hand, represent the society that has democratically elected them, and on the other, reinforce social identity, in order to achieve a more responsible, inclusive and sustainable society where social capital is a priority instead of demagoguery. In our opinion, this is an important step that the public sector has not yet taken regarding the cultural supply.

As for Getxo, we could say that they have less strategic planning, because we found that the activities are more oriented towards entertainment and fun instead of social or cultural activities. It is not that we are against entertainment activities, but even this kind of activity must be based on a strategic plan. In

Portugalete, we understand that they are slightly ahead because they consider the cultural supply as an innovative tool. We can see that they design the activities programme to keep a balance between entertainment, popular activities and social needs. However, the cultural programme is not based on any strategy supporting the said programme, which is why they leave out relevant aspects such as the protection of the environment, connection with nature, inclusion of disabled persons and immigrants in social life, the search for a world in peace and national security.

We therefore conclude with the intention of calling everyone's attention to the importance surrounding the cultural supply and the necessity at times such as this to think and reflect on it, and to not programme it without a plan or direction and without a short, medium and long term strategy. We believe that this is a very good way to optimise resources –including economic, human and natural resources– in order to achieve true innovation in this field which will have a direct repercussion on the quality of life and welfare of society.

Possible future lines for further research:

First of all, we propose carrying out an analysis with the complete Schwartz's scale, including individual values.

Second, we would like to study the relationship between policies and cultural projects.

Third, we would find it very interesting to study the other side of the present work: to analyse the behaviour of the demand regarding public cultural activities.

Fourth, we propose a study of the evolution of the public cultural supply within a small or medium sized city or municipality.

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Contents and Aims of Management Plans for World Heritage Sites:

A Managerial Analysis with a Special Focus on the Italian Scenario

*Francesco Badia
University of Ferrara, Italy*

ABSTRACT

This paper aims to discuss the use of management tools for the UNESCO World Heritage sites. In particular, it focuses on the specific tool of the “management plan”. We have carried out a three dimension research project:

- Analysis and development of a strong theoretical background, in order to consider the economic and managerial dimension of the management plans, even from the perspective of cultural tourism;
- Deep study of Italian state of the art about use and application of management plans by the organizations managing World Heritage sites;
- Comparison among some national and international case studies, in order to get empirical evidences which could be useful for theoretical considerations, regarding the general management system of the World Heritage sites.

These first phases of research highlight the necessity for further studies in the next years. Notwithstanding, we are able to evidence some elements that can lead the next steps of drafting and monitoring the management plans. The final goal of these processes should be the realization of effective management systems for cultural and natural heritage.

The most important points to be considered are:

- The awareness of the absence of a unique “model” for every kind of UNESCO site; as far as this aspect is concerned, the aim should be the study and application of general guidelines that could be applied to different situations;
- The necessity to realize a real sharing among all the stakeholders of the site with regard to vision, mission and strategies that should be implemented;
- The introduction of performance measurement systems, to get both support to the management and accountability to the community.

Keywords:

UNESCO World Heritage

Management planning

Performance measurement

1. The management plan for the World Heritage sites

The *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (UNESCO, 1972) has given birth to the World Heritage List (WHL) whose aim is “to participate in the protection of the cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value” (*ibidem*: p. 1). This list includes the heritage properties, called “sites”, that are worth of particular forms of preservation and development for their acknowledged and unquestionable value.

So far, the WHL has registered 911 heritage sites (704 cultural, 180 natural and 27 “mixed” sites) belonging to 151 different countries. Italy is the most represented country on the List, with 45 inscriptions. The constant increase of the list, as well as the necessity to implement real systems of monitoring on the management of the World Heritage sites, led UNESCO to adopt several new documents (UNESCO 1992, 1994, 2002), which make clear the aims of the 1972’s Convention. A very important document is represented by the *Operational Guidelines* of 2005 (UNESCO, 2005), where it is declared that “*Each nominated property should have an appropriate management plan or other documented management system which should specify how the outstanding universal value of a property should be preserved, preferably through participatory means*”, (UNESCO: p. 26, point 108). Thus, UNESCO makes statutory, for all the already inscribed sites, an existing requirement that was initially requested only to the new candidates from the early 2000’s onwards.

According to the 2005 document, the contents of the management plan, or, alternately, the key element of the management system of every inscribed property could be (p. 26, point 111):

“a) a thorough shared understanding of the property by all stakeholders;

b) a cycle of planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and feedback;

c) the involvement of partners and stakeholders;

d) the allocation of necessary resources;

e) capacity-building; and

f) an accountable, transparent description of how the management system functions.”

In these six points, we find the majority of the characteristic features of the managerial theories, as they have been developed by the most important management scholars (Drucker, 1954), with particular reference to the typical elements of planning and control systems (Anthnoy, 1965). The debate on the role and the contents of management plan for World Heritage sites has deeply grown in the last years both in Italy (Micoli and Palombi, 2006) and abroad, with reference to the theoretical framework (Leask and Fyall, 2006) and to the proposal of practical guidelines for its implementation (Davey 1998; Thomas & Middleton, 2003; Ringbeck, 2008).

With reference to the research methodology (Ryan et al., 2002), in this paper we apply an approach which combines the deductive and the inductive dimensions. More specifically, on the one hand, the prevalently deductive part of the research has been characterised by a literature review of the main managerial topics, related to the management plans of World Heritage sites. In this review, the main role is held by the performance measurement theories (Eccles 1991; Kaplan and Norton 1992, 1993; Simons 1995, 2000). The aim of the analysis is to study, develop and explore the opportunities to apply systems and tools

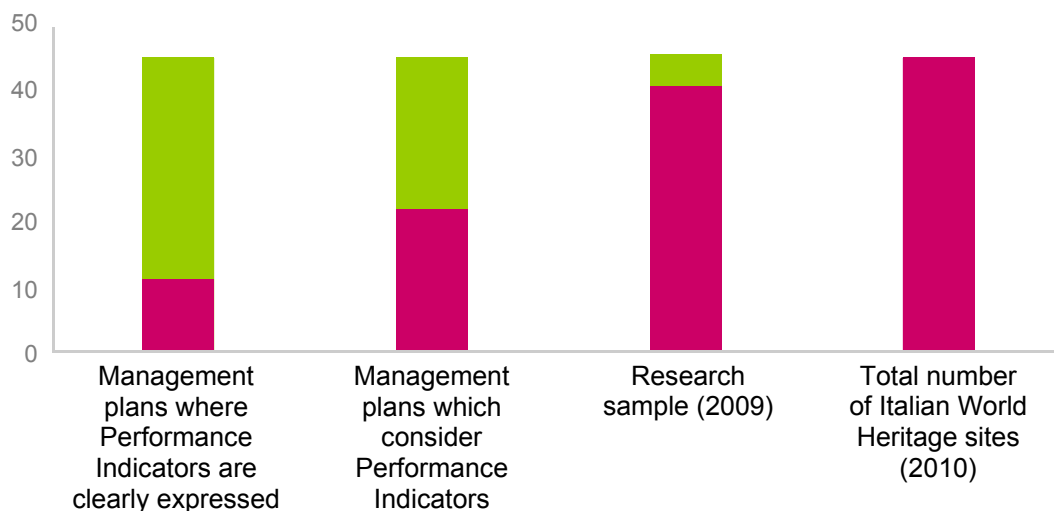


FIGURE 1. PERFORMANCE INDICATORS IN THE ITALIAN MANAGEMENT PLANS

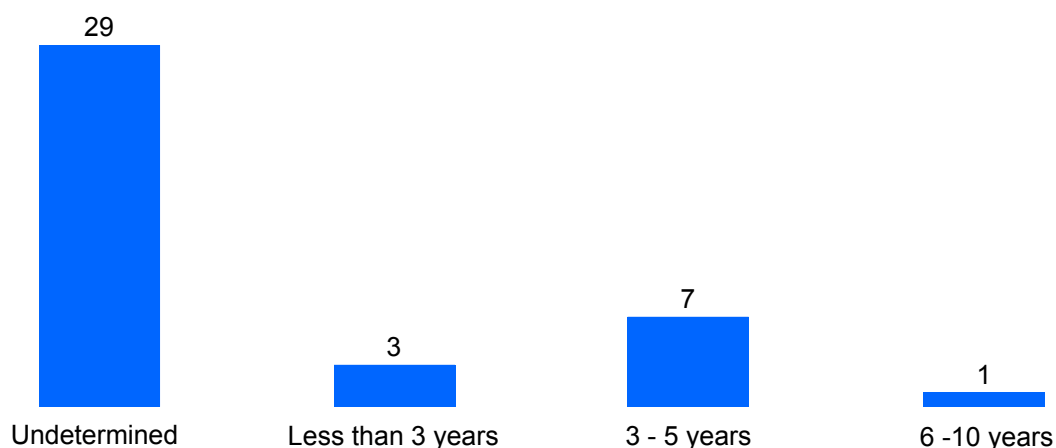


FIGURE 2. ITALIAN WORLD HERITAGE SITES AND THE DEADLINES FOR THE MANAGEMENT PLANS' NEW DRAFTING PROCESS

for supporting, monitoring and demonstrating the effective results of the UNESCO heritage policies. On the other hand, the part characterised by the inductive approach considers the Italian state of the art of the application of the management plan by the World Heritage sites (paragraph 2) and some integrated considerations resulting from the study of several case studies of UNESCO heritage sites in Italy and abroad (paragraph 3). The fourth and last paragraph includes the conclusions of this work that rise from the combination of the two research methods.

In particular, the aim of the conclusions is to answer to two research questions, which are at the basis of this work: the former research question concerns the key elements to be applied and developed in the drafting process of a management plan; the latter one concerns the definition of the necessary conditions for a successful implementation of that process, especially in a perspective including performance measurement and performance evaluation systems in the management plan.

In the following section of this paragraph, we propose to define the theoretical framework where we can apply the main subjects of the management plans. This analysis has its starting point in the list of six requirements for the plans, provided by UNESCO Operation Guidelines (2005).

In particular, we will make explicit the possible relations between the disciplines of the management studies and the topics emerging from the requirements for the UNESCO management plans. We can identify the following specific points:

- Development of a public governance system (Bekke et al., 1995), in order to support the pursuit of public interest;
- Participation of the community, promotion of social cohesion and accountability (Gray et al., 1996; De Varine, 2002);
- Development of the cultural tourism in a long-

term perspective (Harrison and Hitchcock, 2005; Di Giovine, 2009).

However, the b) and f) requirements seem to emphasise the development of a monitoring system within the management plans and the capacity to give a report on the obtained results to the community. In managerial terms, these considerations are expressed by the implementation of a system of measurement, evaluation and performance reporting. This implies introducing an appropriate set of indicators that should be coherent with the strategic aims and measurable for the subjects who are in charge of the management of the UNESCO heritage site.

The need for performance measurement has been one of the main topics of management sciences in the last years. Generally speaking, performance measurement seems to be necessary when the traditional economic-financial indicators (like earning, ROE, ROI ...) give an incomplete set of information about the state of the organisation. This is the traditional case of private corporations and this is the situation which initially permeated the birth of performance measurement systems. But this is not the only case of possible application of the performance management theories. Indeed, they are useful in each case where the economic and financial results are not measurable (or not expressible in a clear and irrefutable way). This is the typical case of not-for-profit organisations and, specifically, of public sector organisations, which are the most common subjects appointed for the management of cultural and natural heritage, in other words the greatest part of World Heritage sites.

Performance measurement can be also seen as a managerial process - additional to traditional strategic and management control - which has the goal of supporting the decision-making process, with reference to the pursuit of the prearranged results. According to the theory, the main points of a performance measurement system are:

“24 OUT OF 35 (69%) OF THE
ITALIAN SITES, WHICH HAVE BEEN
INSCRIBED BEFORE 2002, HAVE
NOT YET COMPLETED THEIR
PLANS.”

- The use of a broad measurement system that considers quantitative and qualitative dimensions, and with reference to the former one, financial and not-financial aspects; this aspect allows us to consider not only economic and financial results, but also quality of products and services, innovation rate, quality of organisation processes and care of the relationships with the stakeholders;
- Coherently with the previous point, the “multi-dimensionality” of the system, i.e., the consideration of more basic variables to be controlled;
- The balance between managerial (short-term perspective) and strategic (long-term perspective) aspects;
- The balance with external and internal orientation of the measurement system, in order to consider the relationship of the organisation with its social context.

The frequent use of the term “balance” is remarkable: the implementation of a performance measurement system is indeed a challenging action of balancing apparently antithetical interests. Coherently with this consideration, the most well-known system of performance measurement is the “Balanced Scorecard” (Kaplan and Norton, 1992, 1993), initially introduced for corporations but subsequently applied to not-for-profit organisations (id., 2001).

The following empirical analysis aims at showing the level of presence of these theoretical points (and in particular of the performance measurement processes) in the concrete drafting and implementation of management plans in Italy and at the international level.

2. The current scenario in Italy

In this paragraph, we show the results of an empirical analysis applied to all the 44 Italian World Heritage sites. That was the number of inscribed sites at the time of realisation of the research, concluded in May 2010; now the Italian sites are 45. More specifically, we submitted a research questionnaire to one person in charge, at least, for each Italian World Heritage site. The research got the participation of 40 out of 44 sites, with an effective participation rate of 91%. This result represents an excellent outcome and gives us the opportunity of drawing conclusions of great significance about the Italian state of the art. At present, it seems to us that in this field there is not any other research with comparable results: this circumstance lets us enhance the final conclusion on this work on the analysis of the Italian scenario.

The research questionnaire was divided into ten questions, which aim at highlighting the following five points: - governance system of the World Heritage site; - current step in the drafting process of the management plan; - kind of competences, used for drafting of the plan; - presence of a performance measurement system and, within it, of a set of indicators, existing for the already approved management plans or pre-established for the not yet completed ones; - prevision of a periodical review process for the plans, after their final approval.

Before proceeding with the analysis of the results of the empirical research, we should consider that UNESCO has not implemented specific guidelines for the management plans’ drafting process: this is a duty of every State party, coherently with the general principles of the World Heritage convention. Moreover, at present the absence of the management plan (or of the equivalent management system) does not imply any negative consequence, such as being taken off the list. In this scenario, so far only few countries – not only those which are facing critical situations as war or underdevelopment – have produced some document

to implement management plan in their context. Italy represents a quite positive exception, because since 2004 the Ministry of Culture, has set up the process of drafting management plans and monitoring the management systems of Italian World Heritage sites, with the approval of national guidelines (MIBAC, 2004). Moreover, the Italian lawyer approved in 2006 a national law (law 77/2006), entitled "Special measures for preservation and fruition of the Italian sites of cultural, natural and landscape importance, inscribed on the 'World Heritage list', under the protection of the UNESCO". This law expressly mentions the management plan as a typical element of World Heritage sites and gives priority of funding to the UNESCO heritage sites, which aim at managing their cultural services and tourism flows. This element is in accordance with the inspiring principles of the management plans.

With reference to the empirical analysis, the first result to be reported is the overall number of Italian sites which have completed the drafting process of the management plan before May 2010. This date considers not only the 40 World Heritage sites, which participated directly in this research, but all 44 Italian sites. The achievement of this complete result was made possible by the cooperation with the Italian Ministry of Culture and by the collection of some data from the internet. The final result of this first survey is that 20 out of 44 Italian Heritage sites have completed the management plan before May 2010. This 45% of the sample is not a good result, considered that 9 out of these 20 sites realized the plan during the inscription process, because the management plan has become compulsory for the candidature since 2002, and considered that the management plan has become compulsory for all the inscribed sites since 2005. This means that 24 out of 35 (69%) of the Italian sites, which have been inscribed before 2002, have not yet completed their plans.

We will now proceed with the analysis of the specific results of the empirical research carried out through the questionnaire. At first, we find that governance system of the site is exerted by more than one subject in 55% of the sample. That means that the cooperation among different institutions and organisations is necessary in most cases. This circumstance represents a significant critical state, even for the drafting process of the management plan. Another interesting result is that, in the 75% of the sample, site management is carried out by subjects,

which are pre-existing to the inscription. They are normally local authorities or *soprintendenze* (Monuments and Fine Arts State Offices). Only in 3 cases (7,5%), an "*ad hoc*" new subject was created for the whole management of the site, after the inscription. In 7 cases (17,5%), *ad hoc* subjects share the management with pre-existing ones: in some of these cases, the situation is developing towards the possible complete assumption of the site management profiles by the *ad hoc* created subjects.

With regard to the kind of competencies used for the drafting process of the management plans, we find out that the architects are the most used figures, even though the management plan should normally request the presence of more and diversified professional figures. More specifically, architects participate or participated in the drafting process of 85% of the sample (34/40). Other important professional figures are economists (21 cases), art historians (21), landscape experts (19), archaeologists (18), engineers (18), curators (14) and jurists (11).

This data becomes even more relevant if we consider the statistics of the competences of the first person in charge for the drafting: he is an architect in 23 out of 40 cases. The second most common elements are, very distanced, archaeologists and art historians, each with 3 cases. Therefore, we should observe that in Italy the management plans are considered a prevalent competence of the architects. This is probably a result of the circumstances: architects are normally the subjects responsible

for city, territory and landscape planning. In this sense, it seems to us that so far the new and innovative role of the management plan, with reference to the above mentioned requirements of it, has not been fully understood. In this way, we see a possible risk, where the management plan for World Heritage sites becomes only a further planning tool, losing its specific value.

As already mentioned, one of the qualifying points of the empirical survey was the analysis of the presence of a performance measurement system, inside the management plan, with or without a set of indicators. We want to remind the readers that according to the managerial theory, a set of indicators is absolutely necessary for the implementation of a good performance measurement system. Starting from the consideration of the inclusion (implemented for the already realized management plans, foreseen for the other ones) of a set of indicators, only 20 out of

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“THE RESULTS ARE QUITE WORRYING IF WE THINK THAT ITALY IS ONE OF THE COUNTRIES WITH THE MOST ADVANCED PRACTICE IN THE MANAGEMENT PLANS FOR WORLD HERITAGE SITES.”

.....

40 (50%) sites answer this request. This result is quite low, considered the importance of this requirement. This element is even more meaningful if we consider these two further conditions:

- Only 11 out of the 20 sites, which use or want to use the indicators, are able to mention concrete examples of them;
- Even 12 out of the 20 sites, which do not use the indicators (or not want to use them), do not foresee any other tool, neither simplified, of performance measurement.

These results lead us to a deep reflection about the future steps to implement in Italy, in order to introduce the theoretical elements useful for making the management plan a real managerial tool. Moreover, the mentioned results, with reference to the global scenario, are quite worrying, if we think that Italy is one of the countries with the most advanced practice in the management plans for World Heritage sites.

The last results of the empirical survey regard the prevision of a periodical review process for the management plans after their final approval. The review process is another necessary element for a managerial tool whose goals are to monitor and evaluate. The review is fundamental to adapt the plan to its real capacity of performing the institutional objectives. Also in this case, the collected data does not give encouraging feedback: only 24 out of 40 sites forecast the adoption of a periodical review process; we have to point out that the prevision of the review is not automatically equivalent to its implementation; so this result represents a very low score. Moreover, we have also to consider that 9 out of these 24 sites have not defined the deadline of the review yet, so it might be that they do not ever implement the review process.

Finally, another requirement of a management plan seems to be its capacity to be up-to-date with the evolution of the space-time context. This means not only that a periodical review process is necessary, but also that a complete new drafting process is very important on a longer temporal horizon. Unfortunately, also on this point, the final result of the survey is quite disappointing: only 11 sites thought of future deadlines for a new drafting process, 10 sites have not decided about it yet and 19 sites do not intend to proceed with it.

The whole picture of this survey shows us that there are still many steps to do on this topic and therefore the management research has the duty to give its support in going through a path that has not been clearly defined so far.

3. Comprehensive analysis of some national and international case studies

In this paragraph we extend the scope of our empirical analysis, and consider the emerging elements of other case studies of UNESCO World Heritage sites both in Italy and abroad. Some case studies address some not properly UNESCO sites, but consider institutions and organisations which manage cultural heritage among which there are also some UNESCO sites. We consider the following Italian sites: historic centre of Naples, historic centre of Modena, historic centre of Ferrara and its Po Delta, Venetian Villas, Su Nuraxi of Barumini in Sardinia, Orcia Valley, Sacri Monti of Piedmont and Lombardy, historic centre of Vicenza and Palladian Villas and Royal Palace of Caserta. At the international level we studied the cases of the Loire Valley in France, the historic centre and Alhambra of Granada in Spain, historical residences, gardens and lakes of Bavaria in Germany and the Statue of Liberty National Monument, N.Y., in the USA.

However, the following analysis does not aim at illustrating every case in details, as it is done more specifically in other writings that have already been published (Badia 2007, Donato and Badia 2008, 2010) or that are in course of publication. We try to explain some empirical evidence rising from these case studies in a whole, highlighting the emerging profiles of managerial analysis. We know that they are very different cases, for environmental, social and cultural contexts and also for the related topics of preservation and development of heritage. So, we would not like to realise a simple comparison among the cases, but a comprehensive analysis of the useful elements for a complete managerial analysis.

So, the fundamental dimensions of analysis, coherently with the management theories, will be:

- Elements of general strategy;
- Elements of governance and organisation structure;
- Elements of management (in a strict sense), i.e., distinctive elements of provided services, systems of pricing, promotion and communication, access to the services;
- Elements related to the information and accounting systems.

Elements of general strategy

With reference to the first point of interest, the general strategy of the organisations that could be considered as representative of the case studies, we were able to find out the following points:

Development of systems, coherent with the public governance paradigm; this means that there often is a public institution that is able to have a steering role on

a network system composed by private and public subjects, whose aim is to achieve common and shared goals; the most representative case of this situation, is the management system of the Loire Valley, where the public governance's institution is the *Mission Val de Loire*. It is an agency founded by the Regions Centre and Pays de la Loire for the management of their World Heritage inscription (The Loire Valley between Sully-sur-Loire and Chalonnes); a similar case is present in Italy, on a less vast territory, in the Orcia Valley in Tuscany.

Effective collaboration between public sector organisations and private subjects, i.e., capacity to promote horizontal subsidiarity, in order to realise a matching between the public interest and the need of the private subjects; we find good examples of this situation in Bavaria and in the management system of the Statue of Liberty; a good path of development is present also in the management system of the Sacri Monti of Piedmont and Lombardy, where a collaboration with public sector and ecclesiastic institutions is necessary.

A clear and shared definition of the "vocation" of the territory, particularly in link with the promotion of destination management initiatives, with the participation of several actors; this is the case of the Venetian territory (both the cases of the historic centre of Vicenza and the Venetian Villas), where some difficulties emerge however, due to the high heritage "dispersion" on the territory.

Elements of governance and organisation structure

The elements linked to the organisation and the governance in the studied sites seem to be particularly interesting in the following situations:

Governance of the territory by "above-regulated" management (often called "*meta-management*"), possibly through the development of smart structures of direction; this element is concretely realised, coherently with the previous considerations, in the Loire Valley.

Study of juridical forms of management useful for reaching the pre-established aims: a positive example is, in this sense, the creation of a foundation, as found out in the case of Barumini, for the management of the Su Nuraxi UNESCO site.

Development of networking and partnership initiatives, particularly when the development of the sites requires the activation of fundraising policies; for example, this is the case of Naples, which activated some fundraising initiatives to the European Union, in cooperation with other partners; moreover, networking and partnerships are useful to create an integrated system of knowledge with other subjects which share either the same management "challenges" (this is the case of the networking realised by the Mission Val de Loire), or some specific goals (this is the case of the destination management initiative "Transromanica", which sees the participation of the Modena

municipality).

Elements of management, in a strict sense

These elements regard not the general management systems, but specific choices of management related to the provided services. In particular, we can consider:

Individuation of the distinctive characters of the provided services, with definite attention to the quality of the cultural proposal; this element is present in several situations, but we find a well developed case in Granada for the management of the Alhambra palace; this element comprises also the development of a brand or a label that is associated with the cultural heritage (for the World Heritage sites, it is often associated with the symbol of UNESCO).

Use of pricing policies, in order to attract more visitors and maximise the revenues, however considering the limits coming from the consideration of heritage fruition as a public good; in this sense an interesting case is the management system of Bavarian heritage.

Consideration of the possibilities of accessing to services, with particular reference to integrated packages or to the use of ICT, either for internal aims (integrated ticket systems) or for the external promotion (web sites); in this field, there are several interesting cases and situations; among them, we would like to mention the system of admission to Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island and some promotional initiatives (such as the "Campania Card", recently promoted by the Campania region and involving the cases of Naples and Caserta), in order to facilitate the realisation of tourism routes in its territory.

Elements related to the information and accounting systems

For the consideration of these elements, we have to outline three levels of analysis:

The first level regards the simple attention to the number of visitors; this profile is present in all the analysed cases, with more or less accurate measurement systems; but in some cases, e.g. the historic centres which may not emit tickets, the realisation of these systems is not possible and alternative solutions are necessary; the visitors measurement system can consider the visitors' age profiles, their geographical origin and lastly their level of satisfaction, which is not easy to measure.

The second level considers the whole analysis of the economic balance; this is much less present in the analysed cases; many organisations neither monitor nor control their economic balances and this is a great problem of the organisations in this field, not only in Italy; however, we found some exceptions, e.g. the *Bayerische Schloesserverwaltung* (Bavaria), which

gives attention to this profile, observing the different kinds of revenues and expenses.

The third level looks at the creation of an integrated system of economic and financial information with the other data, linked to, e.g., quality of services, innovation rate, quality of organisation processes and quality of the relationships with the stakeholders; as explained in the previous paragraphs, this should be the general aim of documents such as the management plan; this element is not so frequent in the analysed cultural organisations; however, there are some institutions that understood the importance of this aspect and that are now engaged in the realisation of a complete performance measurement system; this is the case of the UNESCO heritage sites of Ferrara and Modena.

The whole analysis of these four managerial

of Naples and the Venetian Villas (for the private-public relations);

The stiffness of some typical public sector administration models, which paralyse the management and make it less capable of catching the environmental changes. These critical points are present in the cases of the cultural heritage of Bavaria, that is managed by a big organisation, and of Vicenza;

The dispersal of the development initiatives, which especially emerges when the supply is not really linked to the reference target or when the institutions in charge of the management of territorial heritage are working in complicated contexts; this is quite common especially in absence of partnership promotion initiatives; these critical aspects are present, for example, in the case of Barumini, Sardinia.

“THE WHOLE ANALYSIS SHOWS A POOR PRESENCE OF POSITIVE ELEMENTS; MORE SPECIFICALLY, THE MAIN PROBLEM OF APPLICATION OF THE MANAGEMENT PRINCIPLES AND TOOLS SEEMS TO REGARD INFORMATION AND ACCOUNTING SYSTEMS AND, PARTICULARLY THE NECESSITY OF A PERFORMANCE MEASUREMENT SYSTEM.”

aspects shows a poor presence of positive elements; more specifically, the main problem of application of the management principles and tools seems to regard the last point (information and accounting systems) and, particularly, its third element, i.e., the necessity of a performance measurement system that could merge quantitative and qualitative dimensions. Finally, we would like to highlight the most common critical points:

Presence on the territory of different subjects which have power of decision but are not connected; this element leads to the realisation of several initiatives for visitors, tourists and community, but they often are reciprocally interfering; we find out this kind of difficulty in Modena and Caserta;

Difficulties of collaboration between different public sector organisations or between the public and private sectors, especially in those cases of shared management of the territory; these difficulties often create apparently insuperable impediments to the development of shared preservation and enhancement policies; this element was found in the cases of Granada, Ferrara and the Orcia Valley (for the relationships between public sector organisations),

Last but not least, the difficulty of applying management tools to measure the economic and financial balances and the levels of performance; as already said, this element is present in almost all the analysed cases; moreover, there are some cases, where the incompleteness of these tools is not perceived as a critical aspect (in particular, this is the case of the Loire Valley, which is for many of the other aspects a best practice); finally, we should consider that the use of these management tools should not be excessive or overwhelming in relation with the actual needs of the organisations; an interesting case of a planning and control system inappropriate for the organisation is the Statue of Liberty, where the requested fulfilments are executed only to respect formal procedures and not to give a real support to the decision-making processes.

4. Concluding remarks

In the previous paragraphs we analysed the theoretical framework and some empirical evidences related to the management of World Heritage sites and the use of the management plans. In this paragraph, we will try to give an answer to the two research questions we highlighted in the first paragraph:

- What are or should be the key elements to apply and develop in the drafting process of a management plan are or should be;
- How we can define the necessary conditions for a successful implementation of that process, especially in a perspective of inclusion of performance measurement and performance evaluation systems in a management plan.

With reference to the first research question, we think that the following initiatives would be necessary or important:

- Creation of a proper body for the management of the World Heritage site, with “meta-management” duties; if quite a few organisations have the responsibility for the site management, they have to collaborate in the constitution of this body;
- Concrete identification of the mission for the World Heritage site, promoting growth and territorial development, social cohesion and identification in its own heritage by the community;
- Adjustment of the strategic lines into coherent management objectives; they should be examined, as already said, with a multidimensional perspective;
- Adaptation of the multidimensional perspective through the concomitant considerations of different perspectives (preservation, development, consciousness, communication, social responsibility, tourism, ...);
- Concrete capacity of measuring the chosen perspectives and monitoring the results in order to give support to the decision-making process; the measurement should be founded with a set of indicators;
- Realisation of reporting documents, which consider the implemented indicators and the social dimension according to a perspective of management accountability.

The second research question claims that it is necessary to revise the traditional processes of planning in the fields of preservation and development of cultural and natural heritage. We have to go from the traditional planning process to a complete implementation of *planning and control* systems, coherently with the managerial vision. The management plan for the World Heritage sites should catch this need, with the integration of the

performance measurement perspective within itself. This does not mean to consider the management plan as a further, formal, planning tool, but to elaborate it as a real managerial tool. This means that the management plan should integrate the other planning documents of the territory and to assume the role of reference document for the heritage preservation and development.

Moreover, we should consider that in such a various scenario, to identify a sole reference model is very difficult and, maybe, dangerous. So we, as researchers, should try to define some very general guidelines for the management plans, without penetrating the shaping of all the details of every single case. However, in the drafting process of a management plan, a process of targets sharing among the actors is necessary, with the involvement of all the relevant internal and external stakeholders. This would be a very important part in the process of the realisation of the monitoring system, with particular reference to the set of indicators of the performance measurement. In this system, the perspective of the economic development has to be considered in the management plan according to a sustainability point of view, like a propulsive element for the territory. These considerations permit to enhance the management plan as a reference tool for the application of the preservation and development policies to the natural and cultural heritage of the UNESCO sites. Actually, in this perspective, the management plan can be used also for other situations, where cultural and natural heritage have an important role, but where admission to the World Heritage list have not been reached (yet).

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Do public television channels provide more diversity than private ones?

Joëlle Farchy

Université Paris I, Panthéon-Sorbonne, France

Heritiana Ranaivoson

IBBT-SMIT, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium

ABSTRACT

Since early 2009 there has been no advertising on French public television channels after 8 p.m. One of the arguments in favour of this reform was that it would promote diversity and that public channels would be less tempted to broadcast homogeneous programming to generate greater advertising revenue.

Based on a comparison between British, French and Turkish channels the aim of this paper is to determine whether public channels perform better in terms of diversity than private ones. The paper recalls the reasons why public television channels should differentiate themselves from their private counterparts as far as diversity is concerned. A methodology for assessing diversity, which includes a set of indexes for measuring diversity of programming as well as tools for assessing disparity, is then proposed. Earlier literature finds that public television channels are more diverse than and significantly distinct from their private counterparts.

In this exploratory study we will show that, contrary to the literature, public channels have no clear advantage in terms of diversity. Competitive pressure aimed at maximizing viewership plays a role for all channels regardless of their mode of funding, thus leading to greater homogeneity of programming.

Keywords:

Advertising

Public
broadcasting

Television

Diversity

Distinctiveness

1. Introduction

Over the past two decades cultural diversity has gained recognition at the global level and is generally considered a positive aim for societies. The issue of how to promote cultural diversity has been hugely debated. Two means can be distinguished: on the one hand the cultural exception policy (most notably used during GATT negotiations in 1993) and the establishment of the World Trade Organization in 1994 (Marrakech Agreement) on the other hand the international legal instrument established by the 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and the Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. In all cases it is assumed that national public policies are needed to promote cultural diversity. In fact, it is assumed that the market alone does not promote enough diversity (Farchy, 2008). In the specific case of the audiovisual industry there have of late been important debates in many countries about diversity, the audiovisual industry's regulations and the role of public broadcasters. These debates were recently revived in France, when the government decided to eliminate advertising on the French public channels, as doing so would theoretically make public broadcasters less focused on commercial aims.

In this paper we will focus on the diversity argument and investigate whether private channels have less diverse programming than public television ones. This point has been discussed in the literature in the fields of economics and communication sciences. We first recall the main findings of literature on the influence of funding means on diversity of programming (2). An important assumption in our work is that the quality of a TV programme cannot be assessed by economists per se. Rather we propose a framework based on Stirling (2007) that allows for the measurement of a TV channel's diversity of programming over a given period (3). Cultural diversity is a very consensual concept and proves complicated, particularly when it comes to defining and assessing it (Farchy and Ranaivoson, 2008). That is why we have detailed our methodology and made our application of the Stirling framework (2007) explicit. Our empirical results — a comparison of the diversity of programming of the 6 TV channels in the three countries in our sample (4) — are then presented. The conclusion sums up these findings and suggests their implications in terms of cultural policy (5.).

2. Why public channels should provide more diversity than their private counterparts: theoretical arguments and empirical findings

A standard theoretical analysis of the links between competition and diversity concludes that

competition does not necessarily lead to diversity; on the contrary, competition tends to reduce diversity. Consequently, public channels should favour diversity since they do not directly endure competitive pressure.

Steiner (1952) first explained why competing private broadcasters tend to have a low level of differentiation when seeking advertising funding. In his theoretical model broadcast radio channels are completely funded by advertising. As a result each tries to get the greatest share of listenership. Another assumption is that each listener likes only one type of programme but likes every programme that belongs to this preferred type equally. Steiner then shows that the competing broadcasters will not necessarily broadcast the most diverse programmes, even though this means they will not on the whole achieve maximum listenership. Actually, according to Steiner, a broadcaster may be inclined to propose a programme that falls into a programme category that is already broadcast — what he calls duplication. Let us assume for example that among the 355,000 listeners 300,000 want to listen to humorous programmes and 55,000 would rather hear a news story. Two competing radio stations would then both programme a humorous programme, as this would get them 150,000 listeners each—far more than the 55,000 listeners they would get by programming a news story. A competing 3rd station would also programme a humorous programme, as each broadcaster would then get 100,000 listeners. Ultimately, only the 6th entrant would propose a news story, as programming a humorous programme would only get it 50,000 listeners:

$$\frac{300\ 000}{6} = 50\ 000 < 55\ 000$$

Moreover this 6th entrant would only get 55,000 listeners compared to the 60,000 each of its competitors would get. Radio stations are instead inclined to duplicate existing programmes because it enables them to get a higher market share. This is done at the expense of listeners with marginal tastes. In the same way Spence and Owen (1977) show, using a theoretical model, that in a landscape composed of private channels (either free-to-air or pay television), some programmes are likely not to be produced even though they “ought” to be produced, as their marginal benefits would exceed their marginal costs” (p.122). Steiner derives from his analysis that a state monopoly (e.g. the former ORTF in French television and radio networks) provides better results than private, competing companies in terms of diversity. Does such a theoretical result hold true in markets where public and private channels coexist?

Findings from empirical analyses applied to the television sector generally result in the same conclusions as the Steiner model: public channels play a positive role in the promotion of diversity. Levin (1971) recommends reinforcing public television to

¹ Steiner does not consider differences in terms of relative costs of program production.

increase diversity in the U.S. Aslama (2006) looks at diversity in programming for all Finnish TV channels from 1993 to 2004 and finds that over this period public channels' programming was more diverse than private ones' but increasingly open to local production (as opposed to private channels). Public channels, however, differentiated themselves subsequent to the entrance of a new private channel in 1997. Public and private channels' programming did not converge over the period, which can be used as an argument in favour of keeping public channels.

Van der Wurff (2005) finds that diversity is lower on private channels than public ones. Public channels in fact face obligations as a consequence of their status as a public service (i.e. they should propose more thought-provoking programmes). His analysis is interesting in that he uses a large set of data on European markets from the end of the 80s to the 90s. However, he relies on second-hand data, especially for categorization.

Finally Ward (2006) provides an international comparison of media (TV and newspapers) in Croatia, Italy, Norway, and the United Kingdom based on a very detailed analysis of the programming in those countries. The report finds that private and public channels do provide different kinds of programmes. More specifically, "[t]he single most notable trend in the diversity of genres is the marked difference in overall output between public and commercial broadcasters since in all countries the public service broadcasters supply a greater percentage of high social value programming." (p. 8-10).

All of these empirical studies conclude that public channels are more diverse than private ones and/or that public channels are significantly distinct from their private counterparts, the main theoretical argument being that private channels sell advertising space whose value depends on the size of the audience. As a result private channels seek the largest audience possible and thus provide homogeneous, repetitive programming. At the opposite extreme, as public channels do not sell advertising space (or rely less on advertising), they do not need to worry about attracting large audiences and thus may provide more diverse programming. Our study addresses this issue, most notably by focusing on prime time periods (i.e. programming periods when competition for advertising is the most intense). According to the literature, this should have an impact on private channels but not public ones.

3. Empirical analysis: methodology

Our study entails an analysis of the programming of six television channels in three countries, which we will briefly describe below. We will then move on to a description of programme typology. After considering the question of measuring diversity, we will finally explain in brief what we mean by distinctiveness and

how it is measured based on the concept of disparity.

3.1 Sources

The study concerns three countries: France, Turkey and United Kingdom. These three countries, while very different, all belong to the Council of Europe and are therefore the subject of publications and access to standardized data in the audiovisual field. In addition, each of these countries has a strong national system, with both strong privately and publicly-funded TV channels. For each country we chose the most popular private and public TV channels based on viewership: TF1 (pr) and France 2 (pu) in France; BBC One (pu) and ITV1 (pr) in the UK; TRT1 (pu) and Kanal D (pr) in Turkey. Pay channels such as Canal Plus in France were not included in our analysis.

To test the influence of advertising revenue on the level of diversity of programming we compared channels funded predominantly by advertising and those funded predominantly by licensing fees. Ultimately all of these channels targeted a wide audience in their respective domains. In order to attract the widest audience possible they pretend to be non-specialized (i.e. not limited to one particular type of programme, unlike channels specialized in music, such as MTV, or in news, like CNN) and not geared towards a particular population (unlike community television). Each of the channels studied broadcast 24 hours a day (or almost).

France

TF1 is the oldest private channel in France (with the exception of the pay channel Canal Plus). Created on July 8, 1974 and privatized in 1986, it is the number-one channel in France, as demonstrated by its high audience ratings—the highest in Europe. Its audience share however has been waning for some years and currently stands at around 30%. Nevertheless, its advertising market share is still greater than 50%. TF1's situation, as far as the French AV industry goes, is particular, especially when one considers its large audience (the largest in Europe).

France 2 (with an 18% audience rating) is the main channel in the France Télévision public group—a group which includes most French public channels (France 2, France 3, France 4, France 5 and France O). In this group France 2 has the highest average audience ratings. Its specific aim is to propose "diversified programming to a large audience" (source: France Télévision's website). France 2 and TF1 are its direct competitors in terms of programming. Moreover, since the beginning of 2009, France 2 no longer broadcasts commercials after 8 p.m., which has made the TV channel even less dependent on advertisement funds.

United Kingdom

Since its creation in 1922 the British Broadcasting

	ITV London ²	BBC one	TF1	France 2	Kanal D	TRT 1 ³
Public/Private	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private	Public
Turnover (M€)	2326.5	1581 (2008)	2764	1733 (2007)	n/a	339
Share of advertising in turnover	100%	0 %	63 %	30 %	100 %	8.1 %
Other funding	-	Licence fees (3/4), international	Thematic channels, teleshopping, broadcasting rights, international	Licence fees (2/3)	-	Public funds (90.3%), other funds (1.7%)
Cost of content (M€)	n/a	1255	1024	788	n/a	n/a
Audience (entire day)	19.2%	22 %	30.7 %	18.1 %	14.2%	3.9%
Audience (prime time)	24.5%	23.9 %	32.6 %	18.1 %	17.3%	3.5%

TABLE 1. COMPARISON OF FINANCIAL SITUATION OF THE CHANNELS IN OUR SAMPLE (2006)

Source: EAO (2008), BBC (2009), ITV1 (2008).

Corporation has been charged with a public service mission and become a worldwide model for public television. The vast majority of its revenue comes from licensing fees; it broadcasts no advertisements. BBC One is the BBC group's main television channel and as it targets a wide audience (22% audience rating) is the most relevant for the purposes of our study.

ITV1, created in 1955 to compete with the BBC, was the United Kingdom's first private television channel. We felt that as BBC One's main competitor, ITV1 was the most logical channel to compare it with. It is Britain's top commercial television channel in terms of audience share (18%) and advertising revenue, attracting 30% of television advertising spending.

Turkey

The Turkish Radio and Television Institute (TRT) was, until the beginning of the 90s, the only institution in the country to broadcast radio and television programmes. After this, TRT created other channels to compete with private channels. TRT 1 was intended to be the "popular" TV channel in the TRT group. TRT 1 is the sixth most popular TV channel in Turkey (with between 3 and 4% audience ratings) and the most popular public channel (funded by the state via a tax that appears on electricity bills and another that appears on the revenue stamp used for TVs, radios and other such devices) with a rating of 78%.

Advertising is the second largest funding source.

Kanal D, with its popular TV series and news programmes, is the most popular TV channel in Turkey with an approximately 14% audience rating. The channel uses news sources from its parent company (Dogan Holding Corporation) which owns seven newspapers and 11 television channels. Kanal D, considered a "family channel," broadcasts programmes for every member of the typical Turkish family.

3.2 Typology: programme categories

The second step in our study consisted in defining programme categories in order to draw comparisons in the most comprehensive, objective way possible. Typologies for classifying cultural products (e.g. for recordings Peterson and Berger, 1975) and television programmes (Van der Wurff, 2005) have been proposed in the past. Though our typology is not necessarily better per se than those typically used by scholars and audiovisual professionals, it nonetheless has two advantages. Firstly, it provides more transparency relative to each category's characteristics. Secondly, it allowed us to measure diversity in all its multidimensionality and complexity based on the three criteria established by Stirling (2007): variety, balance and disparity (see Box 1). We have also included a more traditional approach in

² Data for the entire ITV1 audience.

³ Data for TRT as a whole (except audiences).

terms of origin in order to analyze the diversity of fiction programmes.

The categorization process was critical in assessing diversity as the choice of categories directly influences variety. For example, if an analyst decides that two categories should be grouped into one, it immediately reduces variety. It also influences balance and disparity. One major advantage to Stirling's definition of diversity (more to follow) is that it unequivocally takes the importance of this categorization into account, while our model considers the distance between programmes, which would otherwise be implicit.

In the end, 21 different categories were determined (see table 12). For every programme broadcast in November 2009 (5410 programmes from our 6 channels), we began by noting the day and timeslot and to which category it belonged. Our analysis was based on the programme's duration and not on the number of times it ran. As a result we wound up primarily comparing the amount of time devoted to each category. Prime time was considered separately from the rest of the day as competition between channels is more intense at this time. The prime time periods - 7:15 p.m.–10 p.m. (France), 6 p.m.–10:30 p.m. (Great Britain), and 8 p.m.–11 p.m. (Turkey)⁴ - were established based on the standards used by the European Audiovisual Observatory (2009), which is the most consensual data source for the European audiovisual sector.

3.3 Defining diversity

The third step in our analysis (after having chosen the sources and defined the categories) was defining diversity—a prerequisite for our assessment of it. We chose to use Stirling's (2007) definition, though he himself applied it to quite another subject (namely the analysis of national energy portfolios). According to Stirling, diversity has three components: variety, balance and disparity. All other things being equal, diversity increases when variety, balance or disparity increases (see next box).

With the categorization (i.e. typology) complete, it was easy to assess variety and balance using what are now standard indexes. Assessing disparity however was quite another matter, which is why we now turn to this question (See Box 1).

3.4 The difficulty in measuring disparity

Disparity is the extent to which two programmes differ. Because of methodological difficulties disparity is rarely systematically taken into account when

analyzing media and cultural industries (Moreau and Peltier, 2004). In the absence of methodologies suitable for assessing the disparity between TV programmes (Farchy and Ranaivoson, 2010) we decided to propose our own methodology by selecting attributes that were useful in term of distinguishing between different programme categories⁵ and assigning values to each attribute for each programme category. The choice of attribute and value assigned to each programme category for each attribute depended both on an analysis of the typologies used previously (in some instances created by academics) and discussions with professionals from the audiovisual industry.

This approach allowed us to offer a more 'objective' attribute; however, it should still be considered exploratory. Our findings produced a matrix of distances between each pair of categories, which will hereafter be referred to as the disparity structure. Each programme category was assumed to be largely homogenous as far as this attribute was concerned. It was then compared with the other categories for each attribute. The disparity structure was based on a set of seven attributes (see table 2).

Attribute 1. Age. Programme categories were classified by their debut on television, a choice based on the intuitive postulate that more recent programme categories were intrinsically different from those that appeared decades earlier. Based on the French case, the oldest programme (1947) was assigned a value of 0 and the most recent (1999) a value of 1.

Attribute 2. Exclusivity. Categories whose content existed regardless of television were given a value of 0 (i.e. content that exists otherwise and for which television is only one outlet). Contrarily, programme categories produced exclusively for television were given a value of 1. In between one finds content that exist independently of television but on which broadcasting has had a considerable influence and having has even, in some instances, changed its form.

Attribute 3. Information. We have also classified programme categories based on their informative aim – from purely entertaining (value of 0) to purely informative (value of 1). The choice of attribute 3 was based on the works of Jost (2004), which propose three programme categories: entertainment-based programmes, reality-based programmes and fiction. We will compare the first two, information and entertainment.

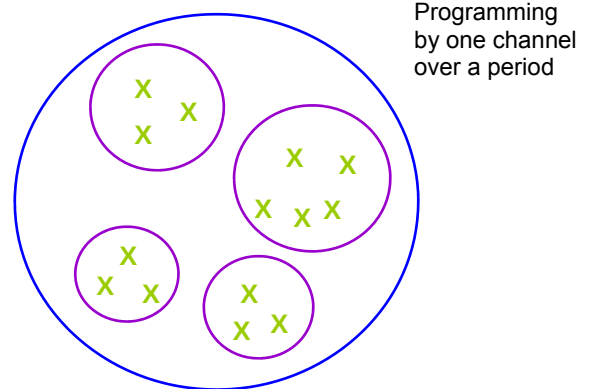
Attribute 4. Heritage. We also chose an attribute based on the standard distinction between stock and flux (Flichy, 1980). Flux programmes are not rebroadcast or reused (via DVD release, for example), or are at least not designed to be. These were given a value of 0. Stock programmes, which can be rebroadcast and whose value remains constant or

⁴ The prime time period is significantly longer in Great Britain (4h30) than in Turkey (3h) or France (2h45). Studies were also conducted with a reduced primetime (7 p.m.–10 p.m.) for Great Britain, but did not lead to significantly different results.

⁵ The term of "attribute" is used by Stirling (2007) (more precisely "*disparity attribute*"). Synonyms are "*indicator*" and, to some extent, "*characteristic*" (as used by Lancaster, 1979). Lancaster defines goods as bundles of characteristics, with some characteristics being quantifiable, which might correspond to our assignment of a value for each attribute of each category of program.

BOX 1: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DIVERSITY AND ITS THREE COMPONENTS: VARIETY, BALANCE AND DISPARITY

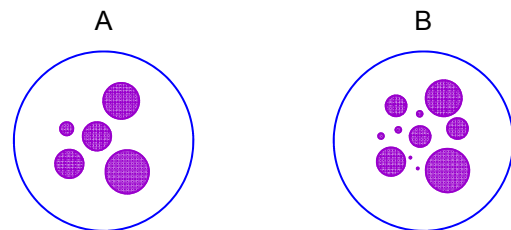
The diversity of a system (a channel's programming) can be assessed only when its elements (here, programmes) have been grouped into categories.



X : element, i.e. program (e.g. Ghostbusters, Stade 2)

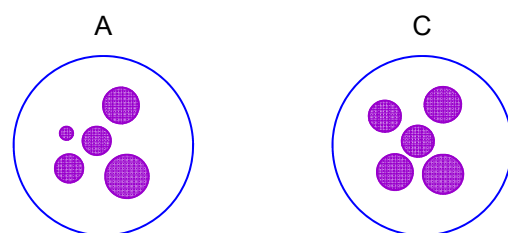
○ : category of program (e.g. Cinema)

Variety corresponds to the number of categories:



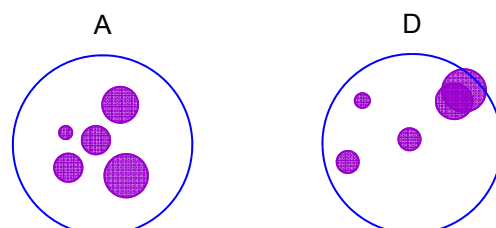
In terms of **Variety** B is more diverse than A

Balance, to the way the elements are spread among the categories (i.e. the time allotted to each category of programme)



In terms of **Balance** C is more diverse than A

Disparity, to the degree of difference between the categories (i.e. between each pair or between the two that are the farthest).



In terms of **Disparity** D is more diverse than A

Category of program	Age		Exclusivity		Informative		Heritage		Cost		Risk		Story	
	Date	Value	Exclusive?	Value	Informative?	Value	Heritage?	Value	Costly?	Value	Unpredictable?	Value	Scripted?	Value
Children's programmes	1950	0,06	Always	1,00	Sometimes	0,50	Rather flux	0,33	Hardly	0,25	Hardly	0,25	Often	0,75
Children's series	1962	0,29	Often	0,75	Hardly	0,25	Stock	1,00	Sometimes	0,50	Sometimes	0,50	Always	1,00
Cinema movie	1950	0,06	Never	0,00	Hardly	0,25	Stock	1,00	Always	1,00	Always	1,00	Always	1,00
Coaching	1999	1,00	Always	1,00	Hardly	0,25	Rather flux	0,33	Sometimes	0,50	Hardly	0,25	Sometimes	0,50
Cultural magazine	1953	0,12	Always	1,00	Often	0,75	Rather flux	0,33	Sometimes	0,50	Often	0,75	Often	0,75
Documentary	1952	0,10	Always	1,00	Always	1,00	Stock	1,00	Sometimes	0,50	Often	0,75	Often	0,75
Game and lottery	1954	0,13	Always	1,00	Hardly	0,25	Flux	0,00	Hardly	0,25	Never	0,00	Hardly	0,25
Live football	1952	0,10	Sometimes	0,50	Never	0,00	Flux	0,00	Often	0,75	Sometimes	0,50	Never	0,00
News magazine	1959	0,23	Always	1,00	Often	0,75	Rather flux	0,33	Sometimes	0,50	Often	0,75	Sometimes	0,50
News programme	1947	0,00	Always	1,00	Always	1,00	Flux	0,00	Often	0,75	Hardly	0,25	Hardly	0,25
On-set tv show	1952	0,10	Always	1,00	Never	0,00	Flux	0,00	Sometimes	0,50	Hardly	0,25	Hardly	0,25
Other live sporting events	1948	0,02	Hardly	0,25	Never	0,00	Flux	0,00	Sometimes	0,50	Sometimes	0,50	Never	0,00
Performance	1950	0,06	Never	0,00	Sometimes	0,50	Rather stock	0,67	Sometimes	0,50	Always	1,00	Hardly	0,25
Practical	1953	0,12	Always	1,00	Often	0,75	Rather flux	0,33	Sometimes	0,50	Never	0,00	Often	0,75
Real tv	1999	1,00	Always	1,00	Never	0,00	Rather flux	0,33	Always	1,00	Hardly	0,25	Sometimes	0,50
Religion	1949	0,04	Sometimes	0,50	Sometimes	0,50	Flux	0,00	Never	0,00	Never	0,00	Often	0,75
Serial	1949	0,04	Always	1,00	Hardly	0,25	Stock	1,00	Sometimes	0,50	Hardly	0,25	Always	1,00
Sport magazine	1969	0,42	Always	1,00	Never	0,00	Flux	0,00	Sometimes	0,50	Sometimes	0,50	Sometimes	0,50
Teleshopping	1987	0,77	Always	1,00	Never	0,00	Flux	0,00	Never	0,00	Never	0,00	Always	1,00
Tv movie	1957	0,19	Always	1,00	Hardly	0,25	Stock	1,00	Sometimes	0,50	Always	1,00	Always	1,00
Others	1958	0,22	Often	0,82	Sometimes	0,46	Rather flux	0,46	Sometimes	0,50	Sometimes	0,54	Often	0,72

TABLE 2. DISPARITY ATTRIBUTES BY PROGRAMME CATEGORY⁶

may even increase over time, were given a value of 1.

Attribute 5. Cost. We classified the programmes according to their cost per minute of production, which was a way of proxying for the programme's level of sophistication. Unfortunately it was not possible to obtain the costs of all 5410 programmes in our sample. We therefore used trade publications as our basis (CNC, 2010). The costliest categories were given a value of 1 and the least costly a value of 0.

Attribute 6. Risk. We differentiated between programmes whose utility could be predicted by viewers before watching it (i.e. categories of programmes that viewers were not sure in advance would prove a satisfying or exciting viewing experience) - the so-called 'experience goods' (Nelson, 1970). Such categories were given a value of 1. For some programme categories however it was possible to predict viewers' satisfaction, often because they were based on a redundant scheme. Such categories were given a value of 0.

Attribute 7. Story. Finally, programmes can differ according to the importance of the story (the script itself) and editing (post-production). Scripted and edited programmes were given a value of 1; unscripted and minimally-edited ones were given a

value of 0. This attribute in some ways relates to creativity but is not really the same thing, as creativity is too complex a notion to assess with a single attribute.

The goal was to get the most complete set of independent attributes. While each attribute's relevancy can be debated, it is worth noting that none influenced the disparity structure in a significant way (i.e. were one attribute to decrease it would not change the distance between the pairs of categories in an important way) (Farchy and Ranaivoson, 2010).

Building distances

Distances were then calculated for each pair of programme categories. To do this we used the Euclidian distance d:

$$d_{jk} = \sqrt{\sum_{i=1}^7 (x_{ji} - x_{ki})^2}$$

where j and k are programme categories;
 i is a disparity attribute;

x_{ji} represents the value of category j for the attribute i .

⁶ In each case one value and a related comment were given. The category 'Others' included those programs that did not fit in the other categories (values are an average of the values for the other categories). Comments correspond to various ranges of value. 'Never' corresponds to 0-0.125; 'Hardly' to 0.125-0.375; 'Sometimes' to 0.375-0.625; 'Often' to 0.625-0.875; and 'Always' to 0.875-1. In the same way 'Flux' corresponds to [0-0.167]; 'Rather flux' to 0.167-0.5; 'Rather stock' to 0.5-0.833; 'Stock' to 0.833-1.

As a common way of modelling distance, d respects the properties of distance: symmetry, separation and triangular inequality.

3.6 Indexes of diversity

There is a great deal of literature on measuring diversity, especially as applied to biodiversity (e.g. see Patil and Taillie, 1982). All our indexes are positive functions of diversity: the higher the diversity, the higher the value of the indexes, and conversely. It is important however to specify that most indexes have no meaning in and of themselves and should only be considered in a comparative perspective (i.e. to compare different channels).

The Proportion of Categories assesses variety. To obtain the Proportion of Categories one divides the number of categories broadcast at least once by the total number of existing categories. Thus an index whose value is 0.4 means that 40% of all existing categories have been broadcast over the period in question. Such indexes that assess only variety are frequently used in studies on diversity in the culture and media industries (e.g. Moreau and Peltier, 2004).

The Shannon Evenness Index assesses balance (Pielou, 1969). It is applied to the way broadcast times are distributed over programme categories; the more balanced the distribution, the higher the index. To our knowledge this index has seldom been used to assess diversity in the culture and media industries (e.g. in Ranaivoson, 2008). While based on the far more common Shannon index (Shannon, 1948), it is designed in a way that aims to eliminate the influence of differing degrees of variety.

The Sum of Distances to Variety (SDV) Index is a ratio of the Sum of Distances Index to the Proportion of Categories. While the Sum of Distances Index corresponds to the sum of the distances between all pairs of programme categories⁷ broadcast at least once, we have introduced the ratio 'to Variety' to neutralize the effect of increasing variety. Unlike the original Sum of Distances Index, our index allows a mere increase in the number of programme categories broadcast not to result in an increase in disparity when the category is very similar to an already-existing one. Disparity, however, can decrease (i.e. there is duplication). Generally speaking, contrary to most of the empirical and theoretical analyses previously discussed, our study systematically takes disparity into account, which as we mentioned before is rare because of the methodological issues it raises.

A major breakthrough in this research has been the use of the Stirling Index (Stirling, 2007), which allows us to address diversity in the most comprehensive way possible by considering variety, balance and disparity at the same time. While Stirling's definition has now gained recognition relative to the analysis of cultural diversity (see its use by Moreau and Peltier, 2004; Benhamou and Peltier, 2007; Flores, 2009), the index has only recently been used in research on media and cultural industries (Benhamou and Peltier, 2009). We chose to use the more comprehensive version of the Stirling Index, which to our knowledge was introduced in Stirling 2007:

$$\sum_{j,k \in [1,n]^2, j \neq k} (d_{jk})^\alpha (p_j p_k)^\beta$$

BOX 2: CATEGORY, ATTRIBUTE AND ELEMENT

The three terms are used to define and measure diversity in our methodology. This is a brief description of how they related to one another when assessing the diversity of a system. A system is made up of elements. In theory it is possible to assess the diversity of a system by considering the diversity of its elements (see e.g. Dowd, 2001), but this implies limiting the number of elements considered.

Therefore elements are typically grouped in categories. While elements belonging to the same category may differ greatly from one another, it is assumed that they will differ even more greatly from those elements belonging to other categories. To our knowledge all papers on diversity in the media work directly with categories, which are generally pre-existing.

In our study we introduce attributes in order to see how different the categories are one from another. Categories can be characterized through a set of attributes, but the value taken by the attribute will change depending on the category. Thus attributes should not be confused with elements. Categories are made of elements but can be described based on the value of their attributes. Finally, the attributes we use here alone cannot describe every category but are useful in comparing them.

For example, the element 'BBC News' (broadcast by BBC One) belongs to the category 'News programme'. The value of its attributes is the same as that of the element 'Le Journal' (broadcast by France 2) because both elements belong to the same category. Attributes for 'Esra Ceyhan'la Hayat' (broadcast by TRT 1), which belongs to the category 'On-set TV show', have different values.

⁷ See Stirling (1998).

Components of diversity	Index	Formula
Variety	Proportion of Categories	$\frac{h}{n}$
Balance	Shannon Evenness	$\frac{\sum_{i=1}^h p_i \ln p_i}{\ln h}$
Disparity	Sum of Distances to Variety	$\frac{\sum_{j,k \in [1,n]^2} d_{jk}}{h/n}$
All	Stirling	$\sum_{j,k \in [1,n]^2} (d_{jk})^\alpha (p_j p_k)^\beta$

Where:

h is the number of programme categories broadcast at least once over the period;
 n is the total number of programme categories;
 p_i is the share of air time that was devoted to the programme category i ($0 \leq p_i \leq 1$);
 d_{jk} is the Euclidian distance between

TABLE 3. INDEXES OF ASSESSMENT OF DIVERSITY

The introduction of α allows us to play with the weight of disparity relative to variety and balance. Likewise, the introduction of β allows us to play with the weight of balance⁸ relative to variety and disparity⁹. The aforementioned studies only consider when $\alpha = \beta = 1$ (e.g. Benhamou and Peltier, 2009). However there is no reason to give preference to such values over others in the 0 to 1 interval.

In other words, this is the first time one index has been used to assess diversity, offered a complete approach for measuring and allowed for playing with the three components' different weights. To provide an overview of the indexes most commonly used to assess diversity, we have included the Simpson and Shannon indexes in our analysis. As both provided results that were consistent with our approach, we did not provide the details of their results here (Farchy and Ranaivoson, 2010).

3.6 From disparity to distinctiveness

We did not only consider diversity at the individual channel level; we also wanted to get an idea of diversity at the market level (i.e. does the viewer have a choice at a given moment in the day or does he face duplication, to use Steiner's concept). In other words we assessed the frequency with which each channel broadcast a programme similar to one broadcast by its competitor at the same moment. This corresponds to the concept of distinctiveness (McQuail and Van Cuilenburg, 1983).

More specifically we compared the programming of each pair of national channels to see whether public and private ones tended to provide distinct programmes or similar ones. Analyses were done over

the period of one week (from November 16th–November 23rd)¹⁰. For each time slot (i.e. hour), the distance (d) between the two programmes broadcast is given with the assumption that two similar programmes had a distance equal to zero. Distance here represents distinctiveness; the greater the distance, the greater the distinction between the two channels' programmes for the period in question. In other words disparity was used here to assess the channels' distinctiveness. The minimum distance was zero when the two programmes were similar; the maximum distance was the distance between the two most distinct programmes (here teleshopping and cinema movies); and the average distance was the average of all distances for all pairs of programmes.

4. Empirical analysis: results

We now turn to a description and analysis of our findings. We analysed the diversity of programming for the six channels, in each case applying the aforementioned indexes.

4.1 Fiction

We first analyzed the main programme categories broadcast by the channels in our sample, (i.e. fiction) which includes cinema films, TV movies, series and children's series. Fiction in fact (especially series) was a major component of the programming for those channels studied (at least 19% of their programming for the entire day and 26% for prime time). For all the countries however the share was higher for private channels than public ones. The difference was also

⁸ The lower α (with $0 < \alpha \leq 1$) is, the higher the emphasis on disparity.

⁹ The lower β (with $0 < \beta \leq 1$) is, the higher the emphasis on balance.

¹⁰ Consistent with the rest of the analysis, the programming day is assumed to begin at 6 a.m. and finish at 6 a.m. the next day.

Channels	Share (%) of fiction...		Share (%) of fiction over total broadcast time by origin			
	whole day	prime time	National	European	US	Others
France 2 (pu)	25	31	28	42	31	0
TF1 (pr)	54	32	17	5	73	4
BBC One (pu)	19	26	65	2	34	0
ITV London (pr)	26	31	55	0	43	2
TRT 1 (pu)	35	61	63	8	15	15
Kanal D (pr)	51	84	85	0	14	2

TABLE 4. VOLUME OF BROADCAST FICTION

observed for prime time but less so.

There is little distinction between private and public channels as far as the origin of the fiction is concerned¹¹. While French and British public channels at present broadcast more national fiction (and less U.S./Other fiction) than their respective private counterparts, the Turkish channel Kanal D (pr) broadcasts more national fiction than TRT 1 (pu). The only constant here is that relatively speaking public channels broadcast more European fiction.

Finally, a look at the fiction genre shows a homogenous preference for drama for all channels. Neither was there any significant difference in terms of date of production; in all cases fiction programmes were for the most part recent.

4.2 A comparison of overall programming diversity

The influence of funding on diversity of programming is ambiguous for the entire day. In the UK, ITV London's (pr) programming is less diverse than BBC One's (pu); the same was true for the Turkish channels. In fact the gap between Kanal D's (pr) and TRT 1's (pu) programming in terms of diversity was even larger. The opposite however was true for French channels. Private channels did not necessarily have less diverse programming than public ones, which stands in contradiction to the literature. There are at least two reasons for this. To begin, we used a more sophisticated index for our analysis; thus would it be worth applying this index to earlier studies. We found in particular that public channels' programming was always more balanced than private ones' (see the Shannon Evenness index),

which was also true for prime time. Most papers on diversity in the media focus on balance (e.g. Ward, 2006). Secondly, largely due to the sophistication of our approach, our sample of channels was relatively small, especially when compared with Van der Wurff's (2005).

Overall diversity of programming was lower during prime time than for the entire day for all channels, public or private. This can be shown by comparing the values provided by the Stirling Index for each channel for the whole day and for prime time¹². This result holds true for all the countries in our sample.

4.3 Analysis of each channel's distinctiveness at the national level

Another expectation of public channels is that they provide programmes that are distinct from those shown on private channels. In this respect, we expect no change in public channels' distinctiveness (compared to its private competitors) during prime time.

Quite to the contrary, distinctiveness tended to decrease during prime time as compared to the whole day. Thus in the UK, distinctiveness fell from 0.49 (whole week, entire day) to 0.45 (prime time during the week). The drop was even sharper between France and Turkey respectively (from 0.39 to 0.21 and 0.45 to 0.15). British channels remained the most distinct. For both channels news programmes and series represented nearly half of all broadcast time: ITV London (pr) however broadcasts a lot of reality TV; BBC One (pu) documentaries and news magazines. Turkish channels are the closest to one another in terms of programming during prime time. This is

¹¹ While origin may not be discriminatory enough (e.g. a French- and U.S.-made movie might have more in common than two of the latter), it is often used to assess the diversity of audiovisual content (see e.g. Ward, 2006; Benhamou and Peltier, 2009).

¹² Such a decrease is completely intuitive in the case of variety. Since variety corresponds here to the number of categories of programs broadcast at least once, the shorter the time period being considered, the smaller the number of program categories. However, for balance and disparity, it is not necessarily true that a shorter time period corresponds to a lesser degree of balance and disparity.

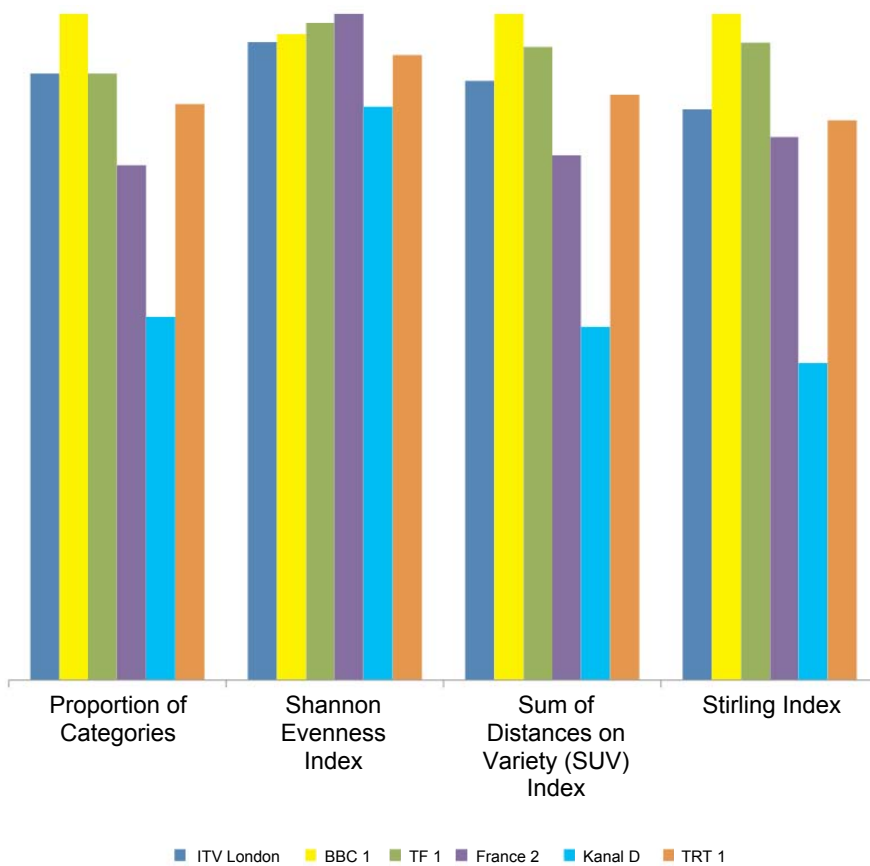


FIGURE 1.
COMPARISON OF
DIVERSITY OF
PROGRAMMING FOR
THE WHOLE DAY (BY
CHANNEL)¹³

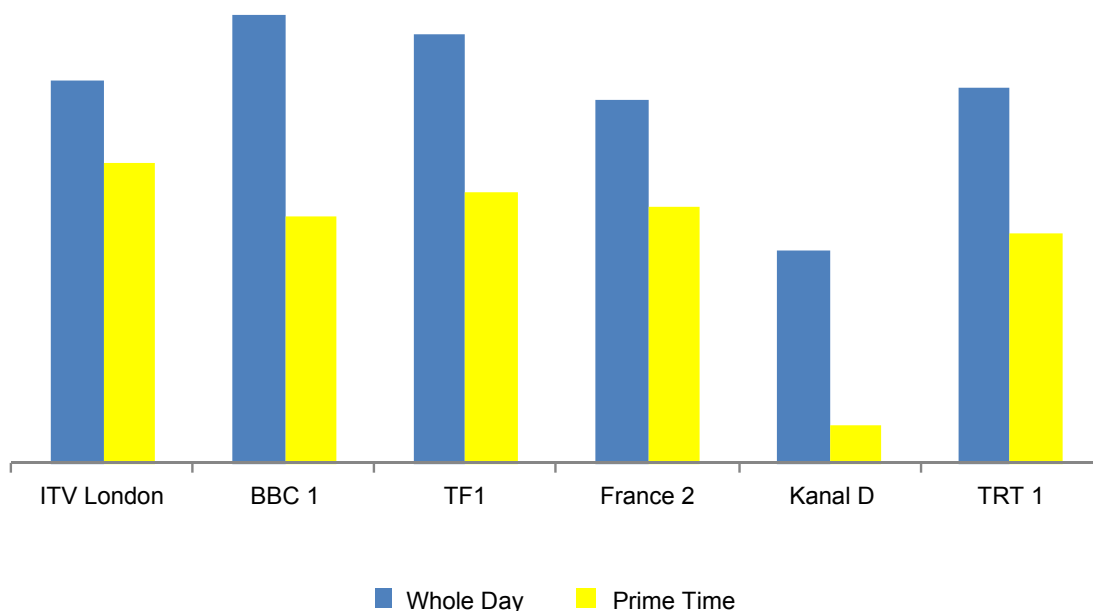


FIGURE 2. COMPARISON OF DIVERSITY OF PROGRAMMING FOR
THE ENTIRE DAY VS. PRIME TIME (BY CHANNEL)

¹³ Indexes were scaled to get a more readable chart. Actual values available upon request.

Criterion	United Kingdom	France	Turkey
Average distinctiveness	0.49	0.39	0.45
Average distinctiveness during Prime Time	0.45	0.21	0.15

TABLE 5. DISTINCTIVENESS BY COUNTRY AND TIME PERIOD

Note: Calculations over one week, i.e. 168 hours. Prime times are not directly comparable because their duration differs according to country.

consistent with our previous findings and more notably the importance of series in Turkish channels' overall programming.

Such findings contradict literature that concludes that public channels do distinguish themselves from private ones (e.g. Aslama, 2006). This is principally because we were less interested in defining a level of distinctiveness and more interested in analyzing how distinctiveness evolves over time. Most notably and to our knowledge, no other research compares prime time with the rest of the day.

5. Conclusion

5.1 The way channels are funded (advertising vs. licence fees) does not seem to have a decisive impact on the diversity they offer.

The literature in general supports the claim that public channels have more diverse or/and distinct programming because they are less bound by the goal of maximizing their audiences as they do not rely on advertising (see e.g. Steiner, 1952; Aslama, 2006). Our empirical study should be considered exploratory. An analysis involving more channels and more countries is necessary in order to draw more definitive conclusions and to understand the implications in terms of policy in greater depth. The data for the six channels in the three countries in our survey nonetheless allowed us to compile an interesting set of results.

The main result of our analysis is that the way channels are funded (advertising vs. licence fees) does not seem to have a decisive impact on diversity. On one hand public channels do not necessarily have more diverse programming than private ones; on the other hand public and private channels often tend to provide similar programmes for the same time period.

The French private channel has more diverse programming than the public one regardless of the time period. It was not possible to directly assess the

impact of eliminating advertising on programming diversity (since 2009 there has not been any advertising after 8 p.m. on the French public channels). Whatever the case, this reform is somewhat contradicted by both the authorization of programme sponsorship (which leads to ubiquitous sponsorship) and the Audiovisual Media Services Directive that allows product placement (yet another form of advertisement). Ultimately, due to budgetary reasons, the elimination of advertising on public television in France in 2011 will only be partial, contrary to what the French government first announced. Unquestionably, further banning of advertising would deprive public channels of financial resources even more. The Turkish public channel has more diverse programming than the private one regardless of the time period. The British public channel's programming is more diverse for the whole day than the private one's but these results reverse at prime time. Diversity decreased dramatically during prime time for all channels. One may then conclude that banning or maintaining advertising alone does not change a whole lot as far as diversity of programming is concerned.

5.2 Regardless of the type of funding, regulation should lead public channels to distinguish themselves from private ones.

Public regulation is another factor that influences the quality and diversity of programmes. Most analyses find that the State's intervention favours diversity, e.g. Steiner (1952) argues that the FCC (the U.S.'s Federal Communications Commission) limits duplication by conditioning the right to broadcast as a "public service responsibility". Because of this responsibility, it chooses its programmes without necessarily trying to maximize its audience. Only Baxter (1974) appears critical of public intervention, namely that of the FCC. According to him, lack of regulation of the press industry does not hinder its diversity, while regulation of radio and television have had negative consequences.

In each country the public powers impose specific obligations on channels. For example TF1 is

supposed to broadcast 1,000 hours of youth programmes as well as a certain amount of national and European fiction¹⁴. Public channels have additional obligations in order to distinguish them from private ones. France 2 for instance is supposed to broadcast 15 lyrical, dramatic or choreographed spectacles per year. Our findings on the absence of a systematic link between public funding and diversity (5.1) could therefore be seen as a management failure by the directors of public channels with regard to expected goals.

5.3 Any non-specialized channel, private or public, that aims to maximize its audience will provide less diversity

We formulate here the hypothesis that our findings are not the result of a management failure but rather have to do with two key elements:

A channel as part of a group

BBC One's, France 2's and TRT 1's programming might be similar to that of non-specialized channels. However each one also belongs to a public audiovisual group (the BBC, France Télévision and the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation respectively), each of which has several other channels and which could result in some specialization among these channels. This in particular might explain BBC One's (pu) relatively low level of diversity during prime time. The channel actually seems to be specialized in information, which constitutes nearly 40% of its prime time broadcast. Such a high concentration means its programming is less balanced; however, this is justified by the channel's position with regard to the group as a whole. To consider the diversity of available content in greater depth, one must look at the content programmed by the group as a whole.

The inherent contradictions of goals set by public authorities

On one hand, as we have noted, public

authorities and citizens alike expect public channels to offer programmes that are different from those offered by private channels, but without always providing them with the budget they need. And yet, one of the key determinants of programming is a channel's budget (i.e. the amount of money available for buying content). Based on this criteria there is greater proximity between BBC One (pu) and TF1 (pr) than between BBC One and France 2 (pu). Concretely speaking BBC One may devote almost one-fourth of its air time to journals and TF1 one-tenth to reality TV, two of the costliest programme categories, but only because they can afford to do so. The cost of content

is far higher for these channels than, say, for France 2.

On the other hand, in order to survive, every non-specialized channel must focus on audience-based objectives. We challenge the contention that only channels that depend on advertising for their funding seek to maximize their audiences; free-to-air, non-specialized channels also try to increase their ratings. Any channel, private or public, that aims maximize viewership offers less diversity, especially when competition is at its highest (i.e. during prime time). During prime time competition becomes more intense for both public and private channels at the expense of diversity. This is likewise true from the viewer's perspective, as programmes on both types of channels tend to become increasingly similar.

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¹⁴ For details see http://www.obs.coe.int/oea_publ/iris/iris_plus/iplus8_2006.pdf.fr

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Art contribution to cities' transformation

The role of Public Art management in Italy

Silvia Mazzucotelli Salice
University of Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Italy

ABSTRACT

Since the mid 80s the evident objective of public art has been to intervene in some infrastructures so that the historical function of a square or of a monument could be re-found with a completely new approach, thus defining a spatial whole as a social whole.

Through a qualitative research approach that enlightens artists and commissioning agencies' points of view, this paper seeks to document the creative processes that characterizes public art and to explore the democratic potential in urban artistic interventions.

Although in the past, through instituting public art projects in disadvantaged and fragmented communities, policy makers consciously tried to promote a fallacious sense of shared space, true urban art would not embrace a purely decorative function and would not hesitate to break with the conventions that mark the political use of public art.

Even if it is recognized that past expression of public art spoke of universalist and modernist themes, some recent Italian practices of public art are characterized by a strong collaborative effort between the public artist and the community: intended both to design the physical appearance of the city and to rebuild the relationship that underpins urban life.

Thus the paper will show how the recognition of the value of public arts can lay the foundations for more integrated urban regeneration strategies driven by cultural policy imperatives.

Keywords:

Public art
 Cultural policy
 City development
 Art-led urban regeneration

1. Art and the city: the historical evolution of a dense relationship

Art has always been one of the leading actors of the city-building process. In the past artworks were considered tangible signs of society living in the city. The relationship between art and the city was mainly expressed through the realization of civic monuments or through the construction of large religious buildings such as churches and cathedrals. On the one hand arts' funding came from the city and its citizens, and on the other hand the monument acted as a media for the transmission of political, economic and social values (Romano, 1997, 2008; Sacco, 2006). Artistic contribution to urban planning has been alternatively interpreted as civic aesthetic or as mere embellishment.

We usually talk about civic aesthetic till modernity. To then the *urbs*, or in other words the materiality of the city, has often been considered a work shaped by the *civitas*: the design of urban space was in fact an holistic practice touching a wide range of art practices - from traditional arts, such as painting and sculpture, to architecture and urban planning - and able to make legible the life, the history and the thoughts of inhabitants, insomuch that citizens felt represented and responsible of their urban space.

The paradigm of civic aesthetics, as synthetically stated above, is basically characterized by: a) a fertile, instinctive and simultaneous use of traditional visual arts - such as sculpture, drawings and paintings - and of typical design disciplines in urban planning practices¹; b) the acknowledgment of the city as a whole as an object of intervention; c) the acceptance of beauty as an end.

In such a context the recognition of the identity of each individual as part of a collective body, the *civitas*, is strictly related to beauty itself: urban transformations, in fact, act directly on streets and squares, turning them into living spaces². Such a fertile and mutual merge depended on the common training course followed by artists, generally intended, and architects. Until the late Nineteenth Century, in fact, the former were trained in the same school as sculptors and painters. In other words those who drew churches and palaces were trained as artists and had attended academies and art shops. Architects were also painters, sculptors, or designers (Pulini, 2009).

During the industrial revolution, however, the relationship between art and architecture and, therefore, art and city entered into a crisis and the idea

of art as mere embellishment took the first paradigm's place. As the division of knowledge became more clear and stable, engineers and architects became the only ones in charge of city construction and the contribution of art to urban design turned out to be limited to decorative or celebratory functions.

Many reasons can be acquainted in order to explain such a dramatic change. On the one hand, and since the very beginning of industrial era, art and architecture start pursuing different paths: innovations in the field of materials, for example all technical innovations introduced by the use of concrete, encouraged firstly the birth of industrialized architecture and the use of standardized components and, secondly, induced a shift in architecture from the art field to the one of engineering. On the other hand, especially on late modernity, the power of public spaces toward civic representation becomes weaker³ and the paradigm of civic aesthetic gave way to the logic of embellishment.

The term indicated, and still indicates, town planning that encompasses all the approaches that consider the aestheticization of urban public spaces as their ultimate goal. In such a context the arts, deprived of their role as urban design directors, seemed gradually to abandon the partnership with urban planning and architecture and to consolidate their position as autonomous disciplines. The virtuous and inextricable intertwining between functionality and aesthetic, which for centuries had been guaranteed by the binomial "art and architecture", collapsed and the relationship between art and the city vanished.

While the arts took the path of *venustas*, architecture walked along the trail of *utilitas*. Painting and sculpture found new sponsors among the collectors of the nascent commercial bourgeoisie. Works of art entered palaces and became objects of furniture or luxury items, to show off with pride in the prestige and honor of the owner, a sign of social distinction, or in other words, to serve as status symbols. Later, when collecting for private hoarding exhausted, museums and galleries open their doors to painters' and sculptors' works of art. Architecture, however, approached engineering and it ended up flattened on the technique. The link between the arts and urban design discipline was transformed and greatly reduced to the application of the "technique of inclusion": a work of art was essentially included in urban space only after its design and building had been completed and with the effortless aim of softening the lines.

¹ The civic aesthetic paradigm distinguishes, for example, the Italian renaissance urban planning in which all major architectural projects - churches, public and noble buildings, squares, schools, monasteries, hospitals, bridges, factories, ports and so on - were born together with works of art (cfr. Pulini, 2009).

² Let's consider, for example, the importance of squares planning in the Italian, but also in the European tradition. Being the place of political, religious and economic power, squares represented the heart of collective life for all citizens. In Italy, confirming the importance that square building has had in city planning, examples of architectural excellence of square planning can be appreciated also today. Let's think, for example, of the Piazza del Plebiscito in Naples, Piazza del Duomo in Florence and Piazza del Campo in Siena.

³ The death of public space was announced as early as 1964 by Melvin Webber and related to the massive use of automobiles (Webber 1964).

“ARCHITECTURE AND MORE TRADITIONAL VISUAL ARTS ARE ASKED TO FACE THE LACK OF DESIGN CULTURE, WHICH HAS CHARACTERIZED THE INCONSISTENT GROWTH OF MANY CITIES IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY.”

Such a dense relationship, however, doesn't end with modernity. Later, and especially with the advent of the historical avant-garde, artists promoted a first real stylistic update: a total rejection of the academic tradition in favor of a conception of art as free from the needs of symbolic and allegorical celebrations (Heinich, 2004). In particular, since the fifties, artists seek a new relationship with the city and the urban area and interact with the environment, abandoning purely decorative or ceremonial purposes (Miles, 1997; Miles, Hall, 2003; Sacco, 2006).

Over the past twenty years arts started addressing the issue of urban regeneration. The latter is conceived not only in terms of aesthetic appreciation of the building environment, but rather as a general reflection on the quality of citizens' lives and on inhabitants' relationship with the urban space. Art returns to play a primary role in designing the city and artists are more and more asked to use their sensitivity in order to transform “spaces” into “places”.

2. The cultural turn in urban planning

The recurrence of a more holistic approach to urban space design is primarily related to the crisis of traditional rationalist planning and to the changed relationship between citizens and city. Many authors put in evidence that as the city grows, public planners and city administrators are no longer able to keep up with the pace of change since they rely on outdated models of interpretation and governance (Bovone, Mazzette, Rovati, 2007; Bovone, Ruggerone, 2009).

In such a context, the technical language and the technological tools which traditionally characterized urban planners' background and expertise, essentially based on the validation logic rationality as the only likely to understand urban change, clashed with the need to engage with inhabitants' everyday life.

The search of new instruments, which could foster the dialogue between urban and everyday life, drives to an increasing use of artistic intervention. In contemporary European cities integrated urban policy approaches call into question actions and practices which mix art and urban planning tools. Architecture and more traditional visual arts are asked to face the lack of design culture, which has characterized the inconsistent growth of many cities in the second half of the nineteenth century and which represented the weakest point in the construction of modern suburbs of many industrial cities, whose rapid development was mainly driven by consistent economic and social contingencies. Arts and architecture are asked to face the physical and the social transformation of urban sites, to investigate the relationship between cities and the new cultural and ethnic identities that populate them; finally, the arts, wholly considered, are called upon to interpret contemporary society, to deal with the morphology and the history of places.

Such a remarkable change in the design culture fostered the birth of an heterogeneous panorama of artistic interventions in the public space, to which we commonly refer to as public art (Miles, 1997; Cartiere, Willis, 2008; Knight, 2008). These actions rarely have a purely decorative or commemorative function. Rather, as we will see in the following pages, they aim to enable policy-makers building languages closer to peoples' concerns. They aspire to widen the power of land government to city dwellers mixing technical languages and social sensitivity.

However when talking about public art, the use of the conditional tense is a necessary requirement. As far as the city stops being the place of production and becomes the place for consumption or the point of attraction for creative class people and financial investment, public art represents a winning formula in terms of urban regeneration. Since the 1980s, either in Europe or in the USA, urban regeneration policies have relied on culture as an engine for reanimating the decline of post industrial cities (Landry, Bianchini, 1995; Miles, 1997) and local governments

commissioning of work of public art has become an established practice for regenerating urban spaces as well as being an effective means of promoting city profiles capable of attracting investments and visitors.

As a consequence of this cultural turn in urban regeneration, thousands of pages have been written to prove or disprove this common and widely-held belief. Advocates, on the one hand, have produced investigations aimed at demonstrating how art can positively impact communities with a relatively low budget. More or less explicitly, the intention was to encourage a wide use of these practices to tackle social exclusion (Landry, Matarasso 1996; Matarasso, 1997). On the other hand, the most skeptical critics have argued against what they define as a purely rhetorical use of arts (Zukin, 1991). The cultural geographer Tim Butler, for example, noticed on several occasions that regeneration is really synonymous with gentrification (Zukin, 1995; Butler, Robson, 2001; Butler, 2005) and that, as a consequence, the renewal and regeneration of entire industrial areas - which has been called the urban renaissance (Rogers, 1999) - is accompanied by a process of hygienisation and standardization of public spaces that instead of encouraging greater social cohesion, has led to the "bourgeoisification" of less prosperous areas.

Although I recognize that, especially in the past, through instituting public art projects in disadvantaged communities, policy makers consciously tried to promote a fallacious sense of shared space (Hall, Robertson, 2001; Hall, 2003; Miles, 2003). In this paper I concentrate on recent examples of public art actions that do not embrace a purely decorative function and do not hesitate to break with the conventions that mark the political use of public art. I will concentrate on examples of public art interventions that truly engage with social practices and in which their social dimension represents a starting point for the realization of the intervention itself.

My intention is not to ideologically assess the justness of public art. I would rather try to analyze it as an example of community planning and I would try to export from its experience good practices and effective tools for urban planning.

3. Public art and the chance of social inclusion

Recent practices of public art are intended both to design the physical appearance of the city and to rebuild the relationship that underpins urban life. As a consequence of this transition of art works toward a social dimension, all interested parties - artists, local and regional authorities, public art agencies and civil society - are requested to reconsider their role and to actively take part in the decision-making process.

This more participatory form of public art practice has been termed "new genre public art" (Lacy, 1995).

In such a context artists move to engage with communities and existing social struggles, to develop collaboration and dialogue with residents, and to employ different modes of address. "New genre public art", since it considers society, or more in general the social dimension as the focal point of observation, is built upon the relationship between artists and an audience - residents, inhabitants or, in other words, the city - and is defined not as an outcome, but rather as a process (Hein, 2006).

"New genre public art projects generally involve complex negotiations - with local property owners; art and building commissions; state, local and federal government agencies; environmental organizations; founding sources; professional associations; trade unions; neighborhood and citizens' groups; purveyors of materials; immediate abutters of projects; and the actual performers or producers of the artwork" (Hein, 2006: 75).

The new role played by art questions the traditional role of artists: today's public artists, more prone to ask questions than give answers, try to animate public debate fomenting public discussion and a critical eye. Moreover, artistic interventions being the result of a pro-active cooperation between designers and inhabitants, promote public participation and thus call back the original meaning of art as *res publica*, capable of interpreting, serving and lending added value to a community of people who live in a defined, circumscribed space.

This is, for example, the aim of *Nuovi Committenti*, a program for the realization of art works for the public space undertaken by the Adriano Olivetti Foundation in Turin. The program outlines practices of artistic production as a possible factor of social change and promotes citizen participation in the patronage and production of contemporary art projects that acknowledge a concrete demand and are conceived as installations in the everyday living and working environment of the same patrons (Bertolino, Comisso, Parola, Perlo, 2008).

But how is this social aim translated into operative practices? How does the foundation operatively foster civic engagement? Is it successful in terms of urban governance? And to which extent?

In order to answer these questions in the following pages I will try to account for the whole process of public art realization within the *Nuovi Committenti* project. Through a qualitative analysis of in depth interviews with artists, mediators and city administrators, I will explore the democratic potential embodied in the artistic interventions realized within the framework of the *Nuovi Committenti* program and I will challenge the view of public art as a collective good.

However before introducing such a specific case, a brief introduction to the Italian management of public art is necessary.

4. Public art practices in the Italian context

It is widely recognized that in Italian history, art has always played a central role in city building. The industrial age marked the Italian landscape in the same way it did in many other European countries. The fertile association of art and city planning, which characterized many Italian cities in the past, collapsed. Architecture and urban planning disciplines moved away from the field of visual arts and became more and more technical. As a consequence, cities grew paying less attention to their aesthetic dimension and giving preference to functional buildings. Although residents' general needs (housing, electrical and water facilities, green areas) were taken into account, no opportunity was given to them for playing an active role in the decision-making process. The physical landscape of every city, also within public areas, ended up reflecting the elites' wishes and wills instead of being the outcome of negotiation practices between "public" and "private" sector as the "collective" nature of public space would generally report.

Right after the Second World War, reconstruction programmes started to spread throughout the Italian territory. At the same time, local and regional authorities started paying new attention to the arts and artists: actually the awareness that art, in the variety of reference models, was one of the tools for renewing the image of Italian cities, but also for restoring a sense of belonging to Italian people by acting on the quality of places, increased.

In step with the above scenario, in 1949 the Italian government approved the law 717, also known as the 2% for art rule. This law, proposed by Giuseppe Bottai, Minister of National Education since 1936, and prompted by a public debate involving many protagonists of contemporaneous Italian culture - such as Gadda, Longanesi, Montale, Quasimodo and Ungaretti assigned two percent of the total costs invested in new buildings or in large scale development projects to create works of art.

The proposal was innovative and potentially prolific for the development of further public art projects. The law, although still in existence, has for the time being rather been respected or applied. Many reasons support the un-success of the 2% rule: the most firm detractors have underlined that that law doesn't provide for an authority to verify the respect for the regulation and have enlightened how the lack of control agencies seems to convey the idea that the 2% rule is rather a suggestion than a directive; other critics question the social quality of the works of art realized within the law assessing that the directive, instead of involving the civil society in the construction of public space, allocates the decision power to political and economic elites.

The latter issue is unquestionably true. Public art works realized within the 2% rule were typically modernist abstract sculptures placed outdoors to "decorate" or "enrich" urban spaces, especially plaza areas fronting federal buildings or corporate office towers.

With the exception of 717 law adjournments, since 1949 no rules on public art have been approved and, although in the Nineties the government showed a genuine sensitivity towards programs and policies aimed at promoting artistic projects in the area, the regulation of the public art sector in Italy has never been taken into account.

In such an unclear normative context, the most interesting practices of public art, and especially those which better express the civic nature of the artistic intervention in the territory, are created outside the institutional arenas thanks to the active action of largely apolitical actors such as residents, community representative, artists and curators. Faced with processes and actions that people perceive as the outcomes of top-down decisions, artists, often organized in groups or collectives, try to understand the concrete demand of urban quality expressed by the inhabitants and to transform it into art while local and regional authorities mainly act as a passive audience.

As a consequence of such a lack of a public art system, the comprehension of the Italian attitude toward artistic intervention in the public space can't exempt ourselves to take into account the analysis of program for the realization of artworks for the public space funded and promoted by private bodies such as *Nuovi Committenti*.

5. *Nuovi Committenti*: a programme for the production of art works for the public space

Nuovi Committenti is a programme for the production of art works for the public space in which citizens, as far as they commission works of art for the places where they live or work, act as patrons. It has been promoted by the Fondazione Adriano Olivetti since 2001 and it is currently implemented in Turin through the mediation of a local non-profit organization, named *a.titolo*, whose mission is promoting contemporary art oriented toward the social, political and cultural public space.

The program is based on the active collaboration between citizen-patrons, mediators, and artists: the artists are called to share the concept of the work of art with the citizens-patrons and to give rise to an open collaboration model; the mediator invites an artist to collate and cooperate with the community; finally patrons are citizens who gathered in groups - an association, a committee, a classroom, the staff of a hospital etc. - require the presence of a work of art in the places where they work or live (Bertolino, Comisso, Parola, Perlo, 2008).

The patrons' initial requests and expectations are the foundation of the project. According to this the mediator transcribes the inhabitants' desires into the Chart of Intentions, an official document on which artists will base their art project:

We always work on this table. We seat around this table extremely different actors: from artists to citizens, from patrons to public authorities, from architects to anthropologists. The main object of our first meeting is always the lack of something. You can call it, if you prefer, a desire, a need. It's a long process. Because before we start collaborating we have to help all these subjects to build a common language. Only after that we can translate residents-patrons desires into the Chart of Intentions. [MEDIATOR 1]

Mediators are chosen by the Olivetti Foundation according to their competence in the artistic sector, but also in relation to their knowledge of the territory and their willingness to listen to the needs of both citizens and artists. They choose the artist, present the said artist to the patrons and must be able to interpret the latter's projections and needs as well as act as intermediaries with the local administrators (Bertolino, Comisso, Parola, Perlo 2008):

We didn't start working as a mediator. We are all art critics. We didn't start managing art or public art projects but we were all devoted to historical study and analysis of art. After that we start collaborating with the City of Turin on some artistic initiative. I believe that all these expertise either in the art and in the city made possible our first collaboration with the Adriano Olivetti Foundation. And after that we started working as mediator. [MEDIATOR 2]

Artists involved can either be those who identify with the socially engaged practices sphere or those who wish to locate their work within the community so as to reactivate the relationship between art and society:

In the *Nuovi Committenti* programme the figure of the artist is somehow "resized". He certainly has to deal with the dimension of collaboration and dialogue. [...] Its authorship is not decreasing [...] because the artist still has to translate the inhabitants' request, so something that comes from people, from customers, into its own language, into its own poetic; I would rather say that he is given the opportunity to compete and work with civil society. But this is an equal circumstance. This is the case of collaboration, joint planning and sometimes even co-creation [MEDIATOR 3]

Nuovi Committenti formally privileges collaboration among equal partners. Mediators, artist and patron

converge in the artistic action and affirm that participation doesn't exist a priori but, on the contrary, has to be nurtured by true common feeling and actions.

The first Italian experience of the program, as mentioned above, has been realized in Turin within the area of Mirafiori Nord and the support of the European requalification program *Urban 2*, the Compagnia di San Paolo and Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Torino.

The project gave birth, within the borders of the industrial suburbs of FIAT workers, to the realization of four different works of art.

A) *Totipotent Architecture* by Lucy Orta was designed to respond to the demands of the students of the two local High Schools - Liceo Scientifico Majorana and Liceo Artistico Cottini - for a place suitable for meeting, stopping, reading, chatting and finding shelter.

B) *Multiplayer* is the work of art by Stefano Arienti which was conceived to respond to the demands of a group of children and teenagers residing in the buildings of Via Poma having access to a protected area open to all for collective ball games. Confrontations with the child purchasers led the Courtyards Project mediators and companions to develop the idea of an area outside the aesthetic and functional standards of other town playgrounds.

C) *Aiuola Transatlantico* is the outcome of a work by Claudia Losi done jointly with the inhabitants of the ATC buildings of Via Scarsellini.

D) Massimo Bartolini's *Laboratorio di Storia e Storie*, is a library consisting of a series of shelves along the Anselmetti chapel and archive walls and it is the result of a long collaboration between the artist and the elementary schools of Mirafiori Nord.

6. *Nuovi Committenti*: a programme for fostering civic engagement

Over the past several decades all major cities have undergone a series of linked yet often contradictory transformations. In response to waves of technological change, globalization and privatization, traditional kinds of urban public space are being eroded. From Arendt (1958) to Sennet (1977), social scientists have regularly questioned the collective nature of public space pragmatically showing, especially in more recent times, the reduction of the areas of social life, democracy and freedom within contemporary cities' borders (Davis 1990; Zukin 1991) and the increase of places of transience (Augé 1993, 1999). Others, such as Innerarity (2006), suggested that as far as historical and traditional public spaces – such as squares – are concerned the latter have also become areas unable to represent collectivity, and different public arenas emerged – such as the internet.

“THE SPACE, AS LEFEBVRE (1974)
SAID, DOES NOT PREEXIST, BUT IS
CONTINUOUSLY PRODUCED BY
INHABITANTS’ EVERYDAY
PRACTICES.”

Actually none of the above interpretations is truthfully correct: although the merging force of public space is undoubtedly weaker than in the past, although people seem to hardly have a territorial identity and, finally, although the sense of belonging is mainly expressed through virtual communities, tracks of community resistance to globalization are therefore visible (Bauman 2001).

“Judging by the number of references to public space in contemporary aesthetic discourse, the art world is “taking democracy seriously”. Allusions to public space have multiplied over the last decade along with a highly publicized growth in public art commissions, and even the most ingenuous accounts of public art agree: public space is inextricably linked to democratic ideals” (Deutsche, 1992: 34)

As the *Nuovi Committenti* programme demonstrates, public art itself acts as a form of urban resistance to the progressive loss of public meaning which seems to portray contemporary public spaces: public art, in fact, takes into account the process that undergo public space construction and make more concrete the ideal of public participation obliging artists, inhabitants, public agencies and public and private financiers to collaborate. Thus it is increasingly becoming a concrete form of action in the public realm and as a consequence, especially as far as its participatory quality is stressed, its collective nature is definitely increasing. Public art effectiveness in fostering citizen participation toward public and political life is evident at least at three levels.

Relational Level

It enables the creation of new social relations either within different groups of inhabitants living in the same quarter or within them and local and regional

authorities:

As far as art exits typical art places, such as galleries and museums, it creates new worlds and new point of interactions between the city and the artists. When we started this project, new relations grew in the quarter. If before the project inhabitants were more concentrated on their private sphere, when the project started they become more and more collaborative [...]. They had to collaborate with me. But participation means also listening to other residents, listening to the mediators. [...] It was like creating a community. And it was not a mere artistic event. It would rather be a social or a political experience. [ARTIST 2]

Decision-Making Level

It promotes citizen participation in the decision making process. As far as it proposes an innovative method of cultural mediation between the artist and the citizen-patron, it replaces a top down design logic with a bottom-up requalification action and it strengthens the idea that designing a space is not sufficient to create a place or to enhance a given inhabited situation. The space, as Lefebvre (1974) said, does not preexist, but is continuously produced by inhabitants’ everyday practices: along a timeline they produce culture, memory, meaning; in the spatial dimension they project images and shape places:

The main idea upon which public art is built is the idea that if every citizen starts to have an active in role in the decision-making process that underpins large urban development projects, it will feel more responsible for the place where he is living or working. He will therefore take care of public space [...] It will pay more

attention to its tidiness, he will take care of maintenance and he will definitely perceive that space as its own space. [...] He will probably start participating in community meeting in order to defend or preserve its spaces. He will have an opinion to share and compare with other inhabitants. [ARTIST 4]

Social Inclusivity Level

One of the more pressing issues characterizing contemporary cities- certainly one which preoccupies much academic and policy debate - is how to achieve greater social inclusion in cities which, locked into the task of enhancing their competitive position in an increasingly globalised economy, are characterized by deepening socioeconomic inequalities and increasing segregation.

When working on participatory projects, artists are frequently dealing with communities who have been marginalized in mainstream urban histories. There is a general sense that they have been made invisible within the cityscape and therefore a key strategy in overcoming this sense of non-recognition is to render their history visible in some form. The very visibility of public art deals with the fact that it is a leading vehicle through which minority groups can affirm their history and physically mark their place within the layered histories of the urban space - the past being a keystone upon which to build for the present and future. One of the mediators active in the *Nuovi Committenti* programme clearly express this belief describing a project realized in Turin which involved the Islamic community living in the city:

At that time I was working with an Italian female artist whose name is Adriana Torregrossa. She was experimenting projects which involved an immediate participation of the audience into the performance. She wanted to do something in the area of Porta Palazzo which at that time was, and probably it is still, one of the most ethnic areas of Turin. [...] Her idea was to give a voice to that community, the Islamic community which was undoubtedly a minority in Turin. So she organized a performance on the last day of Ramadan which involved a public pray in the squares. It was the first time Islamic people could publically pray in Turin. If you ask the community they all remember that day and since then Porta Palazzo started belonging to them more than it never did before. [MEDIATOR 2]

According to what is outlined above, *Nuovi Committenti*, but more in general all participatory forms of public art and, indeed, art itself, can be the first step toward full citizenship: it gives inhabitants a concrete opportunity to take part in the decision-

making process and thus it becomes an effective instrument for social inclusion. It should be recognized that yet the capacity of public art to foster inclusion is only partial. Without fertile collaboration with local and regional authorities, in fact, public art seems to be able to address symbolic needs more than material needs (Sharp, Pollock, Paddison 2007).

The case study proposed, for example, far from being an institutionalized programme for the production of art works for the public space, encourages direct citizen-patron participation in the conception of an art project and identifies art and culture as determining factors in the design and requalification of urban areas, but it can get out of a policy makers involvement. All the four projects realized show a widespread awareness in addressing the impact of deindustrialization, putting contemporary art at the heart of urban policy. As far as art becoming a community project and acquires a central role in major urban transformation processes, the dialogue with local and regional authorities cannot be put aside. The *Nuovi Committenti* programme doesn't assign an official role to public authorities, but in the four art projects realized in Mirafiori Nord, public administrators were continuously involved.

7. Conclusion: public art or public service?

As stated throughout this paper, as the city grows, public planners and city administrators are no longer able to keep up with the pace of change since they rely on outdated models of governance. For cities to thrive, to be communicative and alive, and to function as catalyzers of public life it is necessary to stimulate civic participation and community involvement.

Designing a space, as stated in previous paragraphs, is not sufficient to create a place or to enhance a given inhabited situation. As a consequence, effective urban planning actions or projects should deal with citizens and, more precisely, have to involve inhabitants in the decision-making process. This because the perfect aesthetic of the physical appearance of a city or of a suburb itself does not guarantee successful regeneration actions. Policymakers, as far as they don't want to build a fallacious sense of place, have to rely on participation and urban governance: planning should mean focusing on identities, values, and images as real actors able to engender behaviors and, thus, to shape places.

In such a respect, a plan would better work if conceived as a process, whereby the inhabitant could recognize its identity, and identify the necessary factors for a path of growth also corresponding to an evolution of meaning. In other words, a planning project and intervention should not simply correspond to the realization of an artifact: urban planning depends on the quality of the interaction between local administrators and the involved inhabitants.

Structuring the relational exchange since the very beginning will assure a deeper motivation and, thus, a higher level of sustainability.

As community participation has become a constant expectation in urban regeneration, so too has public art been celebrated as a way to deliver it. Because of its dynamics and because of the collaborative process that undergoes its realization, public art, since its very beginning, engenders the development of a relational layer, either within residents and between residents and other social actors which is certainly a structural condition for a sustainable planning process.

Public art procedure involves the inhabitants through the whole process, starting with an analyzing phase, developed with a few representatives, and continuing with a dialogue addressed to the entire community involved. In this way the artifact is built on the basis of shared values and perspectives of commitment, engendering motivation. Moreover, the emotional factor accompanying the shaping of the

populations to specific artistic projects, widens the social interest of people and drives their attention to other projects. In other words, public art seems to lead actors to participating in broader forms of urban life and governance.

Opportunities and risk incorporated into the use of public art within the context of urban regeneration practices have largely been described throughout this paper; the latter doesn't align itself with either point of view but it tries to present the limits and advantages connected to the use of public art in the context of urban regeneration. It deals with the reality that public art and cultural initiatives are widely used in urban contexts under the banner of regeneration, with the intention to achieve some degree of social impact.

Nevertheless a critical issue is finally addressed: can urban regeneration and citizen participation truly be considered the main aims of public art? If public art yields to institutional urban planning what became of its alternative/radical nature?

The risk of exploitation of public art programmes is

“NUOVI COMMITTENTI SEEMS TO REPRESENT A SUCCESSFUL PUBLIC ART PROGRAMME AS FAR AS IT BRINGS A NOTEWORTHY MODEL OF ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP.”

relational text imprints the sense of involvement even with higher effectiveness.

According to the premises outlined above, *Nuovi Committenti* seems to represent a successful public art programme as far as it brings into being a noteworthy model of active citizenship. The value of the social impact of public art appears as a useful tool for the development of social capital and civic identity. Moreover, the incorporation of historical elements in the art work itself reinforces a common sense of territorial belonging, as well as it helps to develop a sense of community.

Being sincere what we really liked a lot of *Nuovi Committenti* is that it is a program that doesn't really need to work properly for political activist artists or policy makers. The programmed itself is political and especially the methodologies used is political [...] the dynamic in which this project has been realized is highly political because it calls into question a civic role of all the actors involved [MEDIATOR 3]

The study revealed that the participation of urban

not disregarded. This is especially the case in Italy where public art actors have to deal daily with the lack of formal regulations. Programmes such as the one presented in these pages seem to integrate either the urban planner's requirements or inhabitants' desires. The equality assured to all actors assures opportunities for opposing the establishment and for avoiding policymakers' exploitations.

In conclusion, as long as *public art* takes into account issues such as participatory design, social responsibility and active citizenship and building on relationships, and, moreover, as long as it focuses back on the relationships, on the uses and on the functions brought into play by the specific inhabitants of a territory when they utilize a space, it becomes a concrete tool for effective community planning policies. More specifically, as long as public art practices trigger a participatory mechanism which involves different urban actors, both individual and collective, aimed at improving the quality of public spaces, it can be considered as an innovative instrument of governance, whereby central and local government bodies can interact with citizens and approach their social demands for urban quality.

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