SUSTAINABLE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION:

THE SEARCH FOR INTERGENERATIONAL FAIRNESS

By

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Alisa Moldavanova

Submitted to the graduate degree program in Public Affairs and Administration, and the Graduate Faculty of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

This study presents a broad understanding of sustainability-sustainability as intergenerational equity, or fairness in relation to future generations. It seeks to fill the theoretical gap in the sustainability literature, in particular the preoccupation of that literature with short-term sustainability strategies, and its lack of both theoretical and empirical inquiries concerning intergenerational sustainability. The study looks at the experiences of particular art organizations (art museums, literature, and music and performing arts) with the purpose of exploring the determinants of institutional resilience and management strategies that enhance the long-term sustainability of organizations. I seek to challenge the widespread theoretical and empirical orientation in the culture-based development literature that looks at arts organizations as sites for sustainable development, and thus assigns them purely instrumental and temporal value. Interviews with art managers and experts from eighteen arts organizations across the United States, examinations of organizational practices and strategic documents, historic analysis, and other forms of field research all suggest that there is a special kind of institutional rationality that, over time, translates into what I call institutional capital for sustainability. I also find that institutional arrangements are important predictors of a choice of sustainability strategies, however, sustainable thinking and sustainable acting by managers of art organizations matter more for long-term sustainability than particular institutional structures. The study identifies particular managerial roles associated with sustainable decision-making. I find that through their day-to-day choices managers of art institutions almost inadvertently pursue an ethic of sustainability, vouching safe the interests of future generations.

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Dissertation research and writing is an amazing journey; it is also a story of personal resilience and success, in which the discoveries of the moment are combined with hours, days, and months of hard work and, sometimes, frustrating experiences. The phrase "all roads lead to Rome" might be a cliché, but it nevertheless is a very good description of the dissertation journey in that all the time and effort spent to produce a creative work will succeed as long as the creator keeps going. After several years of working on my dissertation, I am fully confident that my personal journey would not have been complete or enjoyable without a number of people and organizations to whom I owe highest respect and gratitude.

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Table of Contents

Illustrations

List of Figures

List of Tables

Chapter 1. Introduction

Over the last two decades sustainability has been an important topic in public administration and in many other fields and disciplines (Asheim, 1999; Budd, Lovrich Jr, Pierce, & Chamberlain, 2008; Dasgupta, 2008; DeCanio & Niemann, 2006; Hasna, 2007; Helm, 1999; Howarth, 2003; Krautkraemer, 1998; Matarasso, 2001; K. F. McCarthy, Elizabeth Heneghan Ondaatje and Jennifer L. Novak, 2007; Nurse, 2008; Padilla, 2002; Shearman, 1990; Tubadji, 2010). Conceptual understandings of sustainability, however, remain vague and often so context specific as to defy generalization. The range of meanings of sustainability found in ecology, economics and social sciences is broad, with no clear agreement on the specific dimensions to be included in considerations of sustainability.

The most commonly utilized definition comes from the Brundtland Commission that "the development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" is a sustainable development ("World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future," 1987). This definition clearly focuses on the interests of current generations, which is a narrow point of view. Instead, this study presents a broad understanding of sustainability-sustainability as intergenerational equity, or fairness in relation to future generations (H. George Frederickson, 2010a). The study seeks to fill the theoretical gap in the sustainability literature, in particular the preoccupation of that literature with short-term sustainability strategies directed to the mitigation of consequences rather than planning for future contingencies, and its lack of both theoretical and empirical inquiries concerning intergenerational sustainability. The study argues that the cultural dimension of sustainability, although underrepresented in the literature when compared to environmental,

economic, and social dimensions of sustainability, is crucial for holistic understanding of sustainability as a complex, multidimensional concept.

This study focuses both theoretically and empirically on the subject of aesthetics. It considers the experiences of particular art organizations within three sub-fields of aesthetics – the visual arts (art museums), literature, and the music and performing arts-with the purpose of exploring the determinants of institutional resilience and identifying the management strategies that enhance the long-term sustainability of arts organizations. The study seeks to extend the theoretical and empirical orientation of the culture-based development literature that tends to view arts organizations as sites for sustainable development, economic growth, and urban revitalization, and thereby emphasizes their instrumental and temporal values. This study argues that arts are vital to the cultural dimension of sustainability, and their effect extends beyond shorter-term instrumental values.

As John Dewey argued, aesthetic experiences are often the longest remembered experiences possessing a predictive capacity: "the first strings of dissatisfaction and the first intimations of a better future are always found in works of art." (Rosen, 2003) One of the properties of such experience is its endurance: art in which meanings have received objective expression endure because they become part of the environment and ensure the transmission of cultural meaning over time, which in turn ensures their continuity in the life of civilization (Dewey, 1934). Following this line of thought, this study seeks to provide empirical evidence explaining how arts institutions contribute to the sustainability of communities and societies, both in temporal terms and in the long-term.

This study of sustainable public administration conceptualizes sustainability as intergenerational equity or fairness with respect to remote future generations (H. George

Frederickson, 2010a). The primary theoretical question asked is: what can present day institutions do to enhance the prospects for long-term future generations? When considering long-term future generations, the discussion of sustainability exceeds the scope of temporal management strategies, and essentially becomes an ethics issue. Thus, the systematic study of sustainability would have to focus on both management strategies that ensure temporal institutional resilience as a necessary condition for long-term sustainability, and apply the idea of social equity to temporal organizations in pursuit of the well-being of future generations. We know that there are institutions, which are resilient over time – museums, orchestras, libraries and other long-standing cultural institutions. Therefore, the best way to study sustainability is to examine particular sustainable institutions, their emergence, transformation, and survival.

This research argues that by studying the particular experiences of lasting art institutions, we can learn about their long-term sustainability and their ethic. This study seeks to explore the following research questions:

- What makes art institutions sustainable? Answering this question presupposes identifying the determinants of institutional sustainability by looking at particular management strategies and institutional practices that enhance resilience and increase the probability of long-term sustainability.

- What is the inter-generational role of sustainable institutions, and what is their long-term legacy? Answering this question presupposes identifying the evidence of intergenerational commitment by sustainable institutions (either formally declared or actually practiced), and exploring the values and practices of these institutions as these values and practices relate to current and future generations, and thereby shape sustainable institutions.

I.   The Study Approach and Research Methodology

The field work for this study was designed to explore both the variations of sustainability strategies and the process of the decision-making in the name of future generations. Many factors may influence such decisions, including the personal values of decision-makers, the characteristics of local communities (such as dominant political culture and ideology, vibrancy of local arts sector and educational opportunities, etc.), the particular institutional structure of organizations (such as form of ownership, institutional affiliations, legal status, and the structure of funding sources, etc). In the absence of a particular general theory that could explain how these factors combine and result in particular policy outcomes that are favorable to future generations, this research attempts to develop such a theory.

This is a challenging task methodologically because it involves going back to the past, considering the historic context, and dealing with differences in institutional experiences. This requires adopting a methodology based on the post-modern and post-positivist ideas of scientific inquiry known in public administration as qualitative research (McNabb, 2002; Riccucci, 2010; J. D. White & Adams, 1994). Based on the nature of the research subject and particular questions of interest, the methodological approach adopted for the purposes of this study is grounded theory. The main purpose of grounded theory is to empirically generate hypotheses and develop theory/theories that explain complex phenomena (Corbin & Strauss, 1990), in this case – the issues of the long-term sustainability of arts institutions and intergenerational equity.

The theory developed through the use of qualitative research methodology can take one or several of the following forms: theoretical discovery, theoretical extension, and theoretical refinement (Snow, Morrill, & Anderson, 2003). This study presupposes the development of theory through refinement and extension, which means the modification of the pre-existing

theoretical perspectives and conceptual formulations through the close inspection of a particular proposition (the idea of just and sustainable institutions) with new contexts and socio-cultural domains (art museums, music and performing arts, and literature). The relevant conceptual frameworks as well as existing empirical studies on the subject of sustainability and intergenerational equity are reviewed and analyzed in Chapters 2 and 3, and the cultural policy context is discussed in Chapter 4. The conceptual analysis in the first three chapters identifies the gaps in existing literature on sustainability and intergenerational equity, and develops the theoretical framework for empirical inquiry, generating two major research questions as well as particular themes for exploration through the field work.

Grounded theory is predominantly inductive: it takes a case rather than a variable perspective, assuming that variables are subject to complex interactions, and particular cases are representative of general tendencies (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Barney G. Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Maxwell, 2005; Strauss, 1987). Grounded theory includes several methodological approaches which differentiate it from other research methodologies, in particular, iterative comparative analysis and theoretical sampling (Dunne, 2011; McGhee, Marland, & Atkinson, 2007). Its emphasis on the verification of concepts through practice makes grounded theory an appropriate methodological framework for studying sustainable administration by framing the comparison of diverse institutional experiences and finding common patterns. The grounded theory approach is best suited for the study of complex and unique social phenomena that have been previously understudied (Strauss&Corbin, 1990). Sustainability and intergenerational equity in the fields of art and aesthetics are such phenomena.

This research considers examples of particular organizations within the domain of arts and culture with different institutional structures (university-affiliated and free-standing, public

and private). Since I am interested in sustainable institutions only, sustainability understood to be the ability of institutions to endure in the long-term, I selected organizations that are at least 35 years old (the average age distance between two consecutive generations). However, in order to understand the general context of institutional transformations and grasp some of the prospective tendencies in the field, the study also reviews examples of innovative sustainability strategies within the arts sector in general and discussions of such strategies in media, professional web sites and art blogs.

The idea of looking at particular institutional experiences and management decisions that may affect future generations was supported by consultations with several art policy experts, conducted at the exploratory stage of this study. Thus, the main source of information for this study is the opinions of art managers and experts, and the analysis of relevant organizational practices. The data for this research were collected through the combination of the following methods:

1) historic analysis (history of museums, music and performing arts institutions, literature and literary organizations; evolution of organizational mission and social significance);

2) in-person and phone interviews with the managers of art institutions with different institutional structure and art policy experts;

3) document analysis (mission statements, strategic plans, program descriptions-relevant to the research questions and collected through organizational web-sites, and/or provided by the interview participants); and,

4) direct and participant observations of organizational practices (where applicable).

By comparing the historical backgrounds of sustainable institutions and their missions, objectives and programmatic approaches to sustainability, as well as particular choices of management strategies that enhance institutional resilience, this study draws causal logical inferences regarding the determinants of long-term sustainability. The study also seeks to identify evidence of institutional commitment to future generations. As with any grounded theory (Strauss, 1987), the iterative re-framing of research questions and categories in this study depended on data and ongoing discussions with interviewees. Using such an approach, research observations and findings are grounded in the data. Rather than testing hypotheses in the form of quantitative measures, the purpose of grounded theory is the development of empirically informed and cogent hypotheses.

II. The Place of Literature Review and the Data Analysis

Theorizing and conceptual analysis constitutes the bulk of Chapters 2-4. For the purposes of this study the literature reviews were conducted before doing the interviews and other forms of field research. The surveys of literature conducted in the initial chapters cover only a general overview of the problems studied and engage the existing bodies of theory in order to justify the subjects of study, develop some general expectations, and substantiate the interview questions.

The place of the literature review in a grounded theory study is an issue of considerable debate in the research community. Some scholars suggest at least an initial review of sources within the field of interest in order to develop initial coding categories for qualitative material, while others advocate using grounded theory withholding the in-depth literature review until the later stages to avoid bias (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Dunne, 2011; B.G. Glaser, 1978; McGhee, et al., 2007). The approach adopted here is based on the idea that a

general literature survey regarding the main topics of interest conducted prior to the field work would be useful for developing appropriate research questions and themes.

The additional literature review on particular subjects within the domain of aesthetics was also used in the process of examining institutional experiences and analyzing interviews. Once interview coding was completed, the researcher referred to the literature in order to compare the findings with the existing frameworks, validate the conclusions, and highlight the study's contributions. This middle approach to grounded theory and literature review has been used in previous scholarship (Dunne, 2011; McGhee, et al., 2007). It allows for avoiding a preconceived set of coding categories, as well as allowing for the construction of meaningful and theoretically grounded questions for interview participants.

Specific categories for the data analysis emerged for each of the substantive chapters separately, by exploring the same themes and asking similar questions of different organizations. Some of these categories overlap, while others are attributed uniquely to each of the research subjects (art museums, music and performing arts, and literature). Due to institutional similarities (mostly formalized organizations with nonprofit status), the categories for museums and music and performing arts organizations are more similar, as compared to the literature (that is less formalized). As part of the processing, relevant categories were combined into factors that emerged by creating a hierarchy of the interview-based codes on the basis of their semantic and substantive co-occurrence. The study used qualitative data analysis approach, and the interviews were coded and analyzed using ATLAS.ti qualitative data analysis software.

III.   Interviews with the Art Managers and Policy Experts

The main field research tool was semi-structured elite interviews with the managers of the selected institutions and with art policy experts. The idea of the elite interviews implies that

in-depth knowledge of the area is acquired by a select group of people, who are experts on the topic, in an open-ended manner rather than from the closed-ended and survey-based questionnaires administered to a larger number of people (Beamer, 2002; Dexter, 1970, 2006; Hummel, 1991; Odendahl & Shaw, 2002). This is an especially appropriate approach for the subject of this study, since long-term thinking requires significant personal expertise and professional experience. Additionally, the expert interviews called for approximating motivations and values guiding the choices of sustainability strategies that are likely to affect future generations.

Depending on the subjects' availability, interviews were conducted either in person, or by phone. Participants were recruited voluntarily through direct contact and with the assistance of experts approached during the initial research phase. Since my methodology was based on collecting expert opinions and looking at the experiences of particular organizations, it was not practical or necessary to preserve the anonymity of interview participants. Hence, particular thoughts and quotes are directly attributed to interview participants. All interviews were recorded and transcribed with the exception of two: one person sent responses by e-mail (the public education director, Colorado Shakespeare Festival) and another person preferred the researcher to take notes instead of recording the conversation (the director of Colorado University Art Museum).

Questions for the managers of particular institutions were written individually for each institution, in consideration with the area of study (museums, music and performing arts, and literature) and depending on the institutional history. This implies that prior to an actual interview a researcher analyzed various documents to be familiar with institutional histories,

media publications, organizational web-sites, and other publicly available information about the selected organizations and their practices, which are relevant to the main issues of interest:

1) exploring the institutional commitment to future generations,

2) determining characteristics of sustainable institutions and identifying major strategies for sustainability.

In addition to the general questions regarding the main themes of interest, experts were asked to comment on particular organizational missions, strategies and programs identified through document analysis, as well as to comment on current sustainability-related cases and debates within the professional community, as identified by analyzing professional newspapers, art blogs and other discussion forums. The sources of up-to-date information regarding current sustainability issues within the arts community and discussions about the future included such online resources as The Art Newspaper, Dispatches from the Future of Museums, Poets and Writers, among other. Thus, the bulk of interview questions are tied to particular organizational experiences, which made questions on sustainability and intergenerational equity less abstract and provided deeper insight into the topic.

While each of these interviews explored the same topics and addressed similar questions, each interview was a unique product of interaction between the researcher and the interview participant. As a result, each interview allowed for deviations from the "prepared in advance" questions, as long as these deviations were relevant to the subjects of the research interest. It is important to report here that all persons interviewed were enthusiastic about the topic and willingly shared their insights and relevant information. While some interviews followed a more traditional questions and answers format, others were more conversational in nature.

The semi-structured interviews with the managers of selected institutions and policy experts were based on the mixture of closed (factual) and open (value) questions, which facilitated exploring the relationship between the choice of a particular sustainability strategy and core institutional values, and determining whether such choices are likely to alter or change values. Using both open and closed questions enabled obtaining both precise examples of sustainability approaches developed within the institutions, and obtaining general ideas regarding institutional legacies and determining how their values would be transferred to future generations.

The model for this type of research is similar to the environmental sustainability study by Walker and Salt, in which they explored the idea of 'resilience thinking' as a mechanism of sustaining particular ecosystems in a changing world (B. H. Walker & Salt, 2006). Similar to these scholars, this research explores sustainability by looking at selected institutions of art. Particular areas of interest included the following: What is sustainable thinking in institutions of art? What are the distinguishing characteristics of intergenerationally sustainable institutions? What factors contribute to institutional resilience? What managerial roles are associated with sustainable thinking? How is sustainable thinking and concern for future generations reflected in institutional missions, programs, and practices? What is the effect of particular temporal decisions on long-term sustainability? Is institutional resilience achieved through preservation and following tradition, or through adaptation, change, and communication? What were the major historical shifts in the paradigms of art institutions, and what shifts are expected in the future? What is the social role of sustainable institutions, and how is it changing? While most of these themes were explored with the help of questions that were tied to the particular institutional practices and experiences, some questions were more philosophical.

IV.   The Description of Organizations and Interview Participants

The total number of interviews conducted for this research is 28, and the total number of organizations covered is 18: some organizations had more than one interviews, and some interviews were done with experts that do not belong to the selected art organizations (for instance, officials of public agencies such as the National Endowment for the Arts, university professors, and art management consultants). All organizations examined in this study are located in the United States: the majority are in Kansas and Missouri, and the others are in Colorado, Illinois, Iowa, New York, and Oregon. Contacts for a number of these organizations were provided by experts who were consulted during the exploratory stage of the research, and some of these organizations were contacted and asked directly for permission to conduct interviews.

The actual exploration of the subject started from museums and a 6-week long full-time job with the public education department at a university-based natural history museum. Although this was not an art museum, my job with the public education department included interacting with an important category of museum clients (children of ages 8 to 11). In addition I had several conversations with the public education director and other museum staff. This ground level experience helped my understanding of museum operations, everyday challenges and successes, and management approaches to sustainability. Along with the literature reviews, reading art managers' blogs, and studying museums' web sites, this ground work also gave me some ideas regarding potential interview questions. Interviews analyzed in the museum chapter include both data collected at art museums and a natural history museum. Other organizations interviewed for the museum chapter include free-standing community art institutions in Colorado and Kansas, as

well as two university-based museums – The Spencer Museum of Art at the University of Kansas and Colorado University Art Museum in Boulder.

Data collected from different organizations were used for different chapters with the exception of one – the Colorado Shakespeare Festival, the second largest Shakespeare festival in the United States-that was used for the chapters on literature, and music and performing arts. On one hand, the Festival is an important performing arts institution offering live music and performing arts experience to people in Colorado, and on the other hand, the major part of its mission is about the preservation and promotion of the important literary heritage of William Shakespeare. Both of these functions reinforce each other and significantly contribute to the long-term sustainability of the Festival. In addition to the Shakespeare Festival, organizations interviewed for the chapter on literature include the literature division of the National Endowment for the Arts, two university-affiliated publishing organizations (a university press and a literature review), a university-based research library that holds a collection of historical manuscripts and rare literature, a university-based creative writing program for a local jail population, an independent nonprofit publishing organization, and a private publishing company. These organizations are located in Kansas, Colorado, New York, Iowa and Illinois.

The chapter on music and performing arts includes the analysis of interviews collected at several music organizations (a lyric opera, a symphony, and a classical music festival), a free-standing ballet company, a university-based performing arts center, and a performing arts venue hosting several music and performing arts organizations. The last organization is very young but it is serving as a home for several lasting and resilient institutions. The interview with its managing director was analyzed along with the other data. All these organizations are located in four states: Kansas, Missouri, Oregon, and Colorado.

The majority of interview participants are the top-managers of the selected organizations, and other participants include directors of particular departments (such as public education and outreach, collections management, external relations) and cultural policy experts and consultants. In terms of the professional background of the interviewees, the interviews include both professionally trained managers without a degree in the arts, and art managers who do not necessarily have a degree in management. Naturally, interviewing different categories of decision-makers produced some variation of responses regarding core institutional values, sustainability strategies, and other important themes, and this plurality of opinions was especially valuable for exploring the subject of interest. In modern consumption-oriented societies it often becomes a function of individual artists, musicians, poets, as well as professional public managers working in art organizations to be the stewards of social values and cultivate the appreciation of art and beauty. However, there are reasons to believe that on an individual level, the values and ideas regarding institutional roles carried by professionally trained managers working in the arts, and professionally trained musicians and artists working as managers, could be very different. Therefore, these cohorts brought their unique input.

In addition to the mixed professional background of interview participants, this research benefitted from the significant management and art administration experience of the people interviewed. The majority of the interviewees had substantial and long-term experience of working for several art institutions located in different parts of the country. For instance, the current editor-in-chief of *Words Without Borders* – an independent nonprofit publisher from Chicago, for many years worked as the editor-in-chief for one of the oldest university presses – *The Northwestern University Press*. The chief executive official of the *Kansas City Lyric Opera* was interviewed during the last week of his tenure in the office, after more than thirty years of

professional experience with music and performing arts. Therefore, while the findings of this study are based upon the examination of particular organizations, the findings also reflect a broader picture regarding the arts sector.

V.   Findings and Contributions

Interviews with art managers and experts from eighteen arts organizations across the United States, examinations of organizational practices and strategic documents, historic analysis and other forms of field research all suggest that there is a special kind of institutional rationality that, over time, translates into what I call institutional capital for sustainability. This study finds that institutional arrangements (university-affiliation, nonprofit status, etc.) are important predictors of a choice of sustainability strategies, however, sustainable thinking and sustainable acting by managers of art organizations matter more for long-term sustainability than particular institutional structures. Following the institutional theory developed by March and Olsen (March & Olsen, 1989), this study finds that sustainable decisions are made according to a logic of appropriateness and the idea of making sense of existing institutional and extra-institutional conditions, rather than in the rational pursuit of formalized strategic plans.

The study discusses organizational mission elements associated with long-term sustainability in each of the three domains of art, and discusses how institutional missions change in response to extra and intra-institutional environments. The evolution of institutional missions provides evidence of the adaptable nature of sustainable arts institutions. The study also identifies particular managerial roles associated with sustainable decision-making for museums, literature and performing arts institutions. The findings show that in their day-to-day choices managers of art institutions almost inadvertently pursue an ethic of sustainability, vouching safe the interests of future generations. While there are some cross-institutional similarities, there are

also notable differences between managerial roles for museums, literature, and music and performing arts managers.

Through the exploration of the theory and extensive field work, this study found that the narratives of sustainability and intergenerational equity are related in fundamental ways. These narratives provide a theoretical framework explaining how short-term sustainability strategies lead to long-term outcomes, as well as provide empirically testable hypotheses regarding the determinants of the long-term sustainability of arts organizations. Overall, this study demonstrates that each of the subfields of art offers a unique contribution to understanding intergenerational sustainability, and argues that other public policy areas may learn important lessons from the arts.

VI.   Overview of the Chapters

The study consists of eight chapters addressing different aspects of intergenerational sustainability and covering sustainability lessons from each of the three areas of art. Chapter 2 reviews interdisciplinary literature on sustainability with a particular emphasis on public administration literature. It also presents a conceptual analysis of sustainability as a multidimensional concept and discusses the role of culture and arts for understanding long-term sustainability. Finally, by reviewing both the studies of sustainability of the arts and the studies dedicated to the role of arts for sustainability, Chapter 2 identifies the gaps in existing literature and formulates a set of research questions to be addressed in the empirical study.

Chapter 3 reviews the intergenerational fairness literature in an attempt to describe theoretical connection between the concepts of sustainability and intergenerational equity that is further explored empirically through the field work reported in the substantive chapters. Of particular importance is the discussion regarding the application to the study of sustainable

administration of the idea of just institutions (Rawls, 1971), as a form of social equity between generations, and the compound theory of social equity (H. George Frederickson, 2010a). Both of these theories allow extending temporal principles of justice to the future generations. Chapter 3 concludes by discussing some neo-institutional ideas regarding democratic governance that speak of the decision-making logic applicable to public institutions (March & Heath, 1994; March & Olsen, 1989, 1995). It suggests exploring some of these ideas through the field work. Chapter 4 is the last theoretical chapter. Chapter 3 looks at the historical and policy context for the arts, with a particular focus on American cultural policy, and how its historical evolution impacted the sustainability of the arts and shaped the contribution of arts organizations to the sustainability of communities and societies.

Substantive chapters 5-7 are dedicated to reporting the findings obtained by looking separately at museums, literature, and music and performing arts institutions. These chapters develop the concept of the institutional capital for sustainability and show how each of these arts organizations develop their capital for sustainability in a unique way. This includes the establishment and taking advantage of such intergenerational institutions as professional organizations, private philanthropy and the nonprofit business model, public education function, as well as more specific institutions (libraries, electronic books and digital art collections, canons, etc.) Institutional capital for sustainability is also being developed through a number of rational and intuitive strategies, and Chapters 5-7 discuss specific findings for museums, literature, and music and performing arts organizations. Finally, these chapters also cover the description of mission elements and managerial roles associated with the sustainability of art organizations.

Chapter 5 shows that art museums not only function as institutions of historical memory but they also safeguard the interests of future generations by sharing art and promoting the inclusion of art into the multidimensional sustainability discourse. Chapter 6 argues that the sustainability of literature institutions lies in their ability to transmit cultural capital across time and space. Thus literature serves as a moral language between generations. Chapter 7 demonstrates that among all art organizations, music and performing arts are particularly capable of building symbiotic relationships with their communities. In the long run, this relationship with community results in greater institutional sustainability. The concluding Chapter 8 presents findings from a comparative perspective by discussing the variations of sustainability strategies among arts organizations, as well as common themes and discoveries. It also discusses potentialities for future research and outlines some hypotheses that were generated in the course of study. Finally, Chapter 8 speaks of the broader relevance of the study and its contributions to developing the theory of the ethic of sustainability.

Chapter 2. Sustainability, Future Generations, and Aesthetics

> "The aim of art is to represent not the outward appearance of things,
> but their inward significance."-Aristotle

The purpose of this chapter is to set out a conceptual understanding of sustainability. This is done by examining both contextual and multidimensional treatments of sustainability in many disciplines. This is followed with the consideration of social science literature, particularly literature on different forms of capital detrimental to the long-term resilience of communities and societies, as well as works that consider the cultural dimension of sustainability. All of this is in pursuit of a framework for a more holistic view of sustainability. Finally, I identify aesthetics and institutions of art as excellent examples of cultural sustainability and argue that aesthetics are uniquely and exceptionally important to a long-term ethic of sustainability.

I.   What is Sustainability: Uni-Dimensional View

The term sustainability has been widely used in the context of ecological, economic and social studies. While there are a few successful operationalizations of sustainability in research (Dasgupta, 2008; Helm, 1999; Howarth, 2003; Padilla, 2002), there is no precise definition of the term. In ecological economics sustainability is often used interchangeably with the term 'sustainable development'. The most commonly utilized definition comes from the Brundtland Commission that "the development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" is a sustainable development ("World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future," 1987). This definition clearly focuses on the interests of current generations, which is a narrow point of view. Instead, this study suggests a view of long-term sustainability that could be understood as intergenerational fairness or equity, as these terms are used in public administration (H. George Frederickson, 2010a).

Some use context-specific definitions of sustainability, implying particular meanings of the word based on the subject of study (B. J. Brown, Hanson, Liverman, & Merideth, 1987). Shearman, however, criticizes contextual approaches to defining the term, and suggests that it is not the meaning of sustainability that changes with respect to context, rather it is our understanding of the context itself that is being shaped by sustainability (Shearman, 1990). He suggests distinguishing between lexical and implicative meaning of the term. The lexical or dictionary meaning implies that sustainability is the capability of being maintained, while implicative meaning suggests that it is not the term itself that is important, but its implications. According to Shearman the key to understanding sustainability is to treat sustainability as 'continuity through time'. Consequently, its meaning should not be the subject for further discussion, rather the consequences resulting from applying sustainability as a modifier to a particular context is what matters most (Shearman, 1990). Thus, sustainability is being treated as a concept in search of a framework.

In environmental management, sustainability is generally understood to be "the continued satisfaction of basic human needs – food, water, shelter – as well as higher level social and cultural necessities such as security, freedom, education, employment and recreation" (B. J. Brown, et al., 1987). The term has been used in association with such concepts as economic development, agricultural production, social equity and biodiversity (Shearman, 1990). It is especially important in studies of mitigating climate change (Helm, 1999; Howarth, 2003). From an ethical perspective there are two approaches of looking at ecologically sustainable development: anthropocentrism focusing on human well-being, and non-anthropocentrism considering nonhuman interest as well (Shearman, 1990). In a normative sense, both of these approaches consider sustainability as desirable. Non-anthropocentrism values an ethical

relationship with the environment and acknowledges the duties and obligations owed to various entities in consideration of their part in an extended moral community. Anthropocentrism argues that sustainability is necessary in order to meet human needs and fulfill moral obligations and duties towards each other. Both of these approaches treat sustainability as a moral virtue.

In economic theory, the idea of intergenerational sustainability is based on the notion that "the current generation is failing to meet its societal and public responsibility to maintain a broadly defined capital stock for the purposes of sustaining a broadly defined income for the benefit of future generations" (Bratland, 2006). Geoffrey Hill suggests an egalitarian understanding of sustainability, which includes three elements: a treatment of the future that places a positive value on the very long run, recognition of all the ways in which environmental assets contribute to economic well-being, and recognition of the constraints implied by the dynamics of these assets (Heal, 1998). In this view, the implementation of sustainability requires the presence of a central regulating authority that helps maintain a higher social standard of welfare that transcends individual calculations. Therefore, sustainability is recognized as a public good to be provided to future generations outside of the institutions of private property and market exchange.

While the idea of sustainability implies that it is essentially a public good requiring public provision, there is also a neoclassical economic assumption implying that private property and monetary exchange are the only ways to ensure the maintenance of capital and income for future generations. For example, Bratland presents a theory of sustainability based on private property, monetary exchange, and capital accounting (Bratland, 2006). Following Bratland, the only effective way to ensure the legitimate sustainability of resources is by better enforcement of existing property rights and expanding the scope of private ownership by allowing the

management of resources as capital assets. Public regulation of private resources is involuntary and, therefore, the transfer of property to a governmental authority is unethical, and cannot be justified as a moral obligation "to generations of people that do not even exist" (Bratland, 2006, p. 22). Thus, private ownership is the only way to ensure managing resources by ethical means, because private property creates incentives and imposes costs that assure sustainable services.

The treatment of sustainability formed in welfare economics can be contrasted with the treatment of sustainability usually formed in moral philosophy. The major problem in the application of the sustainability criterion in economics is its inconsistency with the norms of economic efficiency (Bratland, 2006). Thus, the classic cost-benefit approach presupposes that rational decision-makers should seek to maximize present benefits to fulfill the preferences of current generations. This implies the application of discounting procedures, which are efficient but inconsistent with the needs of future generations. The principle of discounting in the conventional economic analysis implies the dominance of present preferences over future benefits (Howarth, 2003; Bratland, 2006; Padilla, 2002). For instance, in neoclassical economic theory there is a general recognition that the scarcity of time and consumption goods induces each individual to subjectively rank consumption in the present more highly than an equivalent consumption at some time in the future (Bratland, 2006). Acts of saving, constrained by the uncertain nature of future, are possible only when the individual is assured to have sufficiently high future gain to reverse the losses of present consumption.

On the contrary, moral philosophy treats sustainability in the context of intergenerational fairness (Howarth, 2001). For instance, the rights-based view of intergenerational fairness implies that today's decision-makers are entitled to use the benefits of resources exploitation only if it does not impair the ability of future generations to enjoy comparable benefits (Howarth,

2003). Similarly, according to classic utilitarianism, which makes human utility its basic unit of analysis for making social choices, fair decision-making requires that equal weight be given to the needs and interests of every individual (Howarth, 2001). Therefore, the economic practice of discounting the future is seen as morally unacceptable, and public policies should be designed in ways that maximize the utility of both present and future generations.

The conflict between two principles – temporal economic efficiency and intergenerational equity may be reconcilable on a conceptual level (DeCanio & Niemann, 2006; Howarth, 2003; Padilla, 2002). Following Padilla, sustainability requirements should be essential in any economic analysis involving cross-generational issues; such requirements represent equity commitments to the future, the right to a non-deteriorated ecological and economic capacity (Padilla, 2002). He suggests that in order to achieve sustainable development it is necessary to go beyond the efficiency criterion. In order to ensure that the equity requirement is met, it is necessary to have an appropriate institutional framework enforcing intergenerational rights in the decision-making process. As a specific mechanism, Padilla suggests implementing compensation procedures fulfilling at least weak sustainability requirements compensating for the reduction in one type of capital (economic, social, etc.) by the increase in another type of capital. This is both a more efficient and a more equitable solution compared to temporal discounting that is efficient, but not fair to the interests of future generations.

In political research there is evidence that the major problem in implementing successful sustainability initiatives is the dominance of present interests over future considerations (Depoorter, 2006; Healy, 2009). The study by Depoorter analyses the effectiveness of disaster management program using the public choice framework, where politicians are "sellers" of disaster management policies and voters are "consumers" of such policies (Depoorter, 2006).

The governmental response to Hurricane Katrina, which is a good illustration of the differences in ex post and ex ante governmental reactions to disaster management, provides valuable insights regarding the real life obstacles to sustainability policies. Consistent with theoretic predictions, Depoorter shows that while disaster preparation is undersupplied, ex post relief is oversupplied (Depoorter, 2006). The major factors explaining such an imbalance are the shared political accountability among different levels of government resulting from a high degree of overlap in allocating disaster management tasks, and the public perceptions of the shared responsibility. Since voters are more likely to compare how different governments respond to a disaster rather than what they have done to prevent it, agencies on all levels of government would rather work hard on ex post relief than invest their scarce resources for ex ante preparedness. Gaining something here and now becomes more important than pursuing distant long-term benefits.

Healy and Malhotra similarly demonstrated that voters reward the incumbent presidential party for delivering disaster relief spending but not for investing in disaster preparedness spending, which leads government to under-invest in disaster preparedness and causes substantial public welfare loses (Healy, 2009). Citizens tend to prefer the former over the later because post factum initiatives involve the direct distribution of highly targetable private goods, while ex ante preparedness spending consists mainly of public goods. Consequently, voters prefer individual-level payments over collective goods, and react strongly on the success of relief spending, while preparedness spending does not seem to influence voting behavior in a meaningful way. Healy and Malhotra also found that the attractiveness of a relief strategy is associated with the salience of the issue and immediate publicity given to the government reaction on disaster. Additionally, relief expenditures are preferred by government itself because they are more easily attributable to the current administration allowing claiming immediate

credit, increasing the probability of recognition and electoral rewards. The major weakness of such point of view is that it is near-sighted, and does not serve the interests of future generations.

These illustrations of context-specific treatments of sustainability are very valuable in terms of suggesting a nuanced and objectified conceptual understanding of sustainability and possible mechanisms of enforcing it, but they are not free from problems. The major issues in all of these works include first, too much reliance on a specific context (environmental, economic, ecological, political) and a lack of recognition of the complexity of sustainability, and second, a too great fixation on the temporal, or short-term aspects of sustainability. Therefore, these uni-dimensional treatments of sustainability sometimes appear inferior to the multi-dimensional views reflecting the complexity of the relationship between many aspects of sustainability.

II.   What is Sustainability: Multi-Dimensional Approach

Proponents of the multidimensional view of sustainability and sustainable development generally identify three main dimensions of this subject – environmental, economic, and social (or sociopolitical) (Budd, et al., 2008; Dale, 2001; Edwards & Onyx, 2007; Fiorino, 2010; Nurse, 2008; Tubadji, 2010). Some add the technological aspects of sustainability (Hasna, 2007). For example, Edwards and Onyx, based on the work of Dale (Dale, 2001), attempt to reconcile three imperatives: the ecological imperative to live within global biophysical carrying capacity and maintain biodiversity; the social imperative to ensure the development of democratic systems of governance to effectively promote and sustain public values; and the economic imperative to ensure that basic needs are met worldwide (Edwards&Onyx, 2007). These scholars attempt to show that the dimensions of sustainability are intertwined in a complex system of relationships.

Fiorino provides another example of a recent multidimensional elaboration on sustainability and public administration. He views sustainability as a multidimensional concept

involving economic, environmental, social and political aspects of human life (Fiorino, 2010), and argues in favor of the importance of sustainability as the primary framework, upon which the future public administration scholarship and research could be grounded. Fiorino specifically suggests using the environmental dimension of his operationalization of sustainability as a unifying theoretic concept. While this is an innovative suggestion, its theoretical application to an ethic of sustainability would be limited because of the narrow focus on temporal rather than intergenerational sustainability, and because the narrow focus on environmental sustainability does not reflect the multitude of the issues facing public policy and administration.

A study by a group of scholars of urban sustainability (Budd, Lovrich Jr., Pierce, and Chamberlain) identifies five important dimensions of the concept: environmental, public health, economic utility, urban sprawl and local government plans and policies (Budd et all, 2008). The results of their work prove that high social trust and moralistic political cultures are associated with commitments to sustainability in U.S. cities, even when controlled for education level and economic well-being. The dimensions of urban sustainability suggested by these scholars can be applicable to other public policy settings, but it would be difficult to apply these dimensions to a broader set of disciplines.

In the multidimensional treatment of sustainability there is recognition of conflicts between the multiple dimensions and attempt to resolve competing values embedded in each of the approaches to sustainability (Hasna, 2007; Nurse, 2008; Tubadji, 2010). Sustainability may be viewed not only as an end result of natural or human-lead actions but also as a process, or as means to create and maintain system equilibrium. Recent scholarship suggests that the traditional three dimensions of sustainability do not fully reflect the complexity of sustainability issues that societies face (Haley, 2008; Nurse, 2008; Packalén, 2010; Tubadji, 2010). They suggest that a

fourth, cultural dimension, should be added to ensure a more holistic understanding of sustainability. According to Nurse, sustainability "is only achievable if there is harmony and alignment between the objectives of cultural diversity and that of social equity, environmental responsibility and economic viability." (Nurse, 2008, p. 33) Indeed, cultural issues must be considered among the ends of development as well as among its means, and there are complex epistemic issues involved in identifying the ways in which culture may influence sustainable development (Sen, 2000).

There is a general agreement that both multidimensionality and the systemic approach to development are a central strength of the idea of sustainability, and at least in theory there is an acknowledgement that the questions of social justice, peace, democracy, self-reliance, ecology, climate change and quality of life are closely connected (Brocchi, 2010). However, of the four dimensions of sustainability (environmental, economic, social, and cultural), it is the cultural that is least examined by scholars. A more broadly based understanding of how culture contributes to long-term sustainability of communities and societies is a key to a more holistic understanding of sustainability itself, and therefore worthy of scholarly attention.

III. Multidimensional Approach to Sustainability: Adding Culture

The idea of considering culture and aesthetics at the core for an ethic of sustainability can be traced to the works of the earlier philosophers of art, philosophers who described the powerful role of art in a society, and argued that values communicated through aesthetic experiences exceed the boundaries of art institutions (Adorno, Adorno, Tiedemann, & Hullot-Kentor, 2004; Adorno & Bernstein, 2001; Collingwood, 1964; Wittgenstein, 1984). According to Collingwood, an aesthetic consciousness is "the absolutely primary and fundamental form of all consciousness and all other forms emerge out of it" (Collingwood, 1964, p. 115). Adorno further looks at the

works of art as social constructions, which are reflective of the socio-historical process. He emphasizes the repetitive character of "culture industry" (the term developed with Max Horkheimer) and criticizes popular culture for producing standardized cultural goods, which lead to the standardization of society (Adorno & Bernstein, 2001). Unlike mass culture that is temporal, works of high art are capable of concentrating the past and the future in the present. Arts are capable of cultivating socially significant values-creativity, freedom, and human happiness.

Wittgenstein stressed the importance of the aesthetic dimension of life and recognized the symbiotic relationship between ethics and aesthetics by precisely stating that "ethics and aesthetics are one" (Wittgenstein, Galván, & Russell, 1957). The interdependence of ethics and aesthetics "is rooted in the fact that the ethical, as a way of understanding life in its absolute value, expresses itself in aesthetic form, while aesthetic form (i.e., style) expresses the ethical as an individual, yet universal, aspect of the artistic act" (Stengel, 2004, p. 617). In Wittgenstein's philosophy, aesthetics is the expression of an ethical perspective on the world that is capable of putting current life events in long-term perspectives. Therefore, ethical values and ideas can be uniquely expressed and communicated through the works of art.

Including culture and art into multidimensional conceptualizations of sustainability appears especially important, when considering the long-term future. Several scholars pointed out that the 1992 Rio Earth Summit popularized only three dimensions of sustainable development (economic, social, and environmental) and adopted an unreasonably narrow approach since "culture and art, two of the most enduring systems that define humanity, were not mentioned among the necessary tools for building a better future" (Haley, 2008, p. 196). In the modern world, the significance of cultural values, arts and creativity keep rising in importance

along with the socio-economic, science and technology concerns. It is the values and ideals embedded in cultural dimension of sustainability that contribute to sustainable thinking in the longer-term.

Adding culture to the dimensions of sustainability one should be aware that culture is a very complex term with a multitude of meanings and definitions. Williams identifies four contested definitions of culture: culture as a personal state of mind; culture as the process of developing a cultured state of mind as part of socialization; culture as the arts or human intellectual works; and finally, culture as a way of life and a system of communicating, reproducing, exploring, and experiencing the social order (Williams, 1983). Culture within the so-called culture-based development framework has also been understood either too narrowly – as the way in which cultural industries develop, or too broadly – as all aspects of culture in details, from cultural tourism to living cultures of social values (Tubadji, 2010). Scholarly preferences regarding adopting either a narrow or a broad approach to the meanings of culture when considering cultural sustainability diverge based on the subject of their study and areas of interest.

From the perspective of culture as the fourth pillar of sustainable development, culture is often viewed as a complex mix of tangible and intangible resources: artifacts, cultural products, milieu, values, symbols, identity, patterns of behavior, ways of life, and civilization traits with social, political, and economic dimensions (Tubadji, 2010). For instance, Nurse argues that it is critical to move beyond talking about the preservation of 'the arts', 'heritage', and 'cultural identities', when discussing sustainability (Nurse, 2006, p. 36). He suggests a broad notion of culture understood as a 'whole way of life' because such broad definition reflects the multitude of belief systems, worldviews, and epistemologies embedded in culture. Specifically, Nurse

argues that cultural identity-the social unit of development, a culturally defined community, and the development of this community rooted in specific values and institutions of this culture – is capable of serving as the epistemic core of multidimensional ideas of sustainability (Nurse, 2006, p. 38).

Packalen too calls for the adoption of a broader understanding of culture that comprises both human beings and nature, and is composed of the traditional elements that make up cultural policy (such as theater, film, music, architecture, literature, etc.), as well as an anthropological and sociological concept composed of norms, values, assumptions, traditions, and practices (Packalén, 2010). For him, it is important to consider how these two aspects of culture complement each other. To Packalen, achieving sustainability is a culture-transforming, creative project for the entire society, where cultural and sustainable developments go hand in hand. He further argues that apart from ecology, economy and the social fabric, it is very important to discuss the potential of art and culture in shaping a desirable future, because "responsibility, ethics, and aesthetics go together" (Packalen, 2010, p. 118). In his model of sustainable development, culture is used as a medium, which can shape the communication and action of other institutions and social actors, that is necessary for achieving ecological, economic, and social sustainable development. He claims that through reflection, development and changes in values, cultural dimension of sustainability forms the basis for sustainable development, and it also produces new culture of thinking and acting itself (Packalen, 2010, p. 119).

Another approach to culture is offered by Brocchi, who looks at culture as a way of thinking and acting, and develops the idea of a culture of sustainability that counteracts today's dominant culture in important respects (Brocchi, 2010). For Brocchi, culture is based on a multidimensional world view that emphasizes actual experience and emotional perception, and

promotes such values as cultural diversity, integration, quality, creativity, fairness, equality, cooperation, common use, openness and flexibility, dynamics and balance (Brocchi, 2010).

It is possible to develop arguments of these scholars by suggesting that values within a culture of sustainability could be successfully promoted through aesthetics and art, since multidimensionality and other ideas naturally embedded in the process of creating, interpreting, and experiencing art are valuable for sustainable thinking. Promoting a culture of sustainability would also require a change in dominant mass media and in the institutions of education, as well as in the dominant forms of economic and democratic organization (Brocchi, 2010), and organizations of art can very well take a leading role in fostering such a change. Therefore, this study looks at art and aesthetics as the core of the cultural dimension of sustainability and suggests that ethic of sustainability can be informed through aesthetics.

This study argues that that ethic of long-term sustainability could be informed by culture, aesthetics and organizations of art (the embodied, institutionalized form of aesthetics) for two main reasons: first, because the cultural dimension of sustainability has the greatest potential among all of the other dimensions to reflect the long-term aspect of sustainability, and second, because aesthetics is essential for ethics, and sustainability as intergenerational equity can be greatly informed by institutions specifically created to promote and preserve important values for the future generations. These arguments are further developed by looking at the related bodies of literature.

3.1. Culture, Sustainability, and Forms of Capital

An argument about the increasing long-term significance of art and culture for future generations can be derived from the works of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. He defines capital in its materialized form as accumulated labor which, when appropriated on a private basis by agents

or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of refined or living labor (Bourdieu, 1986). In some of its forms, capital is also understood as a potential capacity to produce profits and to reproduce itself in identical or expanded form, thus containing a tendency to persist, which is especially important for the arguments advanced here. According to Bourdieu, depending on the field in which it functions and its transformations, capital is found in three basic forms – cultural, social, and economic.

Cultural capital can take on three forms: the embodied state (long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body), the objectified state (cultural goods), and the institutionalized state (Bourdieu, 1986). Cultural capital is understood as high cultural knowledge that can ultimately be used to the owner's advantage (Light, 2004). In its first most natural state it is generally called culture, or cultivation; it presupposes a process of embodiment and incorporation, and can be acquired unconsciously by an individual depending on the period, society, or social class. Unlike other forms of capital (such as money, property rights, titles or nobility, etc), cultural capital in its embodied state can be converted into an integral part of the person, but cannot be transmitted instantaneously by gift, or bequest, purchase, or exchange (Bourdieu, 1986). The cultural capital in its objectified form (writings, paintings, monuments, instruments, media, etc) has several important properties: first, it is transmissible, and second, as cultural capital incorporated in the means of production increases, so the collective strength of the holders of cultural capital tends to increase as well (Bourdieu, 1986). This latter property of embodied cultural capital is very important, since it means that this kind of capital is cumulative, and the more resources and efforts we invest in it, the greater return there is likely to be the long-run. In this respect, cultural capital appears to be more sustainable, over time, than economic or even social capital.

Cultural capital becomes institutionalized through academic qualifications – certificates of cultural competence, which confer on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture (Bourdieu, 1986). Conferring institutional recognition on the cultural capital possessed by an agent, allows comparing qualifications of the holders and even exchanging them, it allows establishing conversion rates between cultural capital and economic capital through guaranteeing monetary value for qualifications. Cultural capital, when institutionalized, thus performs certain instrumental functions, and ensures certain economic outcomes.

Social capital is understood as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group" (Bourdieu, 1986). It results in the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures (Portes, 1998). Thus, this form of capital presupposes mutual ownership and belongs to a network of people, and the volume of capital possessed by a given agent depends on the size of the network of connections that he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural, or symbolic) possessed by the other members of such network (Bourdieu, 1986). Similar to cultural capital that is cumulative in its quality and durable over time, social capital is cumulative within a network, and is thus more sustainable in the long-run than economic capital. Although social capital is relatively irreducible to economic and cultural capital possessed by a given agent or the set of agents, it is never completely independent of the other two forms of capital, and can be transformed and transmitted only through social interactions and relationships.

Finally, according to Bourdieu, economic capital is at the root of all other forms of capital, since any other form of capital can be derived from it. For example, there are goods and services to which economic capital gives immediate access, without secondary cost, and there are others that can be obtained from economic capital only by virtue of social capital of relationships, or social obligations (Bourdieu, 1986). Overall, different types of capital can be distinguished according to their reproducibility – how easily they can be transmitted, and how much loss or concealment would occur in the process of their transmission (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 24). In general terms, the incommensurability of the different types of capital brings a high degree of uncertainty to transactions between holders of different forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 25), and such uncertainty does not allow a definitive normative judgment regarding what form of capital should be preferred over others.

Although according to Bourdieu economic capital is the most fundamental form, even if some actors do not possess substantial economic resources, they are still capable of utilizing their social connections (social capital), or use their skills and education (human capital) to advance their positions in a society. For instance, economically disadvantaged people have the ability to create and maintain social capital through the web of their personal connections, and many forms of social capital end up being inversely related to social-economic status (Light, 2004). This is an important assumption that sheds some light on the issue of sustainability. When economic resources are scarce some forms of capital might be of limited availability. Regardless of the primacy of economic capital over other forms (Bourdieu, 1986), the relationship between forms of capital is not hierarchical, and their relative significance depends on the sphere of application. For instance, there is evidence that economic capital plays a lesser role in understanding the social structure of cultural fields as compared to cultural and social capital (Anheier, Gerhards, &

Romo, 1995). This largely has to do with the fact that any cultural product, as a manifestation of economic and noneconomic capital, is both a commodity and a symbol.

In addition to the economic, social and cultural capital, scholars describe other forms of capital, for instance, financial, physical, and human. They recognize that various forms of capital balance each other in multiple ways to create healthy and sustainable communities and societies (Light, 2004). Among these various forms of capital, the idea of human capital has been recently receiving greater scholarly attention. Human capital generally means individual investment in education and skill building that increases the productivity, which in turn ensures financial return (Light, 2004). Since training costs money and takes time, an individual's human capital represents an income-generating, reliable, and long-term investment (Light, 2004). Although human capital exists on the individual rather than on group level, human and social forms of capital are closely related. For instance there is evidence that education has a very powerful effect on trust, associational membership, and many forms of social and political participation (Putnam, 1995).

Along these lines, the human capital theory of regional development claims that a key to regional growth and prosperity lies not in the measures to reduce the cost of doing business and attract investment and technology, but in the endowments of highly educated and productive people, the co-called "creative class" (Florida, 2002, p. 221). Therefore, attracting and cultivating human capital can become a key to the regional development, enhancing productive capacities, and improving the quality of life. In fact, there are international and domestic studies identifying clear connections between economic success of nations and their human capital, and one such example is the work of Glaeser demonstrating that human capital largely determines the variation in levels of prosperity (Glazer, 1993).

Comparing different forms of capital, as they are described by Bourdieu and other scholars, it is possible to conclude that economic capital is perhaps the most 'perishable' over time, while both cultural and social capital are more resilient because of their cumulative nature. The risk of loss in the process of transforming one form of capital into another is particularly important in the context of intergenerational transfers, where time becomes the key independent variable. Therefore, understanding the nature of different forms of capital, and the logic of their transformation over time is important for addressing the question of long-term sustainability. In particular, the ideas regarding the significance of different forms of capital for building strong and sustainable communities, and the ideas regarding the instrumental role of the cumulative forms of capital are very valuable for constructing a framework for the long-term ethic of sustainability.

3.2. Social Capital and Sustainability

Of all forms of capital, social capital has perhaps received the greatest scholarly attention in terms of its importance for sustainability. It has been affirmed that social capital is at the core of sustainable communities in democratic states (Budd, et al., 2008; Edwards & Onyx, 2007; Grootaert, Narayan, Jones, & Woolcock, 2003; Schuller, 2001). For instance, Edwards and Onyx argue that social capital is essential for progressive sustainable community development (Edwards & Onyx, 2007). Other scholars interpret social capital as the norms (the informal rules and values) and networks that facilitate collective action (Grootaert, et al., 2003), with a specific focus on the relationships within and between those networks (Schuller, 2001). Their analysis provides considerable evidence that high levels of social capital serve prerequisites for sustainable development (Edwards & Onyx, 2007). Strong and self-reliant local communities have a positive impact on the protection of natural environment. Additionally, field study

conducted by Edwards and Onyx demonstrated that developing locally based systems of production and distribution is not only beneficial to the environment; it enhances social capital and therefore provides a model for attaining sustainable development.

Studies of urban sustainability (Budd, Lovrich Jr., Pierce, and Chamberlain) suggest that social capital is important for healthy and sustainable communities. A moralistic political culture heritage serves as an important facilitator of progress in the U.S. cities, which mobilized the social capital to promote collective action toward sustainability (Budd, et al., 2008, p. 265; J. Pierce, Budd, & Lovrich, 2011). Thus, social capital is not passive baggage but rather a force that is capable of activating collective capabilities in the name of sustainability.

While social capital is important for strengthening the internal capacity of communities and ensuring their long-term sustainability, there is some alarming evidence regarding the decline of social capital in American society (Putnam, 1995). Robert Putnam defines social capital as "features of social life – networks, norms, and trust – that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives" (Putnam, 1995, pp. 664-665). Based on the assumption that social trust and civic engagement are strongly correlated, he uses the level of citizen engagement in community affairs-understood as people's connectedness with the lives of their communities-as a proxy for measuring the social capital, and finds that there is a consistent evidence of the erosion of various forms of social capital in the American society. According to Putnam, although the civil society in the U.S. is still doing much better than in many other countries in terms of community involvement and social trust, there is some evidence of the decline in membership and participation in voluntary associations and groups, the overall reduction of time Americans spend for informal socializing, and the drop down in the levels of collective political participation and civic engagement (Putnam, 1995, p. 666).

According to Putnam's analysis, the traditional factors known to inhibit civic engagement-such as pressures of time and money, mobility and suburbanization, the changing role of women, breakdown of the traditional idea of a family, the rise of the welfare state, and the outcomes of civil right revolution-do not fully explain the erosion of social capital (Putnam, 1995). Putnam advances a generational argument, according to which the decline in the levels of civic engagement is mostly attributed to generational shifts, particularly, "each generation who reached adulthood since the 1940s has been less engaged in community affairs than its immediate predecessor", and these age-related differences "represent a powerful reduction in civic engagement among Americans who came of age in the decades after World War II, as well as some modest additional disengagement that affected all cohorts during the 1980s" (Putnam, 1995, p. 675-676). Similar to the process of climatic shift and weather change detected only many years after the erosion of the ozone layer, the erosion of America's social capital became visible only several decades after the underlying process had begun. According to Putnam, this generational tendency is likely to persist in the future, and considering that healthy communities with adequate levels of social connectedness are important for long-term sustainability, it is possible to assume that further depletion of the social capital poses serious intergenerational concerns.

Counter to Putnam's generational-shift argument, other scholars present evidence that social capital has not declined in American society. The economists Dora Costa and Matthew Kahn found that while some forms of social participation have been declining, the others-such as belonging to social groups, or spending time at home with friends and relatives-did not decline, once education and income are taken into account (Costa & Kahn, 2001). In other studies it was also discovered that differences in community engagement are attributed to ethnic diversity more

than to the size, or wealth, or the level of education in communities (The Social Capital Benchmark Study cited in Florida, 2002, p. 270). Therefore, it is perhaps more appropriate to consider the transformation of social capital rather than its decline.

Although, high levels of social capital have been considered desirable in terms of its instrumental impact on local communities (Putnam, 1995; Woolcock&Narayan, 2001; Edwards&Onyx, 2007), there is some evidence of less positive consequences of social capital (Portes, 1998). The major negative outcomes of high levels of social capital include potential exclusion of outsiders, excessive claims on some group members from others, restrictions on individual freedoms, a potential presence of high conformity, and downward leveling norms (Portes, 1998, p. 15). There is also evidence of the negative impact of social capital on innovation and entrepreneurship: while high levels of social connectedness promote stability, weaker ties tend to be more open to newcomers and new ideas (Florida, 2002, p. 273). Still, possible negative aspects of social capital do not undermine its overall significance for the long-term health of communities.

Finally, there seem to be a difference between social, human and cultural capital in terms of their impact on individuals and communities. Thus, Florida cites Robert Cushing, who examined the relationship between different forms of capital and economic growth, and found that social capital has a negative impact on economic growth, while human and creative capital models perform much better (Florida, 2002). Using creative occupations, bohemians, and the Milken High-Tech Index and innovations as indicators of creative capital, Cushing discovered that the creative capital theory (especially indexes of bohemian and innovation) produced especially significant results in terms of the impact on the local economic development.

Aesthetics and art are among the building blocks of human and social capital, and are the core of cultural capital. Evidence of the importance of social and other cumulative forms of capital for long-term sustainability justifies our claims regarding the intergenerational significance of art. At the same time, studies of social capital do not fully explain how and in what particular ways art contributes to the idea of multidimensional sustainability, and what specifically makes aesthetics so valuable in the long-term. A more nuanced understanding of the above mentioned issues can be drawn from the Creative Capital Theory developed by Richard Florida.

3.3. Creative Capital, Arts, and Sustainability

Richard Florida advances the creative capital theory that "regional economic growth is driven by the location choices of creative people – the holders of creative capital – who prefer places that are diverse, tolerant, and open to new ideas" (Florida, 2002, p. 223). The relationship between creative capital and local diversity works both ways: the greater concentrations of creative capital in specific geographic locations leads to higher rates of innovation, high-technology business formation, job generation and economic growth, and at the same time, local diversity increases the probability of attracting to particular places different types of creative people with different skill sets and ideas. Thus, compared to the social and human capital theory, creative capital theory identifies creative people as a key form of capital contributing to economic growth, and regional and local development. I extend this idea by arguing that while other cumulative forms of capital create the foundations for sustainability, it is creative capital that serves as a driving force and a form of thinking in the long-term.

Florida's research on creative capital led him to conclusions that people prefer weak ties to strong ties; although they wanted community, they also wanted to live their own lives and

being themselves (Florida, 2002, p. 249). Therefore, the modern vision of the desirable community that ensures economic and social prosperity is different from that it was fifty or hundred years ago. The combination of close families and friends, tight neighborhoods, civic clubs, bright electoral politics, powerful churches and civic organizations has given way to a new concept of community organization – one that is based on the ideas of weak ties, individuality, self-expression and creativity. Although this idea of weak ties appears to be very distinct from the traditional notion of strong ties that hold community together and form the core of its cohesive social properties (as described by Putnam), one thing that still remains valid is some sort of social glue that holds people together, and without which social organization is unthinkable. Thus, whether one agrees with Putnam or with Florida, one can still assume the existence of some sort of base-line – a minimum degree of social connectedness that ensures collaboration between independent self-reliant individuals. Modern society does not fall apart, but it transforms and reshapes in ways that were unimagined a hundred years ago.

Richard Florida claims that the deep and enduring social changes of our age resulting from the more gradual, incremental changes in our day-to-day lives are not technological, but of a social and cultural character, and more likely to happen at the times of economic crisis, when the traditional economy-based forms of social cohesion do not work. According to Florida, multifaceted and multidimensional creativity has become the most highly prized commodity in our economy, and is the prominent driving force behind the emerging social change (Florida, 2002, p. 5). Such creativity involves distinct kinds of thinking, including the ability to take risks and depart from tradition, and habits that are cultivated both in the individual and in the society. Multidimensionality of creativity stems from the diversity of experiences and perspectives, variety of interests and knowledge, and the idea that varied forms of creativity (technological,

economic, and artistic and cultural) are in fact deeply interrelated (Florida, 2002, p. 33). Creativity produced new technologies, new industries and other economic development tools, and the entire society begins to resonate with a creative ethos. Such creativity, however, is not a mere commodity, it is the ability to create forms, and it comes from people with high creative capacity-the creative class.

A class is understood as "a cluster of people who have common interests and tend to think, feel, and behave similarly, but these similarities are fundamentally determined by economic functions – by the kind of work they do for a living" (Florida, 2002, p. 8). Ideas regarding the creative class are fundamentally different from the classic economic conceptions of a class in that the members of such class share "common creative ethos that values creativity, individuality, difference, and merit", and for them "every aspect and every manifestation of creativity – technological, cultural, and economic – are interlined and inseparable" (Florida, 2002, p.8).

According to Florida, people of the creative class come from different occupations and are highly concentrated in the so-called creative professions including artists, professors and scientists (Florida, 2002, p. 12). In this regard, such key attributes of the creative class as individuality, self-expression and openness to difference seem to be very much related to the idea of creativity as it is embedded in the domain of aesthetics. The creative class appears to not be primarily instrumental. (Florida, 2002, p. 6) For instance, the new forms of economic infrastructure including increasing spending on research and development, high technologies and extensive system of venture finance were created to support creativity and mobilize creative people around promising ideas and products.

Another important part of Florida's argument is about the geographic identification of the creative class, specifically, claims that place of living itself have become the central organizing unit of our time. There are several geographic regions and cities in the United States (e.g. San Francisco, Seattle, Boston, Chicago, Minneapolis, Denver, and Boulder) that are characterized by the high concentration of the creative class. Florida further identifies key factors that explain why creative people prefer living in certain geographic areas including the presence of a well-developed technological and research infrastructure, diverse leisure, life-style, and other recreational opportunities, decent environmental conditions, and aesthetically pleasant space with numerous arts institutions, among other.

Such places are not just centers of technological innovation and high-tech industry; they are multidimensional creative communities. According to Florida, 'people climate' matters even more than 'business climate' in that supporting creativity in all of its dimensions actually helps building a community that is attractive to creative people. The presence of a major research university is a huge advantage in the creative economy: because universities are the centers for cutting-edge technology research, but also because they attract talented people by offering venues for creativity and help enhancing tolerance by creating a progressive, open and tolerant people climate (Florida, 2002, pp. 291-292).

According to creative class theory, traditional approaches to economic development are outdated, and traditional high-tech communities may be reaching the limits of sustainable growth. Their future lies in "the changing role of creativity in spurring innovation and economic growth" (Florida, 2002, p. 284). Institutions of art play an important role by providing members of the creative class with venues to explore and enhance their creativity. Artists and musicians need strong artistic environments for creativity, and software designers and biotechnology

engineers need to draw their creative impulses from outside of their regular work settings. Among the problems of Creative Age, Florida identifies high levels of mental and emotional stress and time pressures, and while technologies "were supposed to liberate us from work", they "have invaded our lives" instead (Florida, 2002).

Following Florida, there are three major factors of successful economic developments: vibrant cultural and music scenes; rapidly growing high-tech industrial sectors; and investment in the broad creative ecosystem, where all forms of creativity flourish (Florida, 2002, p. 35). Sustaining creativity over the long periods of time is not automatic; it requires constant attention to and investment in economic and social forms that feed the creative impulse. In this respect, the role of institutions of art appears to be especially crucial because it is through these institutions that we are able to grasp the boundaries of our minds and broaden the horizons of our creative thinking. The aesthetics of a place comprises the 'soul' of a place.

Among its other strengths, Florida's theory of creative capital is useful for justifying the important role of art and its institutions for contemporary society. This theory accommodates a consideration of aesthetics and art in all its forms as a resource that should be accessible to public at large, rather than be a rare commodity for rare people. When art serves such function, the multitude of art institutions existing on a certain territory create numerous benefits for the community at large – whether it is a neighborhood, a city, a state, or a country. Thus, art institutions like any other organizations create jobs and employ people; they attract tourists and bring revenues, revitalize neighborhoods, beautify industrial cities, create the feeling of safety and comfort for everyone, and help attracting businesses and creative people. Moreover, arts institutions foster general creativity and aesthetically appealing places make cities more

attractive. This means that even if not everyone actually attends art museums and events, having art institutions as a community resource is important in the long-term.

IV. The Significance of Aesthetics and Art for Sustainability

There are two main streams of scholarly discourse related to the relationship between sustainability and art: first, the issue of self-sustainability of art institutions (D. Adams & Goldbard, 1995; Falk & Sheppard, 2006; Farrell & Medvedeva, 2010; Genoways, 2006; Hooper-Greenhill, 1999; Jonker, 2008; K. F. McCarthy, Elizabeth Heneghan Ondaatje and Jennifer L. Novak, 2007; Paris, 2006), and second, the role of aesthetics and institutions of art for the sustainability of communities and societies as a whole (Brocchi, 2010; Haley, 2008; Kagan & Kirchberg; Nurse, 2008; Packalén, 2010). It should be noted though that both of these issues are not completely independent from one another. It is crucial for the art institutions to be resilient and sustainable in the first place, to be able to serve as a catalyst of a broad, multidimensional idea of sustainability. Overall, the issue of sustainability of art institutions implies both sustaining particular art institutions through the pressures of current economic recession in the short-term, and addressing the question of long-term institutional survival and the legacy of art institutions across generations.

It is possible to distinguish three major roles of aesthetics and the arts sector as the core of the cultural dimension of sustainability – *instrumental* (art for economic and social development), *semi-instrumental* (art for sustainable thinking and sustainable action), and *intrinsic* (art as a public good and value in itself) (Moldavanova, 2013). However, these three functions do not always exist in separation. According to Nurse, the cultural industry serves as a catalyst for regional and national identity formation, a key driver of the new digital and intellectual property economy, and an economic sector with substantial growth potential (Nurse,

2008). In this regard, cultural goods are critical for sustainability, and the promotion of cultural industries should become a transitional goal towards sustainable development.

The idea of *the instrumental role* of art institutions is well-described in the statement on the web site of the American Association of Museums, which says that "each year, museums directly contribute at least $21 billion to the national economy, employ 400,000 people, and attract tourists from around the world, bolstering a large tourism industry in local communities" (AAM web site). Indeed, economic contributions of the arts sector to the national employment, GDP, and exports have been recognized as the root of the instrumental function of culture (Nurse, 2008). The cultural sector is one of the fastest growing sectors of the world economy, which is explained by the rapid techno-economic change in products, distribution and marketing, the increasing commercialization of intellectual property, and the strong cross-promotional linkages with sectors like tourism (Nurse, 2008).

The turn to a post-industrial economy signifies the shift in social values from traditional positivist orientation on permanent growth and quantifiable forms of production, to a more nuanced vision of what constitutes a good life. It is hard to underestimate the role of cultural industry in fostering these changes, especially in the long-term. The instrumental role of art is reflected in many local economic development initiatives and cross-disciplinary projects utilizing art to meet social revitalization goals (Cherbo, Stewart, & Wyszomirski, 2008; Currid, 2009; Florida, 2002; Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005; Markusen & Gadwa, 2010; Strom, 2002, 2003; Wilks-Heeg & North, 2004).

While this point of view is very useful, there are some theoretic problems with looking at art from a mere instrumental perspective. The main limitation of this idea stems from its grounding in the fragmented vision of culture. Thus, in the mono-dimensional view culture is

defined according to one specific channel of impact on sustainable development (Tubadji, 2010). The studies based on the mono-dimensional definition of culture prove that the cultural impact is a robust factor than can boost or aggravate socio-economic development (Tubadji, 2010); however, they do not acknowledge the intrinsic significance of culture in itself.

The multidimensional conceptualization of culture takes into account the multitude of culture's channels of impact and prioritizes different channels on the basis of the strength of their impact and importance on a macro level (Tubadji, 2010). It eventually became a platform for the studies of the culture-based development, which interprets culture as living culture and cultural heritage, both of which utilize culture as a resource for generating social well-being and economic welfare – the two components of sustainable development (Tubadji, 2010). The idea of culture-based development includes three conceptions of cultural intervention – culture as a framework, a tool, and a target of action. It recognizes the critical role of cultural transformation and presupposes that culture functions as an institution with a dual role – it is capable of replacing natural resources as the primary raw material of economic growth, and it also shapes our believes and defines our value systems (Matarasso, 2001).

The developmental model of sustainability has been incorporated in many international development programs and domestic policy agendas. However, it has several weak points including the widening gap between sustainable goals and real development, unwillingness of political actors to make change in the name of sustainability, too much reliance on technologic solutions to sustainability issues, and difficulty in adopting the idea of the limits of economic growth, among others (Brocchi, 2010). Therefore, this framework has been facing challenges on both ideological and implementation levels.

The *semi-instrumental* view states that artistic thinking and appreciation of beauty could shape our way of thinking about the long-term future and could be used instrumentally to support such a vision, however, it also recognizes that art and sustainability is about understanding the art in itself (Bachmann, 2008). Within this logic, all art is considered contemporary, which in some way would always covey a vision for the future. Thus, it becomes a mission of artists and their organizations to allow ordinary people, the public, to become part of professionally facilitated art actions. In the long-run this provides an avenue for the public to rethink their future.

The role of art for social change outside of its own domain has been recognized in scholarship, and has become especially prominent during the late 20th century. It presupposes that social processes may occur through artistic processes that could potentially generate social change. Thus, an artist as an entrepreneur, who functions within the social convention, both benefits from some advantageous characteristics of art as a social process and has to put up with the conventional barriers of their own art world, as well as institutional and material barriers of the outside environment (Kagan & Kirchberg, 2010). By overcoming these barriers art entrepreneurs foster the process of social change, therefore, art is inseparable from the society, and is the part of the same ecology.

Art as ecology emphasizes the importance of a synthesis of art and science, nature and culture. According to this line of thought, sustainability has the potential to find, through art, its immense scale and ethical value (Haley, 2008). By contributing to the reflexive thinking modes, artists and designers may become key change agents in sustainability (Dieleman, 2008). This approach to art allows expanding the problem of sustainability from mere question of sustaining art institutions to integrating art, as an equal partner, into the inter-disciplinary understanding of

sustainability. In this regard art is valuable for sustainability as a strategy and a process of moving toward future, aimed at the creation of "an ecologically and socially just world within the means of nature without compromising future generations" (Kagan & Kirchberg, 2010, p. 15).

The *intrinsic role* of art is based on the assumption that it can be a source of personal and group values and principles. Within this line of thinking, sustainability within art relates to the processes by which art activities are carried out: search and research, learning and working, developing reflexivity of different types, appealing to a diversity of human qualities, and exceeding the limited types of rationality embedded in scientific discourses, common rules and routines (Kagan & Kirchberg). This new way of conceptualizing reality is system thinking, and it is based on a unique ensemble of values and ethical inquiry into the dilemmas of current and future world.

The intrinsic role of art recognizes that responsiveness to the public is not the only purpose of art institutions. According to Hein, "fascination with things whose value is intrinsic, with anything that is an "end in itself," although seems archaic in today's world where nearly all activity is engaged to some purpose, is nevertheless very important because it promotes alternative modes of coherence" (Hein, 2006). The intrinsic role of art reflects the way of thinking that is favorable to the long-term sustainability. Bachmann argues that long-term sustainability and thinking proactively in the name of future generations (i.e. leaving them with opportunities instead of debts) requires a fundamental change in our way of living (Bachmann, 2008). He claims that while science will help to get this transition done, art will help people to emotionally understand the ups and downs of this transition.

Finally, the ability of art to evoke thoughts of the future is important for the purpose of intergenerational justice, which asks about the legacy of the current way of living towards future generations (H. George Frederickson, 2010b). According to Bachmann, since life, love, death, and everything in-between are the natural themes of art, the intergenerational theme is also reflected in the arts and creative thinking (Bachmann, 2008). By being able to develop and promote timeless values, art created currently is naturally able to exceed the boundaries of current generations. Therefore, the value of art should never be reduced to perceiving art as an event, or entertainment, or a mere instrument for something else.

The process and practice of making art is valuable in itself because we can inform ourselves through it (Dewey, 1934). An illustration of the crucial importance of values promoted through aesthetics for future generations is the work of artists on climate change. Even before the effects of global warming became evident, artists and scientists worked together to create understanding of this problem, which is comparable with the role that culture played during the Industrial Revolution, the Age of Enlightenment, and the Renaissance (Haley, 2008). Thinking in the long-term requires the reconsideration of traditional moral values and developing a new culture of thinking that recognizes the complexity of the current and future world. Therefore, art appears especially valuable for the long-term sustainability.

V.   Conclusion

In search for a holistic definition of sustainability Chapter 2 reviewed the literature on contextual and multidimensional approaches to conceptualizing sustainability, and concluded that although uni-dimensional treatments of sustainability suggest a nuanced and objectified view of this concept, they rely too much on a specific context and prioritize too much the temporal aspect of sustainability. Therefore, multidimensionality and the systemic approach to

sustainable development is a better way to conceptualize sustainability, since the questions of social justice, peace, democracy, self-reliance, ecology, climate change and quality of life are closely connected.

Among all dimensions of sustainability (environmental, economic, social, and cultural), it is the latter aspect that appears to be least examined by scholars. However, understanding how culture-both broadly understood as collective norms of behavior, and narrowly defined as arts-contributes to the long-term sustainability of communities and societies is key to a holistic understanding of sustainability itself, and is worthy of more in-depth scholarly attention. This issue of cultural sustainability is becoming especially urgent now, since many world societies are facing the crisis of identity and lacking a clear vision of the future in the post-industrial age.

I look at art and aesthetics as the core of the cultural dimension of sustainability, and suggest that ethic of sustainability can be greatly informed through aesthetics and organizations of art (the embodied, institutionalized form of aesthetics) for two main reasons: first, because the cultural dimension of sustainability has the greatest potential among all of the other dimensions to reflect the long-term aspect of sustainability, and second, because aesthetics is essential for ethics, and sustainability as intergenerational equity can be greatly informed by institutions specifically created to promote and preserve important values for the future generations.

These arguments are developed by looking at related bodies of literature. The argument about the increasing long-term significance of art and culture for future generations is supported through the theories of economic, social, human, and cultural capital, derived from the works of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. The risk of loss in the process of transforming one form of capital into another is particularly important in the context of intergenerational transfers, where time becomes the key independent variable. Comparing different forms of capital, it is possible to

conclude that both cultural and social forms of capital are very resilient because of their cumulative nature, and therefore, are foundational for the long-term sustainability. Aesthetics and art are the building blocks of human and social capital, and the core of cultural capital. Therefore, the evidence of the importance of social and other cumulative forms of capital for long-term sustainability justifies my claim regarding the intergenerational significance of art. The Creative Capital Theory developed by Richard Florida further explains how multidimensional creativity derived from many sources ensures the contribution of art to the multidimensional sustainability, and also partially explains what makes aesthetics so valuable in the long-term.

Overall, ideas regarding the significance of different forms of capital for building strong and sustainable communities, and the ideas regarding the instrumental role of the cumulative forms of capital are very valuable for constructing a framework for the long-term ethic of sustainability. Chapter 2 argues that the ethic of long-term sustainability can be informed by aesthetics and art in their embodied, institutionalized form.

It is possible to distinguish three major roles of aesthetics and the arts sector as the core of the cultural dimension of sustainability – instrumental (art for economic and social development), semi-instrumental (art for sustainable thinking and sustainable action), and intrinsic (art as a public good and value in itself) (Moldavanova, 2013). According to the semi-instrumental and intrinsic roles of aesthetics, art is valuable for sustainability as a strategy and a process of moving toward future because it reflects the way of thinking that is favorable to the longer-term sustainability. This new way of thinking and questioning reality that exists within art is system thinking, based on an ensemble of values, and ethical inquiry into the dilemmas of current and future world. The ability of art to evoke thoughts of future is also important for the

purpose of intergenerational justice, which asks about the legacy of the current way of living towards future generations. Therefore, aesthetic approach to sustainability allows the reconciliation of many imperatives: normative and positive science, economy and ecology, matter and culture, and intra- and intergenerational justices.

As arts organizations struggle with addressing the consequences of economic recession and finding new models of conducting their temporal business, their very existence and preservation contributes to the long-term sustainability of communities and societies as a whole. On a positive side, economic recession forces artists to rely less on corporatized and commercialized forms of art infrastructure that have dominated since the late twentieth century, and fosters their greater reliance on community resources, which often implies serving a broader public. The main question that remains open is how well the multitude of existing and emerging resilience strategies is coordinated with the strategic missions of art organizations and values promoted through their programs. When a manager of an art museum or a symphonic orchestra makes a decision in response to the pressures of recession, does she consider the impact of such a decision on the mission of his institution? In case of a conflict between values embedded in the institutional mission and the decision to be made, does the mission gets altered, or does it alter the decision? These important questions exist at the intersection of ethics and management, and have a very prominent intergenerational impact. The theoretical gap between the studies of sustainability, arts management, and intergenerational equity stands on the way of answering these questions.

Based on the review of literature and theoretic arguments presented in the Chapter 2, it is possible to suggest two avenues for further research. First, the values and ideals embedded in strategic priorities of art institutions and promoted through their programs, contribute to building

resilience capital, and serve as the foundation of long-term institutional survival. Therefore, ethics of long-term sustainability can be informed by studying institutional legacy and values that are being transferred to future generations through the aesthetics and institutions of art. Second, by fulfilling their institutional missions art organizations ensure institutional endurance, thus vouching safe the interests of future generations. Consequently, understanding the resilience potential of art organizations becomes important for configuring the long-term impact of aesthetics and its role for future generations.

Chapter 3. Intergenerational Fairness as the Framework for Ethic of Sustainability

Sustainable public administration when understood as intergenerational equity or fairness (H. George Frederickson, 2010b) is directly linked to democratic governance. Intergenerational equity constitutes a growing normative concern for contemporary public administration. Our obligation to future generations requires looking beyond the short-term effects of current public policies, considering the long-term institutional legacy, as well as thinking beyond the traditional temporal efficiency-effectiveness paradigm. The growing number of environmental cataclysms, fiscal and economic downfalls, political and social distresses calls for the realization of the urgent importance of the longer-term sustainability. In modern public administration any logic of sustainability requires that the considerations of intergenerational equity should be equally applicable to those currently living and those yet to come. Future persons deserve comparable rights, resources, and opportunities; otherwise the very possibility of their future state would be in question.

Contemporary western civilizations seem to be too concerned with the contemporary or temporal production and consumption; as a result the problem of sustainability in these societies becomes a very short-term goal, mostly related to immediate economic survival. However, economic sustainability is not the whole of sustainability, because it narrows human aspirations to the satisfaction of immediate basic needs. Traditional efficiency paradigms appear not very useful to the determination of what present generations and present institutions can do to enhance the prospects of long-term future generations. Thinking in the longer-term requires considering a set of values broader than temporal costs and benefits carried though public institutions.

The issue of accountability in relation to future generations is practically embedded in each area of public policy. However, several issues complicate the empirical study of long-term

intergenerational equity. First, our knowledge of the conditions and circumstances of future generations is limited. Furthermore, there is convincing evidence that even short-term predictions and forecasts by the best experts in a number of fields can be extremely inaccurate and misleading (Tetlock, 2006). Second, the bulk of sustainability research is dedicated to studying the efficient temporal use of resources and technologies. However, this direction is misleading when we are talking about remote generations. At best, the efficiency criterion is suitable for the near-term future, but the same considerations may not be equally useful in the long run. Third, sustainability research in public administration as well as most other academic fields and disciplines is highly centered on environmental issues (especially climate change and the depletion of natural resources) and social security (especially retirement) reform, thus producing predictions that may not be equally applicable across the wider range of public policies. Fourth, there is no agreement regarding the precise relationship between the concepts of sustainability and intergenerational equity, although there are several attempts to delineate them (Barry, 1999; Tremmel, 2009). Finally, traditional positivist methodologies and survey-based research techniques may not be useful for studying decision challenges not yet present. Therefore, research on long-term sustainability conceptualized as intergenerational fairness may call for different theoretical and methodological approaches.

I.   Main Theoretic Problems of the Ethic of Sustainability in Intergenerational Terms

1.1. Conceptual Clarity: Sustainable Fairness or Fair Sustainability

The study of ethics of sustainable public administration is complicated by the absence of agreement regarding the precise relationship between sustainability and intergenerational justice. On one hand, the intergenerational fairness literature distinguishes the two concepts by defining

sustainability as the concept that gives intragenerational justice the same weight as intergenerational justice on a normative level (Tremmel, 2009). Such a view implies that intergenerational justice is primarily reflected in two fields of activity – ecology and finances (ecological and financial sustainability), while intragenerational justice is mainly about the international justice, temporal justice between, for example, the poor and the rich, and justice between men and women. The alternative point of view defines intergenerational justice as equality of opportunity across generations, in particular with regard to vital interests such as nutrition, environmental resources, housing, health care and education (Barry, 1997). This implies that sustainability is both a necessary and a sufficient condition of justice across or between generations, and the two concepts are not entirely distinct. Additionally, while intra- and inter- generational justice are not the same thing, intragenerational injustice in the future is the almost inevitable consequence of intragenerational injustice in the present (Barry, 1997). Thus, looking at current injustices between different social groups and individuals is important for understanding tendencies that are likely to persist. An example of the recent effort to reconcile the concepts of sustainability and intergenerational justice is the idea of 'just sustainability' defined as "the need to ensure a better quality of life for all, now and into the future, in a just and equitable manner, whilst living within the limits of supporting ecosystems" (J. Agyeman, Bullard, & Evans, 2003). On a pragmatic level, the idea of just sustainability is trying to bridge the gap between environmental justice theories and sustainability theories (Julian Agyeman & Warner, 2002). The idea of just sustainability could also be potentially applied to other domains of public policy that are likely to affect the interests of future generations, and such an approach would imply considering both horizontal (distributive) and vertical (intergenerational) dimensions of justice.

Due to the difference in views regarding the relationship between sustainability and intergenerational fairness, public debate on generational justice traditionally centers on environmental policy, pension policy, and financial policy, and less often includes cultural or educational policy (Tremmel, 2009). For example, from the environmentally driven study 'Happy Planet Index', it follows that by leaving wealth and economic prosperity to future generations we do not necessarily leave them with the best quality of life (Monani, 2010). The argument that the quality of life does not equal economic prosperity is essentially ethics-based. In a normative sense it means that creating efficient institutions for future generations it is not sufficient for meeting an entire set of human needs. It is also necessary to sustain other types of institutions upholding a broader set of values (cultural, educational and environmental among other). Such institutions are more likely to make future generations happy even if in less wealthy and less economically advantaged conditions. Along with the preservation of free-market institutions and wealth accumulating systems, the ability of democratic institutions to preserve non-economic values is equally important. Although the urgency of intergenerational problems is traditionally attributed to environmental concerns and movement within ecology, there is a growing understanding that shifting burdens to future generations in other areas is an equally important concern, and the ethic of future generations should include other political or policy fields (Tremmel, 2009).

1.2. Non-identity Problem and Other Objections to the Intergenerational Ethic

While there is a general recognition that the question of intergenerational fairness becomes more urgent as our human capacity to affect future generations expands (Barry, 1991; Davidson, 2012; H. George Frederickson, 1994; Ng, 1989; Parfit, 1984; Tremmel, 2009), the main issue of concern is whether the ethic of future generations is even possible. Many moral

philosophers believe that all important moral principles have already been developed throughout the course of ethics history, and since there can be no fundamental changes, developing an ethic of future generations does not make sense (Tremmel, 2009, p. 3). Such skeptics often call the ethic of future generations a 'no-man's land of ethics'. On the other hand, there is also an opinion that the issue of responsibility in relation to future generations is not the same as the responsibility to current generations, and the traditional concept of responsibility must be interpreted in a completely new light (Birnbacher, 2006).

The objection to such an ethic is known as the non-identity paradox, which claims not only that future persons do not yet exist and thus we cannot know their needs, desires, and life circumstances, it is also not realistic to attempt to fulfill such needs or desires. The non-identity paradox is essentially based on two arguments, the first one is the time-dependence-claim, which implies that if any particular person had not been conceived when he was in fact conceived (or within a month of time when he was in fact conceived according to Parfit), it is in fact true that he would never have existed (Parfit, 1984, p. 351). The second argument supporting non-identity problem is known as the no-difference-view, which implies that human beings do not have an adequate capacity to accurately predict the future outcomes of the present choices (Parfit, 1984, p. 354). The extreme interpretation of this argument implies that history does not depend on the decisions of particular temporal persons.

Derek Parfit's reductionist position helps avoiding the non-identity problem by claiming that self-identity can be reduced to a set of criteria that do not need to suppose that particular people exist. Such an impersonal point of view facilitated the development of a future ethic that is objective in a sense that it is independent from particular identities, and is rather designed by considering psychological connectedness of individuals (their relation to each other is what

matters more). According to Parfit, the fact of personal identity over time is less deep, or involves less, therefore such fact has less moral importance (Parfit, 1984, p. 338). In Parfit's view the best way to get around the domination of self-interested considerations and non-identity issues in making choices affecting future people is to morally treat them with some kind of priority, as if we were making decisions for own our children. Thus, we ought to do what is best for everyone's children, impartially considered (Parfit, 1984, p. 444). This impersonal argument is very powerful and has a remarkably strong moral effect; its value is comparable with John Rawl's impartial principle of designing just institutions – the veil of ignorance. Hence, although Parfit did not manage to develop a clear ethics theory in relation to future generations (Theory X in his words), his theoretic contribution to such theory is very valuable.

The second major objection to the ethic of future generations is the issue of granting legal rights to future individuals (Beckerman, 1994; De George, 1981; Macklin, 1981). This objection is based on the argument that any coherent theory of justice implies rendering rights to people, and since unborn people cannot be part of the same legal framework and thus cannot have legal rights, therefore, the interests of future generations cannot be protected within a theory of justice (Beckerman, 2006). One way to get around the problem of granting legal rights to future people is offered by Brown-Weiss, who suggests that traditional view of rights as we know them in relation to current generations is too narrow and should be broaden in order to be suitable to future generations (Brown-Weiss, 1989). She specifically suggests the concept of a new kind of intergenerational rights that she calls the planetary rights – the rights for each subsequent generation to receive the planet in no worse condition as compared to previous generation in terms of natural and cultural resources, and the equitable access to the use and benefits of the legacy (Brown-Weiss, 1989, p. 95). These are the rights that exceed the boundaries of traditional

individual-based concepts of legal rights, as well as the boundaries of a particular state since they apply to humanity as a whole.

Since one of the objections against the possibility of the ethic of intergenerational fairness is that future individuals cannot have rights, Tremmel suggests getting around this problem by formulating the theory of intergenerational justice without employing the term 'rights', and instead using the idea of 'just claims' (such as the needs, interests, or preferences), or the idea of fairness and obligations, or the concept of no harm and no immoral actions in relation to future people. Such an approach is based on the understanding that moral norms historically precede norms of justice, and although we are living in the world dense with laws and regulations, all of them are deeply based on the moral beliefs of our societies. In this way we are actually avoiding the problem of granting legal rights to non-existing people by distinguishing between the ethical discourses and the legal discourses.

The final major objection to the possibility of an ethic justice in relation to future generations is the idea of temporal discounting that is common in welfare economics and is based on the rational choice theory assumption that rational human beings have a discount rate with respect to time, and tend to discount the nearer future at a greater rate than the long-term future (Parfit, 1984, p. 159). In Parfit's view the assumptions of the self-interest theory are too narrow and not too helpful in developing the ethic of future because self-interest requires favoring actual present benefits and ignoring potential future outcomes. In Parfit's view it is morally wrong to discount the future because "unless we, or some global disaster, destroy the human race, there will be people living later who do not now exist", and "science has given to our generation greater ability both to affect these people, and to predict these effects" (Parfit, 1984). In fact, our current actions produce a number of negative consequences for future

generations, including pollution, congestion, depletion, inflation, unemployment, overpopulation, famine, etc. That is why we have an obligation and a moral duty to consider future persons and their needs.

Overall, although we may not necessarily know the identity of particular future people (non-identity-problem), or we may not be able to make accurate predictions as to the consequences of our present choices in the future (no-difference-view), our current choices do affect the identities of future persons (who these people are) and the number of future persons. Therefore, it should be our obligation to act morally and make morally appropriate choices. This conclusion essentially justifies that there can be and should be a temporal ethic of fairness toward future generations.

II.   Intergenerational Ethics and the Classic Theories of Justice

Several scholars have considered the issue of intergenerational justice and attempted to categorize existing theoretical approaches relevant to the subject (Axel Gosseries, 2008; Sabbagh & Vanhuysse, 2010; Tremmel, 2009; Wolf, 2005). Wolf suggested that theories of intergenerational fairness could be grouped around the following four dimensions: private law (idea of property and enforceable contracts), the issue of common pool resources, the problem of savings/dissavings, and a purely moral problem (Wolf, 2005). He also observes that many accounts of intergenerational justice presuppose that just institutions must be intergenerationally sustainable, and there are different interpretations of such intergenerational sustainability, including sustainable endowments, sustainable productive opportunities, and sustainable welfare. Wolf criticizes these approaches claiming that a normative conception of intergenerational "sustainability" cannot focus on welfare or resources or opportunities, it must also accommodate changes in population size, and the effects of resource depletion on people's ability to meet their

need. In brief, he concludes that we need an alternative conception of sustainability for the theory of intergenerational justice. While developing his theory of intergenerational justice, Tremmel suggested that previous scholarly works offer several different treatments of justice that might be applicable to the intergenerational problem: justice as impartiality, justice as the equal treatment of equal causes and the unequal treatment for unequal causes, and justice as reciprocity (Tremmel, 2009). Gosseries suggests that the theories of justice (including the intergenerational dimension) could be classified along six main streams: indirect reciprocity theories, mutual advantage theories, libertarianism based on Lockean proviso, Rawlsian egalitarianisnm, sufficietarianism, and utilitarianism (Axel Gosseries, 2008). These scholars generally conclude that each of the theories is useful in its own way; however, none of the theories is fully capable of providing specific guidance with regard to establishing effective institutions of justice.

The idea of justice as impartiality dates to Kant and his views regarding categorical imperative (the role of reasoning, the importance of means versus ends) and moral duty, however, it has been fully developed into the procedural approach to justice through Rawl's ideas of the 'veil of ignorance', as the main principle of just distribution (Rawls, 1971). According to Tremmel, the main weaknesses of Rawl's theory of justice include ignoring environmental aspects of justice and the disregard of axiological questions (what should be left to future generations) by limiting the answers to cultural capital only (just institutions), while ignoring natural, real, or human capital. The other weakness of the application of the veil of ignorance idea in the intergenerational terms is that initial situation of different generations cannot be made equal because of the autonomous innovation rate and the fact that initial situation of following generations is usually better than past generations (Tremmel, 2009, p. 175).

Theories of justice as equal treatment of equal causes, unlike theories of justice as impartiality that assumed the equality of initial background condition, presuppose that distribution occurs under certain conditions, and therefore different criteria might be applied for determining the fair share of such distributions. For instance, this includes the ideas of justice according to performance, justice according to effort, and justice according to needs. According to Tremmel, these ideas can be applied in intergenerational terms only to certain degree because time is one-directional and the level of need-fulfillment of previous generations cannot be lifted to the level of today's generation (Tremmel, 2009, p. 175). Therefore, something that appears very unjust in intragenerational terms may look different in the long-run. Finally, it is especially challenging to apply the ideas of equal treatment in relation to past generations, and although it is very important to pay the honor and respect the dead, these are the obligations of benevolence, not justice, for past generational cannot be helped in any material way (Tremmel, 2009, p. 182).

The idea of justice as reciprocity dates to Thomas Hobbes, and implies the adoption of fair rules of interaction between self-interested individuals (social contract) that are enforced through repetitive interactions between individuals. According to Tremmel, the notion of reciprocity enforced through contacts and cohesion is not applicable in the intergenerational terms because non-existing future generations do not have any potential or means to threaten current generations, and are unable to serve as valid contract partners (Tremmel, 2009, p. 192). Thus, there is no possibility of constructing reciprocal agreements between non-overlapping generations, and contractarian theories fail to provide sufficient justification of our obligations to future generations.

It is possible to conclude that each of these approaches is generally grounded in one of the three classic theories of social justice: liberal (Hobbes, Rawls), libertarian (Locke, Nozick),

and communitarian (Rousseau, Walzer). For the purposes of this study two promising attempts to utilize classic theories of justice for developing intergenerational justice frameworks would be considered – Brian Barry's Theory of Productive Opportunities and Joerg Tremmel's Theory of Enabling Advancement. Both of these scholars heavily benefit from the ideas of John Rawls and his theory of justice as fairness.

2.1. Joerg Tremmel's Theory of Intergenerational Justice as Enabling Advancement

A prominent scholar of intergenerational justice Joerg Tremmel advances his theory of intergenerational justice that is specifically based on the consideration of strengths and weaknesses of the previously developed approaches (Tremmel, 2009). Tremmel's theory attempts to accommodate the idea of indirect reciprocity-the 'dual role' that each generation has as both a beneficiary of the planetary legacy and a trustee of the planet, that is developed within the environmental rights approach by Brown-Weiss (Brown-Weiss, 1989). It is based on the premise that although the intergenerational ethics problems of the current century are very different from the issues relevant a century ago, a general knowledge of the concepts of justice in the historic sense is a useful foundation for the theory of intergenerational justice.

Among the three basic approaches to justice (justice as impartiality, justice as reciprocity, justice as equal treatment of equal causes) Tremmel favors justice as impartiality and John Rawl's ideas regarding the original position, as they apply to the intergenerational context. In his view, while direct reciprocity is theoretically impossible because of the objective difference in the positions between generations (autonomous factors of progress), indirect reciprocity provides room for including future generations in ethics theory. Tremmel's theory also utilizes the just savings principle as an institutional mechanism suggested by Rawls, but instead of the net savings rate that each generation is supposed to follow by limiting their own consumption, the

scholar suggests implementing a 'preventative measures rate'. The later saving mechanism does not presuppose sacrificing the consumption by each generation, but that consumption should be organized in a way that allows avoiding ecological, societal, or technical collapses, which in Tremmel's view is the main moral obligation of current generations toward future generations. Tremmel's theory refers to needs and emphasizes opportunities for future generations, as opposed to wants, interests, preferences, or aspirations. He employs a person affecting view by considering the average member of a generation, instead of looking at a generation as a whole.

The enabling advancement theory of intergenerational justice does not favor absolute principles and standards (like Rawl's background procedural justice, for example), rather it is comparative. Tremmel determines well-being of future generations by comparing it to today's well-being or the well-being of earlier generations, which means that future generations should be at least 'as good as' current generation. For instance, poverty in comparative terms becomes an injustice only when there are others that are not poor. However, he corrects himself by saying that the enabling advancement theory presupposes that "our duties to posterity are more extensive than is often supposed" (Tremmel, 2009, p. 199). He further says that in a generationally just society 'at least as good' must be replaced by 'better'. In his view, the opportunities of the average member of the next generation to fulfill their needs should be better than those of the average member of the preceding generation. This implies that it is just to make improvement possible for future generations, as well as prevent everything that might violate historical trend of positive development. Finally, the enabling advancement theory presupposes that although we have obligations to all future generations, we can base our judgments on comparisons between only two generations, and each succeeding generation would do the same to insure continuity.

While Tremmel's theory is a very valuable utilization of the idea of indirect reciprocity, it still presents a narrow and quite utilitarian view of our obligations to future generations. While preventing damage is an important moral obligation, more might be required from current generations. A true theory of intergenerational justice should go beyond mere "no damage" considerations, and should be extended to leaving future generations with something more in moral terms than we inherited. In the end, Tremmel himself suggests distinguishing between the normative and empirical levels of our obligations to future generations by saying that while our obligations to future generations are greater than we commonly assume, the actual probability that we will leave behind a world with better or at least equal opportunities for future generations has been dropping over past decades (Tremmel, 2009, p. 204). He arrives at a conclusion that today's generation has the potential to irreversibly reduce the well-being of numerous future generations.

2.2. Brian Barry's Theory of Productive Opportunities

To Brian Barry, existing theories of justice give only "the most tenuous and contingent security to the interests of future generations" (Barry, 1991, p. 256). He argues that the ethic of fairness to future generations should start from asking the same questions about the present, and thus appealing to the ideas of justice in general (Barry, 1997). Barry does not see the adequate possibility of applying communitarian ideas of justice in intergenerational terms. He says that according to Walzer, obligations depend on actual rather than potential reciprocal relationships, which rules out any obligations to subsequent generations, since there is no reciprocity with them (Barry, 1991, p. 246). Similarly, Golding's ideas of obligations on the basis of 'moral community' are limited as well, because our obligations to future generations would depend on whether we regard them as part of our 'moral community', i.e. would depend on whether people

in future generations are living in ways that we expect them to live. Barry also critiques the libertarian idea of justice based on Nozick's work. The latter ideas are based on the limited state and strict enforcement of private property, which means that since we have a right to dispose of our property as we wish, subsequent generations could not charge us with injustice if we were to consume whatever we could in our own lifetimes (Barry, 1991, p. 245). This would be a dead end for the intergenerational application of the libertarian justice ideas to future generations.

According to Barry, among all of the theories, justice as reciprocity is perhaps the most valuable of all contributions to the intergenerational ideas, however, it needs "to be supplemented" in order to serve its best in the intergenerational terms (Barry, 1991, p. 235). If we accept the inapplicability of communitarian and libertarian ideas of justice (based on Hobbesian self-protection, Lockean entitlement, and Rousseau community) in intergenerational terms, we are still left with ideal contractarian construction and Rawl's ideas of the original position. In his view, this is a much more promising start for any theory of intergenerational justice, although it is not immune from the critique. Barry's major objection to Rawls is that there is too much universalism embedded in the egalitarian theory of justice. Thus, Barry believes that universalized moral principles applied to everyone alive now and continuously through time without any adjustment may cause severe practical problems in drawing a cut-off point in the future.

Barry believes that the ethics of future generations is not only possible, but essential, and it is not sufficient to claim that since we do not know the precise tastes of remote descendants, the interests of future generations cannot be harmed (Barry, 1991, p. 248). In his view, we need to make sure that we are not leaving future generations with fewer choices and opportunities. Barry also believes that the theory of intergenerational justice should be based on moral values

rather than mere legal obligations, thus reflecting a broader definition of justice (Barry, 1997, p. 94). This approach is similar to the ideas of Parfit, who believed that the major standard of equality among generations is to make sure that "people in each generation have a right to an equal range of opportunities or to an equally high quality of life" (Parfit, 1984, p. 365). The right to equal opportunities and equal quality of life thus serves the best moral standard of judging our current choices.

Barry's ideas of justice between generations are interesting to us because he is specifically concerned with the fairness in the long-term, and in fact believes that there may be 'sleepers' – actions taken at one time that have much more significant effects in the long run than in the short run (Barry, 1991, p. 242). Barry asks, what makes our relations with our successors in hundred of years' time so different from our relations with our contemporaries, and answers that the major differences in these relationships would be bargaining power and information. Therefore, he critiques the just savings principle advanced by Rawls because such a principle implies justice only in relation to immediate successors as opposed to justice in relation to many future generations. Alternatively, he suggests that it should be our moral obligation to create the additional capital now and hope that the next generations will pass it on, or, more precisely, will pass a larger total capital to their successors (Barry, 1991, p. 250). This would even apply to the conservation of natural resources-meaning that we need to leave more to our immediate successors, and expect that they do the same. However, while Barry's ideas regarding just savings seem more advanced than those of Rawls, they are themselves idealistic. In fact, in many respects (and natural resources not exception) it might not be realistic to expect each generation to leave more of the same goods to future generations for objective reasons. Therefore, the

theory of intergenerational justice in the long-term may require developing more nuanced principles of moral obligations to future generations.

In his further investigation of the problem of natural resources depletion, Barry questions a widely accepted no-harm view and the idea of dealing with resource scarcity by providing future generations with compensation, such as improved technology and increased capital investment. Such a utilitarian point of view runs into a challenge of identifying the appropriate level of utility for future generations, especially in the long-term. Alternatively, Barry suggests replacing the productive opportunities under depletion by creating alternative ones, this way escaping with the need to deal with utility as an object of distribution (Barry, 1991, p. 260). He further says that from the point of view of justice, the most important thing is the range of choices available to future generations rather than what would be the outcome of using such choices. Barry's idea of productive potential is a very valuable one; however, it needs more developments in terms of what types of just institutions would ensure the implementation and fair transfer of such potential across generations.

III. Three Main Theories of Social Justice Compared

3.1. Liberal Ideas of Social Justice and The Egalitarian Theory of Justice

The idea of modern democratic society as a mediating mechanism of social interaction dates back to the philosophy of social contract understood as a voluntary established, but centrally enforced convention between rational individuals. The liberal theory of justice developed by John Rawls is based on the hypothetical condition of initial equality (veil of ignorance) allowing rational individuals to apply the principles of justice to their moral judgments (Rawls, 1971). When the principles of justice are chosen behind the veil of ignorance, it is ensured that no one is advantaged or disadvantaged in the choice of principles and rules of

interaction. The initial situation of equality is fair between individuals as both rational beings pursuing their own ends and moral persons concerned with the common good.

Rawls argues that the principle of utility (maximizing individual benefits by rational individuals) is incompatible with the concept of social cooperation and mutual advantage, because it contradicts the idea of reciprocity implicit in the well-ordered society. According to Rawls, since the well-being of everyone depends on the scheme of cooperation without which no one could have satisfactory life, the division of advantages should be such as to draw forth the willing cooperation of everyone taking part in it, including those less well situated (Rawls, 1971). Therefore, the egalitarian theory of social justice presupposes that a fair society is a society of free and equal individuals choosing the following two principles of justice: recognizing equality in the alignment of basic rights and duties (the principle of justice as fairness), and solving the problem in inequality of social and economic positions through the mechanism of distribution-providing benefits to everyone, in particular to less advantaged members of society (the principle of difference). Unlike libertarian justice theorists who advocate limited government and favor private market-based mechanisms of enforcing social collaboration, liberal theorists offered a mechanism for sustaining social collaboration that recognizes the legitimacy of government as an institutional mechanism of enforcing contractual relationships between individuals, and an instrument for developing and implementing distributive public policies.

In his later works Rawls offered a restatement of his initial principles of justice (Rawls & Kelly, 2001), and while his newer approach is still very much contractarian, it is much less pluralistic and much more institutional. Thus, Rawls redefines the problem of distributive justice in institutional terms. His main question of concern in the restatement is "how the institutions of

the basic structure to be regulated as one unified scheme of institutions so that a fair, efficient, and productive system of social cooperation can be maintained over time, from one generation to the next" (Rawls & Kelly, 2001, pp. 50-51). Justice as fairness in the restatement is framed for a democratic society, and is considered a form of political liberalism since it articulates highly significant moral values that apply to the political and social institutions of the basic structure. The moral component becomes even more salient in the restatement, and the structure is defined as "political and social institutions and how they fit together into a unified system of cooperation" (Rawls & Kelly, 2001, p. 40).

In addition to the importance of creating and maintaining just basic structures, the restatement emphasizes the question of legitimacy, in particular the significance of public justification and reasoning. Public reason realized through democratic political institutions in itself serves as a source of legitimacy for Rawls, and he believes that a well-ordered society is effectively regulated only by a publicly-recognized conception of justice. The liberal principle of legitimacy is stated in the following way, "when constitutional essentials are involved, political power, as the power of free and equal citizens, is to be exercised in ways that all citizens as reasonable and rational might endorse in the light of their common human reason"(Rawls & Kelly, 2001, p. 84). For Rawls, public acceptance of the principles of justice is essential for maintaining social collaboration and pure background procedural justice for Rawls is an ideal social process, where basic structure comprises social institutions within which human beings may develop their moral powers and become fully cooperating members of a society of free and equal citizens.

In terms of the intergenerational aspect, John Rawls is considered the leading advocate for including future generations in the domain of justice from the egalitarian perspective (Rawls,

1971). Egalitarian understanding of moral institutions implies that since "persons in different generations have duties and obligations to one another just as contemporaries do", they "have a natural duty to uphold and to further just institutions" (Rawls, 1971, p. 289). This implies the implementation of the just savings principles, meaning that each generation should "put aside in each period of time a suitable amount of real capital accumulation" (Rawls, 1971, p. 285). Rawls believes that just savings principles should be implemented between two consecutive generations, and should be maintained over time. However, such an approach has been considered too near-sighted and criticized for the lack of attention to the longer-term generations (Barry, 1991).

Beyond the just savings principle and just basic structure, Rawls does not talk much about just institutions in his initial theory. However, the liberal idea of equality, as it is developed in the restatement, recognizes social and economic inequalities as major issues of concern for the justice as fairness, and in addition to the classic principles of justice (embedded in just basic structure), it talks more about particular liberal mechanisms of supporting the basic structure and ensuring its continuity over time. These mechanisms include the development of a well-functioning market system and the idea of equal opportunities for everyone (in particular, education) (Rawls & Kelly, 2001). Thus, while the liberal theory of justice is not opposed to the market mechanisms for mediating social contracts, it also relies on a well-functioning state as an agent of distribution that makes sure the interests of the least advantaged members of society are considered. Additionally, while libertarian theories of justice consider justice to be the outcome of the historical process, egalitarian theory sees it as a result of a social process between free and equal individuals.

For the purposes of intergenerational application, the main strengths of the egalitarian theory of social justice include the development of the general universal principles of justice (equality of opportunity, individual liberty, the principle of difference and impartiality), the strong institutional component embedded in the idea of just institutions (which are proactive in nature – once established, they keep functioning as a background for procedural justice over time), and the idea of original position (veil of ignorance – as the principle of establishing fair rules of intergenerational exchange). The main limitations of the egalitarian theory largely stem from its non-historic nature and too simplistic understanding of equality based on the hypothetical original position. Liberal ideas of just basic structure founded on the assumptions regarding human rationality, individual freedom and equality, fail to address the large scope of actual inequalities existing both within and between generations. It appears important to consider historic, cultural and social background for any type of meaningful theory of justice of the future.

3.2. Communitarian Ideas regarding Social Justice and The Theory of Distributive Justice

Contrary to the non-historic nature of the principles of justice developed within liberal theories, the communitarian idea of justice specifically reflects particular historic and cultural context, and is contingent on the social character of goods (Walzer, 1983). Walzer's idea of multiple spheres of justice and complex equality presupposes the impossibility of any type of steady basic structure established as a foundation for social order. In fact, he criticizes the egalitarian idea of eliminating particular sets of differences at different times and places, and efforts to create society free from domination. For Walzer, all attempts to "stretch or shrink human being" appear to be unrealistic, and he suggests that instead "we have to understand and

control social goods" (Walzer, 1983, p. 8). In communitarian terms justice is a social construction, and therefore, there is a serious doubt that it can be made in only one way.

In terms of a specific mechanism ensuring social justice, Walzer suggests a society where no social good serves or can serve as a means of domination, which means that although different people may have different possessions of various social goods, owning one of them should not advance a particular member of a society above everyone else. On a pragmatic level this means that social institutions should be designed in such a way that, for instance, wealthy persons would not be able to use their economic power to dominate in other spheres of social life, or necessarily have a superior access to political power, education, aesthetics, and other social goods. In Walzer's view, access to a wide range of social goods should be independent from an individual's strength in a particular sphere, and instead of universal egalitarian principles, different social criteria should be used for the distribution of each good in order to ensure its relative autonomy. In his words, "domination is ruled out only if social goods are distributed for distinct and "internal" reasons", which ensures the "relative autonomy" of distributions – a necessary condition for social justice (Walzer, 1983, p. 15). Consequently, for Walzer equality does not result from the identity of possessions, it results from the diversity of distributive criteria that reflect the diversity of social goods.

For a classic communitarian, political community itself serves as the best alternative to any specifically designed background institution for achieving social justice. It is the essential institution at the core of the idea of distributive justice and is defined as a group of people committed to dividing, exchanging, and sharing social goods in a world of common meanings (Walzer, 1983). In a political community language, history and culture come together to produce a collective consciousness (Walzer, 1983). According to Walzer's theory, although social goods

in the world generally have shared meanings because it is created through the social process, same goods may still have different meanings in different societies because different social standards may be applied to judging them (Walzer, 1983). Along with this political community is an important good in itself that gets distributed by taking people in and the membership is not handed by some external agency-it depends upon an internal decision (Walzer, 1983). Such recognition of the role of social and cultural context, and political community as a source of justice are among the major theoretic contributions of Walzer to understanding the nature of justice.

Similar to egalitarian doctrines, communitarian views to justice serve as theoretic grounds for the institution of social distribution, and human society is viewed as essentially a distributive community, where people essentially come together "to share, divide, and exchange" (Walzer, 1983, p. 3). However, contrary to egalitarian views of distribution as an integrated science, for Walzer it is rather "an art of differentiation" and the end result of distribution – equality is "simply the outcome of the art". The theory of distributive justice advanced by Walzer is based on the idea that the principles of justice are themselves pluralistic in form because of the different understandings of the social goods as a result of historical and cultural context, and different social goods should be distributed according to different criteria, different procedures and reasons, and by different agents. Therefore, while egalitarian theory of justice overall adheres to the principle of impartiality and objective determination the principles of justice, communitarian doctrines of justice presuppose partiality and differentiation. Walzer's approach to justice is considered very valuable by contemporary scholars, and adopting partiality as a possible principle to guide ethical decision making seems to be very appropriate for the organizations engaged in public administration (Saban, 2010).

The theory of distributive justice developed by Walzer does not specifically talk about the intergenerational aspect of justice, yet it does acknowledge the fact that ideas regarding justice or injustice of distributions may change over time because social meanings as foundations for the principles of justice are historical in character. Walzer's theory is generally based on three main principles of distribution: free exchange, deservedness, and need (Walzer, 1983). The idea of the free exchange is based on a market mechanism allowing goods to convert into each other through the medium of money, and market as institution is pluralistic in its operations and outcomes, thus ensuring the accommodation of the variety of social meanings. The principle of deservedness is open-ended and pluralistic since it presupposes the distribution of social goods depending on both the type and value of a particular good and the extent of the deservedness by a particular member of a society. Since this principle requires matching particular goods to particular persons, it involves difficult judgments. The third element of the distributive justice theory – the principle of need is quite similar to Rawl's principle of difference, where the social good is to be distributed to the most disadvantaged members of a society. However, while for Rawls the idea of a need is universal, for Walzer it depends on a particular sphere of distribution and every criterion of need has to meet the general rules within the sphere.

Similarly to libertarians, Walzer acknowledges that market as an institution has been one of the most important mechanisms for the distribution of social goods; however, according to Walzer it has never been a complete and necessarily fair distributive system (Walzer, 1983). Alternatively, Walzer calls for a more generous role for the state as an agent of re-distribution, and in particular he uses the example of social-democratic states as particularly socially just and fair. At the same time, Walzer's ideas regarding the role of a state are different from a classic egalitarian view that renders significant social contract enforcement powers to a state and

justifies continual state intervention in order to limit any form of domination (to guarantee freedom and equality to all). In fact, he is concerned that concentrated political power is the path to domination that is incompatible with his ideas regarding social justice. Alternatively, Walzer suggests that state power should be widely distributed to open "the way for more diffused and particularized social conflict" in order to ensure that inequality will not be multiplied (Walzer, 1983, p. 17). Furthermore, it becomes the role of a political community – ordinary men and women within their own spheres of competence and control – to resist the possibility of the power concentration, and such solution does not require large-scale state action. However, Walzer's understanding of a limited state is very different from minimalist state doctrines developed within the libertarian theory. While for Nozick the ultraminimal state could at most result into a legally constrained minimal state, where non-state mechanisms of individual rights enforcement are preferred, for Walzer the state is a legitimate institution of social distribution as long as its power is not monopolized, and the citizens of the state – members of a political community – are shaping the world of social meanings and enjoying different shares of social goods distributed on the basis of the principles of justice.

For the purposes of intergenerational application, the main strengths of the communitarian theory of social justice include the recognition of the complexity of equality (based on individual and social differences) and the importance of the historic context, the principle of independence between the spheres of justice (possession of one good should not lead to a monopoly access to other goods), the idea of distributive justice based on individual differences (partiality), and the view of justice as social construction that is based on the characteristics of a particular political community. The main weaknesses of the communitarian

theory include the practical absence of the intergenerational component and the lack of universal justice principles that could be projected in the longer-term.

3.3. Libertarian Ideas Regarding Social Justice and the Entitlement Theory

Libertarian theories of social justice define justice as individual liberty (or non-conflicting liberties and freedoms of individuals within a particular state), and are predominantly relying on the idea of some sort of historic acquisition of individual rights (justice in acquisition) (R. A. Epstein, 1988; Nozick, 1974). In Nozick's view, individual rights are moral properties existing regardless of the deservedness or a need, and are absolute, preclusive, and discretionary. Additionally, in contrast to communitarians, libertarian theory presupposes no hierarchy between the rights, it is most important to make sure that for any right there are no conflicting rights of equal importance.

The potential conflict between the rights is avoided through the idea of historic acquisition that can be formulated as follows, "Rights are acquired or transferred at particular times, and both the principle of justice in acquisition and the principles of justice in transfer forbid rights-gettings which conflict with previously existing rights" (Francis & Francis, 1976). This principle is particularly appropriate in its application to property rights, which means that the problem of common pool resources could potentially be avoided by the historical establishment of individual ownership. Overall, modern libertarian ideas justifying the right to private property to individuals are grounded in the philosophy of Locke holding that private appropriation is justified because it enables people for the better use of world resources, however, there should be certain limitations regarding the arbitrariness, or abuse of property, especially waste and destroying (Francis & Francis, 1976). The minimum principle of fairness, which sets the limits on rights acquisition, is called the "Lockean proviso". According to Locke,

justice in acquisition is realized through claiming a previously unowned object by someone mixing his labor with it (Nozick, 1974). In Nozick's interpretation the value of Lockean proviso lies within its ability to be concerned with the means of acquisition (procedural justice) rather than ends (outcome, or the structure of situation that results) (Nozick, 1974). Nozick is further convinced that the free operation of a market system (an essential element of a libertarian theory) will not be in conflict with Lockean proviso (Nozick, 1974). However, this principle is not without limitations: it prohibits rights acquisition if this worsens other's situations by making them no longer able to use what they previously could without compensation, and transfers to distributions which could have been prohibited as initial acquisitions (Francis & Francis, 1976).

While both communitarian and liberal theories of social justice adhere to the idea of redistribution as a mechanism of protecting the rights of disadvantaged populations, Nozick and his followers criticize the very idea of redistribution on the grounds that it violates the priority of individual rights and the principle of historic acquisition. Alternatively, Nozick develops the entitlement theory of justice (Nozick, 1974), which is aimed to directly counteract Rawl's egalitarian theory of justice as fairness. Nozick's theory is based on three principles-a principle of justice in acquisition (the initial acquisition of holdings); a principle of justice in transfer (acquiring holdings from other people); a principle of rectification of injustice (dealing with unjustly acquired or transferred holdings as well as injustices caused by a state). The first two principles constitute the necessary conditions of social justice of holdings, while the third principle is designed to deal with the imperfections and violations of justice. According to Nozick, the distribution is just if it arises from another just distribution by legitimate means.

Perhaps one of the most significant differences of the libertarian and egalitarian theories is that the former accepts as fundamental the principle of historic entitlement, while the latter is

based on designing the principles of justice on the basis of timeless ideas of background justice (just basic structure). Thus, the entire theory of entitlement designed by Nozick is based on the ideas of historic acquisition of property, while Rawls suggests designing the principles of justice under the veil of ignorance so that no member of a society appears in a position of historically or socially acquired advantage. Nozick openly criticizes egalitarian ideas regarding the equality of opportunity, since it would presuppose either worsening someone else's life, or using common resources to improve conditions of the disadvantaged in a society (Nozick, 1974). In his view, it is unacceptable to seize the holdings of others for the sake of someone else, and only a voluntary action of initial right holders should be used to benefit a society as a whole.

In the classic libertarian view, any extensive state could be in violation of individual rights, and only a limited minimalist state could be justified as a mechanism of rights enforcement. The main question asked by a classic libertarian in this regard is not about how extensive should be the scope of state enforcement in protecting individual rights, but how much room do individual rights leave for the state and its legitimate functions. According to Nozick, only a minimal state limited to the narrow functions of protection against force, theft, fraud, enforcement of contracts, and so on is justified (legitimized), and in no case should be authorized to use its cohesive apparatus for the purpose of getting some citizens to aid others, or in order to prohibit activities to people for their own good or protection. In his own words, "No moral balancing act can take place among us; there is no moral oughtweighting of one of our lives by others so as to lead to a greater overall social good." (Nozick, 1974, p. 33) This means that the main source of the legitimacy of the state power lies within the boundaries of the rights of individuals, and how much they are willing to limit those rights for the sake of accommodating other members of society.

Still, since libertarian theory justifies the existence of the minimal state, the question is this-what is the right mechanism of establishing such a state in the first place. According to Nozick's argument, the transition from a system of private protective agencies (a state of nature) to an ultraminimal state will occur by an invisible hand process in a morally permissible way that violates no one's rights. Further, the operators of the ultraminimal state would be morally obligated to produce the minimal state, which again is naturally occurring and thus justified. In other words, libertarian theory of justice claims that the minimal state is legitimate (i.e. has the monopoly over the use of force on its territory, and protects the rights of everyone on this territory, even if such a protection could only be provided in a "redistributive" fashion) as long as it has been established in a legitimate way by following the libertarian moral principles of non-violating individual rights and freedoms.

Libertarian concepts of justice are generally favoring the non-state mechanism of upholding individual rights, and resort to the legal instruments of rights-based conflict mediation (R. A. Epstein, 1988; Nozick, 1974). Within this line of thinking, particular just institutions would include the idea of private property and various non-state mechanisms of its protection (mainly, the litigation, the liability insurance, and compensation). Nozick particularly favors the idea of compensation as alternative to the mechanism of prohibition by stating that "even when permitting an action provided compensation is paid… is prima facie more appropriate for a risky action than prohibiting it" (Nozick, 1974, p. 78). He further provides the illustration of such idea by discussing the effects of prohibition and compensation on property in the case of pollution. In this case, according to Nozick, "when the victims of pollution suffer great cost, the usual system of tort liability (with minor modifications)" suffices to successfully enforce people's property rights and "keep pollution in its proper place" (Nozick, 1974, p. 80). However, the mechanism of

prohibition may take place as well, when we are talking about risky activities, in particular, "through prior agreements and open negotiations people must be induced to agree voluntary to refrain from the activities" (Nozick, 1974, p. 86).

For the purposes of intergenerational application, the main strengths of the libertarian theory of social justice include the recognition of the role of the historic context for the principles of justice, significant value of individual rights and liberties, and the elaborate vision of just institutions based on liberal ideas (private property and its protection through the litigation and compensation of damages, minimal state, free market, etc.). Among the weaknesses of the libertarian theory is the weak intergenerational component; a too great reliance on the idea of private property and diminishing the role of the state; absolute, preclusive, and discretionary view of individual rights that does not allow responding effectively to the complex nature of modern (and future) societies; and the retroactive view of just institutions (compensation of damages as opposed to some proactive mechanisms of justice protection).

Overall, while three classic theories of justice are distinct in many respects and each of them offers some insights for the ethic of sustainability, for the purposes of this research it is most important to draw from them a more or less coherent understanding of the idea of just institutions, and its possible application in intergenerational terms.

IV. The Idea of Just Institutions and Its Role in Understanding Intergenerational Justice

The primary theoretical question asked here is this-what can present day institutions do to enhance the prospects of long-term or remote generations? The answer to such question is challenging, but one thing that we know is that there are institutions which are resilient over time. The examples of institutions presenting the evidence of longstanding domain of allocation

to future generations include collectively established moral institutions (governments, schools, foundations) and trusts (local, state, and national parks, animal and bird reserves; soil conservation programs; air, water, and land pollution controls) among other (H. George Frederickson, 1994).

The classic theories of social justice diverge in their treatment of the idea of just institutions. For example, Rawls' idea of justice implies the contractual notion of just basic structure not contingent on historical advantages and providing for the preservation of background procedural justice over time (Rawls, 1971; Rawls & Kelly, 2001). Rawls' idea of justice is liberal in the sense that it presupposes agreement between free and equal individuals, and is based on the idea of well-functioning economic institutions in a property-owning democracy. Particular institutional mechanism ensuring the preservation of just basic structure over time and providing basic care for future generations is the just savings principle, which implies that each generation should "put aside in each period of time a suitable amount of real capital accumulation" (Rawls, 1971). On the contrary, for Walzer the idea of justice specifically reflects particular historic and cultural context, and is contingent on the social character of goods (Walzer, 1983). His idea of multiple spheres of justice and complex equality presupposes the impossibility of any type of steady basic structure established as a foundation for social order. For a classic communitarian, political community itself serves as the best alternative to any specifically designed background institution for achieving social justice. Walzer's views on justice provide theoretic grounds for the idea of re-distribution, implying that social-democratic states would be particularly socially just and fair. Libertarian justice theorists define justice as individual liberty (or non-conflicting liberties and freedoms of individuals within a particular state), and are predominantly relying on the idea of some sort of historic acquisition of individual

rights (justice in acquisition) (R. A. Epstein, 1988; Nozick, 1974). They favor market mechanism of upholding these rights. Within this line of thinking, particular just institutions would include the idea of private property and various non-state mechanisms of its protection (mainly, litigation and damage compensation).

According to Frederickson, the idea of just institutions is a form of social equity between generations (H. George Frederickson, 2010b). Indeed, many of the routine decisions of policy makers and public administrators appear to support the existence of a vertical moral community in which present generations act favorably on behalf of future generations. For the purposes of this study, it is argued that sustainable public administration will be based on the idea of temporal generations creating and leaving just institutions in place for future generations. In this view, sustainable institutions function as intergenerational moral agencies, understood as an enabling condition and policy making capacity transferred from one generation to another.

The idea of just institution in the long-term in reference to public policy could be understood within the compound theory of social equity (H. George Frederickson, 2010a). Unlike some earlier theories of fairness which largely ignored inter-temporal dimensions of justice, Frederickson employs the factor of time as a key independent variable of analysis. In his model, Frederickson looks at equity in reference to both horizontal and vertical moral communities, with the former implying equality and fairness among individuals, groups, and segments of society in current terms, and the latter implying the intergenerational aspect. The vertical moral community includes three groups: temporal generation, near-term future generation (four generations of twenty years each), and long-term future (including the generations of people not yet present). Frederickson suggests applying cost-benefit analysis as a policy-making tool in order to ensure proper accounting of intergenerational fairness in the long-

term. In his view, it is a fundamental ethics question and a moral obligation of public administration to consider the interests of future generations while developing and implementing public policies. This would require virtuous administrators functioning as moral community leaders and mediators of social interaction. When applied to policy analysis, the compound theory of social equity would allow mitigating the negative long-term consequences in many urgent policy areas, including environment, social security, education, health care among other.

The study of sustainable public administration and the question of intergenerational fairness imply looking at the capacity of current institutions to provide for future generations. Temporal public administration tends to look at future generations as a common community of similar people rather than as group of individuals coming from different social, economic and cultural environments. The position taken here implies that while justice between population segments and groups living in the future is an important issue of concern, and each public policy should be designed to avoid potential injustices between groups, it is not practical to concentrate on both horizontal and vertical dimensions of justice of future generations within the same study.

This research is going to focus on just and sustainable institutions only, learning from successful experiences of achieving long-term sustainability and ensuring the justice of outcomes. Such justice does not have to be absolute-meaning the completely equal distribution of goods and products offered by these institutions to different segments of society. However, it should necessarily imply providing equal opportunity of access to goods and services to all social groups and individuals, as well as some sort of deliberate institutional attempt to reach wide population groups. As long as institutions are meeting these two conditions – equal opportunity of access for future generations and the mechanism necessary to reach the wider future community – they would be considered just.

For the purposes of this research it is argued that in a normative sense sustainability in public administration is the ethic of justice in relation to future generations; thus, it is important to develop a comprehensive understanding of both ethics principles and particular institutional mechanisms guiding sustainable policies of modern-day public institutions. The principles of justice drawn from the classic theories of social equity help in understanding the logic behind decision-making processes in the near-term, and offer a wide range of institutional remedies to cope with actual and potential injustices. However, by themselves classic theories of justice do not offer a comprehensive framework for understanding the ethic of sustainability in the long-term. Since I focus here on the idea of justice as an act of establishing and leaving just institutions for future generations, in addition to general principles for establishing such institutions, I seek a particular logic that guides public policy-makers within their institutional environments. The framework that allows accommodating ideas of forward looking justice, in particular, making decisions with the long-term outcomes on the basis of past experience, is the institutional theory developed by March and Olsen (March & Olsen, 1989, 1995). I claim that institutional theory provides a missing piece of the puzzle for the intergenerationally sustainable public administration.

V. The Logic of Appropriateness and the Principles of Intergenerational Justice as the Combined Framework for the Ethic of Sustainability

Sustainable public administration understood as intergenerational equity or fairness (H. George Frederickson, 2010a), is a broad unifying idea that is directly linked to democratic governance (March & Olsen, 1989, 1995). In this study a particular claim will be that institutional theory is best suited to both the analysis of sustainability understood to be a long-term issue, and the analysis of policies that will result in long-term intergenerational fairness. As

mentioned earlier, for the purposes of this study, it is argued that sustainable public administration will be based on the idea of creating and leaving just institutions in place for future generations, and the best way to study long range sustainability would be by looking at particular institutions, their history, emergence, transformation, resilience and survival over time. According to March and Olsen, "unless a democratic system can solve the problem of representing the future… it violates a rather fundamental underlying premise of democracy-that those who bear the costs of decision should have their interests adequately reflected in the choice" (March & Olsen, 1989, p. 146).

The particular perspective of this research is to include institutions in the anthropological sense as lasting customs and patterns of collective behavior; institutions in the organizational sense as lasting influential formalized organizations; and institutions as lasting influential ideas (H. George Frederickson, 2010a). Following March and Olsen, it is understood that the purpose of institutions is not merely providing a structure of routines, forms, and rules to organize political process, but also to shape meaning and create interpretative order within which social behavior is understood (March & Olsen, 1989). Therefore, the preservation and maintenance of particular formalized organizations is as important as the transferring of particular influential ideas, values and aspirations to future generations.

This view of institutions is most relevant to public administration theory because it implies the existence of identity-based democratic governance, where social interactions are guided not by the logic of exchanges, but by the logic of appropriateness (March & Olsen, 1995). This implies institutions as the shared meanings and collective identity of citizens as opposed to institutions as the mere aggregation of political preferences. The question asked here is this-in what precise ways do just institutions enable public policies in favor of future generations and

enhance their capacity to be sustained. I argue that sustainable institutions function as intergenerational moral agencies, understood as an enabling condition and policy making capacity transferred from one generation to another. Agency in the public sector is generally defined as a normative theory of how one person should act for another (Kass, 1989), which is considered crucial to a coherent theory of ethics in public administration (Garofalo & Geuras, 1999). Therefore, sustainable institutions serve as structures for intergenerational fairness by enabling public agents (administrators) to act in a way that considers the interests of future generations.

According to March and Olsen, administrators would act according to the rules-both the formalized procedures, organizational forms, conventions, roles, and the informal beliefs, paradigms, codes, cultures, - that surround, support, elaborate, and contradict those roles and routines. Such rule-bound behavior reflects subtle lessons of cumulative experience, and the process of rule application involves high levels of human intelligence, discourse and deliberation. Based on these institutional ideas, we may conclude that the following of certain everyday rules and routines based on the logic of appropriateness eventually results in accountability to future generations, and thus the study of these routines becomes important for understanding the nature of such accountability.

Institutional values and identities are perhaps the hardest subjects to study in traditional empirical settings. One way of approximating values is by employing a pragmatic strategy of looking at particular examples of institutional experiences, as they relate to the interests of future generations. Unfortunately, the classic theories of justice do not offer particular models suitable for analyzing public institutions in terms of their intergenerational impact. However, it is possible to extend and project into the future ideas developed within the classic theories of social

justice (such as ideas regarding the nature of distribution, the role of a state, and the character of baseline justice institutions, etc.) by extending them with the postulates of institutional theory developed by March and Olsen (March & Olsen, 1989).

First, classic theories of social justice predominantly rely on aggregative social institutions, developed either through the principles of public distribution (liberal and communitarian theories), or through some sort of market-based mechanisms of upholding individual rights and freedoms (libertarian and liberal theories). In all three of these theories the basic function of social institutions of justice is to reflect the aggregative character of social preferences, which presents a number one problem for using these ideas for developing the ethic of future generations. Since future persons cannot disclose their preferences through modern day political and social institutions, it appears practically impossible to reflect such preferences in the institutional design. Neither the principle of historic acquisition by Nozick, nor the idea of political community by Walzer addresses the preferences and needs of future people. The idea of the veil of ignorance advanced by Rawls helps getting around such problem, but it remains very ignorant to the objective differences that are likely to occur between the living conditions of current and future generations.

The idea of the identity-based integrative institutions developed by March and Olsen offers a much more suitable understanding of institutions as guardians of interests of future generations. In fact, for March and Olsen integrative institutions that preserve themselves over time are in fact just institutions, unlike aggregative institutions that at their best serve as weak frameworks for justice. In their understanding, truly integrative institutions "preserve themselves, partly by being resistant to many forms of change, partly by developing their own criteria of appropriateness and success, resource distributions, and constitutional rules" (March

& Olsen, 1989). Although March and Olsen did not develop specific principles of justice for the identity-based integrative institutions, in combination with the contributions from the social justice theorists, their framework is quite suitable for explaining how particular public decisions are made in the name of future generations.

Second, classic theories of justice rely on the traditional assumptions of rationality, where rational actors (both individuals and organizations) interpret their experiences in order to predict future consequences of their current actions. The idea of social contract, or the idea of proviso, or the idea of justice as the reflection of the spirit of political community, are formulated for rational, but moral self-interested actors. Institutional routines for such actors serve as incentives (rewards and punishments) allowing rational actors to adjust their behavior accordingly. While this may be a valid logic explaining how the principles of justice may work among currently living individuals continuously interacting with each other, the same may not hold true in the long-term, mainly because it is not in the immediate self-interest of moral rational actors to consider hypothetical responses of non-existing future generations to their current actions. Instead, they might as well take the full advantage of current resources and opportunities to themselves.

It is claimed here that the 'logic of appropriateness' is grounded in experience, history and that context is a valid explanation of particular institutional choices made by contemporaries in the name of future generations (March & Olsen, 1989). As compared to rational choice frameworks, the logic of appropriateness is much more forward looking, and while rational choice assumptions are guided mainly by short-term efficiency, the logic of appropriateness supports a commitment to social equity in the long-term. In fact, according to this logic, managers of sustainable public institutions do not simply act as rational planners addressing

current and short-term sustainability threats (although they do it as well), they are rather trying to make sense of existing environmental settings and institutional conditions, while making decisions with the practical implications for long-term future generations.

Finally, for the leading advocate of considering future generations in the domain of justice John Rawls, institutions serve a very functional purpose and act as instruments for achieving procedural justice. His main goal is therefore explaining how institutions deal with natural limitations and the way they are set up to take advantage of historical possibilities (Rawls, 1971). Thus, the key question of justice in institutional terms is the question of design and compliance: how a certain institutional set-up shapes human behavior in a particular way. On the contrary, March and Olsen view institutions as things in themselves that evolve, develop, change, and live their own 'lives'. For them, the organization of political life makes a difference in the way institutions affect the flow of history and our understanding of it. Additionally, while Rawls is concerned with the design of stable institutions embedded in the just basic structure that persists over time, March and Olsen recognize that institutions are baselines, but they are also dynamic, and they can adjust and change over time. Overall, March and Olsen's institutional ideas appear to be broader than those of Rawls, and integrative vision of institutions allows considering them as dynamic frameworks for making future-affecting decisions, rather than mere instruments for taking advantages of historic possibilities.

VI.   Conclusion

The ethic of long-term sustainability in public administration is essentially understood as intergenerational equity or fairness toward long-term future generations. Unlike short-term considerations of sustainability that presuppose immediate institutional responses to various resilience threats existing both outside and within the institutional environments and often

involve searching for efficient solutions, longer-term sustainability contends with concerns of immediate efficiency-it rests on the foundations of equity in relation to future generations. Thus, intergenerationally equitable institutions are capable of operating within a framework in which immediate payoffs and benefits are compared with longer-term outcomes. Actors functioning within such institutional environments are encouraged to make not necessarily the most efficient, but definitely more equitable in the long-run choices. The purpose of this chapter has been to survey the existing inquiries of both intergenerational and intragenerational justice with the purpose of developing a framework that could be useful for explaining the capacity of present day institutions to act as moral agencies – i.e. mechanisms that enable public policies in favor of future generations.

Theoretic challenges associated with intergenerational ethic of sustainability include the divergence of views regarding the relationship between sustainability and intergenerational fairness; narrowing the debate on sustainability and justice to environmental, demographic, social security and fiscal concerns; and numerous philosophical and practical objections to the possibility of developing an intergenerational ethic. Regardless of these challenges, scholars generally recognized the urgency of the intergenerational problem as our human capacity to affect future generations expanded (Barry, 1991, 1997; H. George Frederickson, 1994; Ng, 1989; Parfit, 1984; Tremmel, 2009).

While there is no single theory that fully explains how present day institutions accommodate future generations and their needs, there have been several efforts to build such a theory, or at least generalize the existing intergenerational debates (Barry, 1997; Brown-Weiss, 1989; Axel Gosseries, 2008; Parfit, 1984; Sabbagh & Vanhuysse, 2010; Tremmel, 2009; Wolf, 2005). These frameworks of intergenerational justice are generally grounded in one of the three

classic theories of social justice: the egalitarian (liberal) theory (Rawls, 1971), the entitlement (libertarian) theory (Nozick, 1974), and the theory of distributive (communitarian) justice (Walzer, 1983). The survey of the key concepts and ideas from these works demonstrate that classic theories of justice are distinct in many respects, and each of them offers some insights to the ethic of sustainability.

Contemporary intergenerational justice theorists claimed that classic theories of social justice, while rich in their treatment of principles and mechanisms of justice, fail to offer a comprehensive framework for the ethic of future generations (Barry, 1997; Axel Gosseries, 2008; A. Gosseries & Meyer, 2009; Parfit, 1984; Tremmel, 2009; Wolf, 2005). Instead, these scholars offered their own theories of ethic toward future generations (Barry, 1997; Tremmel, 2009). In my understanding, the main weakness of all three classic theories of justice is the limited applicability of such theories to the process of longer-term decision-making. Classic theories help understanding the principles of making temporal decisions in particular contexts, as well as give us some idea of particular mechanisms allowing the implementation of justice across different population groups, segments, and individuals, but they fail to project the same principles in the longer-term. However, I generally agree with the idea of using the classic ideas of justice for developing the ethic of intergenerational sustainability, and believe that all classic theories offer some contribution to it.

For the purposes of this research it is most important to draw from both classic and contemporary theories of justice a more or less coherent understanding of the idea of just institutions. According to Frederickson, the idea of just institutions is a form of social equity between generations (H. George Frederickson, 2010a), and it is argued here that sustainable public administration will be based on the idea of temporal generations creating and leaving just

institutions in place for future generations. In this view, sustainable institutions function as intergenerational moral agencies, understood as an enabling condition and policy making capacity transferred from one generation to another. The examples of institutions presenting the evidence of longstanding domain of allocation to future generations include collectively established moral institutions (governments, schools, foundations, institutions of art) and trusts (local, state, and national parks, animal and bird reserves; soil conservation programs; air, water, and land pollution controls) among others (H. George Frederickson, 1994). The most elaborate idea of just institutions established in the name of future generations is developed within the egalitarian theory of justice (Rawls, 1971; Rawls & Kelly, 2001). However, other theories of justice also contribute to the understanding of how just institutions operate by offering a more complete set of principles and mechanisms of justice and allowing considering the historical context in which such institutions function.

The longer-term dimension of sustainability has been mostly irrelevant to classic theories of justice, which (with the exception of Rawls) did not pay much attention to the factor of time in relation to justice. As the literature review demonstrated, the principles of justice developed by Rawls are also more applicable to the near-term future generations than in the longer-term. Contemporary inquiries of justice, for example Tremmel's theory of intergenerational justice as enabling advancement, do a better job in trying to account for future generations in the long run (Tremmel, 2009); however, they too seem to lack conceptual clarity and are often grounded mainly in immediate sustainability concerns. Alternatively, the idea of just institution in the long-term in reference to public policy could be understood within the compound theory of social equity (H. George Frederickson, 2010a). Frederickson employs the factor of time as a key independent variable of analysis and looks at equity in reference to both horizontal and vertical

moral communities, with the former implying equality and fairness among individuals, groups, and segments of society in current terms, and the latter reaching for intergenerational equity.

While justice between population segments and groups living in the future is an important issue of concern, it is not practical to concentrate on both horizontal and vertical dimensions of justice of future generations within the same study. Focusing on sustainable and just institutions and learning from successful experiences of achieving long-term sustainability and ensuring the justice of outcomes is adequate to the purpose of setting in place institutional arrangements that are most likely to result in intergenerational sustainability. Such sustainability does not have to be absolute-meaning the completely equal distribution of goods and products offered by these institutions to different segments of society through time. However, it should necessarily imply providing equal opportunity of access to goods and services to all social groups and individuals, as well as some sort of deliberate institutional attempt to reach wide population groups over time. As long as institutions are meeting these two conditions – equal opportunity of access for future generations and the mechanism necessary to reach the wider future community – they would be considered just.

In addition to the general principles for establishing just institutions, for a comprehensive ethic of sustainability in the longer-term it is important to identify a particular decision-making logic that guides public policy-makers within their institutional environments. The institutional theory developed by March and Olsen (March & Olsen, 1989) provides a missing piece of the puzzle for understanding intergenerationally sustainable public administration. It offers the decision-making model – the logic of appropriateness-that is based on the past experience and, in a democratic context, could be considered a better alternative to the classic rational choice frameworks. Moreover, the idea of the identity-based integrative institutions that preserve

themselves, partly by being resilient, and partly by developing their own criteria of appropriateness and success, resource distributions, and constitutional rules developed by March and Olsen, offers a conceptually relevant understanding of political institutions as the guardians of the needs of future generations.

The issue of accountability in relation to future generations is practically and intuitively embedded in many areas of public policy and runs through a number of decisions made by public managers within their institutional environments. However, a number of theoretical and practical constraints limit our ability to study long-term intergenerational sustainability. I conclude that together with the principles of fairness drawn from the theories of social and intergenerational justice, the concept of identity-based democratic governance and the idea of integrative political institutions, where social interactions are guided by the logic of appropriateness (March & Olsen, 1989), offers a framework for looking at intergenerationally sustainable institutions. A more precise understanding of mechanisms and forms of institutional commitment to future generations is likely to be drawn from looking at the historic experiences of particular public institutions, and analysing their operational activities and decision-making practices that directly or indirectly affect long-term future generations, the subject to which I turn now.

Chapter 4. Historical and Policy Context for the Arts and Sustainability

The literature review and conceptual analysis in the previous two chapters approached sustainability as a complex multidimensional concept that is embedded in every area of public policy. When considering the long-term future generations, the discussion of sustainability exceeds the scope of temporal management strategies, and essentially becomes an ethics issue. In this regard, this study conceptualizes sustainability as intergenerational equity or fairness with respect to remote future generations (H. George Frederickson, 2010a). Thus, the systematic study of sustainability would have to focus on both management strategies that insure temporal institutional resilience as a necessary condition for long-term sustainability, and on the application of the idea of social equity in relation to future generations.

The theoretic framework for considering remote future generations as a domain of social equity is the compound theory of social equity developed by Frederickson (H. George Frederickson, 1994, 2010a). Based on his model, near-term future generations include three currently living generations and long-term future generations include those living beyond the great-grandchildren of a present generation. This study of the ethic of sustainability as intergenerational equity focuses on the long-term future generations, or people who will be born one hundred years from now and beyond. The literature assessment conducted in Chapter 3 demonstrated that classic ideas regarding the mechanisms and principles of social justice developed within liberal, libertarian and communitarian paradigms (Nozick, 1974; Rawls, 1971; Rawls & Kelly, 2001; Walzer, 1983) are insufficient to meet the demands of the intergenerational ethic of sustainability. These ideas are mainly applicable to the horizontal moral community (or justice among social groups and individuals existing within the same generation) and are of limited use for the long-term. However, the egalitarian idea of just

institutions established in the name of future generations (Rawls, 1971), is useful for the purposes of intergenerational justice, since it is equally applicable to both current, future, and long-term future generations.

In its application to public policy and administration, the idea of just institutions allows including future generations in the conceptual definition of public as part of a vertical moral community (H. George Frederickson, 1994). This implies the extension of the traditional understanding of the concept of public in public administration (H. George Frederickson, 1991), and this study sets out to demonstrate how such extension of theory is justified from a pragmatic point of view. If the ethic of sustainability has meaning for public administration, future generations would have thought of by administrators and public agencies as a relevant 'public'. Although there is no generalized theory regarding an ethic of sustainability in public administration, this study is attempting to build such a theory by exploring the relationship between sustainability and intergenerational equity through the field work and by utilizing the classic ideas of justice as well as the new institutional theory (March & Olsen, 1989).

Previous chapters have argued that a holistic understanding of sustainability must include culture and art institutions. The survey of literature regarding different forms of capital (social, cultural, economic, creative, and human) in Chapter 2 demonstrated that all these forms of capital serve to a different extent as building blocks for the long-term sustainability of institutions, communities, and societies (Anheier, et al., 1995; Bourdieu, 1986; Florida, 2002; Light, 2004; Portes, 1998; Schuller, 2001). In particular, among all forms of capital, cultural capital offers the most consistent contribution to sustainability because of its cumulative nature and persistence across generations. Since the cultural dimension of sustainability encompasses

different forms of capital, and is particularly grounded in the cultural capital, I argue that the ethic of sustainability can be greatly informed by the cultural dimension of sustainability.

There are numerous conceptualizations of culture, including a broad definition of culture as collective norms of behavior and a narrow definition of culture as arts and cultural industries (Brocchi, 2010; Haley, 2008; Nurse, 2008; Tubadji, 2010; Williams, 1983). This study covers the subject of aesthetics and looks at particular organizations within the domain of cultural policy. Aesthetics is a branch of philosophy dealing with the nature of beauty, art, and taste and with the creation and appreciation of beauty. Aesthetics includes music, the graphic and visual arts, literature, and the performing arts that are broadly described as arts and humanities. It can also be applied to particular cultural objects and organizations as the embodied form of art. This study focuses on three subfields of aesthetics-art museums, music and performing arts, and literature.

In Chapter 2 I claimed that institutions of art, as the embodied form of aesthetics, foster the creation of various forms of capital. Therefore, by contributing to social, cultural, economic, human, and creative capital, institutions of art foster long-term sustainability. As the literature review in Chapter 2 demonstrated, achieving long-term sustainability is a creative project, and organizations of culture and art play a particularly important role in shaping a desirable future for many generations ahead (Haley, 2008; Nurse, 2008; Packalén, 2010; Tubadji, 2010). As art organizations struggle with addressing the consequences of economic recessions and finding new models of conducting their temporal business, their very existence and preservation contributes to the long-term sustainability of communities and societies as a whole. Therefore, the resilience potential of art organizations is important for configuring the long-term impact of aesthetics and

its role for future generations. The study of the sustainability of the arts would be incomplete without a closer look at the general historic and institutional context in which the arts exist.

In summary, both Chapters 2 and 3 of this study have served as a theoretic bridge to the substantive part of the study. Chapter 4 will provide an overview of the cultural policy context (in the U.S. and comparatively), the history and objective constraints of the governmental involvement in supporting the organizations of culture and art, and the contemporary state of the art sector. Thus, Chapter 4 is based on the idea that looking into history and context is essential for grasping the state of modernity in which contemporary art organizations exist. History is important for understanding why and how art institutions respond to various economical hardships and political and environmental pressures, and what scope of potential sustainability strategies their managers have. However, history alone does not fully explain how these choices are being exercised and if they reflect the interests of future generations. The latter questions require looking at particular institutional experiences within the domain of aesthetics, which will be covered in the latter substantive Chapters 5-7.

I.   Creative Sector and Its Role in the Modern Post-Industrial Economy: Comparative Perspective

The prominent role of the arts and creative sector in European cultural capitals has long been recognized. A number of studies attempt to quantify the contribution of arts to the gross domestic product, and the impact of cultural industry on many areas of domestic economy, including but not limited to entertainment, tourism, and recreation (Caust, 2003; Cunningham, 2002; Holden, England, & Demos, 2007; McRobbie, 2004; Wiesand & Soendermann, 2005). Public attention to the arts and creative sector in the United States has been rising as well, as

evidenced by a number of public forums, scholarly works and professional conferences dedicated to the role of arts as part of the creative economy (Caves, 2000; Cooke & Lazzeretti, 2008; Currid, 2007; Florida, 2002; Lloyd, 2010; Tepper, 2002).

Indeed, the art sector in the U.S. is one of the most dynamic segments of the modern post-industrial economy. According to some estimates, there are 564,560 arts-centric businesses in the United States, employing 2.7 million people and representing 4.2 percent of all businesses and 2.0 percent of all employees (Cherbo, et al., 2008). The figures regarding the impact of cultural industries on local urban economies are very impressive as well. For instance, the economic development corporation in Los Angeles found that in 2005 the creative economy there accounted for about $1 million in direct or indirect jobs, generated $140 billion in sales and $3.2 billion in state personal income and sales taxes, and accounted for $8.2 million, or 5.8 percent of the local economic activity (Cherbo, et al., 2008).

In terms of the public participation in the arts, the study conducted by the National Endowment for the Arts found that about 39 to 41 percent of adult U.S. population attend a "benchmark" art form at least once a year, which includes opera, symphonic orchestra, theater, ballet and other dance forms, classic and jazz music performances (Cherbo, et al., 2008). In addition to the traditional forms of art organizations, there are also "informal" arts, including amateur, community-based, and unincorporated arts and culture activity such as community theater, music clubs, and participatory folk art groups. While these informal arts may not generate economically significant revenues, they often produce public good in the sense of identity and social cohesion (Cherbo, et al., 2008). However, despite the continuing growth of American arts activity, most Americans view the arts as marginal activities, and as a result, many educators and lawmakers often fail to recognize the economic value, symbolic significance, and

benefits of arts and cultural industries for communities and individuals (Cherbo & Wyszomirski, 2000). Additionally, changing social, economic, and political circumstances as well as continuing evolution of art organizations and their mission, call greater attention by scholars and policy makers. In modern day art administration, there is a need for developing a new public policy paradigm and reconsidering the forms and extent of governmental involvement in the arts policy.

The history of arts patronage by the state has deep historic roots, and it has been a continuation of a tradition that fostered the development of the Western culture. If a state monarch or a church leader commissioned a painting, ordered a composition, or built a theater, they all were engaged in what in the modern world would be called government patronage of the arts (Cummings & Katz, 1987). At the same time, with the rise of cities and the growth of commerce and manufacturing, private patronage has also become prominent in the arts world in Europe and in the U.S. The "public" arts, such as opera and ballet, were endowed in some cases by wealthy private donors. However, this did not lead to the creation of a class of subsidized artists because patronage in the pre-twentieth-century rarely consisted of the unconditional support for the artists; rather patronage meant employment for a particular period or on a particular product that the sponsor wanted (Cummings & Katz, 1987). Thus, while some artists were able to completely support themselves without public money, without governmental support in one form or another many great artistic creations of Western civilization, such as the collections in the Louvre and the masterpieces housed in the Uffizi, would not exist (Cummings & Katz, 1987). The collections are a public property of the citizens of France and Italy that was paid for by the taxes of their ancestors. Thus, both private patronage and governmental involvement in supporting the arts are detrimental for the arts long-terms sustainability.

The paths taken by different countries in developing the systems of the governmental patronage for the arts differ depending on the historic context and cultural traditions. In terms of the governmental involvement in the arts, there are two main types of states: the royal absolutist states greatly involved in the formulation of arts policy on a very centralized level, and allocating a significant part of their national budgets to supporting the arts, such as Austria and France; and the more plutocratic, mercantilist states with limited monarchies favoring the mix of public and private, direct and indirect forms of supporting the arts institutions, and encouraging a more grassroots art policy, such as England or Netherlands (Cummings & Katz, 1987). There are also states with mixed traits, such as the German and Italian proto-states. As a result of these historic differences, different patterns of governmental support for the arts were produced, which caused the divergence in the patterns of artistic development.

Historically, with the general expansion of the role of state that occurred in the twentieth century, scholars identify four major changes in the governmental support for the arts (Cummings & Katz, 1987). First, since the arts and education have always been interconnected, the expanded role of the state in the field of education led to the increasing role of government in the arts. Second, with the emergence of radio as the major medium of cultural dissemination, with many hours of air time to fill, state broadcasters became major consumers and patrons of the arts. Third, was the idea that the state should play an active role in bringing the good life to average citizens, which is essentially called social equity in the modern day public administration (H. George Frederickson, 1997). Like the access to medical care that was once seen as luxury, wide public access to the arts is now increasingly seen as a necessity that must be provided for all, regardless of the ability to pay (H. George Frederickson, 1997).

In the American context, the expansion of governmental responsibility was especially prominent since the Great Depression of the 1930s, where artists were one of many groups of unemployed for whom the work had to be created (Cummings & Katz, 1987). As a result of all these factors, with the exception of Canada and the United States, most Western governments that had not yet established governmental system in support of the arts before World War II, did so immediately after it, and the economic boom of the 1960s contributed to the expansion of such programs in Europe as well as their introduction in the U.S. (Cummings & Katz, 1987). These developments contributed to the reduction of the national differences in the governmental policies regarding culture and the arts. Additionally, with the world wide economic recession, arts organizations around the world have been facing a similar set of problems and have developed similar strategies in response to the decline of the governmental support. The most common temporal responses to fiscal pressures include trying to diversify the art organizations revenue sources, no matter where their primary support came from, and trying to diversity their audience by engaging in a wider public outreach.

Still, there remain substantial differences between the nations in how their public support for the arts is organized and run, and these differences are due to the situation, tradition, and motivation (Cummings & Katz, 1987). In some countries cultural policy is an important nationalistic objective, a tool for enforcing the national identify and an important line in the national budget. For others, however, the arts are supported as part of the general commitment to public good, an opportunity for artists and art institutions to demonstrate their instrumental value for the society. Thus, the economic benefits of a vital cultural sector are often cited as a rationale for government programs designed to assist the arts in the United States. Government also may decide to support art because it contributes to the general welfare, or even because supporting the

arts may improve individual politicians' image (Cummings & Katz, 1987). In many European countries funding for the arts is a central platform of the major political parties, and an important part of the political agenda. Public funding for the arts is often used to provide alternatives to the marketplace for cultural expression, while in the United States there is a heavier reliance on the market as an arbiter of culture (Osborne, 2006).

The situation in America is complicated by the fact that as compared to its European counterparts and even Canada, the cultural programs of the federal government in the U.S. are highly fragmented, and this institutional fragmentation reflects both the diverse nature of the artistic activity in the United States and a fear of a potential impact of a unified governmental policy in relation to culture on the artistic expression (K. V. Mulcahy, 2000). The organizationally pluralist system, supported by mixed funding for the majority of contemporary nonprofit arts organizations coming mostly from private sector, is the distinguishing characteristic of the American cultural condition.

Generally speaking, the comparison between European and American governmental policy regarding culture and arts is not favorable to the U.S. government. However, there are several scholarly arguments in favor of the American system of arts support, which claim that American model is one of the most efficient and elaborate (Cowen, 2010). According to Cowen, the American model is balanced and strong in that it encourages creativity, keeps politics relatively separate from the arts, and brings aesthetics and economics into a symbiotic relationship. Cowen argues that such elements of American system as capitalist wealth, competitive markets, decentralized and diverse sources of financial support, and indirect subsidies, define the liberal vision of aesthetics and creative human capital.

Consequently, U.S. policy in relation to arts is based on indirect subsidies, meaning that governmental policy influences relative prices and relative returns, and encourages the production of art. For instance, while commonly a German, Italian, or French theater or museum receives 80 per cent of its funding directly from government, in the United States direct government support accounts for no more than 5 percent of the total budget of nonprofit art organizations (Cowen, 2010). Thus, 33 percent of income of U.S. symphony orchestras comes from private donations and endowments, and related sources account for another 16 percent; concert income generates 42 percent of revenue, and direct governmental support provides only 6 percent. According to Cowen, the strengths of the American model are in the multitude of indirect mechanisms of supporting nonprofit arts institutions. Those mechanisms include elaborate tax system and policies regarding donations, legal provisions encouraging the support of arts through private foundations and by corporate donors, indirect support of arts by funding research and development projects, and even the U.S. foreign policy aimed at the promotion of American art (Cowen, 2010).

The indirect form of supporting the nonprofit arts organizations by the United States government is also known as an arms-length paradigm (Cherbo, et al., 2008). While many other nations provide direct and substantial support for artists and their organizations through a centralized ministry of culture, the U.S. government provides little direct financial assistance. Nonprofit art institutions do not pay income tax, and often do not pay state and local property taxes. Additionally, private contributions to nonprofits are tax deductible to the donor, which greatly enhances the philanthropic motivation. Private support for the arts accounts for 43 percent of the total support of the nonprofit arts, with individuals accounting for 35.5 percent, foundations 5.0 percent, and corporate support at 2.5 percent (Cherbo, et al., 2008). Generally,

the lack of private support for the arts is explained by the fact that cultural sector is not on the list of preferred areas of support, as compared to education and health. This is true in other countries as well.

Historically, the commitment to culture and the arts of the United States government has been characterized as indirect, sporadic, narrow, and tentative (Wyszomirski, 1995a). However, the situation changed in 1965 with the federal government beginning a very modest program of ongoing support for the arts and humanities by the establishment of the National Endowments for the Arts and for the Humanities. During several decades since 1965, over three billion dollars were appropriated to the National Endowment for the Arts to foster the nonprofit arts in the Unites States (Wyszomirski, 1995a). The system of matching grants developed by the National Endowment for the Arts-the primary federal agency supporting the nonprofit arts – appeared to be quite effective in leveraging more money from private sector. Thus, a matching grant of $100,000 given with the matching ratio of 3 to 1 can leverage $300,000 for an art organization (Cherbo, et al., 2008). Forty percent of the NEA funding is passed to arts organizations through the state appropriations on a proportional basis (depending on the population and other factors), and it constitutes a substantial part of state art budgets.

As a result of the NEA support, in present-day America, the nonprofit art industry is an important sector of the economy and a defining aspect of contemporary American existence, which generates $36.8 billion in economic activity annually, supports 1.3 million jobs, returns $3.4 billion in federal income taxes and $790 million in local government revenues (Cherbo & Wyszomirski, 2000). Additionally, a number of nonprofit art institutions have experienced dramatic growth during the last decades of the twentieth century. For instance, half of the U.S. eighty two hundred museums have come into existence since 1970s, and opera companies with

budgets over $100,000 have grown from 29 in 1964 to 209 by 1989 (Cherbo & Wyszomirski, 2000).

Despite the numerous strengths of the system of indirect subsidies and the nonprofit model of arts funding dominating in the United States, there is a growing evidence of the crisis of the nonprofit model as the one that is not capable to fully cope with the consequences of economic recession (Cherbo, et al., 2008; K. F. McCarthy, Elizabeth Heneghan Ondaatje and Jennifer L. Novak, 2007). Thus, there are concerns that nonprofit arts are overgrown and that they strain the financial resources necessary to sustain their growth. Additionally, as the resources and finances become scarce, numerous institutions must engage in greater competition for these resources, often transforming them into more like commercial organizations rather than mission-driven institutions (Cherbo, et al., 2008). Distinctions between commercial and nonprofit art institutions are blurring, and despite the difference in their names and primary purposes, today nonprofits must earn about 40 to 50 percent of their income, and commercial organizations become more concerned about the quality and social impact of their products. The newly emerging paradigm of an art organization in the twenty first century is based on the combination of such values as creative process, amateur practice, democratization of defining what arts matter and why, and the integration of arts with other policy areas and across public, nonprofit, and commercial sectors (Jackson in Cherbo, et al., 2008). Thus, different institutional forms use different adaptation strategies in order to ensure their long-term institutional resilience. This often involves borrowing tools from other industries as well as learning from other organizational forms.

In summary, there are both common and distinct patterns in the art policy in both European and American contexts. The difference in the contemporary production, consumption,

and public support for the art in Europe and in the United States is mainly explained as a consequence of the difference in the economic systems. Overall, European states generally favor a more centralized and direct involvement in the arts policy, which results in a greater number of arts institutions and the higher status of these institutions among the population. For instance, in Germany public arts funding allows the country to have 23 times more full-time symphony orchestras and 28 times more full-time opera houses per capita than in the United States (Osborne, 2006). Aside from the differences in the economic systems, this is largely explained by the fact that throughout its history, there has been continual political pressure to reduce governmental size and public spending in the USA in general, and the arts funding has been particularly vulnerable to budget cuts.

II.   The American Context: a Fragmented Administrative State

Public policy in the United States in relation to culture and arts has been fragmented pretty much throughout the entire history of the American state, which could be explained by a number of structural and ideological factors. The problems of today are to a significant degree attributed to the heritage from the past, which is known in literature as the path dependence argument, and according to Pierson it means that "once a country or region has started a track, the costs of reversal are very high" (Pierson, 2004). Hence, following the historic institutionalism scholarship (Gladden, 1972; Skowronek, 1982; L. White, 1954; Wiebe, 1967) the lack of governmental support for the arts in modern days could be explained by the historic patterns of the development of American administrative state and the evolution of its powers.

There is convincing scholarship evidence that the original constitutional design shaped the developmental path of the administrative state of the 19th century, and impacted the logic of institutional evolution later in the 20th century (Ingraham, 1995). By embodying the principle of

separation of powers, protecting people from too much governmental influence, balancing federal and state powers, and creating multiple veto points between branches and levels of government, the original Constitutional design of 1787 embodied the institution of compromise and established a weak and fragmented federal government in the early American state, especially as compared to European and later American administrative states (Jensen, 2003; Orren & Skowronek, 2004; Skowronek, 1982; Steinmo, 1994).

The initial constitutional design created quite paradoxical outcomes for the administrative state. The vague provisions and multiple checkpoints embodied in the Constitution prevented too much concentrated governmental power and constrained the development of the administrative state and its institutions. At the same time, flexibility and adaptability of the constitutional structure provided room for effective policy-making by bureaucratic agencies as illustrated by the example of the entitlement policies for Civil War veterans (Jensen, 2003). The initial Constitutional design that lacked precision and structure paradoxically facilitated the long-term development of effective bureaucratic institutions later in American history (Bright & Harding, 1984; Carpenter, 2001; Morone, 1998; Murphy & Societies, 1988; Orren & Skowronek, 2004; Skowronek, 1982). For instance, the work by Daniel Carpenter demonstrates that the specific design of early 19th century institutions created room for future entrepreneurship and strengthened the autonomy of bureaucratic agencies, as illustrated by the example of the Rural Free Delivery program implemented by the Post Office (Carpenter, 2001). This constitutional paradox would explain the viable life of American arts institutions and their long-term resilience even despite the lack of direct state involvement in the arts. In fact, the multitude of the indirect tools for supporting the arts organizations in the United States could also be explained by the flexibility in the structure and authority of the governmental power in the U.S.

Over the course of the last two-plus centuries the interpretation of such core elements of the Constitution as the separation of powers, federalism, political rights and civil liberties has gone through substantial, in fact, even revolutionary transformations. The major changes in these elements are associated with such historic periods as the Civil War and Reconstruction, the growth of the administrative state during the second half of the Progressive Era and New Deal, the Rights Revolution, and security reform after September 11th and the adoption of the Patriot Act. In terms of its understanding, the Constitution has been a dynamic and evolving document, even though its text has only been partially changed through the amendment process (Ackerman, 1995).

Multiple veto points at different levels of government as well as between its branches, decentralization and dispersion of power and weak national government led to the limited ability of government to intervene in many areas of public policy, and arts policy is not an exception. Steinmo considers "the fragmentation of political power within decision-making institutions" to be "the key feature of American politics" and main cause of "the relatively underdeveloped welfare state" (Steinmo, 1994). At the same time, the separation of governmental powers and pluralistic character of governmental administration may not necessarily be a bad thing. Multiple reinforcing goals can serve as an alternative to strictly defined hierarchy providing self-regulated stability and effective functioning of the administrative system. According to Meier and O'Toole, this is the case of the United States, where policy subsystems "composed of interest groups, bureaus, and relevant congressional committees are known to arrive at a set of agreements that allows each actor to achieve its goals by facilitating the goal achievement of the other actors" (Meier & O'Toole Jr, 2009).

Since the nineteenth century, American public administration has been reformed significantly on both local and national levels, yet as public bureaucracy and its institutions grew stronger, the echoes of the original Constitutional design still exist. The contemporary challenges of the implementation of a nation-wide policy on healthcare and the enforcement of nationwide standards of secondary education in modern American society, as well as the insufficient state involvement in supporting the arts, can be explained at least to some extent by the Constitutional heritage. The other important factor to consider is the ideological constraints against the strong government and generally skeptical attitude of Americans towards their government (Meier & O'Toole Jr, 2009; Morone, 1998; Murphy & Societies, 1988; Steinmo, 1994; Wood, 1998). Thus, according to Wood, the doctrine of the separation of powers embodied in the Constitution has an ideological basis and reflected the ideas of Founders and the liberal ideology of society. In his view, it has served as an institutional mechanism to ensure "essential precaution in favor of liberty" (Wood, 1998). The design of the Constitution was guided by constitutionalism – the combination the structural design of governmental institutions and the attempt to limit governmental power for the protection of personal liberty (Morone, 1998; Murphy & Societies, 1988; Wood, 1998). Likewise, in the domain of arts and culture, the opposition to governmentally supported art was grounded in the protection of individual artistic and creative freedoms against governmental intervention. For instance, fiscal conservatives argued against too much state intervention in the arts citing the example of Hitler's regime that was notorious for the repressions of the abstract artists (Grieve, 2009). Thus, they believed that government that is too much involved in the cultural policy would inevitably use it as a propaganda tool, and art will not be a form of free expression anymore. However, my research showed that public support is very important for the long-term sustainability of the arts.

Overall, the historic context of the development of American administrative state and the unique structural and ideological issues have been constraining the establishment of a more centralized governmental policy with regard to the arts and culture in America. However, these concerns have also been serving as safeguards of creative freedom and diverse and rich artistic expression, and fostered the development of the multitude of indirect mechanisms for the state intervention in the arts and culture.

III. The History of State Involvement and the Evolution of Arts Policy in the United States

The history of governmental intervention in culture and arts in the United States has paralleled the development of the administrative state and its institutions, and may be divided into three major periods: the institutionalization of the state support for the arts and the growth of the governmental intervention during the New Deal and during 1960s, the evolution of cultural policy during the Carter and Reagan administrations, and reconsidering the role of art in society after the 9/11 events. Within these historic periods, governmental intervention in the arts kept shifting from a lesser to a greater involvement, depending on the values and ideals prominent in the society at a time. Overall, there are two conflicting ideas regarding how much a state should be involved in the art policy: the Madisonian idea of protecting individual liberties by weakening the national government, and the Hamiltonian idea of stronger government and strengthening the executive role in managing the problems of society (H. George Frederickson, 1997). Thus, the governmental involvement in the arts has been shifting from the Madisonian tradition of limited and less involved government (private ethos, the dominance of private interest) to the Hamiltonian tradition of stronger and more involved government (public ethos, the prominence of public interest). However, American cultural policy has never reached the level of

centralization and governmental funding comparable to many of its European counterparts. American cultural policy is generally very pluralistic, with high value placed on the grassroots level. Additionally, starting in the early twentieth century and up to now, arts policy in the U.S. is shaped by the debate regarding favoring the support of popular versus elite concepts of art and vise versa, and between instrumental and intrinsic significance of art. Overall, depending on a political context and historic period, the agenda of the public support for the arts has been shifting from one of these positions to the other.

3.1. Early State and the New Deal

During the nineteenth century the United States government had no official art policy, which is explained by the nation's history, and religious and social traditions in early American culture (Binkiewicz, 2004). In the colonial period the indifference to arts policy was explained by the focus primarily on industrious pursuits, thereby neglecting other areas that were considered an unnecessary luxury at the time. Moreover, no federal government existed yet to consider any kind of a national policy. The first significant action by the federal government with regard to the arts policy happened in 1930s under the patronage of the New Deal Works Progress Administration, which later became the foundation for further institutionalization of the arts policy in a form of the National Endowment for the Arts in 1960s (Binkiewicz, 2004). Federal art programs commenced after the creation of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in 1933, which targeted its activities at promoting the middlebrow concept of culture grounded in the works of John Dewey, Charles Beard and other philosophers who supported the integration of art and life.

The pragmatic ideas of John Dewey that emphasized expertise, professionalism and rational problem-solving techniques were influential within the middle-class reform movements

towards the arts sector in the early twentieth century (Grieve, 2009). The pragmatist philosophy includes the resistance to traditional dichotomies of the separation of thought from action, of pure and applied science, of intuition and experience, and of private interest and public concerns. In terms of aesthetics, Dewey defined art as a form of knowledge and a way of experiencing the world, as a process rather than an object (Dewey, 1934; Grieve, 2009). In line with this thinking, beauty is a relative rather than a fixed quality, and traditional distinction between high and low culture does not make sense. On a practical level this justifies the instrumental view of art as an institution that could address social problems in a modern industrial society and strengthen the democracy. Therefore, John Dewey's theories regarding progressive aesthetics and cultural democracy profoundly influenced the early stages of the establishment of American arts and cultural policy during the New Deal (Grieve, 2009).

This different model of cultural development emerged from a Progressive Era philosophy that emphasized a close relationship between the daily lives of the American people and the economic, educational and social benefits of widespread cultural access. This middlebrow concept of culture, defined as "one that championed broad access to the fine arts, widespread education, and redefinition of art as a commodity available to all Americans" (Grieve, 2009, p. 83), was endorsed by New Deal liberals and was embedded in the Federal Art Project (FAP). The supporters of this idea believed in the reconstructive potential of art and rejected its status as a sacred realm. The federal art projects developed under the middlebrow conception of the arts represented "a unique opportunity to create a cultural democracy, address the fundamental inequalities of industrial society, and remedy America's longstanding cultural deficiencies" (Grieve, 2009, p.3). In this regard, supporters of these programs argued that artists should not be considered isolated geniuses; rather they should be treated as workers who produced a

commodity with a market value. This position was very different from the distinction between high and popular culture that emerged in the American culture in the period between 1850 and 1900 because of the effort of urban elites to build two distinct organizational forms – the private or semi-private nonprofit cultural industry and the commercial popular-culture industry (DiMaggio, 1991). Consequently, the lines dividing nonprofit, cooperative, for-profit and public enterprise became much stronger in the twentieth century. However, eventually too much separation between different art forms became a serious issue during the early twenty-first century economic downturn when public resources were scarce and needed to be wisely distributed.

During the Great Depression, the arts were considered an unnecessary luxury, and therefore, the work of artists was one of the most vulnerable to the economic recession. Many artists experienced major trouble selling their works. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration came to the recognition that artists were like any American workers, who had to pay rent, fulfill family obligations and other duties; therefore, arts should benefit from employment relief like any other workers. In response, the Civil Works Administration was created in 1933, which included artists as part of the white collar work force. As a result of the governmental intervention, relief work was provided for approximately 25 percent of needy artists (Binkiewicz, 2004). Artists working under FAP during the Great Depression created thousands of paintings, murals, sculptures, posters and graphic arts; hundreds of art educators taught art appreciation classes as well as practical arts; and community art centers introduced art to rural communities and inner-city neighborhoods (Grieve, 2009). Overall, this was the time of unprecedented governmental intervention in the arts that resulted in the creation of a number of popular institutions serving as the art supporting infrastructure. These included the Book of the

Month Club, "Great Books" discussion groups, radio programs featuring literary criticism, art education clubs, among other.

Although the Federal Arts Project was created in response to the Great Depression, it also carried through particular kinds of philosophy and ideals, values and cultural debates, and art institutional practices that were distinct from the mere economic motivations. Thus, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, proponents of high culture looked at art as sacred realm filled with inner virtues, an independent, autonomous moral character divorced from commercialism and marketplace (Grieve, 2009). On the contrary, the proponents of the middlebrow concept of art believed that art should be an integral part of the society, and should serve a multitude of social needs to a wide range of populations, which is essentially an egalitarian understanding of art. These ideas were based on the pragmatic philosophy that rejected the separation of art and society, denied the idea of art for its own sake, and advocated for the wide spread progressive art education (Dewey, 1934). Both middle and highbrow views of art were reflected in the nature of early art institutions, for instance, early American museums had not distinguished between fine and popular art, and had hoped to educate as well as to entertain the visitors (Grieve, 2009). These 'merged' missions remain popular among modern-day arts institutions and are strongly advocated by many contemporary art managers.

Despite their enormous significance, the Federal Art, Writer's, Music, and Theater Projects 9together titled as Federal One) were contested both politically and aesthetically. Although FAP administrators did not require a particular kind of style, many art historians see it as the project that stimulated rather than stifled abstraction, as part of the commitment of Roosevelt's administration to the ideas regarding citizenship and nationalism. Additionally, many fiscal conservatives blamed the government for supporting what they considered

untalented, lazy, and even Communist artists (Grieve, 2009). These arguments were based on the conflict of ideals embedded in highbrow versus middlebrow views of culture, rather than economic or political issues (Grieve, 2009). Each of these views represented different segments of American society – the ones advocating for the elite, high art and valuing the arts intrinsically, and the others supporting more popular art that is widely accessible to public. In some ways, the highbrow concept of culture was the echo of the old aristocracy and elite, and the formation of the middlebrow concept of culture paralleled the emergence and strengthening of the middle class in the late nineteenth century American society inspired by the Progressive ideology.

The federal arts policies and institutional paradigms developed by art institutions during the New Deal, were essentially the responses to the institutional resilience treats created by the Great Depression. Both bureaucrats and art managers realized that the key to the survival of art organizations and their long-term sustainability lies within the ideas of self-sufficiency and community relevance; they realized that to survive they need to become meaningful to their communities, cultivate a wide audience and create a national market to their work. This was evidenced by the creation of the FAP community art centers, some of which managed to survive up until now. A number of stories show that these centers were not merely community entertainment institutions: in some cases they were the birth houses for talented artists who would otherwise have no access to the formal arts education (Grieve, 2009). Overall, the New Deal incentives designed in support of the arts allowed for a major paradigmatic shift by first, making the arts accessible to middle-class people through regular exposure and arts education, and second, discarding the assumption that culture required great commitments of time and effort limited to a particular social class, and third, that art should remain separate from the world of commerce (Grieve, 2009). These essentially egalitarian ideas regarding the role of art institution

in the society shaped the development of American arts policy for many decades ahead, and continue to be influential in the practices of art institutions and their managers.

Although after the demise of the New Deal Works Progress Administration art projects the level of active arts support by the federal government declined, in the decade and half after the World War II the arts policy was further institutionalized by the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, which allowed to support the American abstraction as a newly emerged modernist arts form (Binkiewicz, 2004). The major reasons for such uplift in the governmental policy regarding the arts included the desire of American politicians, intellectuals, and leading artists to respond to the cultural criticism and accusations of the United States as a country of the too conformist and materialist quality of aesthetic experience as well as the Cold War context which allowed politicians to see the United States as the protector of Western culture and a counteract to the communist ideas.

3.2. The Establishment of the National Endowment for the Arts

The New Deal employment programs for artists were followed by the decades of political controversy and Congressional investigations, and although a small group of Congressional arts advocates nurtured the idea of political support for the arts during the 1950's and early 1960's, their efforts were insufficient to establish a federal arts policy, although they definitely fostered serious discussions in this direction (Wyszomirski, 1995b). At the same time, the period of 1950-until late 1960 was the era of flourishing public engagement in the arts. Thus, in the United States in 1950 more money was spent for admissions to concerts of classical music than was spent for admissions to organized baseball games (Clough, 1985). Likewise, public schools started offering a number of art appreciation classes, and many parents started sending their children to music, dancing and painting lessons.

Along with the rising interest of the public towards arts, the new concept of cultural support based on the idea of patronage partnership involving business, private philanthropy and government began developing during Kennedy's administration. The main elements of this approach included the belief that the federal government had a responsibility to foster conditions in which arts could thrive; cultural institutions faced financial crises unlikely to be resolved without public subsidy; and the federal government should pay equal attention in supporting intellectual creativity within sciences, as well as within arts and humanities (Wyszomirski, 1995b). Although Kennedy's presidency ended in a very tragic way, some of his initiatives including ideas regarding the support for the arts continued to thrive. The post New Deal federal commitment to the arts was finally realized with the creation of the National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities in September of 1965, and the National Endowment for the Arts became the first federal agency to have as its primary mission the administration of a federal arts policy (Wyszomirski, 1995b).

The arts-support model based on the National Endowment for the Arts was based on the idea of Public Leveraging Arts (PLA) policy. It was primarily concerned with professional nonprofit organizations and was organized around discrete art disciplines (Cherbo & Wyszomirski, 2000). According to this paradigm, the arts were seen as an asset for diplomacy, and the so-called high arts were considered to be socially valuable and deserving governmental assistance since they could not be sustained by the market mechanism. On one hand, the PLA paradigm involved subsidizing an increase in nonprofit artistic production and distribution-an expanding base for artistic talent, but it also assumed that creative people and art organizations should enjoy considerable autonomy from governmental intrusion. Therefore, public funding judgments should be aesthetically based and not subjected to political, social, or ideological

considerations (Cherbo & Wyszomirski, 2000). Among the most positive outcomes of this paradigm were the expansion of artistic activity and its availability to citizens, the development of an intergovernmental and mixed public-private financial support system for the nonprofit arts, and the institutionalization of the arts as a valid public policy area (Cherbo & Wyszomirski, 2000). However, the main disadvantages of this paradigm included a too strong focus on supporting highbrow arts and the lack of a strong political base, which made NEA funding potentially vulnerable and conditional upon political ideology dominant in the Congress and in the Presidential administration.

In early 1970's, in an attempt to extend its positions, the NEA engaged into politics and became a "patron of political action" by mobilizing its constituency from the top down by encouraging groups that would promote new legislative agendas (Wyszomirski, 1995b). As the Chairman of the NEA during 1969-1977, Nancy Hawks attempted to develop a weak and divided arts community into a coordinated and politically effective constituency by introducing a peer review system, and thus giving the arts constituency a stake in the agency itself. Additionally, to enhance its outreach, the NEA funded the creation of the arts councils in every state and territory, and by 1975 all 50 states had an arts agency and the NEA was distributing 20 percent of its program funds as block grants to the states (Wyszomirski, 1995b).

These actions have greatly strengthened the institutional capacity and impact of the NEA, however, greater engagement in politics had some negative implications as well. Thus, Binkiewicz argues that in the United States the arts policy and its development, including the selection of aesthetics styles for national arts awards, was significantly impacted by ideology and politics (Binkiewicz, 2004). In particular, she argues that the National Endowment for the Arts formalized and extended the relationship between politics and culture with politicians using art

for political purposes while artists either agreed, or disagreed and thus were not rewarded with NEA grants (Binkiewicz, 2004, p. 6). Although American art in the 1960s was moving into pop, performance, conceptual, and ethnic arts, federal support favored older modernist abstract forms (Binkiewicz, 2004). Thus, the rise of high modernist aesthetics was supported by the federal official's goals of using modern art to promote their ideal brand of American culture. In this respect, Kennedy and Nixon in 1960 were more alike than different politically, and the proximity of time mattered more than ideology.

During the 1970s, Presidents Ford and Carter continued to support NEA, but they also opened its doors to more populist forms of art (Binkiewicz, 2004). At the same time, although NEA's grant policies became more representative of the American pluralist arts and culture, the agency faced growing budget limitations, and during the Reagan administration it faced significant cutbacks and had to deal with the drive to end federal art funding (Binkiewicz, 2004). The decline of the Endowment happened simultaneously with the shift from the Cold War liberal paradigm toward a more conservative fiscal and social agenda.

The National Endowment for the Arts has been crucial in institutionalizing the commitment of federal government to culture and establishing a system of nonprofit-based arts funding. However, the federal arts policy was replete with ambiguities of principle, purpose, and priority, and in 1989 the NEA began to confront the most serious political challenge of its administrative life (Wyszomirski, 1995a). This period has also been named the "culture wars" because of the controversy caused by NEA's funding of several art projects with questionable content. For example, NEA awarded a grant of $75,000 to the Southeast Center of Contemporary Art to support a program called "Award in the Visual Arts", and one of the works funded under this program was Andres Serrano's photograph of a crucifix immersed in urine and entitled "Piss

Christ" (Wyszomirski, 1995a). When NEA's visual panel received an application for funding, specific artists and art works were not identified, and when the works were exhibited in Richmond, Virginia, Serrano's photograph had provoked a major critique from religious leaders, academics and other artists for being indecent, subversive and undermining family values. The fact that the artist received federal funding made things even worse. This controversial situation questioned the assumption regarding the publicness of the NEA and its status as a public arts agency serving the interests of the public at large (K. Mulcahy, 1995). There were several more instances of strong criticism from conservative politicians and public and art critics towards several other art projects funded by the NEA (Wyszomirski, 1995a). In response, there came a recognition that NEA must adapt to the changes in the arts policy environment to justify being a recipient of public funding.

By the late 1980's the political dynamics and environment for arts policy changed, and starting with Carter's administration, but especially during Reagan's years in the office, arts were among the most vulnerable to the loss of governmental support as part of the critique of 'big government', downsizing projects and the spread of the New Public Management ideas. In 1995 the budget allocation for the NEA were further cut by 40 percent, which forced the agency to eliminate thirteen of its seventeen programs, including the Visual Arts Program (Binkiewicz, 2004). Thus, according to some scholars, NEA has became "a shadow of its former self, merely adding small amounts of federal money to an arena of cultural philanthropy dominated by private institutional patronage" (Binkiewicz, 2004, p. 221). The future of the NEA at that time depended on the ability of its officials as well as arts community at large to defend their positions against fiscal conservatism, and to demonstrate the critical role of arts institutions in the society and the importance of the governmental funding for the arts.

3.3. Art Policy on the Edge of the New Millennium

By the late 1990's the art policy context and the arts institutions themselves changed significantly in comparison with 1960's. First, the arts world has grown and diversified, and the competition for resources, opportunities and funding among artists and art organization has increased; second, art, particularly visual art has become less abstract and minimal and more content driven, politically and socially engaged, and emotionally charged, it has acquired more public attention and become more politically engaged; third, the political visibility of arts policy has risen from style pages to front pages and the arts community moved from intrinsic to intrinsic-plus-social-utility set of arguments in terms of the role of art for community; and finally, in institutional terms, the arts community transformed into a fully developed inter-governmental system of public arts agencies with a national distribution of arts and art agencies (Wyszomirski, 1995a).

The above described changes in the arts institutional environment led to the emergence of the new culture support paradigm that replaced the Public Leveraging Arts Paradigm at the end of the twentieth century. The elements of the new paradigm include blurring and enlarging boundaries of inclusion and concern (the inclusion of the commercial as well as the unincorporated-middlebrow and community-based-arts; the adoption of a system approach rather than a focus on individual artists, specific art organizations, particular fields or communities; and the development of a more complex and diversified approach to all aspects of the policymaking process, especially giving more attention to the public purpose of federally supported arts, and developing more advocacy strategies for supporting arts and culture policy (Cherbo & Wyszomirski, 2000). Additionally, there are substantial changes on the demand side of the arts market, and consumer taste preferences regarding cultural activities have been reconfiguring

with some people narrowing the range of their activity choices, and others domesticating their consumer strategies. This, for example, includes widely spread at home media participation as opposed to going to live cultural events. These tendencies have been combined with inadequate in-school arts education and low public cultural literacy, shifting policy attention to economic and social problems, and the domination of fiscal conservative ideology (Cherbo & Wyszomirski, 2000).

After the events of 9/11, views regarding the social role of art and the significance pf cultural policy gained a new perspective (Bleiker, 2006; Li & Brewer, 2004; Robert, 2003). In particular, many artists in the United States and in other Western democratic countries could neither stay indifferent nor separate themselves from the shocks the entire American society has been going through. It has been a time of the unprecedented involvement of arts in the public and social domain, and the works of artists not only reflected the social pain and suffering caused by the tragic events of September, 11th, but they became symbols of social solidarity, and provided psychological relief and healing. Thus, 9/11 attacks resulted in immediate, visibly evident increases in expression of national identification and unity throughout the United States, and artists and their creations played important role in fostering the common national identity (Li & Brewer, 2004). Media, too, played a crucial role in disseminating the messages of artists throughout the nation, and in many instances media institutions used artistic images as an instrument of enhancing their communication strategies (Robert, 2003).

In many important aspects post 9/11 agenda has been distinctly American. Since the world of art is global and not local, what happened in the domain of art in the U.S. shaped cultural processes around the world, and increased the inclusion of art into numerous socio-political agendas. For instance, since art has the potential to shed new and revealing light on

contemporary issues, the work of artists is being considered particularly responsive to security issues and the phenomenon of terrorism (Bleiker, 2006). Artistic engagements have the potential to capture and communicate a range of crucial but often neglected emotional issues, and are particularly helpful for grasping the problems that cannot be easily understood through conventional forms of policy analysis. Despite its unique emotional significance and the potential of art for deconstructing complex social and political issues, its actual impact on policy formulation remains underutilized (Bleiker, 2006).

Along with an increasing inclusion of art in foreign policy agendas, the beginning of the twenty-first century has been characterized by the increasing attempt to instrumentally engage arts in many domestic public policy domains. Aside from arts for environmental activism, cultural institutions have been playing an important role in many urban redevelopment and community revitalization projects (Currid, 2009; Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005; Markusen & Gadwa, 2010; Mommaas, 2004; Strom, 2002, 2003; Wilks-Heeg & North, 2004), and scholars often refer to modern art organizations as cultural industries (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1994; Florida, 2002; Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005; Sands & Reese, 2008).

In the second half of the twentieth century, the growth of cultural industries accelerated, the boundaries between culture and economics, and between art and commerce continued to shift, and cultural industries began to emerge as an issue in local policymaking (Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005). The idea of cultural or creative industries and their role for reinvigorating post-industrial national economies became much more influential than the traditional concerns regarding the high arts and their future. This idea encompasses the following elements: place-marketing, stimulating a more entrepreneurial approach to the arts and culture, encouraging innovation and creativity, finding a new use for old buildings and derelict sites, and stimulating

cultural diversity and democracy (Hesmondhalgh & Pratt, 2005). According to Strom, the co-mingling of arts and local economic revitalization builds on earlier American traditions of civic promotion, but it also represents new reframing of arts policies and their role in the larger community (Strom, 2003).

There is evidence that the engagement of art industries in the redevelopment and reinvigoration of urban cities improves cities' image, helps in attracting tourists, fosters greater cultural climate, serves a symbol of good taste and excellence, enhances quality of life, attracts people from other creative professions, and socially stabilizes the downtowns (Florida, 2002; Strom, 2002, 2003). With the recognition of these factors, cultural policy has moved from the margins to the very center of the mainstream urban regeneration agenda, and local development strategies have increasingly identified cultural and creative industries as the key growth sector in urban and regional economies in the United States (Wilks-Heeg & North, 2004). However, the strategy of engaging art in revitalization projects has mainly been implemented on a local, grassroots level, and has not been fully adopted as an element of the national cultural policy paradigm.

Despite the many hopes regarding the role of arts in urban revitalization, there is also some skepticism regarding the results of these programs. For instance, the strategy of urban revitalization based on privileging the arts in a society that lacks a national consensus about the importance of the arts would entail considerable risk, unlike for instance in Germany where the national government had made the arts its primary strategy for reinventing its capital city of Berlin (Cherbo, et al., 2008). However, these judgments might be premature considering that many arts-based urban revitalization programs are still in the early stages of implementation. Additionally, it does not seem fair to narrow down the institutional missions of art organizations

to only instrumental roles in their communities. The role of art as symbolic cultural capital is one of the most important ones because it capitalizes on the strength and long-term significance of art institutions. Thus, balanced economic development and cultural policy that seeks to develop artistic or cultural capital needs to incorporate initiatives aimed at supporting the intangible, symbolic contributions of artists to local communities (Currid, 2009). Along with this, although culture-based urban re-development projects increasingly stress equity concerns and cultural organizations have been developing various outreach programs to make sure that different population groups have comparable access to arts, there is evidence that successful neighborhood redevelopment and availability of arts institutions may lead to a significant increase in property values (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010). In turn that increase may lead to displacing or pricing out economically disadvantaged people from their homes and geographic locations (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010). Therefore, along with the benefits of using arts as a strategy for urban redevelopment, there are also some concerns that need to be addressed.

Over the past generation, U.S. cultural institutions have repositioned themselves, they became more professionalized, more concerned about their relations with public, more accepting of economic tools, and more reliant on commercial transactions (Strom, 2003). As the public resources grew scarce, art organizations also became more dependent on corporate support, which means that they are more likely to offer various blockbuster exhibitions and seek for other ways to make their corporate sponsors happy. The question is: to what extent such a modification of the core art organizations preprogramming is justified in the context of sustainability, and how does it reshape the legacy of these organizations to future generations? Will future generations have access to equal or at least comparable quality of the arts?

Chapter 5. Museums: Safeguards of the Interests of Future Generations

"The degree of civilization to which any nation, city of province has attained
is best shown by the character of its public museums
and the liberality with which they are maintained",
George Brown Goode, 1985 (Conn, 1998)

In the domain of aesthetics, an art museum is perhaps the most obvious example of an institution specifically created for collecting and preserving historically significant art objects and promoting aesthetics values for future generations. Those who created the first museums were mainly private collectors who perhaps did not think in the very long-term, and may have been mainly driven by their personal sense of aesthetics and the desire to be surrounded by beautiful objects. Over the course of history, works of art displayed in museums gained cultural significance in part by becoming valuable not only for artists and art patrons, but also for the entire society.

What were museums two centuries ago are no longer the same, and will not be the same two hundred years in the future. Imagine a student who wished to visit an art museum two hundred years ago. The student would have to belong to a particular social class of people with the privileged access to museum collections; she would also have to fit into a museum's schedule, since museums at the time had only limited hours for the general public. What kind of experience would the student have had in an art museum two hundred years ago? It would have been a solitary experience of looking at an art object and appreciating its silent beauty without any distraction or interruption from the museum staff. The visitor would have been quiet and respectful, and the works of art on museum walls, most likely arranged in a chronological order, would resemble icons in the church – the objects of silent appreciation and worship.

The same student entering an art museum today would be greeted and welcomed at the door by a museum staff, she would be handed museum maps and brochures, and informed about

new visiting exhibitions and works of art featured through special installations. The museum would have extended hours and would work during week-ends, so the student could chose the time of their visit at ease, and would even be able to look and learn about some of the art works through the museum web site. As she walks through the galleries, she would see the museum shops selling posters and reproductions of museum's best paintings, and would smell coffee from a beautiful cafeteria conveniently located on her way. Everything in the museum would seem much more welcoming and inviting, yet still very sacred and fascinating. The student would still have a luxury to enjoy the solitary experience of looking at the works of art, but if she wishes, she would also be able to have a more interactive engagement with the art. The works of art on display would be those same tangible and quite well-preserved historic objects, whose significance and durability far exceeds the temporality of ordinary mass culture products. She would also very likely be surprised by an unusual installation, some mixed media, or an unconventional presentation of the canonical art. As she is exiting the museum building, she could pick a brochure describing art appreciation classes for young people and how to join the museum friend's organization if she wishes to do so. The student would also be quietly asked to leave a note with feedback in the visitor's book.

It is clear that a museum two hundred years ago and a museum now are still the same institution that sustained its ability to provide high quality experience of art appreciation to its visitors. However, many things have changed, and will surely change in two hundred years from now. It is a challenging task to predict what the museums are going to look like in one hundred years from now, and what the public will expect from museums as public institutions, but it is possible to develop rough approximations by looking at the institutional histories of museums and talking to people who manage them. This chapter is dedicated to the subject of art museums,

and is based on the historical analysis of the museum evolution, looking at particular examples of art museums and their practices, and reporting the results of interviews with museum managers and experts in the museum field.

Museums as we know them today are the product of long years of growth and evolution, and are still growing and changing (Sciences, Arts, Sciences, & Island, 1907). The American Association of Museums (AAM) in 1970 defined a museum as "an organized and permanent nonprofit institution, essentially educational and aesthetic in purpose, with professional staff, which owns and utilizes tangible objects, cares for them, and exhibits them to the public on some regular schedule" (Alexander, 1983). This definition was modified in 1988 to accommodate organizations that do not own collections on a permanent basis, such as art centers, planetariums, and science centers (Alexander, Alexander, State, & History, 2008). The main functions of a contemporary museum currently recognized by AAM include collecting and conserving objects, research, exhibition, education and interpretation. Historically, once the museum established itself as a public institution, the function of exhibition became dominant, and collecting, conservation, and research chiefly supported the development of exhibitions (Alexander, et al., 2008).

Over the course of history, museums gradually evolved into mission-driven public and private social institutions holding important societal values and promoting these values within current and future generations, including material, intrinsic, religious, nationalistic, and psychological values (L. Adams, 2010). By ensuring the accumulation, transformation, preservation and growth in all of these values, museums serve as one of the best examples of intergenerational just institutions, as this term is defined by John Rawls (Rawls, 1971). The role of museums as institutions of intergenerational memory has been long acknowledged. Frederic

A. Lucas, speaking as the director of Brooklyn Museum, during his 1907 address at the Staten

Island Association of Arts and Sciences said,

> [f]or nowadays the entire face of Nature is being altered by the energy of man, and natural conditions are changing so rapidly that in many places the present generation has little or no knowledge of what was there even fifty years ago… And it is one of the purposes of a museum… to carefully gather and preserve all objects that may aid in giving an idea of the life that was here three centuries ago and to provide for the information of those who will be here three centuries hence (Genoways & Andrei, 2008).

Considering the rapid change in technology and the effects of globalization, the problem

described by Frederic A. Lucas one hundred years ago is even more urgent today. Indeed, by

serving the interests of long-term future generations, museums function as public institutions that

include future generations in the domain of their temporal public. By offering a diverse range of

cultural experiences, supporting the freedom of expression, plurality of ideas and multiplicity of

points of view, and attempting to reach various social groups, contemporary museum institutions

implement principles of justice embedded in major theories of social justice – egalitarian,

communitarian, and libertarian, which are described in Chapter 3. Although there is literature

about museums as institutions of social indoctrination, tools for imposing the power of a few on

a society as a whole[1], these views are a distinct minority as compared to the scholarship

regarding museums as institutions that preserve culture and foster the social progress (Conn,

1998, 2010). Hence, this study focuses on the positive social functions of museums and

examines their role for the long-term future generations.

The intergenerational continuity of museums as public serving institutions is the result of

their sustainability. Over the course of history, many political and economic systems collapsed

during the course of history, small and large countries changed their geographic borders,

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[1] These ideas are based on the works by Michel Foucault regarding the formation of social power, and scholars who worked in this direction essentially looked at the museum history as a history of the discursive formation of power.

numerous social institutions and ideologies-once prosperous and strong-collapsed, but some museums survived and even flourished. Threatened by wars and economic crises, the most resilient museums of the world managed to survive. This tendency is of course not without exceptions, but the notable thing is that museums located in both developed and developing world managed to outlive political and economic systems, as well as various ideological regimes. This makes museums an interesting subject for considerations of intergenerational sustainability. What does it take for a museum to stand the test of time? What makes a museum sustainable? These are the questions asked in this chapter, and some idea regarding the answers is expected to result from the explorations of the museums past, present and future.

I.   Museum as an Institution of Intergenerational Memory: History and Evolution

The Latin word museum signified a temple dedicated to the Muses – the young goddesses patronizing music, epic, love poetry, oratory, history, tragedy, comedy, the dance and astronomy (Alexander, et al., 2008). Museums as formalized institutions date to the third century BC, when the first famous museum containing the objects of art and nature was founded at Alexandria (Alexander, et al., 2008). In terms of its purpose, the Mouseion of Alexandria was a university-type institution founded for the advanced study of nature and art; it had many prominent scholars in residence and was supported by the state. Although ancient museums were rarely open to the general public, since their origins, museums have been generally conceived to be important social institution created for the appreciation and study of arts and sciences. The preservation of objects for current and future generations was always an important part of a museum mission.

The modern museum, as it is known to us, is "a product of Renaissance humanism, of eighteenth-century enlightenment and nineteenth-century democracy" (J. Mordaunt Crook quoted in (Alexander, et al., 2008)). Museums started opening their doors to public in the late

17th century, when the first university museum was opened in Basel in 1671, and not long after that the Ashmolean Museum was established at Oxford (Alexander, et al., 2008). Gradually, public museums were opening in many European cultural capitals – the Vatican established several museums around 1750, the British Museum was formed in 1753, and the Palace of the Louvre was opened in France in 1793 as the Museum of the Republic (Alexander, et al., 2008). The Palace of the Louvre is considered the first great national art museum; it survived the Revolution that destroyed some art objects – the symbols of the aristocratic regime, largely because the new leaders of France realized that art belonged to all the people of the Republic, which is consistent with the democratic ideals of liberty, equality, and brotherhood. It was the time when museums expanded their functions from collecting and preserving objects to being viewed as the instruments of national glory.

The growth of public art museums continued, and the nineteenth century is often considered the museum's Golden Age, where nearly every country in Western Europe was able to build a comprehensive collection of art from ancient times to present (Alexander, et al., 2008). Besides the Palace of Louvre, the other prominent museums established around that time are the National Gallery of British Art (1897), the Museum Island consisting of five museums located on the territory of the current German state (as early as 1830), Museo del Prado in Madrid (1819), and the Hermitage in Saint Petersburg (1840). This was also the time when the first Friends of the Museum organization of the world was established by Wilhelm Bode in Berlin, which enabled public museums to use private funds for purchasing desired art works (Alexander, 1983).

The first formal museum opened in the United States was the Charleston Museum in Philadelphia with branches in Baltimore and New York, founded in 1773 as a collection of

natural history objects and portraits of Founding Fathers. Later in 1846 the Smithsonian Institution was founded in Washington DC as part of the will of the Englishman James Smithson, who was hoping that this institution will accumulate and infuse the scientific knowledge in America. In 1873, when George Brown Goode joined the Smithsonian, the museum started evolving into an interdisciplinary institution – a national museum of science, humanities, and the arts (Alexander, et al., 2008). Finally, the United States gained a prominent place in the international museum community around 1870 with the establishment of three great museums- the American Museum of Natural History, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (Alexander, et al., 2008).

An early American museum of art was the combination of two competing models: one following the Louvre's idea of a museum as a palace of the fine arts, and the other following London's South Kensington complex based on the idea of a museum as a place of the industrial art and an avenue for enjoyment and education of working citizens (Conn, 1998). For instance, in the late nineteenth century, New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art chose the Louvre model, while Philadelphia's museum chose South Kensington. As the role of fine art objects continued to rise at the turn of the century, many managers realized the need to increasing the aesthetic purposes of their museums, and a number of prominent museums shifted away from the industrial model and moved towards the Louvre model (Conn, 2010). The separation between the two models is still alive-with bigger museums preferring the Louvre orientation, and smaller community-based museums and art centers serving popular demand for industrial art and education.

The establishment of the American museum as a separate entity with high quality art exhibitions is largely attributed to the initiatives of private collectors, as the tradition of art

appreciation in this country has old roots. Travelling to Europe was an important tradition to young wealthy men before they settled down, and once the Civil War was over and people were able to accumulate some capital, American travelers to Europe were also able to purchase expensive works of art, and bring them to their homeland (Spaeth, 1960). Museums emerged as elite institutions in the United States, but over time similarly to their European counterparts, they opened their doors to the public. Only one major collector-Dr. Albert Barnes-refused to share his great collection of Impressionist and Post-Impressionist works with the public (Spaeth, 1960). They were locked in the doors of the Barnes Foundation that was open to the public only three days a week, and according to Barnes's will, his art collection could never be loaned or sold. After several court cases, in 2010 this private collection was finally moved to a new public museum in Philadelphia.

Compared to their European counterparts, American museums have historically been more egalitarian and democratic institutions. While European museums were created as instruments of ruling classes to emphasize the glory of national culture, the majority of American museums were created by individuals, families, and communities to celebrate local and regional traditions (Kotler, Kotler, & Kotler, 2008). Moreover, while European museums tended to rely on governmental support as a source of their financial sustainability, a distinctly American feature of museums was their reliance on variety of sources of financial support (Alexander, et al., 2008). Funding for many American museums was based on the idea of combining local public and private support, and the first major museums that embodied this type of arrangement were the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the American Museum of Natural History (Alexander, 1983).

The development of museums in America has paralleled the development of cities, which was an important factor for establishing a museum as a socially important and in some instances, even instrumentally useful institution. When American cities were filled with many immigrants from around the world, many institutions, including museums, were functioning as places of "civilizing rituals" by instructing immigrants on the acceptable forms of behavior and turning them into good citizens (Conn, 1998). Thus, American museums have been pioneers in linking the ideal of community service to museums as public institutions. By 1900 many American museums evolved into centers of education and public enlightenment; a function that remains prominent today.

In the contemporary world, it is hard to underestimate the value of a museum as a mainstream cultural institution guided by the strong commitment to serving the public. Museums are perhaps the most accessible cultural institutions – they are open to public in large metropolitan centers as well as in small towns. According to the American Association of Museums, there are approximately 15,000 museums in the United States, which translates into one museum for every 16,500 Americans (Genoways & Ireland, 2003). The majority of these museums (75 per cent) are small, and nearly half (43 per cent) are located in rural areas. The significance of museums is also supported by the number of their visitors: American museums average approximately 865 million visits per year, exceeding the yearly attendance at all professional sporting events (Genoways & Ireland, 2003). There is also convincing evidence of public involvement in the life of museums: one in 480 Americans over eighteen years old is a museum volunteer. Based on these sketches of the institutional history of museums, it is evident that, since the beginning, museums have served as institutions of intergenerational memory by ensuring the preservation of historically significant and socially meaningful objects. However,

only after the museum had established itself as a public institution, was it able to serve the interests of public at large – whether currently living, or yet to be born.

II.   The Long-Term Sustainability of Museums

Despite their intergenerational significance, museums always needed to justify their existence in order to cope with the problem of being underrated, underfunded, and underappreciated (Conn, 2010). As economic downturns hit even the wealthiest economies, museums today found themselves in a need to rediscover their path to long-term sustainability, adapt new strategies or become extinct failing their stewardship for the future generations.

In recent years, several museums have not been able to cope with the recession and e closed: Florida's Gulf Coast Museum of Art, Bead Museum in Washington DC, Minnesota Museum of American Art. Some museums, for example, the Rose Art Museum at Brandeis University, University of Connecticut's Benton Museum of Art, the East Ely Railroad Depot Museum in Virginia City, have seriously considered selling major works from their collections, or loan works of art to private galleries (Nazarov, 2011; Pollock, 2009). Another solution has been to merge several collections in one entity, which was the case of the Autry National Center that was created in Los Angeles, when the Southwest Museum, the Museum of American West and the Women of the West Museum merged into one (Nazarov, 2011).

At the same time, many other museums have been successful in maintaining their status and significance: a lesson for any institution that attempts to sustain itself across generations. Therefore, by looking at particular institutional examples and talking to museum managers, we learn about what it takes for a museum to be a successful and lasting public institution. Thus, the field work of this study pursued several goals. First and foremost, this study attempted to answer the question of institutional durability by identifying the distinguishing characteristics of

sustainable institutions. Second, the goal of field work was to shed some light on the concept of intergenerational equity by identifying the commitment of museums to future generations and finding evidence of such commitment (either documented or practiced). The approach of this study was based on the assumption that in order to be intergenerationally meaningful, institutions must first be sustainable.

The results of the field work made it possible to take this assumption even further. The analysis of museum practices and interviews with their managers demonstrated that these two concepts – long-term sustainability and intergenerational impact – are related in a very meaningful way. It has been found that values promoted by art institutions to current and future generations, alongside with the effective management strategies employed in order to enhance the institutional resiliency, result the long-term durability of art organizations. By holding on to their missions and maintaining their identity while also adapting to changing environment, art institutions ensure that they serve the public in ways that strengthens their intergenerational sustainability. Moreover, by promoting values that ensure their intergenerational sustainability[2], art institutions treat future and current generations equally, thus including both into the domain of their temporal public.

The central theoretical construct used in this study as a means to address the question of the long-term sustainability is the 'capital for sustainability'-understood as the combination of tangible and intangible factors determining the long-term survival of formalized organizations existing within the domain of aesthetics. Art managers themselves define such capital as "the ability to seize new opportunities while holding tight to the mission", which may involve "tolerating contradictions" (Hardy, September, 2011). This study uses the term 'capital' the way

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[2] Further referred to as the intangible factors of sustainability

that it is used in the sociological and economical scholarship claiming that the possession of various forms of capital is essential for sustainability (Anheier, et al., 1995; Bourdieu, 1986; Budd, et al., 2008; Costa & Kahn, 2001; Edwards & Onyx, 2007; Florida, 2002; Glazer, 1993; Light, 2004; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 1995; Schuller, 2001).

As the literature review in Chapter 2 demonstrated, art institutions contribute to the development of various forms of capital (cultural, social, economic, human, and creative) (Bleiker, 2006; Caves, 2000; Cherbo, et al., 2008; Cunningham, 2002; Currid, 2007; Dieleman, 2008; Florida, 2002; Haley, 2008; Lloyd, 2010; Markusen & Gadwa, 2010; K. F. McCarthy, Elizabeth Heneghan Ondaatje and Jennifer L. Novak, 2007; Tepper, 2002; E. Thompson, Berger, Blomquist, & Allen, 2002; Tubadji, 2010). By fulfilling their instrumental, semi-instrumental, and intrinsic roles, art institutions are capable of enhancing the sustainability of communities and societies (Moldavanova, 2013). This study argues that art institutions particularly contribute to the formation and development of cultural capital, which is the most resilient form of capital because of its cumulative properties. In general, by serving as the building blocks of many forms of capital, art institutions are capable of making an intergenerational impact.

Art institutions themselves need capital in order to sustain, and this study offers the term 'capital for sustainability' to refer to this capacity of art institutions to keep afloat for generations. There are many kinds of capital in the world of museums: financial (operational funds, endowments, etc.), physical (museum buildings and collections), virtual (web-sites, digital collections), human (artists, museum management and staff capacity, community of museum donors and friends) and intangible (value for the society). As the field work in the museum field demonstrated, managers of museums either consciously or intuitively work towards enhancing the capital of their organizations. They employ a number of short and long-term strategies for

sustainability to keep their organizations afloat, prosperous and capable of serving the temporal public as well as future generations. Hence, in theoretical terms, the construct 'capital for sustainability' helps connecting the literature on sustainability and sociological theories of various forms of capital.

There are two strategies for achieving the long-term sustainability in the world of museums: the strategy aimed at enhancing the institutional resilience of museums as formalized organizations, and the intuitive approach aimed at creating and sustaining the value of museum institutions for individuals and societies. The first strategy creates museums' capital in a very rational, logical and cognizant way; therefore, the evidence of such strategy is relatively easy spotted through museum programs, web sites, and relevant documents. The second strategy is pursued in order to enhance the intangible significance of museums and maintain their institutional uniqueness and distinctiveness. It is more about the quality of experience offered by museums and the values promoted through their work; therefore, it is possible to learn about the second strategy from museum practices and interpretations of these practices by museum managers and experts. Combined, the institutional resilience and the intangible significance strategies lead to the formation of the capital for sustainability that ensures the long-term durability of museums.

III.   Institutional Resilience as a Strategy for the Long-Term Sustainability

The findings of this research demonstrate that the key to museums' ability to stand the test of time is the remarkable institutional resilience of museum organizations achieved through particular incremental choices of museum managers. Particular managerial decisions over time translate into the capital for sustainability-an unseen endowment that sustains museums in the long-term. Institutional resilience is understood here as "the capacity to cope with unanticipated

dangers after they have become manifest, learning to bounce back" (Wildavsky, Philosophy, & Center, 1988, p. 77), the capacity that incorporates "both the ability of a system to persist despite disruptions and the ability to regenerate and maintain existing organization" (Gunderson & Pritchard, 2002, p. 4). This ability of systems and organizations to respond to the outside and inside pressures by adapting and changing rather than remaining static has been acknowledged in the resilience studies of environmental systems over the past decade (Gunderson & Pritchard, 2002; Krasny, Lundholm, & Plummer, 2010; J. Pierce, et al., 2011; B. Walker, Holling, Carpenter, & Kinzig, 2004; B. H. Walker & Salt, 2006), but such studies are only emerging in the world of art organizations.

Museum managers early on recognized the role of a museum as an institution of intergenerational memory that serves the vertical moral community (long-term future generations in (H. George Frederickson, 2010a). As the director of the Brooklyn Museum Frederic A. Lukas in 1908 described, one of the goals of museums is "to carefully gather and preserve all objects that may aid in giving an idea of the life that was here three centuries ago and to provide for the information of those who will be here three centuries hence" (Genoways & Andrei, 2008, p. 58). However, the analysis of institutional missions and strategic plans available to the researcher demonstrated that concerns for the long-term sustainability and upholding the interests of future generations are not directly voiced in these strategic documents.

It does not mean though that sustainability and care for the future generations are unimportant for museum managers. This study discovered that the main evidence of sustainability in the art world is found primarily in sustainable thinking and sustainable acting, rather than in declaring sustainability as a formal goal and including it in the policy documents. "Acting sustainably in the first place" (Keller, 2011) appears important for building the capital

for sustainability of art institutions, and as this research concludes, both sustainable thinking and care for the future generations are embedded in particular management choices and institutional actions aimed at achieving the long-term outcomes.

For example, while museum managers acknowledge the limitation of a formal strategic plan as a document that is usually designed for 5-8 years, they demonstrate their long-term commitments on a very pragmatic level. As one of the interview participants explained,

> […] we usually have strategic plans for five years, but I believe in strategic doing, not strategic planning. Strategic planning is fine in an ideal world, but the world is not ideal. You end up running a place by taking advantage of opportunities that were never imagined in a University strategic plan, and having to deal with crises that no strategic plan could foresee… when I talk about strategic planning I mean what do we need to do in the next two or five years to continue being competitive, what are the next big things out there, what niche should we be occupying that none else does (Krishtalka, June, 2011).

Thus, this idea of sustainable thinking implies being able to seek new opportunities and to be adaptable rather than following a tradition or a formal strategic plan. In the long-run, sustainable thinking is producing the outcomes that are favorable for the future generations. In many respects, thinking in the long-term implies making the right choices right now and designing the programs that connect museum institutions with the day-to-day life of their communities. According to one of the museum managers, any kind of intergenerational impact would have been impossible without the exploration of what is current and what concerns people right now:

> And the things that we make, the issues that we address, the things that we find important, shape the community in the future. So to find ways to connect that and bring different aspects of the community, or explore different issues that are of importance for us right now. Maybe by making a historical comparison, but by making it about what it important in the community right now. (Nowak, March, 2012)

Similar to the results of Wildavsky's study of public safety (Wildavsky, et al., 1988), this research finds that since it is impossible to make an accurate prediction about the long-term future because of the lack of information about the future conditions and the low predictability of the occurrence of particular events. Thus, the strategy of long-term planning (risk-aversion) appears less important for museum managers than resilience (an immediate system response, risk-taking). Such resilience in the world of museums cannot be reduced to seeking for the system efficiency; similar to the other fields, it is both about the capacity of the system "to deal with shocks and disturbances… and using such events to catalyze renewal, novelty, and innovation" (Krasny, Lundholm, & Plummer, 2011, p. vii). This is exactly what a system needs to be more resilient and sustainable in the long-term, and when we consider the distant future, incremental responses and risk-taking today matter more than planning for future contingencies.

Due to the limited character of our knowledge about the future, the traditional rational choice theory, where individuals have nearly complete information about the environment and are able to competently evaluate alternatives, expectations, and preferences, thus making a decision based on the logic of consequences, fails to apply when we are talking about the decision-making in the name of future generations. On the contrary, the neo-institutional ideas, whose application to the question of intergenerational justice was discussed at length in Chapter 3, shed some light regarding the managerial decision-making processes with the long-term outcomes. In particular, March and Olsen's framework of the logic of appropriateness provides the explanation of how particular institutional arrangements that are most likely to result in institutional resilience are set in place (March & Heath, 1994; March & Olsen, 1989).

According to March and Olsen, managers of sustainable museums are not simply acting as rational strategic planners in considering the longer-term sustainability; they are rather trying

to make sense of existing environmental settings and institutional conditions, while making decisions with the practical implications for the future generations (March & Olsen, 1989). In particular, museum managers would act according to the rules-the formalized procedures, organizational forms, conventions, roles, and informal beliefs, paradigms, codes, cultures that surround, support, elaborate, and contradict those roles and routines. Such rule-bound behavior is grounded in the history and reflects subtle lessons of museums' cumulative experience, and the process of rule application involves high levels of human intelligence, discourse and deliberation.

Based on these institutional ideas, it is possible to understand how following certain everyday routines by museum managers eventually results in accountability to future generations. Thus, although a formal commitment to the ethic of sustainability is not necessarily declared in the institutional missions and strategic plans, museum managers believe that such commitment is the guiding principle for their decisions:

> I don't know what will happen in 30 years. I hope that…it is less expensive for families to be here; that we never have to say no to someone who would like their children to be in a class here because of money. I think we can perhaps, be in that situation because I know what we all believe in at the arts center as museum people do, that we sometimes feel that we are safeguarding something that is extremely important and at the end of the financial downturn we want to still be here and still be standing and to have provided the experiences and performance and visual arts that make us human. (Tate, September, 2011)

As will be further discussed in this chapter, depending on an institutional type, museums chose different strategies that contribute to their long-term sustainability, however, regardless of the institutional type, museum managers enact strategies that uphold the interests of future generations. They do so without even realizing the full potential of their current actions for the future generations, it is rather their personal sense of what is right and what is ethical that guides

their everyday work. Directors of a University-based art museum and a free-standing art center

explain their actions in the following way:

> It's that understanding that doing the best work you know how to do, it's not
> always right, is all you can do. And if you do that, you sleep better. (Hardy,
> September, 2011)

> We are also extremely nimble, I mean, one of the reasons we're surviving
> financially right now is because our staff works so hard, they make fast decisions,
> they work smart and they work constantly, and that's not a viable, possibly long-
> term strategy but its working for us right now. (Tate, September, 2011)

> This is the example of aesthetics, or the beauty of administration in itself (H. George

Frederickson, 2000), where museum managers almost intrinsically carry out the ethic of

sustainability by relying upon their intuition and the sense of appropriateness.

3.1. Social and Community Relevance as the Approach to Institutional Resilience

Museum managers have been increasingly realizing that one effective way of keeping

museums afloat is by enhancing their *social and community relevance*,-an approach that would

eventually result in a more stable funding, stronger public and private support, more powerful

board of directors, and a loyal group of visitors and friends. The major elements of this approach

drawn from the museum interviews and reflected in museum practices include: building *public-
private partnerships*, expanding and diversifying *the community outreach*, utilizing *technology
and social media*, and implementing *interdisciplinary projects*. Museum managers interviewed

for this study view the effective combination of these practices as the most effective

comprehensive strategy for building the institutional resilience of their organizations.

The importance of the *social and community relevance* is associated with the paradigm

shift in the museum world. While under the old paradigm museums were static, protective and

focused on the past, the new paradigm is much more forward looking and welcoming, and it

emphasizes a strategic positioning of museums as relevant social institutions. According to Gale

Anderson, at the heart of the museum reinvention is the desire of museum managers to position the museum "to be relevant and to provide the most good for the society" (G. Anderson, 2004). Thus, the attempt of museums to enhance their social and community relevance is the reflection of the instrumental role of cultural organizations as important social, economic and cultural actors, whose day-to-day activity translates into tangible social and economic contributions.

The idea of *social and community relevance* of the arts is being promulgated and financially supported by such major policy-making organizations as the National Endowment for the Arts. According to the statement of Rocco Landesman (NEA Chairman), "We know that when we bring the arts and artists into towns and cities, it changes those places profoundly…art can change and transform places, where the arts can intersect with the everyday" (Landesman, 2012). The NEA gladly funds museum projects aimed at the establishment of a collaborative relationship between art museums and local communities. As one of the museum managers said, the value of such initiatives is in demonstrating that art, science, and society are in a synergetic relationship, where art is the force "capable of creating and sustaining socially relevant narratives into the future" (Hardy, September, 2011).

This study identifies two general paths to building the capital for sustainability by enhancing the social and community relevance of museums: *an evolutionary approach* based on the principle of competition and survival of the strongest, and *a collaborative approach* based on the idea of building lasting relationships with other public and private organizations, as well as the community.

The evolutionary approach is based on an analogy with the natural environment and the laws of competition in the private sector, and it rests on the premise that "you got to run as fast as you can just to stay in the same place as the Red Queen told Alice in Through the Looking

Glass" (Krishtalka, June, 2011). According to this approach, successful and long-lasting museums have to be adaptable and responsive to changes in the outside environment. This adaptability of institutions involves such qualities as competitiveness, an ability to produce tangible and socially relevant outcomes, the managers' ability to communicate results of their work to museum stakeholders as well as to justify the value of their institutions to their patrons. Sustainable institutions are expected to be dynamic rather than static, which from an evolutionary point of view is a key to their survival. In the words of an interview participant, if museums do not adopt such a strategy,

> [t]hen they deserve to become extinct, and they will eventually be outcompeted by other units. And they will moan, and complain, and cry that nobody likes them, and for good reason… I mean put yourself in an administrator's position – whether it is on a city council in the middle of Pittsburgh, or in Strong Hall in the University of Kansas. The most expensive real estate in your city or the most expensive real estate on your campus is being occupied by millions of dead objects---how do you justify that? The cost to care for that administratively is enormous. So, what are you doing with those collections? Why are they there? Why do you need to maintain them? If you do not make that case in terms of hard results, hard research results, then you deserve to become extinct. It is like an enterprise… It is an evolutionary approach…(Krishtalka, June, 2011).

At the core of the evolutionary approach is the understanding that a sustainable institution is able to correctly identify and occupy the niche that best fits its purposes and reflects its strength before anyone else does (Krishtalka, June, 2011). Such an approach makes sense, and there are studies that demonstrate that different cultural institutions are good at different things, and they serve different kinds of public. For instance, some studies demonstrate there is a difference between visitors who attend an art or a science center and visitors who attend museums (Korn, 1995). Art and science centers attract larger visitors' groups and groups with more children, as compared to natural history museums. Therefore, art and science centers tend to rely more heavily on computerized exhibitions and hands-on activities, which is the strongest

point of their expertise, while museums have dioramas and artifacts, they tend to rely more on object-based learning that has been their tradition for centuries.

The collaborative approach to building resilience has a higher frequency of mentioning in museum interviews, and is a much more common strategy in the world of public and community museums that rely on community support and public funding. Part of the reason why museum collaborations become more prevalent is because museum managers are looking for ways to share their expenses and reduce the costs (Kotler, et al., 2008). However, aside from cost savings, museums realize that partnership with other institutions will improve their community outreach and give them access to broader audiences.

The collaborative approach allows institutions to be relevant to their community and up-to-date, since by uniting the strength of several institutions for the common goal, all institutions included in the collaboration scheme benefit from the results. The essence and expected outcomes of such strategy are well described by one of the museum directors:

> I think that you probably see a trend to more of that, and I think it is part of where museums are going in a couple of ways. Because these kinds of partnerships and collaborations allow you to connect with the community in a different way. So, we work with the public library a lot: we are close, we share some of the same constituency and we found common paths, so it is driven by your ability to outreach and connect with the community. But it is also driven by the ability to share resources. So, I think it is driven by both, it is kind of an economic advantage but also a community relationship building. (Nowak, March, 2012)

As part of gaining greater social and community relevance, museums increasingly engage in various *public-private partnerships* that allow them to raise funds for their programs. Both sides of these partnerships seek to benefit from it, and while museums obtain resources to pursue their programmatic goals, their partners benefit from collaborating with museums in a number of ways. For instance, when a private energy corporation funded summer art classes at the Lawrence Art Center, the motivation of this private company to support summer art classes for

children was neither the obtaining of a direct financial gain nor the mere publicity. As the Art Center's director described it, "They make wind turbines for wind energy in Kansas City and they are believing that the type of employees they want are thinking in the way we teach people to think here" (Tate, September, 2011). So, a private partner in this project is expecting to benefit from the art classes indirectly and in the long-term.

Another example is the Boulder Museum of Contemporary Art that relies heavily on public-private partnerships not only as a fundraising technique, but as an attempt to be socially relevant to the diverse publics it serves. As the public education director explained, the value of such a partnership is in opening more opportunities for both local businesses and the museum:

> […] the Arts Stop program was meant to be free access to arts, and we funded it in the past with community people; we had an orthodontist fund it one year and he actually gave toothbrushes to all of the children who came to the booth and certainly he was looking to boost his own business and orthodontics are something that kids get, so it made perfect sense for him to sponsor the Arts Stop booth. Um, but we also receive funding from other private donors in the area and we can use the general funding of the museum, things like the Denver Foundation and Excel Energy and, um, the National Endowment for the Arts. We can use the funding for arts stuff, but, its generally funded by private donors in the area. Um, I think we just felt like, you know, the farmer's market is such a wonderful place to attract a lot of people, so, um, and there doesn't seem to be a real need to have a lot of money behind it. It's run by volunteers and the materials are not that expensive, so, we figured if we could make it through, why not? (Crothers, August, 2011)

Many museums have realized that having quality works of art on display as the only service that they offer to public, is like using the language of the previous century while talking to contemporaries. Thus, in their drive to be socially relevant and up-to-date, museums are increasingly adopting *technology* (by digitizing their collections, creating user-friendly museum web-sites, hosting on-line forums, etc) and using the *social media*. Museums come to realize that they would gain greater social and community relevance by using technological advancements in their day-to-day activities, especially as part of their educational work with younger people. For

example, the public education department at the University of Kansas Natural History Museum designed a collaborative educational project between physicists, museum educators and computer designers that introduced young people to the concepts of scale and a particulate nature of matter through hands-on museum programs, and a web site with animated videos and games (T. MacDonald & Bean, 2011). The project has been very popular among children, mainly because it utilizes tools that are already a part of the life of young generations. As the use of technology becomes more and more prevalent in the museum practice, museums are discovering the ways of talking with their current and future public.

In an effort to increase the social and community relevance, museum practices become more *interdisciplinary*. There is a growing understanding within the museum community that there is a need to balance the traditional views of what a museum should be and what it actually takes to respond to competitive pressures (Kotler, et al., 2008). While it is important for museum managers not to step too far from the museum missions, some museums go out of their comfort zone by engaging in unusual and unconventional projects. For example, the Watkins Community Museum in Lawrence, KS primarily focused on the preservation of local history and working with mature audiences decided to engage in an active collaboration with local public schools and started several projects with local environmental activists. According to the museum manager, this program is a part of their new resilience building strategy:

> Then there is a focus that started to emerge and you got to witness it last Friday, which was the opening of the exhibit that we did in partnership with the Liberty Memorial Central Liberty School, which is to become more involved with community partners, explore issues that are important in the community, to kind of make that connection so we are not just about the past and dusty things that people used a hundred years ago, but the history is something that we are making right now (Nowak, March, 2012).

By engaging in cross-disciplinary projects, museums create a forum by which the arts, sciences and humanities can engage in a debate about the current and future world. This is important because it shows the social importance and relevance of museums, and it also includes a museum in various social structures and relationships, thus contributing to the construction of social, human and other forms of capital. Therefore, being interdisciplinary becomes one of the biggest traits in the world of museums, and it is also seen as one of the most prominent resilience strategies by museum managers (Hardy, September, 2011; Nowak, March, 2012; Perkins, August, 2011). As one of the museum managers explained:

> That's where all current thinking is about art and science; that those two disciplines were falsely separated. And if you'll notice those classes are for young children so they have themes and settings, like fifth century B.C. Greece, Florence in the 14th century; a lot of them have settings where they're sort of golden age or Renaissance settings and in every golden age, the connection between science and art is clear. We sort of did that here as a reaction against what Kansas was doing, which was funding scientific research and defunding arts. We want to say it's not the same, but the type of thinking is the same... (Tate, September, 2011)

The interdisciplinary strategy is especially prevalent in the world of university-based museums, where all the other disciplines and departments are readily available for collaboration:

> One is that academic collaboration and, in particular, interdisciplinary collaboration was one of our strengths. So as we looked across the board at the work we've been doing for many years, the interaction with the humanities and also our collaboration with departments from science to art history, literature, area studies, was already particularly strong and had been recognized in a variety of ways. In one regard, we were capitalizing on the strength and sort of working to better capture the success but also better implement the range of programs that are related to this one type of work. (Perkins, August, 2011)

Thus, university-based museums have a unique opportunity to capitalize on the strength of their parent institutions, which fosters their resilience. The interdisciplinary scope is important for the quality of museums' work and for their financial health, which is explained by one of the museum directors in the following way:

It increases our expertise, and there is certainly more money in the interdisciplinary grants, so if you are asked to submit a proposal, for example, in NSF's Dimensions of Biodiversity program, which is a 5 million dollar program, and you are going to require more expertise and resources you are going to have to put together your own team. That's one of the secrets of certainly increasing research revenues, and the future is being more multidisciplinary and being able to put together the right competitive teams. (Krishtalka, June, 2011)

Over the course of the past century museums shifted from collecting to becoming institutions primarily devoted to interpretation, public engagement, and learning. This shift from collection-driven institutions to visitor-centered organizations is an indication of the major paradigm shift within the museums' world (G. Anderson, 2004), and it is likely to grow stronger in the long-term future. According to Stephen Weil, contemporary museums use their collections not for mere preservation, but rather as "the public good", so that a museum becomes a public forum rather than a sacred temple (Alexander, et al., 2008). In an effort to establish their social and community relevance museums invest a lot of resources in *the community outreach programs*, which often implies engaging the public in a very non-traditional way.

One such example is the project of the Smithsonian American Art Museum, the first national collection of American art and also the largest and most inclusive collection of American art in the world. The museum has been a world pioneer in opening its inside conservation practices to the general public. The Lunder Conservation Center established by the American Art Museum is the first art conservation facility that allows behind-the-scenes views of the preservation work in five different laboratories and studios to the public, and the Luce Foundation Center for American Art is the first visible art storage and study center in Washington DC that allows visitors to look at more than 3,300 works from the museum's collection ("About the American Art Museum and the Renwick Gallery," 2011). Something as

important to museums' mission as the idea of conservation and preservation, and something that has historically been always kept behind the doors, is now being on public display.

Social and community outreach is not something that only a museum invests in, but it is also something that a community itself is willingly engaging in on a voluntary basis. Thus, many art museums utilize the best of their community resources to reach wider audiences and promote art in the lives of citizens. It does not have to be about financial involvement; museums often use the human capacity and expertise found in their local communities for their own benefit. Some museums recruit and educate community volunteers who later serve as the museum ambassadors to the community:

> Yeah, docents are usually a big part of the education dept. I don't know how familiar you are with docents, but there are, for example, in our museum we have a core of about twenty five to thirty. They are highly trained volunteers that we work with to give tours to the community. The great part about it is these are people that are coming; we have some that are retired doctors, even, former school teachers. The average sort of age for our docent core is retired citizens, so they've had a whole lifetime of experiences that they can bring to the role. And so we do a lot of training, people have a lot of background in history, but for the most part a lot of people join the group just because they have an interest in the art museum. (K. Walker, July, 2011)

In their effort to be socially relevant, many museums do not only walk outside of their walls to reach people within their community by arranging art work demonstrations, but they also design activities and develop programs that would rather invite visitors in, to give people a direct exposure to creating the art. For example, in 2009 Spencer Museum of Art at the University of Kansas launched the Rocket Grants program in partnership with the Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts. The program encourages and supports innovative, public-oriented work in non-traditional spaces and offers an opportunity for artists "to take new risks with their work, push the scope and scale of their activities, develop and pursue collaborative projects, and/or engage with the public and public realm in inventive and meaningful ways"

("Rocket Grants Program," 2009). Similar programs are being implemented in Houston, Texas, San Francisco, California, and Chicago, Illinois. Therefore, museums' emphasis on community service is broader than education; it is more about making museums a vital part of community life and an instrument of fostering the sense of identity and solidarity (Kotler & Kotler, 1998).

3.2. Institutional and Organizational Factors of Resilience

Interviews conducted for this research included organizations with different institutional forms, and many interview participants had substantial experience of working in both free-standing and university-based museums and were able to reflect on how particular institutional structure impacts the institutional resilience of a museum. As identified earlier in this chapter, the key to museums' resilience is the ability of their managers to act sustainably by making wise, incremental choices on a daily basis. A closer examination of the managers' approaches demonstrated that sustainable thinking is exercised by museums with various institutional structures, and each of them finds their own path to resilience. Thus, it is not a particular institutional arrangement (nonprofit status, affiliation with a university, etc.) that matters; what matters is how any arrangement could be used to enhance the institutional resilience. This study identified two major factors contributing to the institutional resilience of museums: *institutional/organizational capacity* and *management capacity*.

The *institutional/organizational capacity* of museums is the result of several factors: institutional autonomy resulting in greater decision-making capacities of the organization, organizational reliance on multiple funding sources and deliberate management attempts to diversify these sources, and social and community relevance resulting from successful management strategies aimed at building *public-private partnerships*, expanding and diversifying *the community outreach*, utilizing *technology and social media*, and implementing

interdisciplinary projects. Thus, institutional capacity is the result of both management actions aimed at enhancing the social and community relevance of museums that were discussed earlier in this chapter, and institutional characteristics of museums. The capacity increases, as the organization becomes more financially independent, as it gains greater decision-making autonomy, and obtains significant social and community relevance.

The *management capacity* is a very important factor of the institutional resilience as well. It is directly related to "institutional/organizational capacity", however, they are not the same thing. While management capacity is essential for enhancing overall organizational capacity, it is also an independent contributor to institutional resilience. Museum interviews demonstrated that there are three management roles particularly associated with the institutional resilience: *stewardship, leadership,* and *innovation*. The management capacity increases as museum managers balance the orientation on museum stewardship with leadership and innovation.

The idea of *management as stewardship* has its roots in psychology and sociology, and explains the way in which managers as stewards are motivated to act in the best interests of their principals. The behavior of a steward is collective, which means that given a choice between self-serving and pro-organizational behavior, a steward chooses the latter (Davis, Schoorman, & Donaldson, 1997). This model of managerial behavior is very relevant to the museums' world, since many museum managers historically envision themselves as stewards of museum objects, resources and values. However, as museum interview demonstrate, the idea of traditional museum stewardship is being reconsidered and re-conceptualized.

Museum managers increasingly realize themselves as ethical entrepreneurs that are capable of adapting to the existing realities in order to ensure the resilience of their organizations. The new model of stewardship implies greater emphasis on *accountability* and

responsiveness to a broader group of stakeholders, not just donors. For example, museum managers realize that although they may not benefit directly from reaching a particular social group that has been underserved before, it is important to do so as part of their public service.

The idea of *management as stewardship* is traditionally associated with the oldest museum functions-collecting and preserving. However stewardship, as it is currently viewed by museum managers, is more about the balance of preservation and sharing, with the sharing part increasing in importance-the tendency that is likely to persist in the long-term future. As interviews with museum managers demonstrate, current interpretation of museum stewardship goes beyond the mere preservation of art objects and aesthetic values. It also goes beyond the museum itself and extends all the way to a community, or a society in which a museum exists. As a result, modern day museum stewardship has much greater focus on outreach, building partnerships, and community engagement, and museum managers today serve as the stewards of collective identity and the stewards of museum relationships with its current and future publics.

Museum managers realize that connecting with communities and finding ways to build up their audiences is key for the long-term sustainability, and it is less important to be able to keep museums well-preserved and unchanged; it is more important to be relevant and up-to-date, to make reference to our time (Hardy, September, 2011; Nowak, March, 2012). Increasingly, museum managers envision their impact outside of the boundaries of particular organizations. They see themselves and their work as part of a bigger set of relationships and social values:

> So I think we've gone from a kind of lone idea of leadership and management to
> understanding that we all part of an ecology and we are an ecology that is focused
> on values, beliefs, meaning, interpretation, social good, creating a better society
> and that society then, now, has exploded. It's huge...So I think that management
> is in a very interesting role. No longer is the person at the top who knows
> everything. It seems more important and maybe this is a little thing about
> resilience practice, I consider it more important for me to understand the

relationships among things then to understand the things. So it's somehow re-conceptualizing the idea of an institution as a set of relationships, a constellation of people and ideas and, in our case, art. (Hardy, September, 2011)

In a number of interviews, managers increasingly talked about themselves as creative leaders, and they talked about museums as catalysts for innovation, generating new ideas, looking into the future, and even engineering the future (Hardy, September, 2011; Krishtalka, June, 2011; Nowak, March, 2012). To describe a new emerging management role, an art museum director is using a very powerful dance metaphor, where a museum manager is not a mere processes engineer, but a choreographer:

> My thought of that is not as a social engineer, but the way I conceive of my role is a site-specific choreographer. We'll take this into a dance metaphor. The body types that you have. The message that you wish to express. The stage that you're on. The impact you hope it has across time, and all of those things are taken into consideration as you think through the dance…So that the dance would emerge but at every moment there is an attention level that is not only about the situation…but the characteristics that particular situation has and then the desire and longing for moments of resolution that seem to … in some way, enhance the social good, if only for a moment. I would never want to say that here's my idea of a good society and here's how we're getting there. …meanwhile, our environmental issues may shrink us to where we have a staff of three. …so it's that frame of reference of never seeing yourself as always having the right idea but trying to be self-skeptical, yet optimistic. It is really flipping that management from "I'm telling you where we're going and you come along" to "I'm watching, I'm tinkering," It's constantly tinkering…(Hardy, September, 2011)

This is the evidence of balance between stewardship, leadership and innovation – the tendency that is likely to sustain in the future, and intuitive management choice that leads to the improved management capacity, and thus to the greater institutional resilience.

The interaction between institutional/organizational capacity, management capacity and institutional resilience is mediated by a particular *institutional structure*. Thus, different organizations tend to rely more on different approaches to enhancing the institutional resilience. Institutional characteristics that appear to be particularly influential include: the form of

ownership[3], organizational size, reliance and availability of public support, reliance and availability of private support, ability to charge admission fees, and being part of another institution. First, there is a variation in the choices of the preferred resilience strategies depending on the form of institutional ownership (free-standing private or public museums, and University-based museums).

Although university museums and their collections are among the oldest and most significant in the world, their role and future is often questioned. The demise of university museums as a whole is not likely, but there is no doubt that many of them face serious challenges within and outside of the University environment (Tirrell, 2000). By definition, university museums function in close alignment with the educational and research functions of Universities, which gives them a primary academic role (Humphrey, 1992). Therefore, one of the most prominent resilience strategies in the university museums world is striving to a greater integration with Universities (Hardy, September, 2011; Becker, August, 2011).

Being a part of a university creates both advantages and disadvantages in terms of the institutional resilience (Becker, August, 2011; Hardy, September, 2011; Krishtalka, June, 2011; Straughn, July, 2011). In many cases, university museums are not registered as nonprofits; they belong to a university and their administration is supervised by academic departments or university research divisions. As a result, university museums often lack institutional autonomy and independent purpose, a situation which forces museum managers to redefine, reposition, and clarify their institutional purposes and establish a comprehensive focus (Tirrell, 2000). This lack of autonomy within the university hierarchy is the major concern of university museum

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[3] Similar to other art organizations, the majority of museums are registered as nonprofit organizations, but depending on the structure of their financing and key sources of funding, museums incline to either public or private governing models.

managers. They even compare universities with such hierarchical organizations as the Catholic Church (Krishtalka, June, 2011). Museums managers feel that their own choices are often constrained by too much regulation and a huge number of bureaucratic procedures. They also note that universities often use museums as a source of generating research grants or solely for a public relations function, which is a very narrow treatment of museums' value (Becker, August, 2011; Krishtalka, June, 2011). In response, lasting university museums manage to adapt while attempting to keep their institutional uniqueness, which helps balancing the interests of two main kinds of their public – university faculty and students, and the general public (Hardy, September, 2011; Teresa MacDonald, June, 2011).

At the same time, being a part of a university has more advantages than disadvantages, and in most cases such structure serves as an institutional protection for museums – as a shield against resilience pressures (Becker, August, 2011; Krishtalka, June, 2011). Being part of a university in many cases limits a museum's eligibility for certain federal and private funds as well as complicates its membership in many professional museum associations (Humphrey, 1992). In most cases, a museum is guaranteed a minimum support from a University that allows using such a support as a base line for further fundraising. Some universities came to realize that supporting the on-campus arts is an important part of their mission; as a result, they introduce an arts fee as part of the student tuition. For example, Colorado University in Boulder introduced the Arts and Cultural Enrichment Fee that is included in each semester tuition bills, which allows providing the baseline support for the Colorado University Art Museum and other cultural organizations on campus (Becker, August, 2011).

Being a part of a university also contributes to the image and identity of art museums, and it generates a good environment for new ideas and creativity (Hardy, September, 2011;

Perkins, August, 2011). Overall, the relationship between a university and an art museum is bilateral – a museum is benefitting from institutional protections and creative environment, and a university is benefitting from the value of museum collections for the research and its own public image. As this research demonstrates, successful university museums managed to adopt a new management culture, develop their separate vision, and elaborate a strategic plan (Becker, August, 2011; Hardy, September, 2011; Krishtalka, June, 2011). It is clear that for the sustainability of a university art museum it is important that a university keeps supporting the museum, and a museum ensures that it is accessible and relevant to the public at large. There is a shared understanding that physical and intellectual access to university museums is a key to their future.

Many university museums already discovered that they are in a need of public support as much as are free-standing public museums, and they need to cultivate and serve their public in multiple ways. Therefore, they established public education departments and invested their resources in public outreach. In their public outreach strategies, university-based museums are less inclined to adhere to the customer-based orientation that is so prominent in the world of free-standing museums. These institutions are more inclined to serve the university's community, perform their educational function through university departments, and be a catalyst for change and development through their engagement in the academic research. Museum managers believe that by contributing to the research and both graduate and undergraduate education, museums serve their missions and ensure the long-term impact of their work.

This academic component of museums work has become more important for free-standing museums as well. Thus, independent museums are increasingly trying to do more interdisciplinary projects and engage in greater collaboration with the scientific community to

show their sophistication and ensure greater community relevance. While financial sustainability of university museums greatly depends on the university budgets and the willingness of the management to keep a museum, sustainability of private free-standing institutions greatly depends upon the availability of private funding. Therefore, many management decisions in free-standing private museums are often driven by the priorities of particular sponsors, and museum managers are more likely to seek for an increased corporate sponsorship in response to their financial sustainability issues.

For example, the Ford Learning Center at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City has been made possible by Ford Motor Company Fund. Today, the Center works with children as young as 3 years old and offers a number of art classes in the price range from $92-280 dollars per person. Such high fees charged for art classes make the educational function in a private museum more self-sustainable but less accessible to the general population. Although private museums sometimes offer need-based scholarships based on the financial circumstances of a family, still, the majority of art class participants are children from middle to upper class families. Participation discounts for the art classes in free-standing private institutions often becomes possible due to their partnerships with private sponsors.

Community outreach in university-based and small local community museums is more equitable in terms of reaching different kinds of audiences – those ready to pay and those needing subsidized access, but it is also more limited and increasingly dependent on grants and public support. In these museums, the public outreach function becomes especially vulnerable to the decline in federal and state funding. Smaller museums often react to the loss of public funding by cutting subsidies for the art classes for children, charging higher fees or suspending large scale community outreach programs. For example, this was the case of the Natural History

Museum at the University of Kansas. Once the budget for public education declined, the museum cancelled popular spring community events, reduced the number of summer camps for children and introduced summer camp participation fees, while keeping the year-round school programs unchanged (Teresa MacDonald, June, 2011). The current fee is $80 per day of a summer class, which helps the public education department to buy educational supplies. The Spencer Museum of Art at the University of Kansas temporarily suspended their "It Starts with Art" classes after they lost state funding as a result of the elimination of the Kansas Arts Commission in 2011, and the museum staff has been looking for alternative sources of funding (K. Walker, July, 2011). At the same time, museum managers and public education staff believe that it is important to keep a scholarship program for the museum classes to ensure equitable access to children from economically disadvantaged families. They believe that such a scholarship is part of their community service, and its absence is detrimental to museums' ability to fulfill their institutional purpose.

For free-standing institutions, visitor dollars become an increasingly important source of operational revenues, and as a result, they are more inclined to treat the public as customers and attempt to reflect customers' preferences. For an independent museum the number of returning visitors and permanent members is key to their sustainability, therefore, they try designing programs that will spark interest and will make people come back to the museum again and again. For example, tuition and ticket sales constituted 43 per cent of the Lawrence Center's operating fund in 2009-2010 fiscal years, while sponsorship and donations added up to 18 per cent of the revenues. In many cases, the attempt to raise visitor numbers creates a potential for shifting a museum's mission towards more popular forms of art and entertainment. In the short run, the merging boundaries between art, entertainment, and social media may attract wider and

more numerous audiences. However, in the long run this may put a museum in competition with the entertainment industry, and museums, which step too far outside of their main missions, are less likely to win such competition.

Both university-based and free-standing museums increasingly realize the importance of diversifying museum revenue sources, which is considered a key to their financial success (Feldstein & Research, 1991). This includes diversifying income sources, minimizing debt, creating a capable financial committee and a resourceful board of directors, sharing best practices with their museum colleagues, and thinking in the long-term by creating institutional endowments. The emerging fundraising trends include online fundraising, mobile (text message) fundraising, and on-the-street fundraising via robots (Rock, 2011). Both public and private support is essential for sustaining art institutions, and when one fails, the other catches up. The good news for the museums is that similar to the Progressive Era, when wealthy donors stepped in to support art institutions, philanthropists' activity in this direction is currently on the rise (M. P. DiMento, Caroline, 2012).

The choice of resilience strategies is impacted by the organizational size. Smaller organizations generally tend to have greater autonomy in determining their priorities, choosing fundraising strategies and making program related decisions (Krishtalka, June, 2011), which is a positive thing. On the other hand, smaller organizations have a smaller support base available to them, and are, therefore, often forced to rely on multiple revenue sources. Larger organizations tend to have higher expenses, but also a broader funding base. Due to their dependence on public dollar and fees, similar to free-standing museums, large organizations are more likely to engage in developing popular entertaining exhibitions to attract more visitors, and they also tend to be more flexible and accommodating to market preferences (Krishtalka, June, 2011).

In addition to institutional characteristics, the location of a museum matters as well. Museums located in vibrant cultural communities are more likely to be able to recruit their clientele and, therefore, sustain their funding base. Many cities came to a realization that especially at the time of economic recession, public funding for the arts and the willingness of a local community to render its support matters for the long-term sustainability of the arts sector. One such example is the establishment of the Scientific and Cultural Facilities District in metropolitan Denver 1988, where, in response to the loss of state funds, the citizens of the city voted to increase taxes in support of local arts. After Denver's success, cultural districts were created in Pittsburgh, Kansas City, and Salt Lake City under the realization that public support of arts is increasingly seen as an investment in both present and future quality of life (Hansberry, 2000). These examples support Richard Florida's theory of creative capital that shows that art and different forms of creativity successfully coexist in the same urban environment (Florida, 2002).

3.3. The Role of the Institutional Structure: What is the Future Going to Look Like?

One of the questions asked to each interviewee was to compare which institutional form in their opinion would be the most resilient in the long-term. The answers vary, but the general conclusion is that each institutional form might have unique advantages for building the institutional resilience, and in the long-run institutions that would be able to persist for many generations forward are the ones that embed some sort of hybrid institutional structure – the combination of different institutional forms. As one person described it,

> I think it really depends, I think you are going to have more institutions that are kind of hybrids, and you are going to have some science centers working more with universities, because this is what they are adopting. But I think you are going to have both because people have slightly different motivation for coming here, and that's good. I find that people think we are more educational. I do not think it

is a bad thing. And they are not going to reach the same people, although there is
a lot of overlap (Teresa MacDonald, June, 2011).

This synergy of institutional forms is the response to the crisis of the nonprofit funding model that is described in the literature (K. F. McCarthy, Elizabeth Heneghan Ondaatje and Jennifer L. Novak, 2007). In order to strengthen their funding base and enhance their institutional resilience, museums operating in more public or more private modes tend to adopt strategies that are uncommon for them, and move in the direction of keeping a balanced business model. For example, university-based museums start relying more on wider public outreach, although university communities still serve as their primary stakeholders. Free-standing private and local community museums are trying to be more 'academic' and sophisticated in their programs. Both university-based and free-standing public art institutions hire private consultants to help increase the efficiency of their operations, develop a marketable strategic plan, improve museum branding, and do a better job at marketing their services to the public (Perkins, August, 2011; Tate, September, 2011).

As museums move towards more hybrid and balanced models the very definition of a museum as an institution changes. Institutions are increasingly re-conceptualized as a set of relationships, a "constellation of people and ideas" (Hardy, September, 2011) rather than particular structures, rules, and routines. The postmodern vision of a museum tends to be very distinct from what we are accustomed to understanding a museum to be, or how a museum is defined by the professional museum organizations. There is a reason to believe that one hundred years from now it will matter less what building hosts museum collections, and it will matter more what groups of population a museum is able to reach, what relationships a museum is able to build, and what messages it is able to communicate to its publics.

In the contemporary world of museums there are many examples of successful museum exhibitions and happenings that are not particularly associated with the traditional understanding of museum as a building with permanent collections. One such example is the Art of the Car Concours – an annual old cars festival that takes place at the Kansas City Art Institute. The event is by invitation only and features the best cars and motorcycles from the region and the national concours circuit; its 2012 edition helped fund scholarship programs at the Art Institute that enable all segments of society to participate in art education (M. MacDonald, 2012). This is an example of a museum that is still offering to its public a solitary experience of art appreciation through the engagement with the museum objects, however, the museum in this case is not a building hosting permanent or temporary collections, it is a civic initiative and some sort of organized and mediated collective action that makes a museum experience possible. Whether such a museum is permanent or temporary will become clear with time, so far the Art of the Car Concours has managed to bring together people who appreciate the history of cars – a symbol of American freedom and independence – for six years in a row.

As the example above demonstrated, by offering particular aesthetic experiences to their public, museums resemble human inclination to sustainability as the ability to see the future by grasping the past that is well-preserved by museums. The Art of the Car Concours is also an evidence of a particularly strong philanthropic tradition in the United States that is based on the idea of personal involvement and personal responsibility, which are considered as morally admirable human virtues. Historically, this tradition is supported by the fact that aside from artistic and symbolic significance, museums have distinct social value – they offer their patrons, visitors and friends the satisfaction of their passions for the knowledge of human history and

tradition that is embedded in the cultural capital, as well as the affiliation with certain social status and even the access to the web of social connections (known as social capital).

Aside from the changing institutional structure, museum practices are also becoming more interdisciplinary and cross-institutional. On a substantive level, this is evidenced in merging boundaries between art, entertainment, and social media. This hybrid form of museum practices appears to be very resilient, and therefore, is likely to persist in the future. However, there is also a reason to believe that sustainable museums will continue occupying their own institutional niche, and will keep a balance between the practices they are adapting from other industries and their own institutional uniqueness and distinctiveness. This ability to remain distinct is at the core of the intangible factors for the long-term sustainability of museums.

IV.   Intangible Factors of the Long-Term Sustainability

This chapter so far argued that a museum is one form of a sustainable institution and by examining the factors that make museums sustainable one may learn something about sustainability itself. In the face of recession pressures and changes in the outside environment, truly sustainable institutions realize that holding tight to their missions and occupying a unique institutional niche will help maintain their institutional distinctiveness (an intangible factor of sustainability), which is as important as adapting, changing, and being more relevant to society (institutional resilience as a strategy for sustainability). As a museum director reflected on the importance of both institutional change and continuity, "…I think that the rooms are different, the decision making processes are different, the challenges are different, but it seems to me there is one thing that you can depend on and that is the proximity to mission as you enact every moment" (Hardy, September, 2011).

While institutional factors contribute to the long-term sustainability of museums by enhancing their institutional resilience, the intangible factors of sustainability ensure that museums maintain their institutional distinctiveness and continue occupying their own social niche. The field work for this study identified several intangible factors that contribute to the long-term sustainability of museums and also shed some light regarding the intergenerational impact of museums. These factors include: the evolution in museum missions and the modification of museums' social purpose; particular values promoted by museums to their current and future publics; and a distinct kind of museum learning that particularly contributes to the inclusion of museums into the multidimensional social discourse.

4.1. The Evolution of Museum Missions

Several important tendencies can be noted about the evolution of museum missions. First, museums are engaging in a more interactive dialogue within the museum community and with an increasingly diverse and more global public. The actual publicness of museums is defined less by their forms of ownership, funding sources, or the degree of influence by political authority (Bozeman, 2007), and more by the extent of their engagement with the diverse public. Second, art museums are increasingly shifting from serving the humanities (a paradigm that was prevalent in late 1970's) to a broader cross-disciplinary approach, and they do so by engaging in a deeper collaboration with sciences and other disciplines outside of the realm of humanities. As discussed earlier, being interdisciplinary is an important management strategy for institutional resilience, but it is also an important intangible factor that impacts the positioning of a museum as a public institution. Third, the semi-instrumental role of museums becomes more prevalent and mainstream, and museums are being recognized as social agents and, therefore, being included into the multi-dimensional social discourse.

The most important shift in the institutional purpose of museums is their transformation from elite to egalitarian institutions. According to Frederic A. Lukas, a museum today is an institution, "whose language may be understood by all, an ever open book whose pages appeal not only to the scholar but even to the man who cannot read" (Genoways & Andrei, 2008, p. 58). While early museums primarily served narrow audiences of nobility, highly educated people, researchers and scholars, serving an increasingly diverse audience that represents the range of social, cultural, and age groups becomes a primary goal of contemporary museums (Kotler, et al., 2008). By ensuring a more comprehensive outreach and serving the various groups of public, museums serve the public interest in general, defined as "the outcomes best serving the long-run survival and well-being of a social collective construed as a 'public'" (Bozeman, 2007, p. 12).

The work of modern museums is guided not only by aesthetic considerations and management concerns regarding the organizational effectiveness and efficiency; it is also increasingly guided by the considerations of equity that are based upon the egalitarian principles of conducting museums' business. The value of social equity has established itself as one of the most important principles guiding museum practices, and museum managers are determined to abiding by these principles despite the financial hardship. For example, despite the fact that Spencer Museum of Art at the University of Kansas lost funding for their "It Starts with Art" classes due to the disbanding of the Kansas Art Commission, museum managers believe that it is essential to keep these art classes going because it is important for reaching the entire local community (K. Walker, July, 2011).

Universal access to museum experiences is ensured through the flexible admission policies for the general public and need-based scholarships for the arts classes for young people that are based on egalitarian ethical principles and the idea of ensuring equal access to all, but

providing additional opportunities to those in need (Rawls, 1971). These scholarships are offered

on the basis of the economic condition of a family, which applies for assistance, rather than on

the basis of a particular child's skills (Teresa MacDonald, June, 2011). Museums also attempt to

reach underprivileged audiences, and offer their educational services to the entire community:

> It started when I came here about two years ago and we engage people with
> cognitive and physical disabilities, so the broad spectrum. We even engage
> elderly people with dementia and Alzheimer's disease. The reason we do it is
> because it's another audience we're trying to give access to the contemporary arts.
> I'd say they come to the museum probably about 6 or 7 times a year; it's not a lot.
> The reason we started the program was because we had just put in an elevator and
> two years ago, before then, we had no elevator and no way to access the 2nd
> floor. So when I saw the elevator go in I thought to myself, "Well, we just need
> to start these programs." So we're able to hold workshops upstairs for people in
> wheelchairs; it's great. (Crothers, August, 2011)

Ensuring universal and equitable access to museum experiences is an important

institutional achievement, since it positions a museum as a public institution that serves the

public interest, rather than as an elite organization that serves a narrow clientele. Since the idea

of public interest is a concept with the long-term significance, the principles of egalitarian justice

upheld within the horizontal moral community over time naturally extend through a vertical

moral community. Young people who will get a chance to attend art classes with the help of a

scholarship and who would not be able to do so otherwise, eventually become parents who are

likely to bring their children to the museum. By implementing such policies, museums are

applying the principle of intergenerational justice that implies treating somebody's children as

their own (Parfit, 1984). This is essential for the long-term sustainability of museums

themselves.

As part of their attempt to ensure broader public outreach, museums increasingly attempt

to reflect a global rather than local orientation in their missions. For example, the mission

statement of the Boulder Museum of Contemporary Art says that the museum is "a dynamic

venue dedicated to the presentation of significant art of our time", and "through an innovative program of regional, national, and international exhibitions, the museum inspires and educates its communities and visitors from around the world to explore the forefront and evolution of contemporary art" (Crothers, August, 2011). This global orientation becomes important to museums as a result of the technological progress, and it also has several important outcomes. First, it contributes to the capital for the museums' sustainability by sparking the interest of wide audiences located in different geographies; second, it reflects intergenerational changes since people in the future generations are more likely to have a greater mobility and access to technology. As the digital orientation becomes a more prevalent interaction style and learning mode, museums grow stronger in their desire to exceed the boundaries of their communities.

The second adjustment in museums missions – the shift of museums' paradigm from serving the humanities to a cross-disciplinary approach is evidenced in both museums' strategic documents and in particular collaborative projects ("Strategic Plan 2009-2015," 2009; Strategic Plan 2010," 2010). As mentioned in the first part of this chapter, the interdisciplinary approach is important for the institutional resilience because it improves the institutional capacity of museums. However, engaging in a deeper collaboration with sciences and other disciplines outside of the realm of humanities also contributes to the sustainability capital of museums in a very intangible way. By creating and fostering symbiotic relationships with other disciplines, art museums further the process of mutual value enrichment that is happening within such symbiotic relationships. All parties involved in the symbiosis do not only become more resilient as institutions, but they grow qualitatively by offering deeper and stronger experiences to their publics. In the long run, this contributes to their long-term sustainability.

As an example, the key values of the Spencer Museum of Art at the University of Kansas stated in its Strategic Plan for 2009-2015 include: human cultures and institutions, human health and development, information and technologies, and environment. Only the first one of these values reflects the traditional art museum paradigm, while the other three reflect the museum's commitment to serving a broad range of disciplines. This completely new vision of an on-campus art museum illustrates the inclusion of art institutions as equal partners into the multidimensional social discourse, and it also affirms the important contribution of museums to the multidimensional idea of sustainability. The museum director explained these values as the museum's attempt to reconcile new strategies for sustainability with the main museum mission, which "…comes right out of a deeply held belief that I and many people have that at the core of art is the human condition and all of these things, like environment, health and well-being, all of those come out of a humanistic approach to art, not a stylistic, "Let me give you categories" approach" (Hardy, September, 2011).

The archival work with the Spencer Museum Registrars allows tracing how the evolution of museum values happened. The first mission statement of the Spencer Museum was: "The purpose of the museum of art is to provide the University community with the opportunity to enjoy the original works of art and to utilize the University's art collections in the teaching and training of students in the history of art" ("The Register of the Museum of Art," 1964). So the initial purpose of the on-campus art museum was to serve the art history department, however in 1972, the Register already talks about offering the museum collections and services to the educational community and general public, and emphasizes that "the Museum's general operations are assisted by public funds; but the Museum relies primarily upon private support and grant awards for such essential activities as collection development and special programs,

including exhibitions"("The Register of the Spencer Museum of Art," 1972). This change is reflective of a broader political context and demands of the time, and the museum is adapting its paradigm to the changed environment.

The Registers from 1990s do not particularly specify a mission statement, but they include an extensive list of museum donors and friends along with the description of collections,- to make sure that the public supporting the museum is properly acknowledged. The 2001-2005 Register includes a formal mission statement that is much more visible; however, similar to the earlier publications, it sends the message about the museum's commitment to serving the University and the public at large: "The mission of the Spencer Museum of Art is to: a) educate and enrich the lives of students, faculty and staff of The University of Kansas and the local and regional communities through the collection, study, and preservation of works of art; b) contribute to the research and scholarly activities of the University of Kansas" ("The Register of the Spencer Museum of Art," 2001-2005).

A complete change of the Spencer Museum's mission statement and values happened around 2009, the time when its first official strategic plan was released publicly. In developing the new vision and values for the museum, the management hired a private consultant who worked with the museum director and the Board of Trustees to create a vision that reflects the realities of the present and is looking into the future (Perkins, August, 2011). As stated in the strategic plan for 2009-2015, the museum's mission became to sustain a culturally diverse collection of art; to encourage interdisciplinary exploration at the intersection of art, ideas and experience; to strengthen, support, and contribute to academic research and teaching of the University of Kansas and communities of learners across Kansas and beyond ("Strategic Plan 2009-2015," 2009). It is clear that the museum went all the way from focusing on serving the

university and the Art History Department to serving the community at large and beyond its disciplinary or geographical boundaries. It is also clear that self-sustainability, greater integration in the strategic priorities of the University, as well as community impact become important for the museum as part of its public service.

The third important change in the museums' mission is the emphasis on the semi-instrumental role of art institutions, as opposed to preferring either a purely intrinsic or a purely instrumental orientation. As identified in Chapter 2, art institutions play three major roles for sustainability: instrumental (art as a tool for sustainable development), semi-instrumental (social value of art for sustainable thinking and sustainable action), and intrinsic (art as an idea and a value in itself). The analysis of institutional experiences and interviews demonstrated that semi-instrumental role of museums has been increasing in importance and is likely to be more prevalent in the long-term. According to the museum managers, 'art for the sake of art' as well as 'art as a profitable industry' both appear too narrow and insufficient for addressing the growing sustainability concerns within and outside the domain of art. While art museums need to be more efficient and more responsive to their visitors, they also must care about the social impact and a broader set of values carried through them. Therefore, museum managers on a very intuitive level came to the recognition that the hybrid semi-instrumental function is the best path to ensuring the long-term sustainability of their organizations.

The evidence of museums' inclination towards the semi-instrumental role is found in their missions that along with the focus on the dialogue and communication, and building relationships with diverse communities of stakeholders, emphasize the use of art as a way of transformative thinking. For example, the new mission statement of Colorado University Art Museum adopted in 2010 is "to explore the transformative power of art and inspire critical

dialogue", to "serve as a generator and incubator of interdisciplinary research and programs engaging students, faculty, and the public at-large across disciplinary lines", and to promote "greater understanding of art and societal issues within a global and historical context" ("Strategic Plan 2010," 2010). Thus, it is clear that the museum wants to be both a vital part of the community and a distinctive art institution that offers something that no other public organization does.

Free-standing art institutions developed a similar approach. For example, the mission of the Lawrence Art Center, which was founded as a public and private partnership between the city and its residents, is "enriching individuals and the community by nurturing love for visual and performing arts for all" ("History and Mission," 2011), and according to the director, the Art Center is the place "where art inspires conversation across the community" (Tate, September, 2011). It is clear that being self-sufficient and mission-driven is as important for the long-term sustainability as being meaningful to the society and all its groups. Thus, the role of an art museum can no longer be reduced to primarily serving the arts community. What makes a museum a comprehensive institution in service of the public is the values that a museum carries through its exhibitions, community outreach programs and partnerships.

4.2. Values Promoted by Museums to the Current and Future Publics

Museum managers disagree with the narrow and primarily instrumental role of their institutions, cited prominently in the literature on cultural sustainability and culture-based development (Matarasso, 2001; Nurse, 2008; Tubadji, 2010). Consistently with the early philosophers of art (Adorno, et al., 2004; Adorno & Bernstein, 2001; Collingwood, 1964), museum managers believe that it is the ability of cultural institutions to exceed the mere socio-economic contribution to society that makes it very distinct from other sectors of economy. The

major factor that makes museums so distinct is the values that museums promote to the current and future generations.

Museum scholarship long considered the moral effects of museums on the community. The former director of the University of Nebraska Museum Erwin H. Barbour wrote in his 1912 essay that museums' impact on community is "invaluable, wholesome and good, and tends to high citizenship" (Genoways & Andrei, 2008). Barbour believed that since museum exhibits stimulate the desire to think and learn, the thoughts produced by looking at museum exhibits are taking visitors "from commonplaces to more ennobling themes" (Genoways, 2006). This is true in modern times as well, and museum managers interviewed for this research refer to such values as *community citizenship, responsibility and stewardship, and the appreciation of artistic and natural beauty* as something that they consider to be a distinct contribution of their institutions to the society. These values are embedded, although not necessarily directly mentioned in museum missions and, most importantly, are reflected in the interpretations of institutional purposes by museum managers.

This research also demonstrated that values promoted by museums are building blocks of the capital for sustainability and the most significant intangible factors the long-term sustainability of museums. As one of the museum directors explains it, the true significance of museums is not about their economic value, it is rather about the sense of stewardship, responsibility and citizenship. He further argues that promoting these particular values fosters the long-term sustainability of museums in the most direct way:

> […] I don't think we are here to add to their life economically, we are here to add
> to their *sense of stewardship*, *sense of citizenship* in a larger environment of which
> we are all part. And if can reach the public with that *sense of responsibility*,
> whether through the beauty of nature, whether through how nature makes their
> life possible---puts the food on their tables, puts the gas in their cars, puts the

shirts and pants on their backs and legs, puts the medicines in their medicine chest. If they start appreciating that, then I think our chances are improved that they will be more *responsible citizens*, and then if they are more responsible citizens, they are going to vote for a more responsible politicians. And if that's the case, *it increases the chances of museums having a longer life*. I am not being proscriptive here, for some people it might be short-term, for some people it might be long-term. We want to turn people on, whether it is to turn on a school kid, or an adult, or a family. We want to turn them on to basically why natural systems have never been more important in the history of humanity than they are today. [emphasis added] (Krishtalka, June, 2011)

The values of *community citizenship, responsibility and stewardship,* and *appreciation of natural and aesthetic beauty* reinforce each other and together serve as a foundation for both the social significance and intergenerational impact of museums. Based on the results of this study, *community citizenship* implies an educational obligation of museums, which entails their ability to influence both important public policies and personal choices by promoting active and cognizant citizenship. Educating responsible citizens able to exercise their civil rights and capable of making wise policy choices is part of the unwritten and often unspoken mission of modern museums. In promoting the idea of community citizenship, museum managers do not see themselves as mere instructors handing out directions to people regarding what to do. Rather they see their mission in disseminating ideas and educating the public:

> […] Our role is to try and assemble the best minds. We are not going here to tell people what to do; we are not here to make policy, whether it is a personal policy or a government policy. We are here to provide the best scientific information so that people can make their own decisions about the policies that they want to follow, the policies that are in their best interest short-term, or long-term for themselves and their children. So, we can present exhibits and educational programs on how we use our collection and information to do predictive modeling and forecasting of environmental events that will impact their lives, and that will leave them thinking about them being best stewards of the environment in their own way. (Krishtalka, June, 2011)

Thus, museums' policy impact is being realized on a very intuitive level, and this policy impact, exercised by educating citizens, is intended to have both short and long-term outcomes. The short-term outcome is about the immediate effects of personal and public decisions upon the

well-being and prosperity of the community as a whole, as opposed to the individual private gain; and the long-term outcome is about how the choices made today would impact the interests of future generations, and whether people living in the future are going to enjoy a comparable level of benefits as current generations do. One of the museum managers describes this kind of long-term thinking and the idea of community citizenship promoted through art in the following way:

> I want to know what art has to say to you about your life, about your environmental conditions so that what happens to your children in a world where the ice sheets are melting and I want the images of our day and the images we are collecting to absolutely populate that landscape so when your grandchildren come to the Spencer Museum of Art and look they will say, "That's very interesting; in 2011 the ice sheets were still melting and here's the sense of loss and longing that human beings felt about that, rather than saying, "Okay, that's the world of science and here is the world of art," but what the art can do is say, "Why does it matter if they're melting even more? Why does it matter for human beings?" So it's not really to solve the problems, it's not to say, "I'll tell you how to fix the ice sheets," but it is to cause a revelation in an artist, a scientist, a humanist that will allow us to say, "This is a problem we need to work on, this is a problem we can't fix, here's where I want to devote my life." (Hardy, September, 2011)

Having an impact on policy that is being enacted now implies having an impact one hundred years from now, and by promoting the idea of community citizenship as an intergenerationally significant concept, museums assure the inclusion of future generations in the domain of their temporal public. This idea of community citizenship is related to the idea of civic engagement, narrowly understood as citizens participating in electoral politics and civic organizations (Skocpol & Fiorina, 1999), or broadly understood as an active participation of citizens in the life of their communities and individual and collective involvement in public affairs (Yang & Bergrud, 2008). However, these two ideas are not the same, since community citizenship is the normative aspect of the citizens' engagement, a human virtue and the force driving for such an engagement to happen in the first place.

Experts in museum studies claim that civic engagement occurs "when a museum and community intersect -in subtle and overt ways, over time, and as an accepted and natural way of doing business" (*Mastering civic engagement: a challenge to museums*, 2002). In this view, a museum is "an active player… in civic life, a safe haven, and a trusted incubator of change" (*Mastering civic engagement: a challenge to museums*, 2002). The idea of community citizenship promoted by museums explains in what particular ways a museum impacts people's attitudes, which then results in more active civic engagement.

Museum managers believe that it is important to promote the idea of community citizenship in an egalitarian way – by reaching all groups of population and attempting to engage everyone into the dialogue as much as possible. Although museum managers do not necessarily declare the value of equity as the guiding principle of their actions, it is implied from the way they describe their intentions:

> We live in a community and we want all people in a community to participate. We want to hear the voices of all these people. We want to reach out to these people because they can potentially end up supporting us and our mission to steward the life of the planet. Every one of those individuals is a citizen of the community and contributes to the community, and we want to enrich that contribution. (Krishtalka, June, 2011)

The next important value cultivated by museums in a society is the idea of *responsibility and stewardship*, which can be defined as a careful and mindful attitude to common environmental, cultural, economic and other resources. While community citizenship is more about the collective identity of people, stewardship is about taking a personal responsibility for particular individual actions impacting common resources. Museum managers believe that cultivating such stewardship is a core part of museums' mission:

> The mission of museums – Natural History Museums – is not just to make collections and describe the animals and plants. It is to capture and use the

information associated with the collections *to steward the life of the planet.* We are not going to steward the life of the planet by keeping all that biodiversity data locked up. Museums that are not getting their collections' biodiversity information digitized are therefore also not serving that data for every science educator and policy-maker on the planet, or to every researcher to deploy with algorithms and computer analysis programs in many areas of application. …With digitized biodiversity data we can apply powerful research tools at our disposal to advise policy-makers in the *stewarding* of critical ecosystems… If we can predict, using this information, the potential spread of invasive and pest species that destroy crop lands, or disease organisms, based on certain scenarios of climate change, then we can be much more effective in stewarding the agricultural, human health and ecological environments, and the economics associated with them. So, again it comes down to turning a descriptive enterprise---the massive, worldwide biodiversity collections of animals and plants---into an industrial strength predictive enterprise. And it is that vision and mission we here have grasped at the Biodiversity Institute. Not all the museums have done that. [emphasis added] (Krishtalka, June, 2011)

As it is clear from this quote, cultivating *responsibility and stewardship* often implies changing museums' attitude towards the value of their collections, becoming more transparent, and equipping themselves with the proper technology that allows using collections in a way that best assures the sense of responsibility among the museum visitors.

Needless to say, there is a strong sense of *responsibility and stewardship* within the museums community itself, which fosters the ability of museums to promote these ideas in a society. The idea of stewardship is embedded in every single practice of museums, and it ensures the best of their ability to care for the future generations. One of the museum educators explains how museums' ability to steward their collections translates into their ability to be good partners and stewards of a community:

I would say, speaking of pragmatism, I would say accountability and stewardship. Our incredibly high values, so putting the collection in the highest possible regard and being a very good steward of that resource and a good steward of donated resources, a good steward of partnership, a good steward of community. So in terms of values, stewardship and accountability in regard to management, and stewardship in regard to care. And transparency wherever possible and then generally, imparting the role of the museum as a resource for all and a resource as

you've identified, as a resource that validates all aspects of the human experience. (Perkins, August, 2011)

As a result of their sense of stewardship, museums become trusted sources of information, ahead of books and television news (Merritt, 2006). At the same time, the major source of public distrust arises when the value of stewardship is violated, i.e. when resources that a museum holds in public trust are used for private gain (Merritt, 2006). The sense of museum stewardship is often diminished when museums are doing business with individual collectors and for-profit entities, which includes loaning expensive arts works to private galleries or even permanently de-accessioning art works from a museum (Anonymous, 1993; Nazarov, 2011; Pollock, 2009).

Professional museum organizations, such as American Association of Museums and American Association of Museum Directors, play an important role in setting the ethical standards for such practices, and make sure that museum actions are "grounded in the traditions of public service" and "organized as public trusts holding their collections and information as a benefit for those they were established to serve" ("American Association of Museums, Code of Ethics for Museums," 2000). According to the museum managers, the cases of deaccessioning for non-mission related purposes are extremely rare, and they are highly non-appreciated by the professional community (Dreiling, July, 2011; Straughn, July, 2011).

However, there are several recent examples of the attempts to deaccession famous art works hosted at University art museums, including the attempt of the administration of Brandeis University in Massachusetts to sell some of its world-class collection of art hosted at the Rose Art Museum in 2009, attempts of the Fisk University to sell half of its collection to the Arkansas Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art in 2010, and the attempt of the University of Iowa to sell Jackson Pollock's painting from the University of Iowa Art Museum. In all of these cases,

the Universities tried to make an argument that at the time of economic recession and serous

fiscal pressures money from selling art from the University-based museums would better serve

the main goal of the University – to educate and provide equitable access to education. However,

neither of these University administrations succeeded in their plans due to the massive outcry of

the professional community, public, and an active position of both AAMD and AAM. As these

examples demonstrate, the professional museum community serves as an extra-institutional

safeguard for the museums' stewardship in the name of the future generations.

The third important value promoted by museums is the idea of the *appreciation of artistic*

and natural beauty, as a unified experience and a general ability to appreciate intrinsic values.

This idea is not new, and the value of aesthetic experience has been recognized by the earlier

philosophers of art. In particular, according to Collingwood, aesthetic consciousness includes

many forms of beauty and it is "the absolutely primary and fundamental form of all

consciousness and all other forms emerge out of it" (Collingwood, 1964, p. 115). The way this

works in a museum world is really well explained by the natural history museum director:

> So, we want to make them think. We want them not just to see nature and
> animals and plants as functional, but also as aesthetically beautiful. If they are
> religious, they can look at it as God's handiwork. If they are not religious they
> will look at it as natural aesthetics, evolution's handiwork. So we want to impart
> ideas and values, in a more Socratic way (Krishtalka, June, 2011).

Thus, even in surprising contexts, which I would not necessarily associate with

aesthetics, I find that aesthetics as the appreciation of beauty is a major driving force for a

broader set of values. On both individual and group levels, this set of values contributes to the

multidimensional idea of sustainability. In the context of an art museum, this is based upon its

"ability to draw a connection between the creative life that takes place outside its customary

arena and the tradition of art that is expected to advance and preserve" (Lerner, 2011).

Although historical museum practices of careful preservation and conservation indirectly contributed to popular sustainable attitudes, contemporary museums tend to engage in a social sustainability discourse in a more direct way. As argued in Chapter 2, aesthetic experience is an important source of the ethic of sustainability understood as a complex multidimensional idea. There is evidence from museums that proves this argument and demonstrates that the museum community is deliberately engaging in the promulgating of the multidimensional idea of sustainability based on the idea of aesthetic unity found through the arts.

Increasing a number of museum exhibitions are designed to educate people about the environmental dimension of sustainability and cover such themes as global climate change, environmental awareness, sustainable clothing and food, and the preservation of the natural resources on our planet. For example, an exhibition "An Introduction to Trees and Other Ramifications: Branches in Nature and Culture" arranged by the University of Kansas Spencer Art Museum encouraged visitors to rethink their answers to such questions as: what is our responsibility to other species on our planet, what do "natural" and "unnatural" mean, and what does it mean to be ecologically aware (Goddard, 2010). As one of the artists explained, "The tree is an element of regeneration which in itself is a concept of time. The oak is especially so because it is a slowly growing tree with a kind of a really soft heartwood. It has always been a form of sculpture, a symbol for this planet" (Demarco, 1982). Therefore, by uniting nature and art, this exhibition demonstrates that this unified aesthetics stimulates thinking about the long-term sustainability.

Increasingly, museums engage in exhibitions that portray the relationship between art and social and political dimensions of sustainability. For example, Boulder Museum of Contemporary Art arranged an exhibition "BIODOME: An Experiment in Diversity" that

included the projects of four artists of various backgrounds to create a series of art works that will address the concerns and hopes expressed by the local community, and reflect the topics of sports, technology and spirituality-the topics of special interest to the Boulder community (Crothers, August, 2011). The idea behind the project was that "in a natural setting, a healthy ecosystem is characterized by considerable biodiversity, where a high level of varied life forms indicates greater health" ("BIODOME: An Experiment in Diversity," 2011). Thus, similar principles of diversity and tolerance should exist in a social system that wants to be sustainable in the long-run.

By working with scientists and arranging art projects that highlight various dimensions of sustainability, museums manage to obtain additional grants that help supporting their institutional capacity and improve the institutional resilience. However, such strategy also involves intangible outcomes. By engaging in a broader dialogue and cross-disciplinary partnerships, museum managers promote the idea of the *appreciation of natural and aesthetic beauty*, thus affirming the intrinsic importance of art for the multidimensional sustainability. In the long run these actions translate into the capital for museums' sustainability.

4.3. The Distinct Instrumental Value of Museum Learning

At particular points in history museums played a prominent role as producers of knowledge. For example, in the post-Civil War period, many intellectuals believed that objects, not books, would produce new knowledge, and museums not universities were considered the main institutions of producing new knowledge (Conn, 1998). The struggle between museums and universities over the production of knowledge was eventually lost by museums around 1920s, as the role of object-based learning declined as compared to other forms of learning (Conn, 1998). However, museums did not lose their intellectual primacy completely. Modern

museums play a prominent role in developing and fostering new knowledge by offering distinct kinds of learning opportunities for the public, especially for the young generations.

The value of museum-based learning has been widely recognized in the literature on museums (Falk & Dierking, 2000; Genoways, 2006; Packer, 2006; Packer & Ballantyne, 2002). However, aside from describing the particularities of "free-choice leaning" in an object-based environment (Falk & Dierking, 2000), no serious connection has been made between the unique, experience-based museum learning and museums' sustainability. This study argues that the distinct instrumental value of museum learning stems from the fact that museums are places where beauty and human aspirations can be learned by experience, as opposed to trying to learn about beauty in books or by having lectures in a traditional educational setting.

The value of art education stems from the ability of art institutions to evoke creativity, and not simply to educate their students about the past and the present, but also to teach people to look at their lives and societies in a critical way, reexamine social stereotypes, develop new modes of thinking for the future. Learning from experience is the kind of learning that no other institution offers to the same degree as museums do. Unlike traditional learning based on cognitive experience, logic and rationality, learning offered by museums is based on the emotional perception, experimentation, interaction, challenging the existing systems of values and beliefs, creativity and personal experience with it. Learning at the museums is also much more egalitarian as compared to traditional learning modes that presuppose pre-selection of students. Modern museums work with the public at large, and as discussed earlier, they are constantly attempting to broaden their public outreach. Therefore, it allows museums to occupy their unique institutional niche and build up their capital for sustainability.

The function of public education is also the most institutionalized and the most direct form of museums' impact on future generations. The American Association of Museum's 1969 Belmont Report is considered a starting point for an educational movement in American museums, although there is evidence that, in fact, museum professionals have been thinking about museums as educational institutions for the last 150 to 200 years (Genoways & Andrei, 2008). The primary function of a public education department in a museum is to open museum doors to various groups of the population (children and young people, families, community at large) in order to disseminate knowledge stored in museum artifacts, and demonstrate the social significance of a museum as an institution. Thus, public education departments serve a dual purpose: educating and developing public relations, where the former is targeted to exerting the long-term impact on a community, and the latter is designed to justify the existence of a museum as an important social institution that is worthy of public and private support.

In the short-term, while being a relatively inexpensive part of museums' budget, public education directly contributes to the immediate sustainability of museums by encouraging private giving and contributions to the endowment. Therefore, even in a university setting, where museum's work is traditionally focused on assisting the research and student and faculty training, the public education function seems to be very important:

> The irony is that the part of the museum that costs the least in terms of our budget is contributing the most in terms of private gifts, which then goes back to support. I am not sure if it true for every museum, but it is definitely true for this one. Almost 99.5 per cent of our private gifts are coming because of the Natural History Museum, not because of our research. I can only think of one or two of our gifts that are coming because of our research. Those are usually from very specific donors – graduates from the department, or individual interested in a certain area of technology and science (Krishtalka, June, 2011).

In the longer-term, the impact of museum's education is more intangible. As a result of successful public education work, museums become the symbols of their communities by creating and sustaining the "generational branding":

> My sense of it is that the education classes, especially, made the Natural History Museum almost iconic for the regional community. There are generations of Kansans, families from the regional area, now third and fourth generations, that have taken our summer classes, our public education classes. And for them, the museum, the Natural History Museum is iconic. And it has achieved---I guess we can call it 'generational branding'---by one generation informing the next. Everybody knows the natural history museum. That is why there would be such an outcry if the university decided to shut it down even though it is just a small part of the university system. So I think our exhibits and our public education programs really changed the public visibility of the Natural History Museum. It was always very known to the scientific community, but it was not very well-known to the public till our education classes were instituted. Yes, you can see the public enjoying our exhibits, but I think the children's public education programs really invested the museum into the consciousness of the public now and over generations. (Krishtalka, June, 2011)

Although there is a conventional understanding that many people generally come to appreciate art later in their lives, museum managers emphasize the importance of working with people of very young ages. Museum managers believe that it is important to spark artistic or scientific curiosity early enough in a life time, and although it may not necessarily lead to particular professional choices later in life, the value of early exposure to art is in the exposure itself, and the idea that by looking at art and interacting with it young people are more likely to absorb important values and develop certain attitudes early on in their lives (Crothers, August, 2011; T. MacDonald & Bean, 2011; K. Walker, July, 2011). As one of the museum educators describes it, art education adds to the development of a personality as a whole:

> But I think, ultimately, that art is something that everyone should engage in and enjoy and that, if you look at studies, art is one of the five intelligences, and children who don't grow up with art are really drastically, what's the word I want to use? Marginalized? They're really missing something. Um, so whether they grow up to be scientists or engineers or doctors, having an arts understanding and

background is going to make them that much stronger in what they do. And it's really pretty essential. (Crothers, August, 2011)

In order to foster the interest of young people in art and science classes offered by museums, public education departments engage in developing various hands-on activities depending on the type of a museum (art classes for community members, wetland tours for children ages 2 to 11 with the option to immerse themselves in swamps, and many other). Many museums also specifically design interactive exhibitions that emphasize connection between art and science and develop understandable, trustworthy art and science based explanations of their exhibits (Rock, 2011).

Museum educators interviewed for this research believe that public education is an essential part of every museum, whether science or art, it challenges people's perceptions and preconceived assumptions, and allows opening their minds to new ideas. The distinctiveness of the museum education stems from its ability to appeal to the emotional level of human perception, and thus impact values rather than knowledge:

> […] I think it is both – people like that they have learned something new, but just showing people that it is not what you think. And I think when people make decisions about things like drug treatments, and climate change, and all of these other things. It is about what your grasp of science is, or you can interpreter science. So, I think knowledge for knowledge sake is awesome, but this also helped you to open your mind to be reading things as a scientist (Teresa MacDonald, June, 2011).

In this sense, the value of museum education is not short term and not superficial, it impacts human behavior in a number of ways, and teaches people to make wise decisions and sustainable choices that will impact many generations ahead. This is illustrated by the climate change example provided by one of the museum educators:

> Well, maybe you look more critically at the climate change; maybe you won't buy pseudo-science medicine. I mean I think that's important. Maybe even if you did not consider yourself a science person, you may think maybe I can actually go

back and do science if I wanted to, or I may take a class in science for fun, or I may read about science, whereas I normally would not (Teresa MacDonald, June, 2011).

The distinctiveness of the museum-based learning is also attributed to the power of museum objects. The object-based epistemology that was prevalent in the late nineteenth century presupposed that objects could tell stories to observers, and similar to texts, objects are themselves sources of knowledge and meaning (Conn, 1998). Although the emphasis on the object-based epistemology declined over the course of museum history (Conn, 2010), museum managers still regard objects as powerful contributors to museum learning, and it is important for many of them to keep original objects in their collections (Hardy, September, 2011; Krishtalka, June, 2011).

The value of objects shifted from storing and exhibiting to using objects as a tool for a dialogue between art and people. Thus, the object by itself matters as much as its ability to foster the discourse. Museum managers believe that a sustainable museum should be capable of finding a balance between object-based epistemology and communication. This resembles the semi-instrumental role of art, as described by museum managers and educators:

> I think the key is to balance, I think that before museum focused too much on the intrinsic value of the object and I think the danger that we have in this look is to think of museums only as economic engines. And what it really is it is a kind of institution that's much more complex than people have imagined. It's carrying out the role that preserves the things that are intrinsically important, it's playing a role that helps people engage with ideas in a new way, and a lot of the work that we do it around learning styles, you know how we do, how we pass on the information, how we engage people in thoughtful ways that really has meaning.(Nowak, March, 2012)

> We're really very much audience focused at the museum, and making connections with our audience to our collection or special exhibitions, so we really see ourselves as… our role as facilitators of knowledge and experience between objects and audience members. (K. Walker, July, 2011)

Objects are important for the long-term sustainability of museums because they are the building blocks of museums' own cultural capital. Based on the observations and interviews, objects contribute to museums' sustainability because a museum that holds original works is able to maintain its identity and institutional integrity, even if it has to merge with other institutions for the sake of its economic survival. One of the museum managers described this power of objects as institutional safeguards for museums in the following way:

> I could see that things could merge, like libraries, digital libraries, museums, all of these lasting resources that are sort of tools for gaining knowledge or interpreting the human experience or interpreting objects or concepts or theories or feelings of society, whatever, maybe none of these institutions will exist but I hope the objects always will. (Perkins, August, 2011)

Having unique objects as part of the collections is important for the long-term sustainability of museums, and it also distinguishes them from other, more popular art institutions:

> I mean that's where we're a little unique, as far as, if you look at the art center, they have a great children's program too, but they do not have the same kind of collection that we do, so for us, you know, keeping that strong connection, everything we do really, begins with the objects, which is why we call the program "It starts with Art," you know it starts with, so I think that the kids really have a great opportunity to learn how to look, and what I've found, and what is really encouraging, for example for parents. (K. Walker, July, 2011)

Due to its unique capacity museum learning offers a distinct contribution to promoting the ideas of thinking in the long-term. Historically, art often served the interests of particular private commissioners and reflected dominant social ideologies, but overtime artists secured their ability to exercise the freedom of expression, which allowed them to create unconventional and provocative art. Therefore, art can be a very powerful tool in shaping the views regarding the reality, communicating normative messages, and instilling ethical values. Aesthetic experience serves as a powerful agent for social change that is going to impact many generations ahead, and

museums serve as agencies for change, often before such change is ready to happen within other social domains and institutions.

One such example is a famous provocative exhibition "The West as America" organized in 1991 by the National Museum of American Art (N. K. Anderson, 1991). The goal of the exhibition was to reveal how Progressive Era artists attempted to revise the conquest of the West in an effort to correspond with a dominant national ideology that favored western expansionism (R. B. Stein, 1992; Trachtenberg, 2007). The exhibition provoked both positive and negative reflections among the museum public, and caused a series of media discussions. The exhibition showed that the western movement "was less a natural evolution process than an economic one – that the westward expansion was driven by a search for raw materials and new fields for capital investment" (Trachtenberg, 2007). Many visitors left the exhibition grateful for the enlightenment and appreciative of the change that "The West as America" caused in their ethical perception regarding the expansion.

Along with the evolving museum missions and distinct values promoted by museums in a society, the instrumental value of museum learning fosters the creation of the capital for museum's sustainability that ensures institutional durability in the long-term. The importance of the intangible factors of sustainability is linked to the museum managers' belief in a certain kind of threshold below which the support for art institutions would not fall. This threshold for individual and public arts funding is acknowledged in the literature (E. Thompson, et al., 2002), but museum managers also describe it in their own way:

> I think even in the U.S. there is a sense among the populous that a civilized
> society grows and supports a certain, essential fraction of cultural entities, and
> without that fraction we are barbarians, poorer socially, culturally and
> economically. So each city will support to a greater or lesser extent a symphony,
> a ballet, an art museum, a natural history museum. They will not be allowed to go

extinct, if at all possible, because of that sensibility of not being barbarians
(Krishtalka, June, 2011).

The expectations of museum managers thus confirm that the intangible factors for sustainability resonate with a particular social sentiment, which makes art institutions intrinsically valuable for people who support them.

V.   Conclusion

This chapter originally approached a museum as an institution of intergenerational memory. However, the actual inquiry into the field of museum administration revealed that the museum as an institutionalized form of sustainability makes the lineage between current and future generations possible by including the future generations into the domain of its temporal public in a variety of ways that go beyond the idea of preservation and memory. Museums are examples of sustainable institutions created for preserving and promoting art for future generations, as well as promoting certain values and attitudes that contribute to a multidimensional social discourse. Therefore, important lessons about long-term sustainability can be learned by studying museums.

This chapter explored two themes: the intergenerational significance of museums and the issue of museums' self-sustainability. The questions asked here are: What does it take for a museum to stand the test of time? What makes museums sustainable? As this research demonstrates, there are two strategies for achieving the long-term sustainability – building institutional resilience and emphasizing intangible value of museums. The first strategy is more rational and consciousness, its purpose is to enhance the institutional resilience of museums, and the second strategy is more intuitive, it is pursued in order to form and sustain the intangible significance of museums for society. Combined, these two strategies lead to the formation of the capital for sustainability that ensures the long-term durability of museums. As I learn, museums

achieve their long-term sustainability by being adaptable rather than rigid, dynamic rather than static, and innovative rather than conservative.

First, museums manage to achieve remarkable institutional resilience by being adaptable and responsive to the resilience pressures. This strategy is aimed at enhancing the social and community relevance of museums; it includes: building public-private partnerships, expanding and diversifying public outreach, utilizing technology and social media, and engaging in the interdisciplinary projects. The choice of a particular adaptive strategy by museums is impacted by the institutional factors (form of ownership, size, etc.) and a geographic location. The success or an adaptive strategy depends upon the institutional/organizational capacity and management capacity. Generally speaking, a museum is more likely to have a stronger institutional/organizational capacity if it is relying on multiple funding sources, capable of building relationships with public and private supporters, engaging in cross-disciplinary projects, open to the use of new technologies and is willing to adapt innovations that reach younger audiences (and would continue to reach future generations). Managers of sustainable museums are capable of balancing the traditional stewardship role with innovation and leadership.

Second, museums manage to build their capital for sustainability through the intangible strategy aimed at preserving institutional uniqueness and distinctiveness. Intangible factors of museums sustainability include: the evolution of museum missions and the modification of museums' social purpose; particular values promoted by museums to their current and future publics; and a distinct kind of museum learning that particularly contributes to the inclusion of museums into the multidisciplinary social discourse. The missions of sustainable museums continue to evolve, and a greater emphasis is placed on: engaging in a more interactive dialogue within the museum community and with an increasingly diverse public; shifting from serving the

humanities to a cross-disciplinary approach, and moving towards the semi-instrumental role of museums.

The major intangible factors contributing to museums' sustainability are the values that museums promote in a society through their public outreach/education function. These values include: community citizenship, responsibility and stewardship, and the appreciation of artistic and natural beauty. Sustainable museums are able to balance their missions with particular responses to resilience pressures. As a result of their integrity and their intangible significance, museums achieve the status of one of the most trusted public institutions. In the long-run, this ensures a minimum base-line for the museums' support.

The key to the long-term sustainability of museums is the ability of their managers to act sustainably by making wise incremental decisions on a daily basis. This is the special kind of institutional rationality, which implies the ability of institutions to evolve, survive, adjust and adapt incrementally. Sustainable thinking is exercised by museums with various institutional structures. Thus, it is not a particular institutional arrangement (nonprofit status, affiliation with a university, etc.) that matters the most. What matters is how any arrangement can be used to enhance the capital for sustainability. This conclusion is supported by institutional theory, which explains how the logic of appropriateness helps museum managers make sense of the outside environment and make managerial choices that contribute to the long-term sustainability of their institutions.

This chapter has demonstrated that museums serve as safeguards of the interests of future generations by acting in a sustainable way. This ability of museums to have a long-term impact stems from the successful reconciliation of two imperatives – the institutional legacy embedded

in museum missions and the willingness and ability of museums to change, adapt, and innovate. A student visiting a museum in a hundred years from now is likely to discover the following:

✓ Museums will continue offering a solitary experience of art appreciation through the engagement with museum objects, but such engagement will be less solitary and more interactive. An object-based story would matter more than the object itself.

✓ Museums will continue serving as a source of various forms of capital and an egalitarian institution of public learning.

✓ Museum practices will be more interdisciplinary and cross-institutional.

✓ A particular institutional structure of a museum will matter less, and sustainable museums will adapt a hybrid institutional approach to achieving the long-term sustainability that implies borrowing strategies across sectors and institutional forms in order to strengthen the capital for sustainability.

✓ With the spread of digital technology and increasing globalization, the very idea of a museum as a building that holds collections of art works will be further re-conceptualized, giving way to a post-structural and postmodern vision of museum as a constellation of ideas and relationships.

✓ The identity of a museum will be increasingly determined by those who constitute its public, and by how a museum communicates itself to the public. It will matter less which objects a museum has on display, and it would matter more what relationships a museum would be able to build with its public, and what ideas and values it would carry through the community.

Chapter 6. Literature and Its Institutions: The Moral Language between Generations

> "Art is a human activity, consisting in this that one man consciously,
> by means of external signs, hands on to others feelings he has lived through,
> and that other people are infected by these feelings,
> and also experience them", L. Tolstoy (Blair, 2005)

> "Poetry is the common possession of humanity that emerges
> everywhere and at all times in hundreds and hundreds of people",
> Goethe (Greenblatt et al., 2009, p. 6)

Leo Tolstoy wrote, art is a human activity that is based on the expression and interpretation of human experiences. If this is true, then literature is the language for such an expression that makes possible the transmission of human experiences across borders and across times. A prominent object of visual art is hosted in a particular art museum located in a particular geography, and it rarely gets to travel to a different art gallery, but great literature is routinely published and republished, translated into many languages, and made available to people anywhere in the world. Hence, it is the universal accessibility of literature that makes it the property of the entire humanity rather than an object that belongs to a particular person or nation. And it is the timeless relevance of great literature that makes it an asset and a universal language of communication between those currently living, the unborn, and the long dead. This chapter explores the relationship between these properties of literature and its long-term sustainability by asking a question: what are the factors that sustain literature in the long-term and enable it to serve as the moral language between generations?

I was in the middle of interviewing experts and literature managers when I came across the creative writing program at the Douglas County Correctional Facility that has been taught for nearly ten years by Brian Daldorph – a professor of English Language and Literature from the University of Kansas. When I first met professor Daldorph, he handed me several small poetry books written by the inmates and his own poems inspired by interactions with people at the jail. It was fascinating and surprising to discover that the poetry would reach people in such a remote

location, people that many of us have given up as 'productive' members of a society. While I could see how teaching in jail could be inspirational for writing poetry, I could not really envision what would be the value of such a program for inmates and society, and why a University professor and his students would dedicate nine years of their life to teach poetry writing to someone who might not even be interested in reading poetry. As I learned later, there are quite a few similar programs in other states, and there is even a nonprofit organization *The Prison Arts Coalition* (http://theprisonartscoalition.com) that was established in 2008 as a national network of people creating art in and around the American prison system.

I had many questions about the program: What is its value for the inmates? Are they expected to develop practical skills that they can later use in their civil lives? Is it likely to transform their perceptions and make them law obedient citizens? Is it going to impact their children and families? As I approached professor Daldorph with my questions, I realized how remote they were from the truth. It turned out that the value of such a program is completely intrinsic yet extremely important: it gives people hope, it brings them light, and it helps them relate their life experiences to ours. It shows that inmates are people like everyone else, and it does so through an amazing power of narrative or story that is being told through poetry:

> Because I find the work so interesting, because there are stories that the inmates have that we need to hear about and we often don't hear about. Because I have seen what they do in the jail changes people's lives, when they realize that they can tell these stories and they can be listened to by other people and be given value in that way…. I think that when you do the same sort of class in a jail situation you realize that the things that we do in class like telling stories and talking about these things, writing and all of that, it can be really important and can be a kind of lifeline for people in desperate situations. (Daldorph, April, 2012)

As Professor Daldorph further explained, an amazing power of healing souls by enabling people to share their stories through poetry is especially valuable for people in exceptionally hard

life situations, and while he is not expecting particular instrumental benefits from the inmates'

ability to write poetry, he believes in small important benefits on an individual level:

> …when you see people who often have pretty much nothing and they have found this way of kind of making sense of their lives and getting value to their lives in some way, then I think you just realize that the things that I do in English and with poetry are really important, and I like that. It just makes me feel like what I do is important to people…I think it brings small benefits and those benefits are extremely important. But I'm just always careful not to expect too much, not to think that this is going to save lives, change people completely.… I would like it to be is a small good thing that they can then do more with if possible and if not then just have value for what it is at the time. (Daldorph, April, 2012)

These programs are not seeking to deliver immediate personal and professional benefits

that stem from solid writing skills obtained as part of the creative writing training, rather they are

seeking to instill and promote fundamental human values, values that do us a good service in the

long-term. Literature with all its institutions developed over the centuries has always been

important for the moral enlightenment of young and old. As this creative writing program at the

Douglas County Jail illustrates, literature has important social meaning and significance because

it tells us something about the human condition, and this knowledge influences our future lives.

Moreover, by recording and preserving stories, we are leaving for future generations a record of

our society.

The instrumental value of reading literature for the lives of human beings has long been

acknowledged (von Schlegel & Frost, 1878), and such value goes beyond the benefits of

entertainment and education by absorbing the information condensed in book form. The value of

literature stems from its cultural significance, its ability to absorb and provide easy and quick

access to the cultural heritage from many civilizations – old and new, remote and near. Literature

adds something intrinsically important as well as something lacking to the "materially

successful, formally schooled, busy, highly organized lives", since the greatest literatures of

different times and cultures are "the storehouses" of human values and aspirations (Blair, 2005). The timeless significance of old literature is rooted in its universal appeal to timeless human values. Even if some of the great books are resting on library shelves – written in the old long-gone languages (or even when original literary works were not preserved), these works have definitely influenced the development of literature and human intelligence over the course of history, and it is possible to resurrect moral lessons embedded in them and find their relevance for the modern world (Greenblatt, 2011). Hence, literature has the ability to store and transmit cultural heritage from one generation to another.

Literature also serves as a catalyst of change in social values, and a prominent role of poets and writers in helping societies to recognize the faults of modernity and foresee the distant future has been widely long recognized (V. W. Brooks, 2012; Ferris, 2011; Taylor, 2011). This ability of literature to challenge social stereotypes and alter human values stems from that the fact that literature exceeds the capacity of language in that literature portrays gaps, silences, obstacles and noise in language, and it often displays not only what can be said but also what cannot be said (Khair & Doubinsky, 2011). Therefore, by displaying, interpreting and transmitting meanings, literature influences the deepest levels of individual and collective human consciousness, which produces a qualitative change. Hence, literature is an important subject when considering our long-term future.

This study argues that art institutions contribute to long-term sustainability by contributing to the formation of various forms of capital (social, economic, creative, human, and cultural). And this chapter claims that understanding the long-term sustainability of literature is important for understanding sustainability itself, since the role of literature institutions is particularly important for the transmission of different forms of capital, but especially cultural

capital, across borders and generations. Formalized literature organizations, as well as less formal literature institutions, have developed various instruments that enable the transmission of literary narratives across time and space, and have produced two outcomes with regard to sustainability. First, by effectively serving as a language of communication between past, current and future generations, literature has been contributing to the richness, continuity and sustainability of human cultures. By including multiple generations in the domain of their public, literature institutions ensure their own timeless relevance and enhance their own sustainability. Second, over the course of history formalized literature organizations demonstrated their ability to adapt and successfully cope with resilience pressures in a fashion that in many respects is similar to other art organizations. However, literature institutions have also developed resilience strategies that are uniquely attributed to them, and are worthy of separate examination.

This chapter will explore literature's contribution to intergenerational sustainability and its own path to long-term relevance and survival. The first part of this chapter considers general literature institutions that are important for intergenerational sustainability of literature; the second part looks at the experiences of particular formalized literature organizations, examines the sustainability pressures facing them, and discusses the strategies that literature organizations have developed to ensure their long-term endurance.

I.   The Creation, Preservation, and Communication of Literature to Future Generations

For the major part of its existence, the history of literature has been associated with the history of the book, which can be traced to the invention of alphabets and writing that allowed keeping the record of human life. The new technology of writing invented in the course of human history meant something really important for the human civilization. Stories no longer

had to be memorized collectively as a musical verse, which was the earliest literary technology of storing stories in the mind (J. Epstein, 2002). With the invention of writing, stories about life and human nature could be recorded in a book form and saved for many generations ahead.

The book as a form of art is distinct from many other art forms. Unlike movies, magazines, newspapers, and TV shows, the book is the work of individual: with rare exceptions one person has written it and one person at a time "uses" it (Geiser, Dolin, & Topkis, 1985). For the significant part of the book history this tended to be true, but the situation has been rapidly changing, and although the book is still a creation of an individual, many more individuals are able to "use" it simultaneously. Therefore, the book, as it is understood today, is not just an artifact or a manufactured object; it is "a mind-to-mind transmission, which can cross all boundaries (except the sad border of illiteracy)" (Geiser, et al., 1985, p. 6). This applies to the boundaries of both space and time.

From its very origins the intergenerational role of the book was very important. Books were seen as the records of the human history, means of educating the young, and in some civilizations even as the tool for fighting mortality (Katz, 1995)[4]. Teaching literary works to young people as a method of grasping moral and ethical foundations is as old as some of the ancient civilizations. One such example is the Athenian school – one of the earliest collective educational systems, at the core of which was the combination of physical training and teaching poetry as the method of education for a wise and good life (Katz, 1995). Over the course of human history as the purposes of literature have proliferated, its intergenerational place has remained vital.

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[4] One such example is the Book of the Dead (3000-1000 B.C.) –the famous Egyptian work and, according to some scholars, the first illustrated book. In the Egyptian culture The Book of the Dead served the purpose of assuring the dead a safe place, which gave them eternal life, and in some cases the ability to return to earth.

There is a recognition that the book is a very resilient art form playing an important role as a means of expression and communication in our cultural and public life (J. B. Thompson, 2012). To a significant extent this is the result of many human institutions created to ensure the long-term relevance of the book. Over the course of human history, three major institutions were developed in the domain of literature that ensured the creation, preservation and communication of literature across generations: the literature canon, the libraries as institutions for book preservation, and the literature publishing industry as an instrument for literature dissemination. The discussion of these institutions is as important for understanding the intergenerational sustainability of literature as the discussion of particular sustainability strategies developed by formalized literature organizations (literary magazines, book publishers, online literature platforms, etc.).

1.1. The Canon and the Intergenerational Significance of Literature

The earliest literature is comprised of religious books. For instance, one of the greatest examples of the ethic of sustainability could be found in the Book of Genesis in the Bible, when in the face of a flood Noah was instructed by God to build an ark to save himself, his family, and every kind of animal. This biblical episode could be interpreted as a metaphor that teaches a lesson about the environmental sustainability, about preserving humans and nature as inseparable and interconnected elements of the same system. The Bible as a written work served and continues serving as the foundation for Christian moral doctrine; its stories and narratives had been very functional in forming long-lasting ways of holding societies and cultures together through the shared system of meanings and interpretations (Hassan, 2011). Bible is also one of the greatest examples of the moral language between generations that is now part of the literature canon.

The moral philosophy of India could be traced to the writings in Sanskrit that in a literary form preserved information about the outward and inner life of people from the past. The most ancient literature in China is contained in the Five Kings and Five Texts as well as in the Book of History complied by Confucius from records as old as 720 B.C, and the moral teachings of Confucius themselves are the examples of moral literature that survived to this day (Blair, 2005). Many other great civilizations of the world – Egyptian, Greek, Persian and Arabic – also managed to preserve some of their literary heritage from ancient times, and today we are still reading the legendary blind poet Homer – the earliest and most important figure of Greek literature of the ninth century B.C.

The intergenerational significance of canonical religious literature stems from its ability to serve as the timeless language between generations – not yet born, current, and long gone. According to Blair, the main purpose of the literature is "to make it possible for the author who has fine things to say and who says them well to speak to readers miles away or centuries after him" (Blair, 2005). Hence, each culture's system of values and believes is communicated to its young generations through the written tales and myths embedded in children's fables, and moral values are being absorbed by children through the examples of Robin Hood and heroes from Aesop's fables. Later on in their lives, when humans learn to read and decide for themselves, they engage with serious literature written by people from earlier generations, and moral lessons from this literature become recognizable and unconsciously appreciated. The history of literature becomes the general history of culture and nation, and it reflects the system of values and believes and their transformation in particular cultural contexts.

The timeless value of canonical literature stems from its ability to appeal to universal human aspirations and fulfill human search of deeper meanings of everyday routines. This

becomes possible because great writers do not only report stories,-consciously or unconsciously, they also reveal themselves in their works (Blair, 2005). Consequently, literature provides a space "in which the invisible relations between language and reality, between the symbolic and material" coexist in a form of art, which allows the reader "to dig into that space, to excavate it to her own depth and at her own pace" (Khair & Doubinsky, 2011, p. 27). The distinct features of canonical literature include its ability to uncover human potential and stimulate the moral growth, to emphasize the unity of humans and nature, and to guard human values from being overshadowed by the speed of life and technological progress. Literature canon is also an institution that insures the transmission of the best world literature from one generation to another. The question is: who decides what is canonical and thus destined to thrive, and what is not going to stand the test of time.

The word canon comes from the word reed that was used in old times as measuring rods, and in the modern world canons "take the form of banners by means of which particular movements, nations and regional constructs such as the so-called West established pedigrees, define an identity, and present themselves to the world" (Lindenberger, 1990). Many factors influence the development of the literature canon including such social factors as bureaucratic institutions, educational planning groups, historical context, political factors, as well as individual agents (authors, publishers, literary critics, etc). The canon is a result of a struggle for power among all of these competing interests (Bloom, 1994; Lindenberger, 1990).

One common answer to what makes an author or a work canonical is originality. As Bloom explained it, "strangeness, a mode of originality that either cannot be assimilated, or that so assimilates us that we cease to see it as strange" (Bloom, 1994, p. 3). The canon may appear rigid at first, but such impression would be inaccurate since the canon is constantly evolving.

Thus, the other major factor that explains the persistence of the canon is the human aspiration for tradition, understood as "a conflict between past genius and present aspiration", a discovery rather than as some kind of constant or a mere monument to the past (Bloom, 1994, p. 9). A canon is also the expression of an author's personal power, their ability and desire to supersede times and locations. Thus, a great work often comes out of the "desire to be elsewhere, in a time and place of one's own, in an originality that must compound with inheritance, with the anxiety of influence" (Bloom, 1994, p. 12).

The works included in a literature canon are often described as universal, immortal, classic, timeless, and transcendent – words that are used as both the symbol of universality of literature across time and space, and as evaluative terms pertaining to the quality of literary works (Lindenberger, 1990). Therefore, by studying the literary canon we not only learn about the history of literature, but also about the history of humanity, as it is embedded in literature. Lindenberger claims that such characteristics of canonical literature reflect the human inclination to sharing a text that belongs to a network of classical texts dating back to the beginnings of culture with the readers from past and present, and these texts "exert a continuing power on those still unwritten texts that later generations will presumably assimilate within this network" (1990, p. 25). Thus, the canon is an evidence of human inclination to intergenerational equity that exists within the vertical moral community (H. George Frederickson, 2010b), and it is as important as other just institutions established in the name of future generations (Rawls, 1971).

A literature canon is very distinct from other art forms. Although its formation over the course of history has been characterized by the relative volatility, the significant literature managed to be preserved since very early times. The systematic attempts of maintaining a literature canon can be traced from antiquity to the modern period but such attempts did not exist

in visual arts until the late Renaissance, and the idea of a musical canon arrived later since, with the exception of church music, musical texts were generally not preserved for future consumption until the end of the eighteenth century (Lindenberger, 1990). Thus, literature canons present one of the most ancient examples of human inclination to long-term sustainability.

Finally, the moral value of literature has been established historically through its synergy with other institutions. According to Lindenberger, the major difference between a literary canon and canons within music or visual arts is that it has always functioned as a central part of an educational system of a particular culture, especially for the young (Lindenberger, 1990, p. 146). Thus, by being an essential part of common educational curriculum, literature became part of every educated person's life and a source of their knowledge about human wisdom. Human appreciation for literature has been mediated by the social educational institutions and was used to create and sustain plausible narratives for the development of national and regional cultures (Lindenberger, 1990). Literature as a study of classical authorities was taught along with languages, mathematics, and life sciences to everyone, while music and visual arts were taught as techniques to be mastered (Lindenberger, 1990). Hence, literature has always been more universally accessible to all rather than only the talented few.

This egalitarian nature of literature and its institutions has remained in place to this day. Literature canon has also become more flexible and more inclusive with the development of informational technologies. Unlike older works that disappeared with the removal from the canon lists, the newer works, even if temporarily removed from the canon, are preserved in the libraries in their physical or digital forms, thus ensuring access to future generations.

1.2. The Role of Libraries as Intergenerational Institutions

The next important institution that ensured the preservation, access and transmission of literature to future generations is the library. Libraries are among the most resilient institutions within the domain of literature, and their history in itself is an interesting and important lesson of sustainability. While many libraries have been destroyed in the course of history, "the idea of the library, once established, was indestructible, and since the beginning of recorded history it has served a vital purpose as the main communicative link in both time and space" (*History of Libraries of the Western World*, 1995, p. 13).

Historically, the word library originated during the Roman book trade times, where there was a difference in roles between copyists (library) and scribes (scribae): the copyists were slaves or paid laborers who worked for booksellers, and scribae were free citizens working as archivists, government bureaucrats, and personal secretaries (Greenblatt, 2011). Similar to museums, libraries started from personal collections of wealthy educated people, who either employed or owned librarians as slaves. Likewise, the 'business' of book writing was originally controlled by wealthy patrons who commissioned the writings and retained all the profits from selling the books. The idea of a public library, as we know it today, traces to the Renaissance. With the invention of printing and the expansion of universities there came the recognition that for libraries to have great cultural influence, they must be open for scholars, students, and the public (*History of Libraries of the Western World*, 1995). This is how books first became available to the larger public, and in many respects this openness of libraries to the public is one of the major factors that made them resilient.

The history of literature has changed forever with the invention of libraries, which today serve as major institutions fulfilling social, educational, and cultural functions of literature, as well as institutions responsible for the preservation and equitable access to a literary heritage.

According to Dunlap, librarianship was first defined as a legitimate profession around 4500-4000 BC in the ancient Sumerian civilization that existed in southern Mesopotamia (on the territory of modern Iraq) (Dunlap, 1972), and since early times librarians were subjected to high professional standards including certain level of education, a high moral character, an intrinsic sense of order, and a natural love for books since early times (Sapp, 2002).

In modern history, libraries have been the primary reason that published books and other materials have survived. Thus, the development of libraries is the evidence of the effect of institutionalization on the long-term sustainability, in this case, of literature. However, for various reasons including the impact of climate and pests, many great books did not manage to survive the "teeth of time", including some of the greatest libraries of the ancient world (Greenblatt, 2011). One such example is the library of Alexandria in Egypt – the largest and the most significant library of the ancient world, which covered the entire range of intellectual thought and was not associated with a particular philosophical school. According to Greenblatt, it represented "a global cosmopolitanism, a determination to assemble the accumulated knowledge of the whole world and to perfect and add to this knowledge" (Greenblatt, 2011, pp. 87-88). Scholars working for the library were famous for their rigor and the pursuit of the textual accuracy, so the library contained not only a very large collection, but an extremely significant collection of books. The library housed several systematically organized, labeled and shelved collections – a number of which were accidentally burned in 48 b.c. during the Julius Caesar war, and most of the rest destroyed by the subsequent military interventions as well as part of the war against paganism (Greenblatt, 2011).

Today we take libraries for granted as something that will always exist, these institutions are part of the general culture, and they face numerous sustainability issues. Among those are the

issues of preservation and storage of the increasing number of published books and other objects, the need to cope with the technological progress by reconciling traditional library roles with the new reality of digital informational technology, the problem of acquisition of new materials when economic resources are scarce, and the crisis of librarianship as a profession (Battles, 2003; Katz, 1995). Despite these challenges, scholars of libraries are generally optimistic regarding the future of these institutions, and there is a strong belief that libraries in the future will thrive and will continue providing highly valued service, and librarians, as champions of information rights, will be recognized as the ultimate information professionals (Sapp, 2002).

Favorable conditions for the existence and successful functioning of libraries include economically prosperous societies with literate and stable population, strong public and governmental support, the presence of a creative class (which implies strong urban centers), the accessibility of technologies and the availability of educational opportunities for library managers, among other (*History of Libraries of the Western World*, 1995; Katz, 1995). One of the greatest secrets of the sustainability of modern public libraries lies in their institutional ability to perform wide array of functions aside from their main purpose of books preservation. These functions include but are not limited to providing various public services to population (such a computer training and access, community meeting rooms), organizing pre-school programs and book clubs for adults, arranging book presentations and hosting community events, among other. In short, both public and university libraries are the integral parts of community life, and this connection to people's lives is one of the major factors that makes libraries sustainable.

Overall, the distinct value of modern libraries, as compared to other formalized literature institutions stems from their egalitarian nature. Although private libraries still exist in the modern world, most libraries are public, which makes them accessible to the community. What does this

mean for literature? Simply put, public libraries are capable of bringing the best literature closer to every literate person – rich and poor, more educated and less educated. People do not necessarily have to buy books in the bookstores; they could borrow them from libraries, which consolidate public resources for the common good. The history of libraries has been very much intertwined with the history of writing and publishing, and libraries as we know them today are largely the result of their symbiotic relationship with the publishing.

1.3. From Publishing to the Electronic World: The Emergence of the New Challenges for Literature

The history of the book is the history of communication, and the nature of this communication keeps changing as the means of communication evolve and become more complex. The earliest writing is dated approximately 3500 B.C., it originated as the result of collective urbanization, a formal religion and active trade, all of which required written communication (Katz, 1995). At the early times of its invention, literacy was limited to a selected few, who were taught to read and write, and who thus gained power over information and an elite status that came with it. The invention of printing in the mid-fifteenth century forever changed the nature of communication, which then became mass communication, and gained its momentum in the nineteenth century with widespread literacy and printing technology (Katz, 1995). Published works became accessible to many people who could read, and historically, it was the institution of publishing that fostered the transformation of written word and literature from elitist to egalitarian – the way we are used to it now.

Since the invention of publishing during the Renaissance many things have changed. First and foremost, as the result of the technological revolution and the invention of Internet in the late 1980s the very way of how people obtain, transmit and process information has

fundamentally changed. In the age of print, words often remained fixed in time and space, information and communication technologies "have accelerated time and how society lives in it" (Hassan, 2011). These changes have resulted in the invention and spread of electronic literature, which in many fundamental respects is quite different from traditional print. I found it particularly interesting to compare traditional print and electronic publishing, and explore the long-term implications of the technological revolution for the sustainability of both.

This research demonstrates, traditional and electronic book publishing models produce different kinds of products that satisfy different types of demands in the literature market place. Electronic publications are seen as something that fulfills the current needs for up-to-date information that can be accessed in a relatively short time, but it is also more transient and many electronic publications get lost in the sea of the World Wide Web. At the same time, published literature treats a book as an object that has a unique value, something to be held and appreciated, and something that has long-term significance:

> […] publishing will always exist in one form or another, People are going to be creating literature and art no matter what happens-TV or the Internet or anything. There is probably going to be a shift toward more digital things but there will still be print books 100 years from now…(Post, April, 2012)

> …[t]here is a large hand full of organizations, member organizations that are creating a lot of tools, webinars and seminars to keep print relevant… it is just really true that not only people are going to continue to print, but there is no academic institution or society that is truly gone online only. …but the market is really exploding because it is so inexpensive to print in lower quantities. Now that we are seeing a lot of people printing books that never would have gotten into print before... So, it is pretty exiting! You know people say, printing is dead, and I usually just say, "Really? You are just not figuring out where print is relevant and who wants to still print." (Lillian, April, 2012)

As this study shows, one key factor in forming the capital for sustainability for print literature is the ability of literature organizations to occupy their unique niche-a distinct place that reflects the mission of literature institutions based on the particularly important value of the

book as an object. A chief executive official of a private publishing company is very confident in the sustainability of his industry because books present to their readers something that is not easily substituted by the technology, and something that has to do with how human beings are processing the information:

> As far as the other part of the answer to your question about where the publishing is going, I have no idea. I know that for the next 3-5 years, I don't care what everybody says – print is not dead, print is still extremely relevant, and it's got a generational thing, it's got a technology thing, it's really a very personal thing about how people want to connect with information that they are getting, how their brains processing the information, people are just screen readers or not screen readers. I used to be able to find something really fast on the screen, but if I really want to really get into the content about what it means, I can't sit and read it on the screen. I need to print it and take it somewhere where I can sit a read it, think about it, make some notes on it. So, I use blended technology and until I am completely out of this world, I am going to need something in my hands that tactile, and I can get my hand around it, my fingers around it. (Lillian, April, 2012)

The uniqueness of books as compared to other forms of popular media is expected to rise in importance in the future. This assertion is based upon the recognition that while books contribute to economic capital by generating profits from their sales, books also possess capacity to generate symbolic capital (understood as accumulated prestige, recognition and respect accorded to certain individuals and institutions) due to their intrinsic quality (J. B. Thompson, 2012). That is why editors and publishers often value a literary work because they believe in its quality, even though they may suspect that the sales would be low. In many cases book publishers dedicate their personal time and capital to curating published books to the reader, which is similar to curating works of art in an art museum:

> […] right now the big chain stores and the big publishers treat literature like an object to be disposable; like they are for reading at the beach…I think that is one thing that is going to have to shift for people to take more interest in literature and books. You can't look at these things as the same as watching a YouTube video, it is different in a good way. I think there is going to be more of a shift toward being selective, things being curated in some sense. If people will start paying attention

to books as particular objects, if that starts to happen, people will become more interested in books because they will treat them as a unique thing. (Post, April, 2012)

At the same time, according to Khair and Doubinsky, the greatest danger for printed literature in the twenty first century is "the inability to distinguish between literature and the market" (Khair & Doubinsky, 2011, p. 5). They argue that the market is a socio-economic construct, and literature is much more than that. Too much emphasis on matching publishing outputs to marketing preferences could be a very negative thing with pervasive long-term implications. Hence, contemporary literary managers share reservations regarding too much emphasis on marketing and business approaches in the literature world:

> Right now we going so far toward the commercial direction that we don't care about the uniqueness of the book we only care about how many copies we are going to sell of this product, and when things are interchangeable like that they add value to most readers. Why would they bother when they could spend that $16 on some kind of interchangeable piece of media entertainment they could go to a movie or buy a new video game if all these things are equal, which is kind of how they are being promoted or have been promoted to the last 25 years. It's hard to win a case for books. If there is a rise because of Barnes & Noble's decline or Borders and if there is a rise in independent booksellers and reading locations that actually comes about because it is more intimate. If something is available for $.99 on your phone it becomes more of a community experience that is going to make a big difference for books and relate to the idea of reading. I think that would help get people more engaged in a different value base that is its own special thing. (Post, April, 2012)

The preservation and promotion of literature is important for its own sake, but literature also plays an important role for the long-term sustainability of societies. According to some scholars, the literature canon – whether electronic or printed-performs and will continue performing a very important normative function. For instance, in his book "The Age of Distraction" Robert Hassan argues that we live in an extremely destabilized networked world, where the digital representation of meaning is being transmitted at an extremely high speed, and writing itself has become digital and highly unstable (2011). In his view, this is an extremely

distracting tendency that in the long run may lead to very negative consequences, one of which is the decline of interest in literature and thus the decline in the levels of cultural awareness. Hassan further claims that the literature canon serves as a safeguard of very important values that make us human and serve as safeguards against digital distractions. According to Hassan, "it is to the stabilization of the written word, both printed and electronic, that we must look to as the source of cognitive recuperation and relief from the informational stimuli of out post-modern condition" (Hassan, 2011, pp. 146-147). The stabilizing ability of canon is based on it functioning as an institution that in a textual form provides guidance for values, morals, and ethics that "comprise the very bedrock of our sense of being in the world" (Hassan, 2011, p. 154). Hence, various forms of literature are important in the long-term.

The invention of electronic literature two decade ago changed our understanding of what literature is, and created new long-term challenges. With the movement into digital media what we understand literature to be today is a complex web of activities that along with the conventional reading and writing includes technologies, cultural and economic mechanisms, reading habits and predispositions, networks of producers and consumers, professional societies and many other variables (Hayles, 2008). Electronic literature is dependent upon networked and programmable media, and is influenced by computer games, films, animations, digital arts, graphic design and electronic visual culture. In this sense, it is a hybrid made up of many diverse elements and traditions that may not fit neatly together (Hayles, 2008), and it is far from coherent,-a distinct feature of most of published literature. At the same time, there are many works of high literary merit in the form of electronic literature, and paying close attention to these works requires new modes of analysis, so called "digital thinking" (Hayles, 2008, p. 30).

In terms of the long-term sustainability, electronic literature is less promising than traditional publishing. While print literature developed mechanisms, institutions and whole professions dealing with its preservation for the future generations, there are no such techniques for electronic literature. The situation is exacerbated by the fluid nature of digital media: while printed books can be sustained for centuries, electronic literature often becomes unreadable after a decade or even less due to the outdated software and hardware (Hayles, 2008). The Electronic Literature Organization, a nonprofit agency has already started developing solutions for this problem; however, reservations regarding the future of electronic literature remain valid. According to Hayles, the shortening of electronic literature canon to a few years does not allow building a literary traditions, and therefore, electronic literature "risks being doomed to the realm of ephemera, severely hampered in its development and the influence it can wield" (Hayles, 2008, p. 40).

The alternative point of view suggests that the electronic model is not a threat to the future of literature, if anything it is an opportunity with great potential to contribute to the long-term relevance and sustainability of literature. In fact, technology is seen as the guarantor of the bottom line for literature, something that will make it thrive in the long-run, rather than something that will compete with traditional print books:

> I would say… [l]iterature will always be part of our culture. Always. And I think that the challenges and the opportunities that the electronic model provides are going to be crucial in what we can do to promote literature. I think at this point again we are accessible to everyone who has access to a computer and I think also because we are free we are entirely grant supported and we have major funders and smaller funders. We have some private donors but we are run entirely on grant money and that is what allows us to be free online and to make us available online free of charge, and they want very much to continue this mission. Again to find this new generation of leaders and install the habit of reading and the interest in the sense of adventure in exploring other cultures through literature. (Harris, April, 2012)

As it is clear from the quotation above, literature as an idea itself is much more resilient than any of its institutionalized forms, and it would continue transforming, adapting, and changing to accommodate the social reality and the demands of evolving markets. As Jason Epstein said, "technologies change the world but human nature remains the same" and new technologies "do not erase the past or alter the genome", hence "the defining human act of storytelling will survive the evolution of cultures and their institutions as it always has" (J. Epstein, 2002, pp. 11-12). From discussing this issue with managers of literature organizations it also becomes clear that the future of literature lies with the small personable publishing houses existing in the closer proximity to the centers of education and enlightenment (such as universities), than with the big impersonal publishing corporations and uniform bookstore chains:

> …[a]nd I also think that something that will happen in the midterm, a press of our size will become more prominent and the huge publishing corporate structures are not going to work as well anymore. That seems to be happening a lot recently, and places that are not doing only market-based publishing are going to be more powerful in the future. In 50 years publishing will exist not only in New York City, I think that a lot of publishing houses will be affiliated with the university nonprofit community structures. There will be more of a combination between publishers and booksellers working together than there are right now but it will be more about literature than about publishing as a whole. Kind of a flawed model, and there are things that purely do not work, and as things go forward, those flaws will become more exposed and well...and some commercial stuff... and a lot of smaller things, doing kind of unique niche products. (Post, April, 2012)

The hopes for the future of literature are high, although there is definitely an expectation that the success of literature would depend upon the successful modification and adaptation of its institutions. In Epstein's words, book publishing in the future "may therefore become once more a cottage industry of diverse, creative autonomous units" (J. Epstein, 2002, p. 79). This vision of the future of publishing reflects aspirations and preferences of future readers – increasingly diverse and multicultural group of people and this observation affirms a conventional view that

in the post-modern world people would rather find themselves seeking for the uniqueness, individualism and diversity rather than uniformity and standard.

It is clear that despite the advances of the electronic world, books as physical objects will not lose their importance and relevance; they will "coexist hereafter with a vast multilingual directory of digitized texts, assembled from a multitude of sources, perhaps "tagged" for easy reference, and distributed electronically" (J. Epstein, 2002, p. 7). The promise of the long-term sustainability of books in particular and literature in general is assured through the work of formalized literature organizations that maintain the relevance of literature for current and future generations. A next part of this chapter will consider the determinants of the long-term sustainability of literature and the role that formal literature organizations play in fulfilling their duty to future generations.

II.   The Determinants of the Long-Term Sustainability of Literature

Although there is a wide array of formalized organizations that mediate the formation, promotion, and preservation of literature, as compared to other forms of aesthetics, literature is much less institutionalized. Therefore, the key factors of the long-term sustainability of literature are both similar and distinct from art museums and performing arts institutions. Similar to museums, there are two strategies for achieving the long-term sustainability of formalized literature organizations: the rational strategy aimed at enhancing the institutional resilience of formalized organizations and the intuitive approach aimed at creating and sustaining the distinct value of literature and its institutions for individuals and societies. The first strategy is embedded in the missions, programs and initiatives implemented by formalized literature organizations, and the second strategy is pursued in order to enhance the intangible significance of literature and maintain its unique contribution and distinctiveness. Both of these strategies lead to the

formation of capital for sustainability that ensures the long-term durability of literature and its institutions.

Current pressures on literature are many, and its institutions are facing an increasing need to adjust and adapt in response to these pressures. Books and the publishing industry do not exist in isolation, they are part of a broader economy, social environment and culture (J. B. Thompson, 2012). Therefore, the sustainability of literature depends on a combination of cultural, economic, political, technological and other social issues. The most significant concerns with the long-term implications for literature include: declining reading patterns, especially among younger generations; the declining value of a book as an object of art and published literature in general; lower visibility of literature as compared to other cultural industries (museums, performing art institutions); and the increasing dynamism, competitiveness and fragmentation within the literature market, among other. Based on the results of this study, the most important and the most pressing of these issues is declining reading patterns (Harris, April, 2012; Lillian, April, 2012; Post, April, 2012; Stolls, April, 2012; Valentino, February, 2012).

Sustainability of literature depends on a number of factors, and one of the most significant of these factors is the demand side of the literature market. The reading habits of various population groups evidenced by how much and how well people read are indicators of the long-term sustainability of literature and the publishing industry. According to the former Chairman of the NEA Dana Gioia, "[r]eading is not a timeless, universal capacity", it requires "a specific intellectual skill and social habit that depends on a great many educational, cultural, and economic factors", and in the absence of such a capacity, "the nation becomes less informed, active, and independent minded" (NEA, 2004). Thus, the decline of reading will, in the long run, result in of a less productive and innovative society.

In 2004 the National Endowment for the Arts released a survey titled "Reading at Risk: A Survey of Literary Reading in America", which determined that the literary reading was in dramatic decline (NEA, 2004). From 1982 to 2002, the literary reading declined by 10 percentage points (a loss of about 20 million potential readers) in all population groups, but the decline was especially significant for the youngest age group. Thus, the rate of decline for the youngest adults (18-24 y.o.) was 55 percent greater as compared to the total adult population. Although later studies showed that literary reading may rise among different population groups as a result of increasing public funding for literature and effective grassroots efforts of local literature organizations (NEA, 2008), concerns regarding population reading habits remain valid. Additional studies also showed that the declines in reading have civic, social, and economic implications (Gifford, 2007; NEA, 2006, 2007).

Audience studies reports made by the NEA also indicate some concerns regarding so called 'graying the audience" phenomenon that is the decline of arts participation among young people. The NEA report in 2007 demonstrated that it is possible to increase young people's interest in reading by arranging the early outreach and special programs for schools. Experts interviewed for this research also believe that young audience is not likely to shrink below a certain point, despite the competition between arts and popular entertainment. Thus, the producer of the Colorado Shakespeare Festival is confident that the Festival will continue having audiences in the future:

> …[t]hink that's a factor but it's nothing new. Movies have been a factor for a long time. I'm not sure that we've lost any people in their 20's; my theory about this is, because a lot of people talk about the graying of the audience, and I actually don't buy that theory because I started in this business 35 years ago, I was an actor then, and not a producer, but was aware of the discussions. 35 years ago, people were saying that the audience is graying; if we don't do something and get younger people in here we won't have an audience. But that hasn't happened. We still have an audience. (Sneed, August, 2011)

The situation is similar with published literature. In fact, there is convincing evidence of the emergence of the reading class (mainly book readers) that is restricted in size but disproportionate in influence (Griswold, McDonnell, & Wright, 2005). As the study by Grisworld et all demonstrated, the major predictors of active reading include: the level of education, living in close proximity to metropolitan areas, race and ethnicity, age, and the social status (the level of parents' income). The researchers discovered a certain "pile-on effect" that is important for the discussions of the future of reading. This effect shows that "reading practices, once they reach some critical mass, generate their own support structure", and in the long-run this means that "the reading class will flourish even if overall reading by the general public declines" (Griswold, et al., 2005).

In contemporary scholarship, reading is increasingly envisioned as a network of practices, conditioned by the social, historical, and cultural context (Barton & Hamilton, 1998; Fernandez, 2001; Griswold, et al., 2005). I also find evidence that contemporary reading is a social activity with an important social purpose, and people often engage in it with families, social groups, and organizations, which increases the sustainability of reading (Lillian, April, 2012; Post, April, 2012). Indeed, the reading capacity of the population, especially young people, is an important indicator of the general level of participation in the arts as well as the civic engagement and active participation in the life of a community. For example, the studies of literary reading have established that literary readers are nearly three times as likely to attend a performing arts event, almost four times as likely to visit an art museum, and more than 2.5 times as likely to do volunteer and charity work (NEA, 2006). Although it is hard to imply particular causality, it is clear that there is a strong association between reading habits and other related activities.

2.1. Changing Missions: Towards Developing the New Audience through Public Education

Dynamic tendencies within the literature market discussed in the previous section call for institutional adaptation and the adoption of new philosophies capable of guiding sustainable literature organizations of the future. Many literature organizations already responded to these pressures by modifying their missions, and this study identified several themes evident in the changing missions of literature institutions that will be discussed through the rest of this chapter. They include: greater focus on audience development; increasing importance of access and accessibility of literature; greater emphasis on such values as inclusiveness, multiplicity of points of view, and the richness of human experience grasped through the interpretation of literature; recognizing and promoting global impact of literature; and integrating literature in community development to make it more socially relevant.

Earlier in the twentieth century literary magazines and book publishers cared mostly about ensuring the quality literary product and its proper market positioning, with the decline in the readership later in the twentieth century literature organizations faced new demands, and many of them responded accordingly by implementing programs aimed at the *audience development*. Many organizations realized that an effective path to the long-term sustainability lies through working with young readers, in particular public schools students, since an early engagement with literature is likely to produce stronger interest in adults. Therefore, programs exposing people to literature early in their lives serve as the evidence of literature organizations' investment into the capital for sustainability of literature.

As this research has demonstrated, public education programs implemented by arts organizations also present evidence of a direct commitment of art institutions to future

generations. As explained in previous chapters, public education function for art museums and performing art institutions has been institutionalized since 1970s, and almost all respectable organizations have a formal public education department with at least one full-time staff member. The situation in the field of literature is very different; and public education is much less institutionalized there. While literature organizations have been realizing that community involvement and outreach programs for the young is one key to the long-term sustainability of literature, extensive public programs (such as national poetry contests) are mainly run by large national nonprofit organizations, while smaller local literary magazines and book publishers are not actively engaged in developing their own public outreach.

One explanation of the less extensive public outreach in literature is the fact that many literature organizations are accustomed to taking take their audience for granted; it has always been there for centuries, and it will continue being there in the future. The other issue is the design of early outreach programs for literature. Historically, the target population for literary journals includes serious adult readers, and the lack of programs for younger people is often explained by the belief that serious literature is generally not of interest to public school students because it is not age appropriate. However, not everyone shares this point of view, and there are good examples of pioneering educational programs for young people designed by literature organizations at the local level. Such programs are based on the assumption that to be sustainable, literature has to cater to different generations:

> There aren't any people doing this particular project I know. There are attempts by other literature magazines to get their magazines used in classrooms, usually in college classrooms. The emphasis on younger readers, especially tenth to twelfth grade readers I think that is not something that other people have explored. Maybe because they feel like the product they are producing is not really appropriate for those audiences. I think that's wrong. If they're really thinking that, they are absolutely wrong. And some of the time it might not be appropriate because it couldn't get approved by the school board, because of the language, or it might

have sexual situations or something like that. But there is plenty of material that those students will find really interesting and will want to read, and they will want to read it more than the things they are being given. And what are you doing when you give them that material? You're actively developing an audience for your work later. And some of them might really get interested and you hope they get excited. I don't know exactly what would happen if you put The Iowa Review into the hands of a bunch of tenth graders, but I think that it could be really exciting. (Valentino, February, 2012)

Declining reading patterns and the expansion of electronic publishing fostered the interest of national and local literature organizations in searching for the effective *audience development* programs. Audience is no longer taken for granted, and managers of literature organizations realize that the decline in reading is often the result of the absence of reading habits, and if these habits are developed early on in life, then readers are more likely to continue appreciating literature during their life time, and are more likely to pass this passion to future generations:

A lot of people don't like reading. I think that many times they don't like reading because they are not given things that are appropriate for them. And so that's one of the things that you'd hope to encourage. Lifelong attraction to reading, it's something that we value, at the mag. That is, and we hope to make a difference for some of these students who haven't picked it up for some reason, and it might be too late, we don't know, but we're pushing. Besides that, the things that come through in the reading are part of the values that we think are important. I mentioned some of those in the selection process—those are diversity… so that's all wrapped up in the set of things that we hope will come through in reading this material. (Valentino, February, 2012)

In support of this new direction, the Iowa Review has developed two programs for public school students-"Enhanced Access Project" and "Open Book Project". These programs are examples of pioneering efforts aimed at *audience development*. They are based on developing the long-term collaboration between local literature organizations and the public schools system. The goal of these projects is to incorporate the literary content into the high school language art classes by the using a variety of new web-based resources that will make the issues of The Iowa Review available for students and teachers on the web site and in a very attractive form. The project also includes a radio and video essay gallery of the digitized readings, and an application

for reading selected content on mobile devices ("The Iowa Review Enhanced Access Project," 2011). Additionally, the special issue of The Iowa Review will be published in book form and trained language arts teachers will use the book in their classes. It is expected that both of the these projects will foster the development of existing readership and will create new readers by cultivating reading habits and developing an appreciation for literature among young people ("The Iowa Review Open Book Project," 2011).

Both of these projects incorporate *digital technology*, hence, similar to the world of art museums, it is clear that the adoption of technology is important for keeping the relevance of literature for society as well as keeping it a vital part of the life of younger generation. Moreover, the use of digital technology is even more prevalent in the world of literature as compared to museums and other art institutions: more and more publishers and literary magazines develop online versions of their magazines and design all kinds of digital applications to make literature easily accessible to public through electronic devices. There is a realization that "the world of literary magazines, and the world of print publishing as a whole, is changing rapidly and dramatically", and although "publishers have not yet figured out how exactly to respond to digitization… it is clear that "greater access, more readers, and more readers of diverse background and ages will increase the potential impact" ("The Iowa Review Enhanced Access Project," 2011). Such strategy provides an example of *sustainable acting* – the intuitive managerial rationality resulting in particular strategies, programs and actions aimed at enhancing the long-term sustainability of literature. Therefore, it would be fair to expect that as a result of sustainable acting now, literature organizations of the future will move towards the creation of more institutionalized public education initiatives, and will engage in *audience development* projects on a more consistent basis.

I found that public education function is more prominent in hybrid institutional forms that are based on the combination of literature and performing arts (such as literature festivals). For instance, the Colorado Shakespeare Festival has a formally established public education department that works with different age groups, but has a particularly significant number of programs for young people. The public education department at the Festival even has a separate mission that is "to illuminate meaning, expand understanding and deepen appreciation of Shakespeare's texts – through performances, workshops and lectures – providing invigorating, hands-on experience for students, teachers and communities throughout Colorado" ("The Colorado Sheakespear Festival," 2012). The festival management believes that through its programming, "students of all ages will gain a better understanding of their lives, their world, and themselves through Shakespeare and the classics. (Giguere, August, 2011).

In addition to organizing Shakespeare classes for various population groups, the Festival engages in collaborative educational projects outside of its main focus. One such example is the program aimed at the eradication of violence at public schools resulting from the collaboration between the Festival and the Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence at Colorado University. In this program, after the performance of Twelfth Night at a public school, students participate in classroom workshops that focus on bullying. Through the exploration of the character from Malvolio's story, the Festival actors encourage students to develop and enact alternatives to bullying. This program has a very important social meaning, and it is an example of the *semi-instrumental role* of literature for society.

The Colorado Shakespeare Festival has success stories about the growing interest of young people in both literature and performing arts through its public outreach programs. One such example is the story of 11 year old Alastair Hennessy who got interested in being an actor

for the Shakespeare Festival when he saw his older sister performing with the local Shakespeare club. The boy became one of two young men (the other was 14) performing as the Little Prince in the Festival and "showed a maturity beyond his years in his view of the world, his acting ability, and his understanding of what it takes to understand a character" ("The Colorado Sheakespear Festival," 2012). This is one of many examples of the effectiveness of an early outreach.

I found that public support and public funding are crucial for the success of public education programs in literature organizations. The National Endowment for the Arts as well as local arts councils play a prominent role in fostering the creation of the public outreach programs in literature. As the literature program officer at the NEA explained in an interview:

> Organizations thrive when they… when they generate income… organizations thrive when they have income--get governmental and organizational support. And that's difficult, particularly these days. We're always focused on audience development; we've done studies that show that the readership has gone down particularly for certain age groups so we are focused on that. And I love talking to organizations that do educational components, and do writers for schools and things like that. (Stolls, April, 2012)

Donor's intention to making literature a more important part of people's lives is based upon the recognition that "through its literature, a nation expresses its hopes and fears, and tells its stories to its citizens and to the world" ("NEA Literature Grants," 2012). In addition to rendering its financial support, NEA has been implementing its own programs to foster the early engagement of young people with literature in collaboration with other arts agencies (Newsweek, March 2009). One such example is Poetry Out Loud Competition implemented as a partnership of the NEA, the Poetry Foundation, and the State Arts Agencies. It is the program that addresses the problem of declining interest in poetry (NEA, 2008) by encouraging high school students to memorize and perform great poems ("Poetry Out Loud," 2012). As this and similar projects

demonstrate, cross-institutional *collaboration* and building *public-private partnerships* is an important strategy for the long-term sustainability of literature.

2.2. Change in Managerial Roles and the Long-Term Sustainability of Literature

This study demonstrates that one key component of the long-term sustainability of arts organizations is management capacity, understood as human potential of formalized organizations that allows coping with temporal resilience pressures and developing long-term vision of the organizational future. Simply put, management matters for the long-term sustainability of arts, and in literature key managerial roles associated with the long-term sustainability take on several forms: *management as stewardship*, the *management of opportunities*, *the adoption of innovation*, and *management as facilitation*.

Along with changing institutional missions and greater focus on *audience development*, the roles of managers of literature organizations have been evolving as well to accommodate the dynamic literature environment. One such change is the rediscovery of the idea of *management as stewardship*. As described in previous chapters, in the world of art museums the idea of *management as stewardship* is accommodating of the ideas of sharing, community outreach and partnership. The idea of *management as stewardship* is present in the world of literature as well, however, it is mostly applicable to formalized literature organizations that publish, promote and store literature in a printed form (books, anthologies, etc.), and is less prominent for electronic literature. The following quotation from a private publisher describes the idea of *management as stewardship*:

> It was started approximately 14 or 15 years ago, and it really started as technology and dynamics of the industry, the academic publishing started to change in the late 1990s. As the way to provide a very low cost way for people in the industry to come together and talk, and hear where the industry is going in the future, and also put together at least some of the basic strategies, or at least to share what

other people in the industry are thinking in terms of how to respond to it. And again obviously this is something that we believe as a corporation that without our customers there are no means to be in business, so it is important to *shepherd organizations* through the difficult times and build those long-term partnerships. So it was really the rationale behind it. [emphasis added] (Lillian, April, 2012)

Managers of literature organizations emphasize the importance of guiding literature organizations through challenging times, protecting them from the impacts of recession and outside shocks, as evidenced in the metaphor "shepherd". In making sure that organizations survive and cope with these pressures, it is important for the managers to be strategic and be able to see both the near and long-term future. There is a realization that literature is an interconnected world of many organizations and institutions, and that success of one segment of literature market (commercial publishing) is dependent upon successes in many other segments:

> Allen Press offers a variety of educational and informational events throughout the year. Our long-standing commitment to education began with the notion that convening our clients, partners, and experts in the publishing community to share information and experiences would help everyone better understand the issues we face together and how we might better serve our respective constituents. ("Allen Press Inc.," 2012)

The idea of management as stewardship is also reflected in the day-to-day practices of literature organizations. For example, in their to be environmentally-conscious, Allen Press Inc.- a Lawrence, Kansas private publisher with a long-term successful history in the field – uses sustainable approach to the publishing practices, which positions the organization as an active member of the community and a steward of community resources:

> In business for more than 75 years, Allen Press not only strives to be a high-quality printing company and the provider of services to the scholarly publishing community—we also pride ourselves on being a good citizen of the global community. In partnership with our suppliers, vendors, clients, and employees, we have worked to find sustainable resources and more efficient technology, developed new processes and procedures, participated in a variety of environmental initiatives, and promoted and supported sustainability in the publishing and printing industry. ("Allen Press Inc.," 2012)

Management as stewardship is also a particularly important idea for libraries that hold

historic and special book collections and treat books as valuable art objects. Library management

in this respect is more similar to museums and is much more based on book stewardship, as

compared to literary magazines, publishing houses, book clubs, and online literature platforms.

However, this is changing, and managers of contemporary libraries aim a lot of their efforts at

shifting away from the traditional stewardship by opening up and being more community

friendly:

> I have very much realized that as a professional commitment for myself to say
> that we are collecting these things for the future but also for the present. We
> cannot just assume just by having something that we are doing our job because
> there is this other part of our job. So I think probably-- and I think this is borne
> out by what I have seen in the literature-- I think people get excited about it,
> librarians get excited about it because it gives us sort of a push to really feel
> passionate, connected to our communities, and there has always been a perception
> in the library world that special collections whether they are University special
> collections or something like the American antiquarian society, anything like that.
> They are different, they have all these resources. For example public libraries
> don't have… they are not held to the same standards they get away with sitting
> around and not doing anything. I think this idea that stewardship and
> accountability and responsibility helps people of my generation and younger feel
> like we can fight against that stereotype. (Whitaker, May, 2012)

Although, *management as stewardship* is an important role in literature, several other

management themes offer a better description of the role of literature managers resulting in the

intergenerational sustainability of literature. These are the *management of opportunities, the*

adoption of innovation, and *management as facilitation*. All these three aspects co-exist and re-

enforce each other in strengthening the capital for sustainability of literature institutions –

whether formal or informal, private or nonprofit, University-affiliated or free-standing, located in

big cities or small towns.

As compared to other subfields of aesthetics, literature is much more dynamic; therefore,

it is not surprising that the *adoption of innovation* is one of the most important managerial roles

contributing to the long-term sustainability of literature. Adopting innovations and new approaches to both managing literature organizations and presenting literature to public runs through many interviews collected for this study (Harris, April, 2012; Lillian, April, 2012; Post, April, 2012; Valentino, February, 2012). Greater innovativeness, flexibility and adaptability of literature organizations are more likely to make them thrive in the long-term future than following the tradition:

> Stewardship is a good role, although it has a connotation of preciousness and fidelity to some sort of idea of tradition, which is not what we believe in. I mean, it happens that *Romeo and Juliet* and *The Comedy of Errors*, this year, are more traditionally produced. But that's not always the way we do it. And it's not traditional at all when you look at the performance conditions that Shakespeare performed in, men playing all the roles, we know they were all dressed the same as the audience, they were all dressed in modern dress, very noisy, food vendors and prostitutes trying to sell throughout the show, we know it's not traditional at all, but what people perceive to be traditional. So we know that some people want what they perceive to be traditional Shakespeare and some people like crazy, wild productions so we try to do some of each. So when I say steward, I don't want that to imply a traditional approach, necessarily. I think of a steward in the sense of continually making a case that Shakespeare is of our time, not just of his time. (Sneed, August, 2011)

The theme of management as *the adoption of innovation* is especially prominent in the world of University-affiliated literature organizations and academic publishers, which is not surprising considering that Universities play an especially prominent role in the production of new technologies and generating new ideas:

> The academic industry and scholarly publishing is a very sharing open community anyway, so this industry have always been very conducive to providing the educational opportunities and cross-sharing information and strategies, so we are in the forefront of providing large venue opportunities and high impact opportunities to hear where things are going as opposed to more sales pitched seminars and educational opportunities. ("Allen Press Inc.," 2012)

The other theme that runs across the interviews is *managing opportunities* as opposed to managing organizations. Several factors contribute to the prevalence of this theme in the world

of literature organizations: the dynamic nature of literature market and its dependence upon the

technological progress; more fluid nature of literature due to a lesser degree of

institutionalization; and a highly networked environment of authors, publishers, distributors, and

readers in which literature functions. As one of the literature managers describes it, *managing*

opportunities becomes characteristic of the literature management world especially after the

introduction of the electronic publishing model:

> It is an interesting question of course being in publishing for 27 years now and the
> first 17 of those in book publishing. Of course the industry itself has changed so
> much in that time and management… that management has evolved particularly
> in nonprofit to include not only managing staff in managing mission but also
> managing the enormous opportunities provided by the electronic model. Certainly
> the concerns of online magazines are in some ways similar and in some ways
> quite different from what they were in book publishing, of course some things no
> longer matter and other things matter still a great deal. (Harris, April, 2012)

Being able to manage opportunities is not given, and it requires a lot of time commitment

and personal dedication on the part of literature managers. An especially valuable skill is the

ability of literature managers to make predictions and have an intuitive sense of where the field is

going. This personal skill results in the long-term sustainability of literature:

> Yes, understand where your industry is going, understand what your customers
> need to do to adapt and survive, and create the solutions that are going to do that.
> That would be the top three…. You got to do your homework to figure out where
> the world is going to be in 5 years. You got to figure out within the reasonable
> mark where the industry and the business want to be in 5 years. You will be
> talking to your customers what they are doing to make sure that their business will
> be sustainable to that point, and what they need to make sure to do to create the
> products and services that they need to be created. (Lillian, April, 2012)

The management of opportunities is a strategic function that is successfully performed in

the organizations with a strong *institutional capacity*. Nonprofit literature organizations seem to

be particularly open to finding and utilizing various opportunities, which is explained by their

organizational design and flexibility, the presence of additional expertise gained through the

board of directors, and close ties to communities. These organizations often have the capacity to explore development opportunities. As one of the managers of a nonprofit literature organization explained it, "We are very lucky in that we have an excellent executive director who handles the finances and the organizational elements in the administration, and we have a very strong board that assistant that assists us quite a bit in governance." (Harris, April, 2012)

The idea of *management* as *facilitation* positions literature organizations in a special place among other cultural enterprises. As a management practice, *management as facilitation* is mostly associated with the idea of greater collaboration and building sustainable partnerships with other institutions within and outside the domain of literature, resulting in institutional resilience and fostering long-term sustainability. *Facilitative management* also involves raising global public awareness of literature, facilitating the spread of culture, knowledge, ideas and values through literature, which results in more sustainable literature organizations:

> Probably I would think in terms of being a manager of press... hmmm, my role is more almost cheerleading and facilitating, raising awareness of literature. My focus is more on getting everyone to be on the same page with the press and making the work the best it can be. It is a bit of a tricky situation because here the three of us came simultaneously, so it's like I'm their boss but at the same time a manager. We have worked together for such a long time; we have similar roles, so it is a bit tricky. I think it is more promotional and forward-looking… (Post, April, 2012)

Success in performing the aforementioned management roles depends on the ability of literature managers to combine two things: pragmatic management strategies that enhance institutional resilience of literature organizations and an abstract vision of the long-term future of literature, and the direction that a particular organization should take to maintain its institutional distinctiveness despite all the external pressures:

> I think that in terms of management of any kind of arts organization you need both the abstract devotion… you need the both the abstract and very concrete devotion to the mission. It works to have a clear idea of what the mission is and

what the organization promotes and then also a very strong sense of how to affect
that, how to make that happen, how to embody the mission. (Harris, April, 2012)

Therefore, managing literature – an extremely dynamic and fluid cultural industry –
requires strong *managerial capacity*, and this capacity results from a combination of temporal
facilitative management with a constant search for opportunities and innovation leading to the
future. The dynamism of the literature market often results in uncertainly regarding the
effectiveness of particular management strategies and innovations, and requires managerial
ability to take risks. This is especially important for small and local literature organizations since
they are greatly dependent on the volatile market.

Literature managers interviewed for this study displayed a high level of *intrinsic
motivation* based on a benevolent attitude toward their work. This theme did not come across
with the same prominence in museum and performing arts interviews. In literature, whether it is
an informal creative writing program for people in jail, or a formally registered literary
magazine, intrinsic motivation and love for literature are very important signs of a capable
management. As one of the managers explained it:

> Nobody works in publishing for the money and people work in publishing for
> love of the ideals and being part of a larger organization facilitates certain
> elements… I think independent publishers have always struggled and they are
> constantly, constantly fundraising. (Harris, April, 2012)

Institutional structure often provides support for such *intrinsic motivation*, and different
organizations reach it in different ways. Affiliation with a university results in stronger base-line
institutional support, which opens the room for creativity and creates opportunities to concentrate
on the intrinsic aspects of work. Affiliation with a nonprofit entity is important for the virtue of
benevolence in itself, although managers of nonprofit arts organizations are preoccupied with a
number of operational tasks, including extensive fundraising activity, and barely have time to

think about other aspects of their work. As the following quote illustrates, nonprofit organizations are particularly managed by people who do literature because of love, which is very important for the long-term sustainability of literature:

> I think the ability to stick to the mission. I think organizations need very strong structures and strong, very good planning… the ability to operate on both short-term and long-term visions. I think is crucial I think also and I'm sure you've come across this in your research most not for profit organizations were started by people out of love and out of conviction and devotion and in many cases arts organizations are stronger on the arts then on the organization, and I think that what is the crucial is to have that structure and to have managers that are not interested… well, they are they are interested in the mission but are primarily business people. (Harris, April, 2012)

Although literature is a much less institutionalized field of aesthetics as compared to museums and performing arts organizations, institutional factors are important in understanding its long-term sustainability. These factors both enable and limit the choice of particular management strategies, they impact organizational capacity, and they also determine how the strength of each of the institutional forms (nonprofit, private, university-affiliated, and free-standing) is best used to achieve the long-term sustainability.

2.3. Institutional Factors Influencing the Long-Term Sustainability of Literature

Similar to museums and performing arts centers, the long-term sustainability of formalized literature organizations is largely determined by their institutional resilience, which depends upon both the peculiarities of institutional structure, and how a particular organization is able to use the advantages of its structure to cope with resilience pressures. Institutional structure appears important in guiding particular managerial choices aimed at enhancing the institutional resilience of literature organizations. Similar to other art organizations, the vast majority of literature organizations are registered as nonprofits (literary magazines, online presses, public libraries, friends of the library organizations, literature advocacy groups and community writing

programs, books clubs, etc), but there are also a number of privately owned organizations-private publishing houses and literary magazines, private and personal libraries and rare books collections, bookstores and bookstore chains-, and university-affiliated organizations including university presses, university research libraries and special collections.

Being part of a university is an important factor in institutional resilience (Post, April, 2012; Valentino, February, 2012). First, being part of a large organization provides extra institutional protection for literature organizations and ensures the baseline funding that serves as the foundation for additional fundraising; second, being part of a university ensures direct access to the intellectual elite and quality human resources; third, being part of the rich, intellectually engaging, experimental and multidisciplinary environment ensures the connectedness of literature produced in affiliation with universities to a broader group of stakeholders, and provides university-based literary organizations with broader fundraising opportunities; and finally, being part of a university opens up opportunities for cross-disciplinary collaboration and synergy.

A great example of the benefits of University affiliation is one of the organizations interviewed for this research – The Iowa Review (TIR)-an American literary magazine founded in 1970 that publishes fiction, poetry, essays, and reviews. As a university-affiliated organization with a nonprofit status, The Iowa Review is gets its support from the College of Liberal Arts & Sciences of the University of Iowa, the University of Iowa's Arts and Humanities Initiative and the National Endowment for the Arts. Thus, it is able to use the base-line funding available through the University to demonstrate its *institutional capacity* and raise additional grant money.

The other factor contributing to The Iowa Review institutional resilience is its integration with the extensive writing program at the University of Iowa – the Writer's Workshop. TIR

serves as a venue for publishing literary works produced by the attendees of the Writer's Workshop-the first creative writing degree program in the United States ("The University of Iowa Writers' Workshop ", 2010). The Workshop is based on a long tradition started in 1897 by the first creative writing class at Iowa University, and for a long time it has been offering a two-year residency program awarding a Master of Fine Arts degree to its graduates. Since the program alumni are winners of a number of prestigious literary awards (including seventeen Pulitzer Prizes), it enhances the reputation of both the Workshop and the Review. The Iowa Review also benefits from the collaboration with other on-campus units (the University of Iowa Press, the Center for the Book), and many forward looking initiatives implemented by either of these organizations provide long-term benefits for all.

Being part of a university also has some disadvantages, mainly associated with generally lower qualifications of student-writes as compared to professional writers and the inability of university-affiliated organizations to retain their staff and:

> And that seems to be a problem with some literary journals: sometimes these organizations are very tied to the university so the folks who are doing the journal are the graduate students, but there's no continuity so the success of the journal depends on the students who are doing it at the time. One year it could be great and one year it couldn't be, and often the students are focused on the content—a lot of them are working on their own writing and editing. You don't have someone necessarily focused on the financial part of it or fundraising… to keep it sustainable there's often times the faculty member behind it but often there are students who are staff, and there should be some sort of staff that makes the organization sustainable year after year. (Stolls, April, 2012)

The other disadvantage is the dependence of the *institutional capacity* of university-based publishing organizations on the capacity of universities and their willingness to provide institutional and financial support. Institutional capacity is enhanced by university resources but it also declines when these resources are scarce. Additionally, similarly to on-campus art museums, literature organizations at the universities are subjected to criticism for being elitist,

reaching out mainly to university-affiliated stakeholders and underserving the public at large. Managers of university-affiliated organizations recognize the importance of breaking such stereotypes by reaching out to wider community:

> It's realized that as a professional commitment to myself to say that we are collecting these things for the future but also for the present. We cannot just assume by having something that we are doing our job because there is this other part of our job. I think this is borne out by what I have seen in the literature-- I think people get excited about it, librarians get excited about it because it gives us sort of a push to really feel passionate, connected to our communities, and there has always been a perception in the library world that special collections whether they are University special collections or something like the American antiquarian Society, anything like that...they are different… I think this idea that stewardship and accountability and responsibility helps people of my generation and younger feel like we can fight against that stereotype. (Whitaker, May, 2012)

Another factor of the institutional resilience is organizational *size*. As previously discussed in this chapter, the dynamic literature market keeps reshaping, and there is evidence of the gradual dissolution of large literature publishing and distribution chains in favor of smaller and more intimate organizations. As two of the literature managers explained it:

> Not only in publishing, and I suspect that moving forward there may be a few very large organizations but many, many small ones. (Harris, April, 2012)

> I also think that something that will happen in the midterm, a press of our size will become more prominent and the huge publishing corporate structures are not going to work as well anymore. That seems to be happening a lot recently, and places that are not doing only market-based publishing are going to be more powerful in the future. (Post, April, 2012)

Along with this, both smaller and larger organizations are responding to environmental and market pressures in different ways, and their success is more dependent upon the effectiveness of the adaptive strategy rather than the organizational size. The NEA literature program officer offers a great analogy to describe how organizations of different sizes achieve institutional resilience:

> The analogy that I can maybe give…is like a very large tanker ship versus a kayak that is in a big storm. The tanker ship can survive and the kayak will get blown all over, on the other hand, once the tanker ship goes off course it's hard to shift, whereas the kayak is very shifty and could make turns easily and survive because it is small and can shift to the trends and be more innovative, change more quickly and keep up. (Stolls, April, 2012)

The other important observation is that smaller nonprofit literature organizations seem to be generally more effective in responding quickly and adaptively to the changing market as compared to commercial publishers, and they seem to be able to provide better and more individualized support to authors as well as more targeted services to the readers. This provides some empirical confirmation for the scholarship that advocates the resilience of the nonprofit business model (Salamon, 2003). The nonprofit model in literature is not without issues; in particular, it requires managers of literature organization to spend a lot of time on fundraising at the expense of the creative work, but it also allows for greater flexibility and offers opportunities to experiment and take risks:

> For example, writers with big publishers are getting lost in the shuffle, and they're going back to the nonprofits because they take care of them, help them with editing, and keep their books in print. Really, give them personal attention, whereas the commercial publishers, they are so busy keeping up and making money, they can't do that. The nonprofits have tough time finding money to keep up on digital rights, but on the other hand they could figure out that a strategy works and quickly do it, and respond. And a larger publisher would not be able to respond as quickly…

> What I'm saying is that I haven't heard from the nonprofits that it's all bad. I think perhaps the fundraising in the nonprofit model is struggling these days. I can speak to the fact that nonprofits are struggling to get money, and on the other hand, I don't see a lot of nonprofits necessarily taking risks and there's not a lot of funding and without a lot of funding they're just trying to keep their heads above water and they are stabilizing and not necessarily moving ahead. But some of them are taking risks because that's what you have to do to stay alive. But I do hear that there is more accessibility… it helps nonprofit publishers. The fact that bloggers are out there helps nonprofits. Whatever you can use to compete with the traditional marketers, commercial houses… and they are seeing more authors come back to them, and there is more self-publishing too. (Stolls, April, 2012)

Having a nonprofit status also allows literature organizations to build networks of clients and supporters, seek project-based funding, and implement various educational projects that promote literature for young generations. For example, *The Center for the Art of Translation* is not just a translator and a publisher of contemporary literature, it is also an important civic organization that conducts various events to connect readers with international authors and translators, and provides education programs for local schools that teach students to appreciate literature and understand other cultures through translation ("The Center for the Art of Translation ", 2000). Therefore, a nonprofit model allows for a greater integration of literature organizations with society and its needs.

Additionally, since literature is a very fluid and dynamic field, it is prone to the development of organizational hybrids – an institutional form that combines elements of several forms into one adaptable structure. One example of such a hybrid is *Open Letter Books* – an organization interviewed for this research. *Open Letter Books* is a literary press that publishes mostly novels, collections of short stories, and literary essays; it is based on a hybrid business model, in which the University of Rochester's literary publishing house is combined with an independent nonprofit organization. According to its editor, *Open Letter Books* utilizes advantages of both of these forms by reaching out to young generations of writers and editors and by ensuring a high quality independent review process:

> … [s]o we are publishing books that we want everyone to read. Those books are selected by an editor and not by academic review process, mostly promoted in the normal marketplace, trade marketplace. To function like that it's sort of unusual because most university presses I have seen that fit that University model...we have a very much... we have a nonprofit business model…

> In addition, I think that what we were trying to come up with, what was a perfect place, a perfect way, a perfect scheme for accomplishing two goals: one being that we wanted to provide students at the university with background in literature to learn about literature, translation, how publishing works. But also we wanted to

promote, to publicize the international literature, and get more readers for it. The University is a good haven in some sense for a project like this; it is not going to make a lot of money but it has the potential for doing a lot of good for the world, and it makes sense, it fits the University model, although it is kind of different. (Post, April, 2012)

A hybrid institutional form is an example of institutional adaptation to the ongoing changes in the literature market and the publishing industry. It results in greater institutional flexibility and stronger *institutional capacity*, both of which increase institutional resilience. Moreover, this hybrid organizational form also helps addressing the many challenges that the nonprofit model is currently facing, including the competition challenge, the effectiveness challenge, the technology challenge, and the human resources challenge (Salamon, 2003).

The other example of a successful strategy aimed at enhancing institutional resilience within the domain of literature is the creation of *symbiotic forms* of art organizations, which ensure that literature is kept vital long after the book or a journal was published. With people reading less, it becomes more important to incorporate literature into other art forms, into something that is more appealing to both active readers and those who do not read much. Indeed, there are numerous examples of discovering classic literature through movies and other forms of popular entertainment, but there are also examples of institutions that successfully combine literature with other classic forms of art. One such example would be Shakespeare theaters and festivals – frequent in number and popular in the United States as well as across the world. William Shakespeare wrote most of his plays for the theater, however, most of us know of his work through literature, and if reading is in decline, then younger generations will have less exposure to Shakespeare's work. Therefore, embedding the literary heritage of William Shakespeare in a performing arts form makes it more accessible to the population as a whole, not everyone will read Shakespeare, but attending a play or watching a movie might actually spark

greater curiosity in literature. Thus, high quality live performance has the ability to bring literature alive, and in many cases a literary work gains its second life through a play.

One of the organizations studied for this research is the *Colorado Shakespeare Festival*, founded in 1958, to feature three plays by William Shakespeare. It has not only been very sustainable for over fifty years, but it is also considered one of the top festival productions in the U.S., which in 1975 became the first American Shakespeare Festival, and the seventh theater in the world to complete the entire Shakespeare canon. Each year the festival attracts around 30,000 attendees and its repertoire has expanded to include plays outside of Shakespeare heritage. The remarkable resilience of the festival is based on several factors: its strong institutional affiliation with Colorado University that provides the minimum base-line of financial support and infrastructure[5]; it exists in a vibrant cultural community of Boulder; it has strong institutional and management capacity; it managed to skillfully combine its main repertoire with more contemporary plays, utilize the best technological advances and social media – thus remaining socially relevant; and finally, it exists in a form of synergy between literature and performing arts.

One other important factor for the resilience of literature organizations is that literature is an interconnected world of institutions and formalized organizations, therefore, developing effective resilience strategies for literature implies greater *networking* and exchange of experience among writer, publishers, literary magazines and other organizations. Professional nonprofit literature organizations working at the national level are serving as a platform for such collaborative work. One such example is *The Council of Literary Magazines and Presses*-a

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[5] Based on the survey of its stakeholders, the management of the Colorado Shakespeare Festival deliberately decided that the festival is better off keeping its strong affiliation with the University rather than registering as an independent nonprofit organization.

nonprofit organization founded in late 1960th to support literary magazines and publishers by "discovering new writers; supporting mid-career writers; publishing the creative voices of communities underrepresented in the mainstream commercial culture; and preserving literature for future readers by keeping books in print" ("The Council of Literary Magazines and Presses," 2000). The organization is currently supported by public and private donors, and is based on the understanding that a successful literary magazine is a unique balance of art and business. Since 2000, following the digitization of the literature world, it launched an online resource providing support services for literary publishers and an internet center for readers, writers, media, and the general public. Hence, the existence of networking opportunities that enhance *institutional capacity* of individual literature organizations is an important element of the resilience of literature organizations.

The review of the institutional factors of resilience demonstrates that, in a way, the dynamic and fluid nature of literature markets create multiple opportunities for institutional adaptation and flexibility, as evidenced by the existence of hybrid institutional forms, active cross-institutional collaboration, and inter-institutional synergy. Many successful organizations in literature achieved their institutional resilience by taking advantages of these opportunities. As this study demonstrates, similarly to the other arts organizations, sustainable management action and the ability of organizational leaders to take advantages of opportunities of a particular institutional structure, matter more for the institutional resilience of literature organizations than a particular institutional structure itself.

2.4. Intangible Factors of the Long-Term Sustainability of Literature

Institutional resilience is only a partial explanation of the long-term sustainability of arts. Arts organizations also contribute to society in a number of intangible ways, which in return

increases their own capital for sustainability. The field work for this study identified three main themes running across literature interviews and organizational practices that enhance the long-term sustainability of literature: social and community relevance of literature; access and accessibility of literature; and global impact of literature. While social and community relevance is a common theme and a strategy employed by many arts organizations, the themes of access and global impact are particularly prominent in literature. They are important for explaining the path that modern literature organizations take to achieve long-term sustainability.

2.4.1. Social and Community Relevance of Literature

Being *socially relevant* is an important strategic goal for the managers of literary magazines, libraries and publishing organizations. Modern literature organizations attempt to engage the public in a variety of ways ranging from spearheading readings and events, grant writing, negotiating with on-line content vendors, and giving interviews ("The Iowa Review Enhanced Access Project," 2011). Although such activities are very time consuming, they are considered important due to their crucial significance for the long-term sustainability of literature and its institutions. Being relevant is important for literature organizations regardless of their form of ownership and institutional registration, and even private companies increasingly acknowledge interdependence with the community in which they work:

> Our mission over the last 5-6 years has gotten much more community oriented than it was in the past, socially and community oriented, which I think particularly in Lawrence is a mission well-served in that people truly understand and believe it. So it has not changed our whole company, but the goals have changed to be more community oriented and globally conscious in terms of what we have done either locally to the community – charitable events, charitable donations, activities; but also making our plant more environmentally friendly, more sustainable, manufacturing processes, you know environmentally sustainable. So, it is the same basic mission, although the wording has been adjusted a couple of times over the last several years. (Lillian, April, 2012)

In order to be relevant, similarly to museums and performing arts centers, literature organizations engage in building *partnerships*, expanding and diversifying their *community outreach*, and utilizing *technology* and social media. Greater involvement of literature organizations in community affairs is a characteristic of the modern arts world in general, and it is based on the sense of *community citizenship* – the sense of personal responsibility for community affairs that exists within literature and other arts organizations. In these terms, arts organizations both help promoting the idea of *community citizenship* and offer a venue for their own employees to grasp and practice it:

> I think it gives people the sense of belonging and involvement, and it makes them feel as employees, to take pride in the work place that they are working for that it is good for the community, and it also makes them feel like they are not just working a job, but working for purpose that helps not only them but where they live and people they live around. And it creates the opportunity for some extra curriculum activity – whether it is a fundraising event or going out to the community activities and being involved in whatever this is. It creates a lot of community involvement for employees inside and outside the building walls where they work that are not just related to getting the job done. (Lillian, April, 2012)

As an outcome of greater social involvement, literature organizations increase their *social and community relevance*, which results in a more stable funding, an increased number of readers and book buyers, and a loyal group of patrons,-all of which helps to keep literature organizations afloat in the short-term. In the long-run, achieving greater social and community relevance of literature organizations leads to the formation of the capital for sustainability. Since literature is not only a much less institutionalized field, but it is also a much more dynamic industry, its path to social and community relevance is both similar and distinct from other arts organizations.

The important distinction of literature from the other forms of aesthetics is its significant dependence on the *factor of time*. The importance of the *factor of time* for literature is reflected

in the opinions of literature managers and literature metaphors[6]. On a substantive level it means ensuring the relevance of classical literature to particular personal experiences and universal human values of our time**:**

> And certainly, an appreciation for Shakespeare as a living, and not a historical artifact, text. So we try to help them understand how much the situations, the characters, the themes, the relationships in Shakespeare, how current they still are, which is why he's still the most produced playwright in the world. Human beings have not changed; our fundamental desires, our lusts, our passions, our hopes, our dreams, and Shakespeare articulated those perhaps better than anyone else ever has... And not only that, but we also try to give them an appreciation for how much Shakespeare continues to influence popular culture. So when I give talks I'm always talking about the TV shows, the films, the songs by popular artists that are inspired by and draw from the canon of Shakespeare. (Sneed, August, 2011)

On an institutional level, the importance of *the factor of time* is evidenced by the increasing reliance of literature organizations on adaptive strategies and a much stronger emphasis on change versus preservation. Along with the volatility of readership and the dynamism of the literature market, the significance of the *factor of time* for literature is explained by the changing nature of communications and the expansion of the digital technology. More so than other cultural industries, literature depends upon technological advances that often happen very fast, and therefore, it is important for literature institutions to speed up and catch up with time:

> To follow up on that: more and more will be with the e-books. Publishing used to be a very slow industry. To now have a greater social impact especially with nonfiction, political...whatever--the ability to reach leadership so quickly after something is done is really advantageous for doing social good, like cultural good. It's not that just books are for entertainment anymore; books have a certain purpose. So yes I do think that that will play a larger role in the future. (Post, April, 2012)

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[6] As an example, the weekly newsletter of one of the major nonprofit literature groups Poets and Writers is called "The Time is Now" ("Poets & Writers, Inc.," 2012), which emphasizes the importance of the factor of time.

There are two aspects of time that explain the relationship between social relevance, time, and long-term sustainability: *timeliness*-the ability to be relevant to current generations and *timelessness*-the ability to remain relevant to many generations ahead. Literature institutions, in their path to long-term sustainability, accommodate ideas of continuity and change by ensuring both the transmission of the human heritage to future generations and the successful adaptation to the changing realities of the day. Moreover, for literature, adaptation with regard to time seems to be second nature:

> I think organizations are resilient when they're focused on current trends, so now a publisher of a journal if they're not into all of the social media then I don't think they're going to stick around. So they're going to have to keep up. They are going to have to think about e-books, podcasting, Facebook and Twitter and whatever social media exists, they're going to have to pay attention to the trends and trying to keep up in order to not lose audience members and reader...new genre perhaps. They are going to have to think about partnerships in the community, particularly if it's a literary center or a reader series they should be reaching out community members. And they should be thinking about their long-range financial stability, thinking about what they're going to do in the coming years; they should be doing three-year strategic plans; where they are headed, and what's most important I think is assessment. An organization should effectively assess their projects in qualitative and quantitative ways. An organization that doesn't do this is probably not going to be resilient because you have to know how well you're doing so you know which direction to take... (Stolls, April, 2012)

The importance of the *factor of time* for literature is also explained by the fact that some literature gains momentum and becomes relevant and appreciated long after it has been created in the first place. Therefore, recognizing good literature is important. When a literary work is produced it is not always clear if it will withstand the test of time. It often is the responsibility of literary managers to distinguish between meaningful and meaningless literature, transient and timeless literature:

> A lot of what is produced is transitory and meaningless, but we also realize that sometimes the meaning only becomes apparent after time has passed. So one of my favorite examples is something like… again I come from a humanities background… if somebody was saying saving their dry cleaning receipts-- why

would you want dry cleaning receipts? That is stupid. We want their personal papers we want letters, business files… why would we want their dry cleaning receipt? But you can imagine a scenario in which someone is trying to figure out how the dry cleaning industry worked, and so those receipts would be the only document that would give you that. That doesn't mean that we can collect dry cleaning receipts because we have limited resources but it does mean we need to be aware of bringing our thoughts about what might be interesting. (Whitaker, May, 2012)

Additionally, being relevant often involves knowing the specifics of time and doing the right thing at the right time. In case of the dynamic literature market, this appears particularly important regardless of the institutional structure. As described by the manager of a publishing company:

You know, I really do not think that there is an advantage for anyone [any particular institutional structure]. They all have their place from whether a tax, or a funding stand point, and you know, generating or keeping the money. I think the challenge for any of them is maybe two or three fold. One is maintaining or constantly up-keeping you relevance, you know making the content relevant and accessible to society, something people want to get and just the marketing and communication of that, and what the value is for why the people would want to join the organization, or buy from a corporation, or go to a University. You know it really comes down to creating a value proposition in front of the potential market place, whether you view a market place as a potential student, a potential author, a potential member, a potential reader, or someone who is going to buy a bag of chips out of the wending machine. *You know it is do the right things at the right place at the right time, and that's been the fundamental law of being in business, being sustainable to millennia.* [emphasis added] (Lillian, April, 2012)

This quotation illustrates the special kind of managerial rationality with regard to the *factor of time* that ensures institutional endurance of literature organizations. The ability of literature institutions, either private publishing house or nonprofit organizations, to transform and reflect the needs of time is important for their long-term survival. Pragmatically speaking, responding to the *factor of time* means being appreciative of change and welcoming innovation; it also means reaching out to other organizations within and outside literature, which is a relatively new strategy. In many cases, implementing these new strategies implies 'refreshing' the organizational capacity by bring new people with fresh ideas on staff:

I think too that every nonprofit organization I think reaches a point where the transition from the founders to the next generation must happen, and that is certainly something that we saw at Words without Borders. That is a crucial transition, *a crucial time…* that I think it is something that needs to be very carefully monitored and managed. [emphasis added] (Harris, April, 2012)

Yes, maybe you've heard of the founders' syndrome that can be a problem for any organization. There're a lot of organizations and literature where someone started a press or a reading series decades ago, but things have changed so much, and unless that person is keeping up and hiring new staff that can keep up and changing the management style from the top down hierarchical style to be more collaborative and innovative-that's a very big buzzword in literature. (Stolls, April, 2012)

Developing new strategies for greater *social and community relevance* of literature now and in the future requires greater networking and collaboration among literature organizations, and there are several national nonprofit organizations that serve as platforms for such collaboration. One such example is *Poets&Writers* – one of the largest nonprofit literary organizations in the United States serving poets, fiction writers, and creative nonfiction writers. It was founded in 1970 on the premise that writers are important agents for social change making significant contributions to the national culture. Today *Poets&Writers* plays a crucial role in building and maintaining the bridge between the professional community and the public at large. Its mission is "to foster the professional development of poets and writers, to promote communication throughout the literary community, and to help create an environment in which literature can be appreciated by widest possible public" ("Poets & Writers, Inc.," 2012).

Through numerous public outreach programs within the professional community *Poets&Writers* fosters the *social and community relevance* of literature, thus contributing to its *capital for sustainability*. Some of its public education programs are specifically aimed at bridging the gap between generations. One example is the Annual Intergenerational Reading that brings together people of various ages – from seniors to public school students – in their passion

for poetry ("Biennial Report," 2011). Many of its other outreach programs – such as a series of writing workshops at the Veteran's Hospital in Manhattan and the writing workshop organized in collaboration with The Mental Health Association-are the examples of *the semi-instrumental role* of literature institutions as important social agents.

2.4.2. Access and Accessibility of Literature

The other important theme in the interviews and institutional practices of literature institutions is the issue of *access* to and *accessibility* of literature. The *universal accessibility* of literature is furthered through a variety of institutions including literary translation; online platforms that make literature available via Internet; and digital technology as a means to ensure the preservation and continuing access to the collections of historical and rare literature. Not surprisingly, *accessibility* is one of the major contributors to the capital of sustainability of literature that ensures its long-term sustainability. It is not a rare occasion when literary works find their initial popularity outside of their main cultural context. And, generally speaking, the greater and the broader the readership is-the greater the chances for a particular literary work to sustain the test of time are:

> Staying plugged in, keeping an eye toward your backlist or archiving video, so you can access it… Accessibility is important. People get a lot of stuff for free online. Organizations should be thinking about what content they are making accessible and how. Innovation for sure speaks to how they are keeping up with social media and being innovative. These are all buzzwords now. Diversity seemed to be the buzzword years ago, but now it seems to not be so important. Now the buzzwords are accessibility, and innovation, and sustainability. (Stolls, April, 2012)

Since the early twenty-first century, the accessibility of literature has been greatly expanded with the spread of online literary platforms. Many literary magazines today exist in both printed and online forms, and some are mainly functioning as online publications; anyone with internet access has an opportunity to access the literature published online in different parts

of the world, and at the moment this literature appears online. The virtual format has been reshaping the mission, purpose and impact of literature as an institution, and it is leaving a different legacy for future generations, as compared to traditional printed and published works (Hassan, 2011). On the top of this, online literature publications are more accessible to young generations since the technology is already an inseparable part of young people's lives and it is the language that they speak most fluently. Thus, going online at least partially is an effective long-term sustainability strategy for those literature providers that desire to remain relevant in the long-term.

The theme of *accessibility* is also prominent outside of the world of literary fiction. A great example of the power of technology for the dissemination of ideas, intellectual and cultural capital is the open access movement that emerged in 1990s in the scholarly publishing community as an ethical discussion of public access to the scholarly works. Open access movement originated within scholarly and library communities, and continued as a strong cross-institutional initiative led by several U.S. Universities. By now open access has resulted in the adoption of formal open access policies, series of national seminars and conferences on this subject, and the creation of the Coalition of Open Access Policy Institutions (COAPI) – an advocacy organization attempting to promote the spread of open access. Although this policy is meant to make all scholarly works available to the public, not just literature, it has important long-term implications for the dissemination of all written works created in the electronic format, which definitely applies to literature.

The University of Kansas was among the first American universities to sign the Berlin Declaration on Open access to Knowledge in the Sciences and Humanities. The University of Kansas Libraries were the leaders in forming the Coalition of Open Access Policy Institutions.

The goal of the Berlin Declaration is "to make scholarly research more accessible to a broad section of the public by using the advantages provided by digital and electronic communication" (KU_Libraries, 2011). According to the open access policy, universities are obligated to make the works of its scholars publicly available without restriction through the institutionally maintained and publicly accessible repository.

The active role of libraries in establishing and promoting open access policies is not surprising, as providing *access* to information is part of the libraries' core institutional missions:

> …[a]nd then you have the libraries providing a support because they too, as an ethical principle of their mission, it is to provide access to materials. Although in the past access meant preserve it over time, so the people can physically walk in and have access to it, and it needs to be preserved for hundreds of years, it needs to be controlled and managed, kept in certain ways so the people can access it. But what access means has shifted, now that the technology has made it available in different ways, so the libraries began playing a supportive role. And the libraries decided to establish open access publishing arm, so that we have services in KU libraries that publish open access journal so all the articles are available…(Emmett, September, 2012)

This explains why libraries became pioneering institutions in fostering open public access to scholarly works. Digital technology and the Internet hold created enormous possibilities for global informational exchange. One of the paradoxes of the open access model is that the state of the modern technology makes it easy to implement and provides all the necessary preconditions for making scholarly information accessible to people around the world in an egalitarian way. However, economic factors limit public access to scholarly works:

> Because the technology makes it able to be equitably distributed across the world anybody with a computer and Internet access, which is still obviously not the entire world, but it is certainly is a much larger group. When the costs were going up and up and up, actually the technology and the costs were at odds with each other. Technology would say, "We can share with everybody, and the economic were saying, "But now we are out of money on this on the commercial side; we don't want everybody to have access, open public access reduces our profits". (Emmett, September, 2012)

The adoption of open access policies is especially important for scholarly journals attempting to reach a global, transatlantic audience. One such example is *Slovenski jezik / Slovene Linguistic Studies* – a scholarly journal founded in 1997 as a partnership between the University of Kansas and Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts ("Slovene Linguistic Studies,"). The journal's involvement with open access policies started in 2005, and in 2009 *Slovenski jezik / Slovene Linguistic Studies* transitioned to the simultaneous release of printed and open access materials with the understanding that each of them serves its own purpose: the paper version provides context and continuity important to the humanistic tradition, and electronic format ensures the reach of wider audiences and faster access to new research (Snoj & Greenberg, 2006). As early adopters of the open access publishing, journal publishers are certain of the numerous benefits of open access that outweigh its potential limitations (Greenberg, 2010; Peterson, 2013).

Since open access is a relatively new practice, the scope of scholarly studies regarding the impact of open access is quite limited, and, overall, the evidence regarding the research impact of the open access policies is tentative (Antelman, 2004; Harnad & Brody, 2004). However, there is some anecdotal evidence of stories demonstrating that the major public *access* to scholarly works could produce remarkable results. One such example is the story of a fifteen-year old high school student who had done her research as a visitor in university libraries by using a login obtained from one of the professors. The student's work on computer modeling of pandemics was selected for in-depth review in *Science*, and was ultimately published in *PLoS Computational Biology* (Smith, 2011).

There are five types of readers who could benefit from the open access: serendipitous readers, who find an article that is important to them without knowing they were looking for it;

under-resourced readers; interdisciplinary readers; international readers and machine readers (computers screening the text) (Smith, 2011). Open access is also used by a number of independent researchers and advocacy groups located in both developed and developing countries and whose impact for communities and societies is invaluable (Colamarino, 2011). Therefore, there is a strong normative consensus within the community of open access proponents regarding the positive outcomes of this policy, and there is also consensus that a broader implementation of the open access policies is inevitable and is just a question of time. As the president of Arizona State University Michael Crow described it, implementing open access is "a design challenge, and in an ideal world, knowledge would be as evenly distributed as sunlight" (Howard, 2011).

Finally, open access has economic value. Every year universities pay millions of dollars for the access to scholarly materials, and there are only several major publishing companies that make most of the profit. Prices keep rising, so do the profits of publishers, while the university budgets continue to shrink, especially at the times of economic recession. Subscriptions to the commercial scholarly work repositories keep draining the budgets. Therefore, universities and their libraries have a very practical economic interest in advancing open access policies. However, the adoption of this innovation is quite slow in part because of the strong resistance from the publishing world:

> When you are talking about a scholarly publishing system where one publisher in 2010 made 1 billion dollars in profits, they published over 2000 articles, they control the access because they own the copyright, so they control who can see it, and they do not want everyone to see it. So, it is going to be a slow evolution. I think what is changing more quickly is that they are starting to see that people want open access, and they think how can we still have money and have an open access. (Emmett, September, 2012)

Although the adoption of open access policies is likely to be a slow process, in the long-run it will have significant public benefit, and publishers are going to have to adjust by developing business models that allow combining the profits of publishing with open access benefits. Open access policies reflect the idea of a broad and general *public interest*. Libraries as institutions that are fostering this innovation now are contributing to the interests of both current and future generations.

2.4.3. Global Impact of Literature

As Fredric Jameson's defined it, globalization is "a communicational concept, which alternately masks and transmits cultural or economic meanings" (Jameson & Miyoshi, 1998, p. 55). If globalization is about communication, than literary communication, regardless of whether it exist in a form of published books or digital archives, is a key factor of globalization. According to Jameson, globalization means export and import of culture, and literature is a powerful agent for such a transmission. Literature as an institution that has been ensuring the transmission of human wisdom from generation to generation and from culture to culture has always had global significance.

The prominent role of literature in forming global awareness, spreading knowledge about different cultures and influencing world diplomacy is hard to overestimate. Literature ensures the transmission and exchange of cultural heritage in a much broader way, as compared to visual and performing arts institutions. A painting on display in a prominent art museum rarely leaves the building to travel somewhere else in the country, and almost never anywhere else in the world. Music and performing arts festivals do travel; however, to reproduce the same kind of experience they often need to be staged in a specific venue that cannot travel with them. Literature, on the other hand, is being translated into many languages all the time, it is being published in a book

form and online, and it is much more dynamic and easier transmittable to any part of the world. Moreover, there are literature organizations that specifically exist for expanding the global awareness:

> What we are doing is filling out and providing a much fuller sense of the rest of the world. Our first three issues, for example, presented writings from Iraq, Iran and North Korea, there are three of the many countries that the US came to know strictly from a political prism, and the US has very little sense of full global culture. Of course, the best insight to country's culture is through literature, and we are interested in promoting knowledge and making the rest of the world available to English language readers who have only had this limited politically driven exposure. (Harris, April, 2012)

Examples of globally important modern U.S. literary magazines that exist online either partially or completely include: *A Public Space* – an independent quarterly English-language literary magazine established in 2005 in New York; *Words Without Borders*-an international literary magazine based in Chicago that translates, publishes, and promotes eight to ten literary works online and also releases print anthologies in partnership with publishing houses; *The Center for the Art of Translation*-a nonprofit organization based in San Francisco that translates and publishes fiction and poetry from over 50 languages, and *Open Letter Books*-the University of Rochester's literary publishing house that is publishing ten books a year and running an online literary website called *Three Percent* dedicated to cultivating an appreciation for international literature, and among other. Two of these organizations – *Open Letter Books* and *Words Without Borders* were interviewed for this study.

By fostering the transmission and exchange of cultural capital around the world, literature not only raises cultural awareness, but also fosters creativity and progress by encouraging people to look for ideas outside of their familiar mental schemes. By utilizing cultural capital, literature contributes to social progress and the sustainability of societies, which in the long-run leads to

the greater sustainability of literature itself. As explained by one of the interviewees, literature organizations pursue multiple goals:

> One thing I would like to do [through Open Letter World Conversation Series] is raise people's awareness of literature from around the world and to help them to appreciate the values that are not that far out of line with other social movements. Encouraging readers to pay attention to things, to open their minds, to reading things that may not fit the exact model that you are expecting it to, broaden people's horizons to the work of art. Because it is international, there is a certain focus on cultural awareness, but if you replace...like if we were doing American books it would be the same, thing trying to come up with new forms, demonstrate new forms for how something can be relayed, created and help people to understand that. (Post, April, 2012)

Although the greatest literature of the world always has had significant global impact through the institution of several literary canons, the invention of the online literature format significantly increased the scope, extent and quality of such an impact, and it also reshaped missions of many literary organizations. For example, the idea of the global impact of literature is embedded in the mission of *The Center for the Art of Translation*, which is "to promote a truly global community, creating a world where writers and readers can cross both boundaries of borders and of language" ("The Center for the Art of Translation ", 2000). As this statement illustrates, online literature attempts to overcome both geographical and cultural barriers.

Another example is *Words Without Borders* that has been running an educational program for high school and college students in order to expose them to a broad spectrum of contemporary international literature. In the words of its director, *Words Without Borders* is "an organization devoted to the promotion of literature and translation in the interest of global understanding" (Harris, April, 2012), and it is hoping that in reaching out to students it can "create a passion for international literature, a curiosity about other cultures, and help cultivate true world citizens" ("Words Without Borders," 2003). This function of literature is especially important in monolingual societies, where literature opens doors "to the multiplicity of

viewpoints, the richness of experience, and the literary perspective of world events." (Harris, April, 2012).

In his book "Cultural Mobility: a Manifesto", Stephen Greenblatt argues that we are living in the world of multicultural and hybrid identities characterized by the unpredictable interaction between cultural persistence and change, and the combination of these two processes ensures the coexistence of both global and local within the boundaries of the same culture (Greenblatt, et al., 2009). The role of literature as an institution is invaluable because of its ability to ensure both the continuity and the transmission of human culture both locally and globally. Greenblatt argues that culture persists due to its dynamism, as evidenced by the cross-generational transmission of cultural values, and as this study demonstrates, by utilizing modern technology and enhancing outreach, modern literature institutions further the transmission of cultural capital across the borders of time and space.

The universal *accessibility* of literature combined with its *global* impact resonate with idea of *cultural mobility* understood as "is the capacity to navigate between or across cultural realms, a freedom to choose or select one's position in the cultural landscape", which results in a cultural competence – the possession of various forms of cultural capital existing both inside and outside one's immediate culture of origin (Emmison, 2003). Cultural mobility is a multidirectional concept that essentially illustrates that the culture of the future is impossible without the culture of the past, and in the modern world the culture of the east is no longer opposite to the culture of the west (Greenblatt, et al., 2009). In this regard, it is hard to underestimate the role of literature in enabling the acquisition and transmission of cultural capital globally.

III.   **Conclusion**

This chapter argued that the key to understanding the sustainability of literature lies in its ability to serve as the moral language between generations by ensuring the transmission of cultural heritage from one generation to another. This ability of literature is based on two main factors: first, the ability of major literature institutions (the literature canons, the libraries, and the publishing institutions) to preserve, promote, and ensure access to literature created at different times in human history to current and future generations; and second, the ability of particular formalized organizations within the domain of literature to sustain themselves and make sure that literature remains relevant and socially important.

In terms of formalized literature organizations, the field work for this study shows that the same two strategies for sustainability are applicable in the world of literature, as in the world of art museums and performing arts organizations – the rational strategy aimed at enhancing the institutional resilience of formal literature organizations, and the intuitive strategy aimed at ensuring the distinctiveness and intrinsic significance of literature and its institutions. Similar to museums and other art organizations, literature developed tangible and intangible responses to various sustainability pressures, however, some of these responses are distinctly important for literature.

First, in the face of declining reading patterns, literature organizations have been developing public outreach programs and establishing educational initiatives for the young. Although literature organizations generally do not have institutionalized public education departments, there is a clear move in that direction. Second, the future of the literature world is likely to be associated with smaller, more intimate organizations (publishers, bookstores, literary magazines) existing either in a physical, hybrid, or online forms. Third, literature organizations tend to be more dynamic and open to the adoption of innovation, including the use of digital

technologies and the adoption of open access policies. As a matter of their survival and long-term endurance, literature organizations tend to be much more responsive to the factor of time, as compared to other organizations. Fourth, as compared to other arts organizations, in addition to engaging in greater partnerships with other institutions, literature organizations are more prone to developing hybrid (combination of nonprofit status and university affiliation) and synergetic institutional forms (such as literature and performing arts). In short, the fluidity of literature results in a greater flexibility and enhanced institutional adaptation.

As missions of literature organizations adapt to the changing environment, so do the roles of managers of literature organizations. While management as stewardship is an important idea for literature, three other forms of management describe better the role of literature managers for ensuring the intergenerational sustainability of literature: management of opportunities, adoption of innovations, and facilitative management. Although there are some reservations regarding the increasing commercialization of the literature market, people interviewed for this study as well as scholars of literature emphasize the importance of the intrinsic motivation of publishers, editors and other literary managers, which is based on the recognition that literature is an art of expression of people's love for books rather than business.

The most prominent development in the literature field of the current century is the spread of online literary platforms. As this study demonstrates, it does not mean that prominent publishers with reputations spanning over several generation will go out of business, but it does signify an important change in the readership market, which is likely to increase in significance in the future. If anything the successful symbiosis of online and print publishing resembles a very sustainable business model, where two forms reinforce each other by pursuing slightly different purposes and reaching slightly different audiences. While the traditional publishing model

reflects the needs of an institutionalized world of literature and ensures continuity of appreciation for the book as an art form and a valuable tangible object, promoting literature through online literary platforms reflects such important values as access and accessibility, the global impact of literature, and the use of literature for the speedy dissemination of ideas and public education.

The most distinct lesson about the long-term sustainability of literature stems from its ability to serve as an egalitarian intergenerational institution to a much greater degree than other institutions in the domain of aesthetics. Over the course of history, literature institutions evolved from serving the interests of a narrow class of powerful and wealthy to being universally and globally accessible. The literature canons were gradually embedded into the educational curriculum of schools, thus making the best of human literary heritage available to any literate young person. Libraries transformed from private book storages to important social institutions by providing wide public access to literature along with performing many other socially important functions. The invention of publishing forever changed the literature and its social impact by making books easily reproducible and transferable across geographic and time borders. It is not surprising that along with the social and community relevance (a prominent strategy for long-term sustainability that is equally important for museums, performing arts organizations, and literature), such themes as access and accessibility and global impact are very prominent in literature. In fact, by being universally accessible and globally important, literature has built up its capital for sustainability that is going to preserve it for many generations ahead.

Chapter 7. The Boundaries of Art and Society: Sustainability Lessons from the Performing Arts

"…[c]onsider a group of musicians, all of whom have the same natural talents
and who could, therefore, have learned to play equally well every instrument
in the orchestra…The group achieves, by a coordination of activities among peers,
the same totality of capacities latent in each…Only in the activities of social union
can the individual be complete". (Rawls, 1993, p. 321)

"When an arts organization closes, we lose more than jobs. We lose a historical connection to our heritage;
an opportunity to expand the bonds of cultural understanding; the glue that holds a community together" (Foster,
2010, p. 14)

In his book "Political Liberalism" John Rawls uses the metaphor of the orchestra as an illustration of a social union, where the sum of its multiple parts produces a beautiful performance, and where collaboration enhances the creative capacity of each individual member and the capacity of the union overall. For Rawls, the coordination of activities between the musicians in the orchestra is essential for a successful performance, hence, a productive and just society is about the co-play and coordination of activities among its members. This metaphor appears relevant to the subject of long-term sustainability because truly sustainable society is impossible without effective coordination and fair treatment of its elements, including both current and future generations. This chapter claims that an orchestra as well as other music and performing arts institutions could offer some valuable insights regarding sustainability.

The nature of aesthetic experience offered to the public at performing arts institutions (symphony orchestras, ballet companies, opera companies, repertoire theaters, etc.) is very distinct from the solitary appreciation of beautiful paintings and sculptures at art museums, or reading a book at a place of one's own choosing and at one's own pace. In one of the interviews for this study, the experience offered by live performing arts to their audiences has a very strong emotional appeal, and it is also very dynamic, more unpredictable and surprising, and definitely much less still, as compared to the other human experience associated with the other arts:

I would say that the art museum experience is by and large a solitary experience, and performing arts experience is a communal experience. When you go to art museums, you don't do it with a group of hundreds of people, and you do not all move to a gallery at the same time…So it is a very different kind of experience that you can get every time that the place is open, and it is created by the individual. And these are wonderful works of art but they are frozen in time, they never change: once the last brush stroke is on that paining, it would never change – unless it is damaged. Now, the work of music – no matter how hard you try – it is never exactly the same when you perform it twice. And every night, every performance is slightly different; there is a life component to it, in its own way there is almost an athletic component to it because of the precision that is required of a symphony orchestra far exceeds the precision that is required in virtually every sport that you can imagine…I have never seen anyone stand up in the middle of the art gallery and give a standing ovation but last weekend, when we finished Beethoven's ninth symphony, you had sixteen hundred people for performance standing up and screaming – they were happy. (Byrne, June, 2012)

With rare exceptions, live performing art is a collective kind of experience, where artists and audience share not only the space, but also emotions, perceptions, feelings and aspirations. Even a recorded performance is the product of a collective action. Therefore, an explanation of the long-term sustainability of the performing arts must be connected with the nature of the aesthetic experience offered by theaters, orchestras, and dance companies to large and diverse groups of people. More than any other kind of arts, live performing arts depend upon mass audiences for their sustainability, and, therefore, there must be a special kind of relationship between the performing arts and their communities that enhances their sustainability.

An important role of music and performing arts for the society has been long recognized, and there are many good examples illustrating the involvement of performing arts organizations in social projects, public policies, and long-term community development initiatives (Causey, 2006; Higgins, 2012; K. F. McCarthy, 2004; Ramnarine, 2011). For instance, when the issue of poverty was on the global political agenda in the 1990s, music was used as a vital element in campaigns against poverty organized by civic alliances between trade unions, nongovernmental organizations, and youth movements (Ramnarine, 2011). This includes online music

competitions for young people organized under the support of the European Commission and aimed at raising awareness of poverty. Among other performing arts, music has been particularly recognized as a universal language of cross-cultural communication (Higgins, 2012). During the mid 1990s arts joined the environmental discourse, and there are numerous examples of using music and other performing arts for so-called 'ecological thinking'[7] (Ramnarine, 2011). These examples demonstrate that the performing arts could be very powerful agents of social change, which this study calls the *semi-instrumental* role of arts, defining this role as the capacity of art institutions to produce both tangible and intangible benefits for society that stem from the value of art and values promoted through the arts. Thus, the social significance of the arts is directly linked to the sustainability of art institutions. As our research demonstrates, *social and community relevance* is one of the strategies ensuring that the arts are treated as an inseparable element of larger social and cultural systems. This strategy appears particularly prominent in the world of performing arts, and in the long run translates into the capital for sustainability for both performing art institutions and their communities.

Studies of temporal sustainability in the environmental context conclude that the resilience of environmental systems is mostly associated with change, adaptability and flexibility, and with the ability of economic and social systems to absorb shocks and cope with them in a productive way (Gallopín, 2006; Holling, 2000; B. Walker, et al., 2004; B. H. Walker & Salt, 2006). This approach is fitting the arts organizations as well, although studies of resilience in the context of arts are few. For example, in 2010 the Arts Council of England released a report by Mark Robinson, in which the author applies the idea of 'resilience thinking' (B. H. Walker & Salt, 2006) borrowed from the environmental context to the arts. Robinson

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[7] As explained in Chapter 2, this approach is also known as 'art as ecology' and it implies that art institutions are vital elements of community and social organization.

claims that 'adaptive resilience', defined as the capacity to remain productive and true to core purpose and identity while coping with the changing circumstances, is one key to understanding why arts organizations thrive despite significant external shocks (Robinson, 2010). Indeed, creativity is second nature of the arts sector, a precondition for innovation, which makes resilience possible. Another recent study of the performing arts argues that, contrary to the conventional assumption, uncertainly and unpredictability of the outside environment actually improve the resilience of performing arts by pushing organizations to discover new solutions to old problems and adapt to changing reality (Foster, 2010). These studies offer valuable insights regarding the application of the idea of 'resilience thinking' in the context of arts, however, they lack the analysis of the resilience from organizational and management perspectives, and do not consider the connection between temporal institutional resilience and long-term sustainability.

In this chapter I claim that the secret of the long-term sustainability of music and performing arts organizations lies in their ability to constantly adapt and cope with historical shifts, external and internal shocks, as well as in their ability to justify their social significance, and connect with their communities in coherent, inclusive and comprehensive ways. This chapter looks at examples of sustainability practices in performing arts organizations of various institutional forms: music festivals and symphony orchestras, opera and ballet companies, university-affiliated and free-standing nonprofit performing arts organizations, producing and presenting companies. The examination of the historical adaptations of the performing arts sector as a whole along with the analysis of managerial interviews, organizational practices, missions and programmatic documents, provide some insights regarding the long-term sustainability of the performing arts and shed some light regarding the sustainable administration of the performing arts sector.

I.   History and Context: Successful Institutional Adaptations of the Performing Arts

1.1. The Nonprofit Model and the Resilience of the Performing Arts

The history of the performing arts is in itself an example of successful institutional adaptations leading to the long-term sustainability of the sector as a whole. In particular, these adaptations include the changing nature of the performing arts production and delivery after the invention of broadcasting and digital media; the evolution of institutional forms of performing arts organizations after the invention of the nonprofit business model; and the changes in the funding structure and the evolution of the philanthropy for the performing arts. These changes were both responses to the outside environment and a reflection of the institutional transformation of the performing arts sector as a whole, especially the evolution of its social role and community significance. These historical shifts went hand in hand with the changing roles of performing arts managers; and changes accommodated by the evolving missions of performing arts organizations, to be discussed later in this chapter.

In the nineteenth century United States performing arts were represented by either commercial or amateur artists and organizations, managed by individual owners who offered a mix of high and popular arts (K. F. McCarthy, 2001). Most performances happened in large cities or by touring artists in smaller places, little distinction at the time there was between high and popular arts, and performances were given to mixed audiences. With the invention of technology – recorder music, film, radio and television – commercial theater organizations began to disappear and the world of performing arts underwent a major transformation[8].

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[8] For example, while there were 327 theater companies at the end of the nineteenth century, in 1915 there were fewer than 100 (Baumol & Bowen, 1993).

In response to these challenges, the performing arts sector adopted "a new model of arts organization: the subsidized nonprofit organization" (K. F. McCarthy, 2001, p. 12). Hence, at the beginning of the twentieth century, old-style commercial performing arts organizations were replaced by nonprofit organizations presenting primarily live high arts and commercial organizations presenting more popular arts (live and recorded) (Baumol & Bowen, 1993). Divisions within the performing arts sector and the spread of the nonprofit business model signified a major shift not only in terms of the division of labor between live performers and broadcasters but it also changed the audience profiles for different types of organizations. While performing arts organizations of the nineteenth century accommodated various audiences – rich and poor, urban and rural-in the twentieth century there was a major division between audiences of popular, folk and high arts. In particular, new recorded forms of art drew audiences away from high arts leaving them to elites, and elevating the costs of production for live performances (K. F. McCarthy, 2001). Although the nonprofit model allowed greater managerial and financial freedoms for the performing arts organizations, the early nonprofit performing arts sector experienced some further issues undercutting its long-term viability.

With the introduction of the nonprofit model, the expansion of performing arts institutions was significant, an expansion posing serious questions for art managers and policy makers (RockefellerBrothersFund, 1965). By some accounts, during 1950's the excessive financial support was made available for the arts, however, the quality of the new art productions was not always sufficient (Lowry, 1978). The other downside of the performing arts sector's expansion was the emphasis on the utilitarian function of the arts as means to some end, as against the performing arts for their own sake. For instance, the expansion of the performing arts

sector was supposed to meet several goals including the formation of the positive image of the American society abroad, the influence on liberal education of the individual, as a meaningful occupation for the youth and a way to grasp one's history and social modernity, as a community resource, as an enhancement of the business environment, and as a source of non-economic outlets (Lowry, 1978). In many respects, this instrumental vision of performing arts-a heritage of the earlier times-is being widely exploited today (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1994; Clark & Kahn, 1988; Markusen & Gadwa, 2010; Matarasso, 2001; Mommaas, 2004; Nurse, 2008; Sen, 2000; Strom, 2002, 2003; Tubadji, 2010; Wilks-Heeg & North, 2004).

Another crucial aspect of the performing arts institutional evolution was changes in their governance and support structures. Nonprofit performing arts organizations were initially supported by urban elites, however, over time the financial health of the performing arts organizations became the responsibility of boards of directors. Professional performing arts in the nineteenth century were provided by a few elite nonprofit arts organizations located in major metropolitan areas and supported by a few patrons, and unlike their European counterparts, American performing art organizations enjoyed virtually no governmental support combined with very little tradition of upper-class patronage (K. F. McCarthy, 2001). However, in the late 1950s and early 1960s the structure of the financial support for the arts began to change by shifting towards collective forms of governance and reliance on multiple sources of financial support (Baumol & Bowen, 1993; Lowry, 1978; K. F. McCarthy, 2001).

The Ford Foundation is considered the first national level patron of the performing arts supporting bringing professionals in different fields together to work on the objectives of the sector's future development (Lowry, 1978). The leveraged funding technique initiated by the Ford Foundation produced a massive growth in the diversity of art funders. The other important

initiative fostered by the Ford Foundation was a local scholarship program in all areas of the performing arts directed at increasing the diversity of art participation, enhancing the prestige of the artistic profession, and improving the early performing art exposure to young people from racial and economic minorities (Lowry, 1978). Although the Foundation was not responsible for national public education programs, its activities definitely influenced the allocation of public funds for such programs through Titles I and III of the National Defense Education Act to be administered through the public schools system.

According to McCarthy, the idea of the leveraged funding as a fundraising strategy "was the most significant evolution of the arts infrastructure in America, leading to the complex public-private partnerships" (K. F. McCarthy, 2001, p. 13). The invention of this model fostered the active engagement of a great number of private institutions in rendering their support for the arts. In 1960s public institutions too started playing a more active role in supporting performing arts organizations, as evidenced by the establishment of a State Council for the Arts in New York and the National Endowment for the Arts in Washington DC in 1965 – the agency that signified the commitment of the federal government to supporting the arts. This combination of public and private support helped performing arts organizations to cope with the existing issues and ensured the long-term viability of the sector. Hence, although the nonprofit business model and the leveraged funding mechanism are not without limitations, time has proven to be an effective tool for the long-term sustainability of performing arts organizations. For example, the number of nonprofit performing art organizations increased and their variety and geography had expanded as well (K. F. McCarthy, 2001).

The coming of nonprofit corporation had two main outcomes for the performing arts: first, it changed the system of governance by allowing the establishment of a musical, theatrical,

or a dance group by artistic or general directors, and by the growing importance of patrons and community leaders; and second, it allowed the inclusion of the arts into the IRS tax code in the same way an education, science, and charity organizations are regulated (Lowry, 1978). Hence, the nonprofit model had both economic and objective justifications, and it ensured the connectedness of performing arts with their communities. The proliferation of the number and scope of nonprofit performing arts organizations resulted in the increasing art participation and strengthening of the social role and community significance of the performing arts. The divide between high art attendees and consumers of entertainment from commercial sources continued to grow, largely because of the technological advantages that were particularly accessible to the commercial sector (K. F. McCarthy, 2001).

The economic recession of the 1990s created serious problems for the leveraged funding paradigm, causing the decline of the public funding for the arts and respective changes in the private philanthropy. In response, nonprofit performing arts institutions adapted again, by diversifying their management approaches, revenue sources, and adopting business strategies (Grønbjerg, 1993; K. F. McCarthy, 2001; K. F. McCarthy, Elizabeth Heneghan Ondaatje and Jennifer L. Novak, 2007). This resulted in merging boundaries between the sectors and emergence of the organizational hybrids combining nonprofit governance structures with commercial management techniques. Hence, collaboration and transfer of ideas between performing arts organizations from different sectors and public-private partnership seems to be a good description of the performing arts sector today. Contemporary commercial, nonprofit and volunteer performing arts organizations are now greatly interconnected, and could fairly be considered as different elements of a diversified arts environment fulfilling complimentary social purposes (K. F. McCarthy, 2001).

In recent history, the performing arts sector had undergone additional institutional transformations, as individual performing arts organizations developed multiple adaptive strategies to ensure their institutional resilience. These transformations included the further professionalization of the sector as a response to the increasing competition between numerous performing arts organizations; the spread of hybrid forms of performing arts; increasing emphasis on building long-term relations with their stakeholders; shifting towards greater reliance on local donors, as a response to the decline in federal funding; focusing more on the demand aspect of the performing arts market and paying greater attention to audience development programs; and the division of institutional niches between big and small organizations, with bigger organizations providing mass types of programs and smaller organizations targeting their production to local needs (K. F. McCarthy, 2001).

While most of these strategies resulted in a greater sustainability of the sector, some of them also led to a high degree of commercialization of the nonprofit performing arts, which raises concerns regarding the impact of this phenomenon on institutional missions. Adopting business practices might have been a vital resilience strategy but it might also have overshadowed some of the primary institutional goals. Looking into the future, performing arts organizations are seeking a middle ground approach, looking for strategies that would allow mitigating the negative consequences of commercialization while ensuring that organizations continue to stay afloat. As this study demonstrates, developing more symbiotic relationships with their audiences and communities is one way to ensure that performing arts organizations remain relevant beyond their economic impacts. Hence, a greater connection to the society is the next major step in the sector's institutional adaptations.

1.2. The Institution of Patronage and Financial Sustainability of the Performing Arts

One of the most important forces sustaining the performing arts over the course of their history is the institution of philanthropy and private giving. Particularly, in the American context the institution of private patronage by wealthy has been very influential as compared to the governmental patronage. Private patronage had existed since the early years of the American Republic, long before the income and inheritance taxes were legislated and a nonprofit arts administration model was adopted. The IRS system of deductions for charitable giving, as an institutional incentive for encouraging individual patronage, was fully adopted and implemented only after the Second World War (Lowry, 1978). In many ways this both strengthened the private philanthropic initiatives and reshaped the system of giving by allowing art organizations greater flexibility in raising and spending funds. In fact, performing arts in the United States, unlike in Europe, matured and achieved extensive development outside the commercial initiative or governmental patronage (Lowry, 1978). By the time when systematic public support for culture and arts was common place, private and foundation-based patronage had already legitimized the performing arts.

There are numerous examples of both producing and presenting performing arts organizations that were established because of the financial support of individual donors, and in some cases a solo donor. In many cases donors were people without a background in arts, they came from different walks of life and donated to establish an art organization for different reasons, which makes their support even more valuable. Why did they decide to give money to the arts, and not to a charity, or a church? The answers could vary: it could be a special connection to a particular community and a desire to make it better and more beautiful, or in a

case of a university-affiliated performing arts center it could be a connection of a donor to the

university and their personal belief in the value of creativity:

> That's a huge question and a lot of answers, you know. I think that it is kind of
> like any society, for instance, at Krannert Center, it's got four indoor venues, it's
> got five levels, it's got a full scene shop, costume shop, movie studios rent from
> them, costume shop. And Mr. Krannert is the man who invented basically the
> cardboard box. And so he was an engineer and he said that the university wanted
> him to give money back to the university, and he said, you know, engineers need
> to get out of lab and out of the classroom and go to performing arts, where their
> minds can be open and creativity can flow. That's what I want to give my money
> to. I think that after World War II and the industrial revolution people started
> making money, big money, and they wanted to give. Originally there were the big
> folks and eventually there were more and more individual folks who were making
> more money and wanted to give back to their universities, and you know they
> gave in various ways, but some people have always felt that a society's culture is
> the thing that lasts. That is the most important. Interestingly enough, because we
> don't really value it in this country, and yet we kind of do...(Scouffas, June, 2012)

Similar motives are driving private philanthropy today; contemporary donors motivated

by their willingness to make performing arts more accessible to the public at large. This kind of

philanthropy is a form of the egalitarian ethics, and therefore, private philanthropy can be

considered a 'just institution' in Rawlsian terms (Rawls, 1971). Private support for the arts is

also intergenerational, and by investing in performing arts organizations today, philanthropists

invest in future generations, thus upholding the principles of the intergenerational social equity

(H. George Frederickson, 2010a). In some cases, performing arts philanthropists often have some

personal history with the arts, like the example of Chistina Hixson-the sole trustee of the Ernst F.

Lied Foundation Trust which gave $10 million of the trust's money to build the Lied Center of

Kansas in the 1980s, and has been named a life trustee of the Kansas University Endowment

Association:

> You know one of the other wonderful things is that Chistina Hixson who gave the
> other really major gift for the building. Her vision was right in line, which is
> making the arts accessible to people, and I find her very inspirational, and her
> story very inspirational because she doesn't come from an artistic background but

she very much values the arts, and she wants them to be accessible to everyone
because she doesn't come from an affluent background, and so she is lucky
enough to be one of those people who can pay it forward. She has done enough in
her life to be able to have the resources to do that. She is the kind of person, if she
had two cents-she would do it with two cents. She has always been very
encouraging in providing money and funding towards the community.
(Christilles, July 2012)

Although philanthropy is an important part of American culture, like many other social

phenomena it has undergone periods of relative strength and decline. For instance, the recently

released study of philanthropy and giving behavior conducted by Indiana University's Center on

Philanthropy showed a decline in the average gift amount by wealthy patrons for the arts since

2009 (M. DiMento, 2012). More donors have provided support for general operations of the

nonprofit organizations, which allowed for greater spending freedom and flexibility. Donors also

affirmed their positive intentions for the future, and 76 percent of study respondents are planning

to continue giving for the next three to five years. However, as it is clear from the study, wealthy

people are more likely to give their largest gifts to religious institutions and educational groups;

arts organizations are not at the top of the giving priority lists.

Philanthropy has always played a critical role in the financial sustainability of nonprofits,

including performing arts organizations (Grønbjerg, 1993; Young, 2007). Since the 1920s and

the invention of the nonprofit business model, live performing arts have always relied on diverse

funding sources to ensure their financial viability. Moreover, while earlier in the history one or

two wealthy patrons were able to support a local theater, at the beginning of the twentieth

century performing arts institutions grew in size, and the costs of creating and delivering

performances was so substantial that even the wealthiest individuals were unable or unwilling to

take on a sole financial responsibility for larger organizations (K. F. McCarthy, 2001). The

inability of the vast majority of live performing arts organizations to raise revenues sufficient to

sustain their operations was acknowledged in 1960s, and such acknowledgement led to the recognition of the crucial importance of the public funding for the live performing arts, in contrast with the recorded popular arts that did not suffer from the same issues (Baumol & Bowen, 1978).

Since the late 1970s, several trends have been prominent in the financial landscape of performing arts organizations. These trends include the decline of direct public finding and the shift from federal to state and increasingly local support; the increasing reliance on private contributions combined with the changing funding practices (greater number of smaller donations rather than increased amounts from individual donors); corporate donors' shifting from unrestricted grants to targeted support, which limits the spending flexibility of arts organizations and increases the costs of raising money; relative stability of earned income on investments; and increasing financial pressures for both profit and nonprofit organizations (K. F. McCarthy, 2001). The range of responses of performing arts organizations to the financial pressures of the day is both similar and dissimilar to other arts institutions. The responses include managerial attempts to diversity funding sources, cut administrative costs, increase the number of performances of same successful production, produce more familiar programs starring celebrity artists, hire less expensive artists, maximize the audience per production by performing in larger venues, arrange joint for-profit and nonprofit productions, etc (K. F. McCarthy, 2001).

Contemporary performing arts organizations rely on multiple sources of funding including earned income, individual and corporate donations, foundation contributions, and public funding (K. F. McCarthy, 2001). Along with this, contributions from individuals remain the largest source of income for the performing arts organizations after the earned revenues, approximately twice the amount from foundations and businesses. There are some reservations

regarding a too great reliance by nonprofit performing arts organizations on the private funding model, particularly, the decreasing emphasis on programs and services and the increasing emphasis on fundraising and working with donors (Hughes & Luksetich, 2004). However, greater emphasis on fundraising by itself does not appear to have negative outcomes and mission drifts as most organizations are still capable of staying true to their core objectives, as long as they are selective in working with donors who support those objectives (Hughes & Luksetich, 2004).

Particularly in times of economic recession, small and medium-sized nonprofit performing arts institutions tend to rely more on baseline funding provided by governmental agencies. Public funding is usually a small part of nonprofit performing arts revenues; however, there is a recognition that public funding, especially at the federal level, is a significant factor of the financial sustainability since it enables leveraging private, state and local government support through a system of matching grants (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011; K. F. McCarthy, 2001). At the same time, there are a few empirical studies indicating the opposite effect of public funding on private philanthropy: in some cases public funding crowds out private support (Andreoni & Payne, 2007; Borgonovi, 2006; Dokko, 2008). For instance, Borgonovi finds that at low levels public support attracts more private donations but at higher levels it actually displaces them (Borgonovi, 2006). Finally, there are also empirical studies that show the independence between public and private funding for the performing arts which demonstrate that the motivation of private donors is not contingent on the institutional ability to get governmental grants (A. C. Brooks, 1999; Horne, Johnson, & Van Slyke, 2005). Hence, empirical consideration of the role of public funding for the financial sustainability of the performing arts remains open.

Lastly, studies of the substantive impact of public funding for the performing arts show that public funding tends to affect programmatic decisions of performing arts managers, in particular their inclination to risk in making choices between experimental and conventional programming (Neligan, 2006; O'Hagan & Neligan, 2005; J. L. Pierce, 2000). For instance, the empirical study of American opera companies by Pierce examines the effect of public support received at different levels of government upon the programmatic decisions; the results demonstrate that greater reliance on local government funding encourages program conventionality, while federal support, particularly the NEA funding, encourages risk-taking, experimentation and more innovative program choices (J. L. Pierce, 2000). Hence, different types of public funding meet different goals: local support is particularly valuable for smaller nonprofit performing arts organizations, and it often serves as a baseline for attracting private philanthropists, and federal funding, even if it is a small grant, encourages greater innovation.

Compared to other arts organizations, performing arts are more reliant on earned income, which is a relatively stable revenue source (Hughes & Luksetich, 2004). Among all art institutions examined in this study, performing arts – notwithstanding the highbrow organizations targeted at more elite markets – have the closest resemblance to the entertainment industry. This explains the proliferation of marketing studies in the world of contemporary performing arts organizations. In particular, as part of their response to outside pressures and fiscal stress, performing arts institutions make great efforts to utilize marketing assessments of their stakeholders including the studies of arts patrons. This is an adaptive response by performing arts organizations to the financial pressures.

Marketing studies are expensive and time consuming, and performing art organizations often collaborate in order to commission large scale surveys of donors and ticket buyers. For

instance, in 2005 fourteen major university art presenters commissioned a multi-method collaborative research effort called "The Values and Impact Study" that resulted in a series of survey-based assessments of performing arts stakeholders, their tastes and preferences with regard to the arts production, as well as the key determinants of the ticket buying and giving behavior (Alan S. Brown, 2007a, 2007b). The study was completely self-funded by the performing arts institutions, and it was useful in describing specific motivations of performing arts donors. As the study shows, there are three categories of the giving behavior: artistic and civic motivations (the desire for a deeper engagement with the arts combined with the desire to share arts experiences with other people); social and transaction motivations (taking advantage of social and networking opportunities provided to donors); and sustainability motivations (a desire to ensure the long-term viability of the program, and a desire to maintain high quality of life). The study also shows that performing arts donors could be grouped into several categories depending on their motivation: intrinsic donors who believe in the transformative power of art, networkers or socially-oriented donors, co-creators, youth-focused donors, and marquee donors seeking for the public recognition for their gifts (Alan S. Brown, 2007a). Performing arts donors are aware of the impact of their behavior on the sustainability of the arts, which reinforces the important connection between the institution of patronage, the long-term sustainability of the performing arts, and ethical thinking towards future generations.

Studies of demographic profiles and social-psychological characteristics of performing arts patrons prove to be very useful in shaping the supply side of the arts market, and many performing arts organizations are increasingly interested in hiring a marketing specialist as their permanent staff in order to increase their institutional capacity, improve fundraising, and expand the scope of public outreach. However, too much emphasis on marketing is not without the

downsides. As described by a manager of a university-affiliated performing arts center interviewed for this study, too much marketing also means more commercialized institutions:

> …[t]here has been so much more pressure I think on selling tickets more, on marketing. Sometimes I joke that this should be called the Lied Marketing Center instead of The Lied Performing Arts Center. Marketing seems to be what we all talk about all the time. When we sit around this table with our staff we tend to talk more about marketing than we do about the arts that we are bringing in, but that's part of the pressure we are under. It's not just the recession. It's that whole value thing again about performing arts centers. (Scouffas, June, 2012)

When performing arts institutions focus too much on marketing art to their donors and ticket buyers, it may distract them from the supply side of the art production and diminish the focus on quality. Considering that more familiar and well-advertised productions are more likely to generate greater revenues, performing arts organizations increasingly rely on safer production choices and tend to abstain from producing and performing more contemporary and experimental works. Such production choices serve to enhance the sustainability of the plays, operas, symphonies. However, in the long-run, such choices may result in the decreasing creativity of the performing arts sector and the increasing proximity to the entertainment industry. Hence, for the performing arts organizations of the future it will be particularly important to keep a balance between the demand and supply sides of the market, and seek for the opportunities to invest in the development of innovations that highlight the distinctiveness of the sector and individual organizations. In line with this expectation, our study shows that distinctiveness and uniqueness of art institutions is as important for their long-term sustainability as the economic and social relevance achieved through deliberate organizational choices.

II.   The Sustainability of the Performing Arts Sector: Today and Tomorrow

In his 1978 book McNeil Lowry concluded that the future of the performing arts depends upon the answer to one question: What is the importance of the arts to the American society?

(1978). Three decades later this question remains relevant. Contemporary arts organizations are struggling with a number of issues that pose threats in terms of their long-term sustainability (Foster, 2010; Salamon, 2003). Creating a healthy endowment was seen as an important strategy for organizational sustainability (Young, 2007); however, organizations that depended on their endowment are among the most vulnerable at the times of economic recession (Foster, 2010). As the values of endowments declined, many of these organizations are forced to cut budgets and lay off staff. Additionally, there is a decline in corporate contributions to the arts, priorities of individual donors are shifting, and there is also a decline in ticket and merchandize sale (Foster, 2010). Therefore, even organizations relying on diverse sources of funding are affected.

Contemporary arts sector struggles with more issues than the economic recession. According to Foster, arts organizations are experiencing a potential cultural shift, as evidenced by a gradual deterioration in the methodologies of cultural production and dissemination that has been occurring since 1980's; as well as the spread of the view of art as a commodity (Foster, 2010). What contributed to this problem is the crisis of the nonprofit governance model that is caused by the increasing competition with for-profit and entertainment industries, and too much reliance on business strategies (Salamon, 2003). These strategies include adopting business organizational practices, bringing on business people to serve on the boards of directors, adoption of quantitative quality assessment tools that focused on outputs not so much on the artistic quality, etc (Salamon, 2003). By accepting the notion that nonprofit should act like a business to be successful, nonprofit organizations may deviate from their core mission – meeting public needs that may not be supported in the marketplace (Foster, 2010).

In order to address these issues, performing arts organizations are considering new modes of governance, reconsidering some of the currently dominant business ideas, and searching for

the ways to go back to the arts and community service. Addressing the consequences of economic recession and responding to cultural shifts is crucial for the long-term sustainability of the performing arts, and this study identified two major strategies employed by performing arts organizations that have translated to an the institutional capital for sustainability. The first is a rational strategy, a special kind of managerial rationality – sustainable thinking and sustainable acting-that produces institutional resilience and helps art organizations sustain over time. This includes such common responses as building partnerships within and outside the performing arts sector, implementing audience development programs, diversifying the repertoire by including more popular, entertainment-type performances, etc. (Byrne, June, 2012; Evano, July, 2012; Scouffas, June, 2012) As our research shows, organizational choices of particular strategies are mediated by institutional structures,-whether a performing arts organization is a free-standing nonprofit, or a university affiliated arts center.

The strategy of increasing the institutional resilience implies being adaptable, responsive to changes, being innovative and open to new opportunities. Particularly for the performing arts organizations, it also means creating and maintaining symbiotic relationships with the audience and community at large. As explained by one of the arts managers, this strategy includes, "administrative management, staying on strategy, good common sense, practical business skills…understanding and working with your audience and community that has been a traded point of success, and it will continue to be." (Evano, July, 2012) The evidence of the rational strategy is found in the evolving missions of performing arts organizations as well as in the managerial roles that are associated with the institutional resilience of the sector. These forms of rational strategy are guiding numerous sustainable organizational practices.

The second strategy is more intuitive; its purpose is to develop solutions that enhance the institutional distinctiveness of the sector as well as particular performing arts organizations. It implies staying true to the mission and establishing the value of a particular art form and a particular art organization for a society, without treating is as a commodity or as a source of economic capital. Intuitive strategies include identifying a unique institutional niche, and directing an organization towards occupying this niche. Hence, sustainable art organizations increase their capital for sustainability by utilizing their strengths and capitalizing on what distinguishes them from other organizations, sectors, and forms of art:

> I think it gets back to your original thought on this. How does an organization be resilient and make any relevant sort of change and rolling with it. So if you have a strong strategy, then do what you have to do, but think of the times like a new opportunity… Basically ways to make it relevant to the people doing it and also think of ways that you can do something that is innovative that gets attention, that people will be excited about but also provides the music in a way that has the substance that we are known for... I mean you can't just stay still with what is always the same. It goes back to "music is not a museum". Which is great for museums but not so for performing arts. Music has to always fight to retain its relevance and illustrate that and look for new ways to perpetuate…(Evano, July, 2012)

As performing arts organizations develop sustainability strategies that reinforce their uniqueness and distinctiveness, the future of the performing arts forms and expressions is likely to lie with the hybrids. Kenneth J. Foster calls it a 'mixtape narrative' that is a hybrid of aesthetic expressions united by the same idea: it looks like theater, it sounds like music; it draws some of its ideas from popular culture and creates a new experience (Foster, 2010). Our study shows that performing arts organizations of the future are also likely to be more interdisciplinary. As explained by one of the art managers interviewed for this study, both collaboration across disciplines and greater community involvement are going to characterize the missions of performing arts organizations in the future:

I am guessing that there will be greater community involvement, and it will be across disciplines, and gone are the days when a single art form a single art genre will be by itself, but it will partner with all kinds of other artistic genres, visual and performing art movements together. In terms of creating a separate product – it would not be just visual arts on one side and performing arts on the other side, different types of instruments will join with other types, like music making and dance, so the arts will start becoming more synthesized that they will be separate (Chu, July, 2012).

The evidence of the intuitive strategy is found in the intrinsic value of the performing arts that is communicated to a society through a well-developed, institutionalized public outreach. The intrinsic significance of the performing arts also serves the basis for the intergenerational sustainability of the sector and individual institutions, and we find the evidence of the managerial commitment to future generations in managerial actions and in their firm beliefs regarding long-term sustainability. Hence, as described by one of the art managers, performing arts will endure because the societal changes are likely to make the life performing art experience even more precious:

There is all kinds of questions like that, what has the electronic age done to us, and we are in a live performing, where is the value in that? And I think the constant…the impedance to understand yourself and doing that through the arts and communicating and being involved with physical touch with people as opposed to electronically will always be there. And in some ways those experiences-as we get more decentralized, more electronic, more detached- those opportunities to come together become more precious…Will we ever lose it? No, there will always be artists in our community, there will always be a community, there will always be people wanting to express and wanting to experience that. I don't think we should prescribe how it would look but understand that it is really the base of what all this is about; it is just a very basic core of how we are as human beings, and it is not going to go away. (Christilles, July 2012)

The contemporary sustainability discourse for the performing arts is less about growth and more about the sustainability itself, which means rethinking the values and focusing on the impact and quality of experience (Foster, 2010). As this research demonstrates, sustainability strategies translate into the institutional capital for sustainability when a particular organization is

able to adapt to changing realities while continuing to follow its mission. The institutional capital

is also formed when organizational managers keep in mind a vision of the future and have some

idea about what it takes to keep their organizations afloat. For instance, performing art managers

tend to think of a sustainable organization as a 'healthy organization', which implies both

professional management and the establishment of the value of an organization for a society:

> I think a healthy organization, I mean obviously there are some key factors like you know fiscal health, and you know good management, business practices, accountability, and particularly, when you are looking at the health of the organization, you know heart health versus mind health where are the ideas coming from. And I believe it starts with a spark, and that's how I do work. I say I want to find a way to have dance to be stronger because it just feels right to me. Obviously you need branding and identity, those good business marketing practices, that is part of a healthy organization…but when you hear people talk about how the project happened…it's just warms my heart to hear people in the community say, "We need to do another jazz train project, we need to do that again". Because they've taken ownership of it… That's like a healthy thing, that holistic approach… and just creating that environment to where it is part of your everyday life. (Christilles, July 2012)

This chapter will further explore the idea of 'a healthy organization' and two main

strategies for sustainability by looking at the evolution of organizational missions, managerial

roles associated with sustainability, the role of the public outreach function for developing

symbiotic relationships between the performing arts organizations and their communities, and

non-instrumental impacts of the performing arts on society.

2.1. Institutional Factors of Sustainability: University Affiliation versus the Free-Standing Nonprofit Model

Like the other art organizations in this study, the long-term sustainability of the

performing arts is largely determined by institutional resilience. Resilience depends upon both

the peculiarities of institutional structure, and how a particular organization is able to use the

advantages of its structure to cope with resilience pressures. Institutional structure appears

important in guiding particular managerial choices aimed at enhancing institutional resilience of performing arts organizations. Institutional structure plays out in multiple ways, for example, *building partnerships* and *collaborating* with other organizations is a prominent institutional resilience strategy. However, the choice of partners is something that is likely to depend upon institutional structure. While free-standing nonprofit organizations tend to benefit from partnering with other community institutions, as illustrated by the first quotation; university-affiliated organizations tend to take greater advantage of working with university departments, as illustrated by the second quotation:

> …[i]n the way of families, and that sort of thing, mainly getting to families is my work in partnering with our library systems here, and that's I think been pretty effective because our libraries here in Kansas City Missouri and outlying regions are very open to working with us, and vice versa, I love working with them. They have a wide reach. You know they have a big database of people and can reach them through their database, letting them know what we are doing, and I find that way we can reach people that we don't know about, and that way they reach us. (Martin, July 2012)

> …[w]e are a part of a tremendous intellectual community. And I'm just beginning, after five years here, to really see how advantageous that is. We have these great minds here who can help us, and there are resources for us in many, many ways. And there are wonderful collaborations that are possible; we did a collaboration with the law school a couple of years ago on a play about a Supreme Court case... (Sneed, August, 2011)

I are finding that there is no 'better' or 'best' institutional form for resilience: both the university affiliation and the free-standing model have their advantages and disadvantages. Analysis in this chapter is drawn from the experience of major nonprofit performing arts organizations located in the Kansas City area (Kansas City Ballet, Lyric Opera, Kansas City Symphony, and the Kauffman Center for the Performing Arts), as well as university-affiliated organizations from other locations in the United States: The Lied Center of Kansas (University of Kansas), Colorado Shakespeare Festival (Colorado University), and Oregon Bach Festival (University of Oregon). While both the Lied Center and Bach Festival have a nonprofit status,

the management of Shakespeare Festival decided not to register the organization as a nonprofit.

The main motivation for this decision was the constant fundraising pressure that nonprofits are facing to sustain their operations. As explained by the festival producer, there are a number of advantages to remain part of a university, and if a university is very supportive of an art organization, then its managers gain an opportunity to focus more on the creative part of their work while worrying less about the cash flow:

> The biggest advantage and this study we had done ultimately said, on balance, despite the disadvantages, we're better off staying a part of the university rather than forming a private nonprofit. The biggest single advantage is that we don't worry about the cash flow. I have run a private nonprofit for twelve years and another one before that, and the amount of energy that goes into making sure that there's money in the bank to meet payroll is enormous. And if times are lean, what can we do? Maybe we can get this grant a little bit earlier. What do we not pay so we can pay staff? What can we put off? What vendor can we negotiate with? I hate that. As a part of the university, we never worry about cash flow. We're supposed to balance the budget, and as I said, we've been unsuccessful with that eight of the last ten years, but people are always paid. Other advantages: the spaces are all free. We have another financial advantage in the sense that some of the positions, like some box office clerks and some of the technical positions that require less skill, can be filled by work-studies. And we only pay 30% of their wages because of their financial aid covers the other 70%. That being said, not much of our funding comes directly from the university, in terms of the cash portion of our budget, its less than 15%. (Sneed, August, 2011)

The baseline support that Mr. Sneed is describing may cover only a small part of festival expenses; it is foundational for the institutional resilience of a university-affiliated organization. This baseline support helps art institutions to sustain through hard times and flourish during good times, and a university usually plays the role of an institutional partner, and it often serves as a catalyst for development. Hence, university affiliation guarantees a certain degree of stability and predictability by mitigating the impacts of otherwise very competitive institutional environment:

> So the university is a big part of us, maybe not the biggest but it is a big one, so that gives us some advantages in that way…But for us it is a major advantage we have. You have stability, you have other resources, and you have the university as an audience because you have a lot of highly educated, highly cultured people that

have musical training that is important in their life, so you know, that helps to make a stronger foundation. (Evano, July, 2012)

Other advantages of the university affiliation include opportunities for cross-departmental collaboration, networking, and cost-share; benefits of intellectual capital and access to interdisciplinary ideas; access to highly-educated audience and quality human resources; and access to technology, research and development, among other (Christilles, July 2012; Evano, July, 2012; Giguere, August, 2011; Scouffas, June, 2012; Sneed, August, 2011). These positive factors enhance the *institutional capacity* of performing arts organizations, which has a direct positive impact on their long-term sustainability.

However, being part of a university has disadvantages as well. The most widely discussed issues include: the distance of a university-affiliated organization from the larger community (as a consequence of the public perception of universities as elite institutions); the lack of management autonomy and the pressure to engage in university-related projects that might take a lot of time and resources; slower rates of adopting innovations and making adaptive changes (as a consequence of being part of a hierarchical organization); limited fundraising opportunities and less autonomy in spending; and being used for either public relations or funding generating purposes, as opposed to being treated as a valuable institution in its own (Christilles, July 2012; Evano, July, 2012; Giguere, August, 2011; Scouffas, June, 2012; Sneed, August, 2011). Among those, the most critical disadvantage is the distance of the university-affiliated organizations from the public at large. This disadvantage is particularly important for performing arts organizations, considering that their mass character and inherent connectedness with the community. As described by one of the interviewees, the distance from public produces two major effects-limiting the audience and complicating the fundraising:

> So we face a perceptual challenge in two ways. One, we know that some people don't come because, since we're on the university campus, and part of the university, they assume it's not professional and that it's just students. And ticket prices are far from other professional theaters in the area, so they think it's just a student production. The other problem is that some people think that because we're on the university campus that we must be fully funded and don't need their donations. (Sneed, August, 2011)

The impact of the university-affiliation on audience could be even more limiting for organizations that perform mainly during the summer, like the *Oregon Bach Festival* and the *Colorado Shakespeare Festival*. One such disadvantage is that the summer recess is not a particularly favorable time for partnering with public schools – a strategy that is routinely used by performing arts organizations to increase arts participation. Hence, this opportunity is not easily accessible for summer university-affiliated festivals. At the same time, during the summer recess these organizations can take a better advantage of the university resources, including student musicians, actors, technical workers, as well as university facilities that would otherwise be used for educational purposes when the school is in session. Hence, summer is still a good time to run these festivals, provided the availability of alternative outreach opportunities:

> That's less of an emphasis for us. That is almost more because we are like a limited time summer festival. I think if we were during the school year we might be more active in those kinds of programs. It is just harder to connect and provide transportation and access and some of the other kinds of logistical barriers that have been there and some are people kind of disburse a little bit so it becomes a choice. We do have lots of price programs, like discounted ticket programs, one for college students, which is still fairly active on our campus even when it is summer in our community. So we do have that and we do have youth ticket programs, and again, as the specific programs warrant, like a couple years ago when there was a big emphasis on Latino music. We have all kinds of outreaches for special things around the concerts that make sense. (Evano, July, 2012)

This study establishes that the symbiotic relationship between a community at large and a performing arts institution is a crucial condition for the long-term sustainability of performing arts organizations. Hence, university-affiliated performing art centers face greater constraints in

establishing such a relationship with their local communities. The situation is complicated by the lack of access to multiple funding sources, particularly, if a university-based organization does not have nonprofit status. In such case, the lack of alternative funding may limit the *institutional capacity* to implement socially-oriented projects. For example, in the case of the *Colorado Shakespeare Festival,* although public funding is available to local nonprofit organizations through the Denver Scientific and Cultural Facilities District, due to the limitations of its institutional status, the festival is not able to access this money (Sneed, August, 2011).

Based on the experience of performing arts organizations interviewed for this study, it is possible to say that a university affiliation is generally associated with more classical forms of performing arts. This would be true for both the *Oregon Bach Festival* (a university-affiliated nonprofit organization) and the *Colorado Shakespeare Festival* (a university-affiliated non-incorporated organization). Although both of these organizations are engaging with the contemporary repertoire, their main mission and institutional focus draws from Bach and Shakespeare heritages. In both of these cases universities function as an extra-institutional shield, thus compensating for the lack of independent revenues and allowing these organizations to pursue more classical repertoires. Although free-standing nonprofit performing arts organizations are also focused on highbrow performing arts, they are more open to experimentation, innovation, and mixed repertoire, as compared to university-affiliated institutions because their institutional status allows for that kind of freedom and flexibility (K. F. McCarthy, 2001). Along with this, university-affiliated organizations are gradually trying to produce and present more popular performances, and are trying to focus more on audience expansion, following the example of their free-standing counterparts. *The Lied Center of Kansas* is a great example of such a tendency, where a university-affiliated performing arts center is emphasizing its

community role, developing extensive public outreach programs, and actively engaging in marketing research and audience development.

For a university-based performing art organization, it is particularly important to have a clearly defined idea of its institutional mission and priorities. Running a university-affiliated art organization often implies adopting priorities of a larger educational institution, which in some cases means going out of the comfort zone and engaging in university-related projects with no direct reference to the arts. For example, the mission statement of The Lied Center of Kansas (a performing arts center affiliated with the University of Kansas) is the following: "The Lied Center of Kansas is a major university presenter engaging audiences and artists through presentation, education, research and service" ("Lied Center of Kansas, Mission Statement,"). As it is clear from this statement, three out of four mission elements (education, research, and service) are more reflective of the university's objectives rather than the performing arts objectives. Thus, university-affiliated performing arts organizations could be susceptible to the mission drift by subordinating their mission and priorities to the missions of the larger organization:

> But this is a newer mission…this is really kind of the university's mission, but kind of rewritten with a performing arts context so that we are tying it more closely to what the university is saying. I do think that I find this mission to be one that doesn't speak to me, as working in a performing arts center. It speaks to what the university as a whole is trying to accomplish, and so there are elements of course…Presentation, education, research and service, and I'm being frank that's just pulling from the university so that it shows that we are tied to that. (Scouffas, June, 2012)

In some cases, these pressures come from a university itself, from leadership that is attempting to ensure the accountability of university-affiliated institutions to the university governing structure (board of directors, donors). However, these pressures are also reflective of a larger political and social context, in particular, the growing suspicion with regard to public

spending. This has been especially prominent during the past decades, and it forces universities to look for the justification of funding for their art organizations, the justification of their existence and the justification of their association with a university:

> You know obviously there is some solid business practices, and we are not a freestanding organization, so alone we create our own mission just us and our patrons, we as part of our umbrella or parent organization – university, we have to take into consideration what their mission is, and what they are about. That has changed in higher education over the last 17-18 years. For instance, the biggest thing is research, and, you know, it is really a good thing, that is sort of a new thing in the presenting field that what we do is contribute as a university presenter to our university's mission. And you know we are a Title I research university, so what kind of research can we do, how can we better understand the world, and how can we give people the tools to better understand the world, and to better their jobs, and how they can do their jobs better and you know that is the purpose-new discovery and best practices. So that has been an area that has taken a greater role over the last 10 years somewhat with the different chancellors at the top, somewhat just change in funding and economy, and you know those sort of things as the university has to justify itself to the board of regents, and the tax payers because we are a public institution. (Christilles, July 2012)

This is an alarming tendency because the mission drift that is happening today may have negative outcomes for the long-term future of the university-affiliated performing arts organizations. When people attend a performance at *The Lied Center of Kansas* they are more likely to be looking for a high quality performing arts experience, and they are less likely to be looking for a university-related experience. At the same time, the *The Lied Center* may be forced to provide such an experience to justify its institutional affiliation, even if it implies overshadowing some of its own goals. Managers of university-affiliated performing art institutions are aware of these challenges, and they develop appropriate coping mechanisms. One such example is the realization that in order to avoid full subordination of the performing center's institutional mission to a mission of a larger organization, performing arts organizations need to develop and constantly keep in mind a clear vision of their institutional distinctiveness:

> You know, I just think it is incredibly important to have a really strong opinion and feeling about what you think the role of the performing arts center is at a university, and then what you are willing to do to make sure that that really happens. I think that that's really important to know who you are-to know the art, and to know where you want to take it because you are going to be bombarded from all different sides to not go down that road because of financial pressures, and community pressures and all of that....You know all the other stuff is learned really… but to me that's the most important thing is to know where you really want to go… (Scouffas, June, 2012)

2.2. The Evolution of Institutional Missions: the Focus on Audience

The evolution of institutional missions is a natural part of the process of institutional adaptation of the performing arts sector. Not surprisingly, missions of contemporary performing arts organizations are very much focused on audience and audience development, and they naturally reflect such elements as *access, diversity,* and *inclusiveness*. This focus on audience could be explained by several factors, but perhaps the two most important are: the modern understanding of performing art aesthetics, and the fact that the sustainability of both live and recorded performing arts organizations greatly depend on mass audiences. Thus, both aesthetically and managerially, performing arts institutions are integrating the public into their missions. As for the long-term, this emphasis on audience is likely to persist; if anything, performing arts organizations are likely to become even more inclusive and accommodating to their various audiences.

In addition to the already accepted focus on audience development, performing art organizations of the future are likely to view themselves as civic organizations that perform socially important functions outside of their main cultural purpose. The role of the performing arts in forming the shared sense of community is part of their historical legacy, when performances of mixed repertoires were produced for mixed audiences, and people of various walks of life were gathered in the same spaces (Bayer, 2011). Hence, in a way, the increasing

emphasis on the civic role of performing arts is a reflection of earlier developments that will persist in the future in more deliberate and more systematic ways. This emphasis on the civic function of the performing arts is also likely to prove itself as an effective long-term sustainability strategy.

The majority of the performing arts' public is located in the communities, and the proximity of performing arts organizations to their audiences makes them more community oriented, as compared to museum and literature organizations. Therefore, performing civic functions, in addition to aesthetic and cultural roles, appears important for enhancing the institutional resilience of individual performing art organizations and achieving the long-term sustainability of the sector as a whole:

> Our community programming is very fundamental to our mission, it is sort of the third leg of our stool if you will: you've got the company performances, you've got the school, and you've got the community programming. I have to say that there almost every ballet company in America…has community programs as a vital part of their mission…They certainly not only have commitment and obligation to a community program but it is an essential part of being in their communities and being successful in their community… For any sustainable arts organization that depends on fundraising, as a good part of their budget as we do, as we all do, you have to be able to understand how to speak to all the many different varieties and variances of what makes your organization important to the community. (Bentley, July, 2012)

Based on the studies of arts participation conducted by the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA, 2006), performing arts organizations realize that stronger engagement with the arts results in higher levels of social capital, and stronger and more sustainable communities overall. Hence, stimulating arts participation becomes an important civic duty and an integral part of organizational missions:

> …[w]hat I said was that people who engage in the arts also tend to engage in more social capital, and we like that. For example, there is a tone of research and you can check things like the National Endowment for the Arts and other places

that show that people who participate in the arts also participate in the other things like voting, and they support charitable organizations, and they also participate in all kinds of other civic activities, and so there is a natural link between people who participate in the arts and those who do other civic engagement activities, and we love that fact that we can be part of a catalyst for that… So we are not just doing something aesthetic. We really want to have people engaged in the community, we love the fact that we could be some type of the leverage, a motivator that encourages people to participate in the community, participate in the arts, and participate in the Kauffman Center, that it is all synthesized together. We just really love being in that role. (Chu, July, 2012)

Although the audience-orientation has been a permanent feature of the performing arts throughout their history, the relationship between theatres, operas, concert halls, festivals and their audiences have evolved from viewing the audience as a passive spectator to viewing the audience as an integral part of performance. Hence, similar to museums that have gradually transformed from elitist to egalitarian institutions, the relationships between performing arts institutions and their public transformed from hierarchical to collaborative. The studies of contemporary performing art aesthetics help explaining this kind of change (Davies, 2011; Fischer-Lichte, 2008; Godlovitch, 1998; Thom, 1993).

Several scholars of modern performing art aesthetics argue that a performance could be considered as both an art event and a work of art in its own right, and thus it could be treated equally with any art object that is worth admiration (Davies, 2011; Fischer-Lichte, 2008). Additionally, contemporary performing art presupposes blurring distinctions between artists and their audience, art and life, and an openness to an understanding of the performing arts through the prism of wider social, cultural, and political processes (Fischer-Lichte, 2008). The major change in the performance aesthetics happened in 1960s, when "the theater was no longer considered as a mere representation of a fictive world created for an audience to observe and interpret" (Fischer-Lichte, 2008). The theater event was now supposed to happen between actors and spectators, it was supposed to produce and convey the meaning, and articulate the content

rather than merely reproduce the text (Davies, 2011). Thus the live performance gradually became more process oriented, and more focused on relationships between actors and audiences.

In addition to re-conceptualizing the performance as an art work created in a symbiosis with the audience, some scholars found profound connectedness between the performing arts and the community. For example, in his study of music, Godlovitch conceptualizes a musical performance as "complex networks of relations linking together musicians, musical activities, works, listeners, and performance communities" (Godlovitch, 1998, p. 1). Hence performers, listeners and performance communities are all parts of the music network. Erika Fischer-Lichte expands this idea by taking it outside of the performing arts world and by arguing that since 1990s the boundaries between theatrical and nontheatrical performances (festivals, amateur theaters, street performance, political campaigns, fundraising events, and other types of community organizing) are merging. She calls this process "aestheticization and theatricalization of all types of performances" (Fischer-Lichte, 2008, p. 196). Her thesis essentially implies that performance aesthetics becomes part of community life. This argument can be further developed by claiming that performing art as a form of aesthetics is instrumental to a community, and the impact of the performing arts as institutions exceeds the domain of aesthetics,-it becomes an important social institution.

In the world of art organizations, management and aesthetics are intertwined. The aesthetic peculiarities of a particular art form (visual arts, performing arts, literature) impact missions, managerial roles, and management strategies of respective art organizations in the most direct way. Therefore, although mission statements of performing arts organizations reflect some of the themes found in the missions of art museums and literature organizations, there are also

important distinctions due to the difference in aesthetic forms. One such difference is the inclusion of audience as part of the mission and a focus on communal experiences:

> Music has to always fight to retain its relevance and illustrate that, and look for new ways to perpetuate…Onetime concert experience is different than like a six-month long exhibit, where you have a focused time, where you can bring people together, and give them something to talk about or share. It just makes it more special that way. (Evano, July, 2012)

Consequently, mission statements of contemporary performing art organizations tend to shifts toward a greater emphasis of the social roles and community significance. Hence, organizational missions tend to reflect both *instrumental* and *semi-instrumental* roles of arts organizations, and in some cases, this implies the subordination of a pure artistic value to more instrumental social benefits. For example, the current mission of the Kansas City Ballet is "to establish Kansas City Ballet as an indispensable asset of the Kansas City community through exceptional performances, excellence in dance training and community education for all ages"("Kansas City Ballet, Mission Statement,"). Here, the organization is attempting to use its artistic significance to benefit the community in which it is located. The other example is the vision statement of the Kansas Symphony: "to transform hearts, minds and communities through the power of symphonic music"("Kansas City Symphony, Vision Statement,"). In a less direct way, this organization too is thinking not just about the aesthetics but also about social significance.

This is a relatively new tendency, and other organizations still tend to focus on more aesthetic aspects of their missions. For example, the mission of Oregon Bach Festival is "to inspire the human spirit through the art of music"("Oregon Bach Festival, Mission Statement," 2012), and the mission of the Lyric Opera of Kansas City is "to enrich the lives of people of all ages and backgrounds throughout the region by offering a broad repertoire of professional

operatic experiences" ("The Lyric Opera of Kansas City, Mission Statement," 2012). However, as our study shows, even if the focus on a community and social relevance is not directly embedded in mission statements, it is still evident in organizational practices.

The focus on audience means many things: it means reflecting the aesthetic preferences of the audience while choosing the repertoire, it means balancing multiple interests, it means targeting underrepresented groups of public, and many other things. Generally, in their move toward the public, performing arts organizations are likely to provide greater *accessibility* of their facilities and performances to the audience:

> I think we are going to be able to start asking ourselves are there other things, additional things that we might want to do. And I think what you will probably see in the future is that we should be performing in the park, we should perform for free. Use our young singers and programs…Maybe going out into the suburbs and performing there. I think you are going to see more and more of that. Should we be more…Can we be on television or something of that nature… That's where you may see some growth and some development of the company. We may now start doing performances in other locations. (Luskin, July 2012)

Based on this quotation, performing arts organizations are attempting to provide *access* to great audiences by being more mobile and dynamic, by going to the audience rather than waiting for the audience to come to them. Just like for museums, the relationship build between an organization and its public is going to be more meaningful, than a particular performing arts building. The impact of a particular performance and a particular organization is going to exceed the walls of a music hall or a dance pavilion, thus reaching larger and more *diverse* audiences. Like literature institutions, the use of media and technology is coming to be more common in the world of live performing arts, because technology is one of the most effective tools to ensure broader *access* to the arts.

Digital technology is becoming more mainstreaming in live music productions, thus enhancing the *global access* to music. For example, *The Oregon Bach Festival*, in addition to the traditional live performances and limited CD productions, started recording its music and selling the records to a wide audience through an online project:

> Specifically with the recording, as that changed the industry, we moved from recording as a tactic of implementing that strategy to online. There is a digital Bach project that we are currently using, so in a lot of ways it takes the same place. It is a way to make our music our scholarship accessible to a wider range of people who might not be able to be here. It lets them be able to relive it during the course of the year so now that is available online in a unique way rather than say like CDs. So the strategy is kind of the same, you know, it is involving people in as many typical ways and exposing people to music and scholarship, but the tactic, switching from a hard disk to online material. (Evano, July, 2012)

Making performing arts more *accessible* also means finding languages that speak to people of various generations, socio-economic groups, and aesthetic preferences. This could mean speaking the same language in a literary sense, by providing the programming in a language that is most spoken in the community, although it might not be the original language of the art works presented. For example, *Kansas City Lyric Opera* started doing classical opera performances in English, which makes them more accessible to the local audience and helps bringing down the *access* barriers (Luskin, July 2012). However, finding the same language in a figurative sense, means that a successful and sustainable performing arts organization has to find the right balance of genres, forms and repertoires for each season in order to keep people continuously interested. Greater *accessibility* of art productions over time would translate into more loyal audiences and would the increased institutional capital for sustainability:

> The company always had a commitment to doing some new opera and in particular trying to do some American operas. And we have continued doing that. We can't do it every time. The majority of our audience prefers traditional opera. But we have found that some seek something contemporary, and it is something that we very much enjoy producing so we can continue doing that. (Luskin, July 2012)

> The last one is really part of the mission…which is to provide really diverse
> performing arts experiences to the community. Often people think that performing
> arts centers are elitist, and we really did not want to fall into that trap, so the
> easiest thing to do that is to provide a diverse genre, range of genres, and range of
> performances. (Chu, July, 2012)

Moreover, to sustain themselves in the long-run, classic live performing arts are attempting to become more *inclusive* by overcoming various access barriers associated with the perception of classical music, opera, dance, and theater as elite arts. When considering underprivileged populations, the major barrier of access to fine arts is not economic but psychological (Wulff, March, 2012). As described by an interviewee, people from underserved populations often feel intimidated by performing arts buildings, especially if they have never entered them before, and the source of this intimidation is the lack of the feeling of belonging to this kind of experience, the social alienation:

> But the problem is not changing that way; the problem is that you have people
> who have never been in a concert hall, they are afraid to cross the door, to enter.
> They also never go to special restaurants with friends, even they might not be
> very expensive, but they are afraid to cross the border line between different part
> of the society, and the culture can connect the different element of society in a
> very easy way. The art, food, eat and drink, and sport – this is one of the elements
> you can easily communicate with different cultures and parts of society. (Wulff,
> March, 2012)

Hence, the exposure to the performing arts could help to overcome the social alienation. In addition, performing art organizations are implementing various deliberate strategies aimed at making their institutions more welcoming and *inclusive.* These strategies include the diversification of the repertoire, marketing programs to uncommon audiences, providing ticket discounts, arranging transportation for minority groups and public schools to the performing art venues, etc. (Bentley, July, 2012; Byrne, June, 2012; Chu, July, 2012; Evano, July, 2012; Luskin, July 2012; Martin, July 2012; Wulff, March, 2012) Hence, being more *inclusive* is an

important element of the performing arts' missions, and in the long-run greater inclusiveness will

be translated into the institutional capital for sustainability:

> And my interest is that arts and culture will have an increasing importance in future, and in that sense besides super star high level performances, presentations, exhibitions, it needs the system to involve people in a different way to come closer to the people and to go to the people to bring art to the people, and to try to include them, try to make them partner, try to avoid any borderline between the culture hall and people who are afraid to move inside. And this will be a very important step to bringing peace to society, a very important step to keep peace in society by introducing them to the beauty of art and to offer to them the beauty of this cultural garden. If you always eat fast food, you do not know what a real restaurant can offer to you. You do not have a desire to taste it. And if you once have a chance and if you discover it, then you will never eat fast food. (Wulff, March, 2012)

As this expert explained, by providing exposure to various publics, performing art

organizations offer the range of access opportunities for people who would not have obtained

these opportunities otherwise. Thus, performing art organizations are functioning as just

institutions (Rawls, 1971) by upholding the idea of wide public interest and implementing the

ethic of sustainability. Working with non-traditional and underrepresented audiences is a good

example of such an ethic: while it benefits the community today it also serves as a long-term

investment in a more just future:

> But when I came here I thought it was very important for us to have extremely active education programs, to be in the schools, to be working with young people… And we were able to establish an education department which is now extremely active. It is one of the most respected education outreach programs in the United States. We commissioned children's operas; we had a summer opera camp bringing young people down to our theater. We go to prisons. We go to women's shelters with opera programs. We have an apprentice program for young singers at the university level. We sell discounted tickets to students. In the past about 20 percent of our audience was 20 years old or younger, and we are very proud of that fact. (Luskin, July 2012)

In the recent years, performing arts organizations also started exploring unusual genres,

which helps targeting nontraditional audiences. One example is the "Video Games Live" show

performed by *Oregon Symphony* for the first time in 2007 (Stabler, 2009). The show matches live symphonic music with big-screen projections of video games, and it is clearly aimed at the next generation of listeners. This project brought to the Symphony a mixed audience of various ages, and about half of the audience was between the ages of 20 and 30, which is far outside of the traditional age range for the symphony music. One can argue that such a performance is outside of the *Oregon Symphony's* mission; however, if the *diversity* of audience is implicitly embedded in the organizational mission, then such an experiment is just another way to fulfill that mission.

Serving different publics has been integral to the mission of theaters, orchestras and other performing arts organizations for a long time. Before the commercial and nonprofit art organizations split the territory in the early twentieth century, performing arts organizations had a mixed repertoire, which reflected the tastes of both elites and ordinary audiences (K. F. McCarthy, 2001). Modern performing arts organizations are going back in history by integrating the values of *inclusiveness* and *diversity* into their missions. What is new is an equitable approach toward the audience. Because of the profound connection between performing arts and their communities, and the reliance of performing arts organizations on diverse, mass audiences, social equity has become a crucial element of the long-term sustainability of the performing arts sector. For instance, in Ramnarine's consideration orchestras, she observes that social relevance of orchestras take on many forms, including implementation of educational projects, engagement with new audiences and diverse communities, as well a the capacity to work towards social equity (Ramnarine, 2011). The latter implies shifting from the paradigm of serving highly educated class to creating multiple opportunities, providing access, and fostering communities at large. Hence, while it is important for the performing arts organizations to target underprivileged

populations, there is also the recognition that performing arts outreach is for everyone, and the entire community should have access to it. Thus, performing arts institutions also play an important normative function by promoting the value of social equity within their communities. This change in the current paradigm also affects the interests of the future generations by fostering a positive social transformation.

Of the other cultural industries, performing arts are the closest to the entertainment industry. With the increasing adoption of corporate business practices, the distinction of nonprofit art organizations and their corporate counterparts is even more blurry. At the same time, there is a realization that maintaining institutional uniqueness and distinctiveness is vital for the long-term sustainability of individual organizations and of the sector. As the discussion of institutional missions demonstrates, contemporary performing art organizations are increasingly emphasizing their civic roles and perform an important normative function in their communities by cultivating and implementing an ethic of sustainability through their organizational practices. This brings performing art institutions back to their core purpose, it serves as a safeguard for their mission, and ensures that they serve the public interest in a way that remains distinct from the corporate business world. It can be concluded that the focus on civic roles and social equity in the performing arts missions is an effective adaptive strategy aimed at keeping and reinforcing the institutional distinctiveness of the sector.

2.3. Extra-Institutional Partnerships and Sustainability: The Kauffman Center for the Performing Arts

As institutional missions evolve toward greater community involvement, the strategies for the long-term sustainability evolve as well. Building greater cross-institutional partnerships with other organizations is becoming a mainstream strategy for the urban performing art

organizations which benefits to these organizations and the community itself. One such example from the Kansas City metropolitan area is the creation of the *The Kauffman Center for the Performing Arts.* The Center is considered one of the most technically and architecturally advanced performing arts centers in the world. It was originally initiated in 1995 in Kansas City as a civic initiative of the philanthropist Muriel McBrien Kauffman because of her own passion for the performing arts. Its first season started in fall of 2011, and today the Center is the performance home to the Kansas City Symphony, the Lyric Opera of Kansas City, and the Kansas City Ballet ("Kauffman Center ", 2012). Although the original intentions behind the creation of the Kauffman Center were predominantly artistic and aesthetic, its mission developed as more civic organizations and community leaders joined the project. As a result, the Kauffman Center as we know it today ended up serving several important social purposes.

First, it helped to increase the institutional capacity and consolidate resources of the major performing arts institutions in the region. Second, it broadened the scope of partnerships between performing arts institutions and other community organizations and opened up possibilities for wider public outreach and greater community-oriented projects. Third, the Kauffman Center played an important role in enhancing the image and reputation of the Kansas City area, thus attracting more businesses and the creative class. Finally, it filled out the gaps in the performing arts offerings by bringing in repertoire that did not duplicate but rather complemented the existing organizations, and in many respects made performances more accessible for the public at large. The Kauffman Center for the Performing Arts is an example of an extra-institutional initiative that in many ways fostered institutional resilience and enhanced the capital for sustainability of the performing arts organizations located in Kansas City area. This was made possible due to the fact that the Center is based on very strong ties with the

community and it needs, thus creating the sense of belonging and ensuring community ownership. As expressed by its CEO, the mission of the Kauffman Center is:

> …[t]o provide really diverse performing arts experiences to the community. Often people think that performing arts centers are elitist, and we really did not want to fall into that trap, so the easiest thing to do that is to provide a diverse genre, range of genres, range of performances. For example, we do our own preventing, and we have performances that we try to complement what the Symphony, the Opera, Ballet and other presenters in the community are doing. So we do not want to duplicate what they are doing, if they are already doing it, we just try to go the other direction, to provide the greater breath of performances available for the community, so there will be something available for everyone. So in that approach, that is the mission of ours to bring in a diverse range of constituents representing all kinds of walks of life, and by that I mean levels of income. (Chu, July, 2012)

In this sense, the Kauffman Center is a truly egalitarian institution that was able to identify its own niche by filling in the gaps in the local performing arts repertoire. At the core of its mission are the emphasis on the community at large and the stress on such values as *inclusiveness, diversity*, and *partnership*. Hence, the main value of the Center for the community stems not from its advanced technical design and architectural appeal, it stems from its intentions and ability to reach out and create a *sense of inclusion* and *ownership*. Compared to other organizations interviewed for this study, the Kauffman Center is a very young institution. What it is trying to achieve is an example of sustainability through the *ownership* approach, where a truly sustainable community organization establishes itself as particularly identified with a community, and in return, a community takes care of it in good and in bad times. The Kauffman Center CEO Jane Chu explains such an approach in a very metaphorical way by describing the Center as an institution that attempts to become 'the third place' for all people living in the Kansas City community, a place that belongs to people, and a place where people belong:

> We want this building to be, well, intrinsically it would be a building that belongs to the community, where they feel like they have some ownership in it, that they are part in this in any way they can. There is a book, I think called "The Third Place", and that book is talking about a couple of places that are meaningful to us

– one would be our home, another one would be our work and the third place would be some of those places where we each choose to gather that are not at home or work. It may be worship places, or they might be bars, or may be social gatherings. And we would like in that concept for the Kauffman Center to be that third place for people, where they feel where they belong. And if we said that and we really meant it, than we really have to find ways to at least to show that we represent a diverse range of experiences, so that's the goal behind all that. And success for us, you know many times when we do our performances, I can walk out to the lobby and see the attendees, and if I do not recognize them, that's one of the greatest successes to me. If I do not know them, this is an opportunity to get to know them, and they aren't just one standards type of audience with the specific demographic, and nobody else comes to the building,-this is all about diverse constituents. (Chu, July, 2012)

This sense of community *ownership* can be developed in several ways, but first of all through the idea of *accessibility*. This implies accessibility in many respects: accessibility of a repertoire, accessibility in terms of ticket prices, and accessibility in terms of the physical aspect of the facilities. The technical and architectural design of the Kauffman Center, as well as its mixed repertoire that accommodates several art organizations under one physical space, is very conducive to these multiple accessibilities, and therefore, it is conducive to the interests of multiple publics.

In terms of long-term sustainability, the most direct effect of the Kauffman Center on the local performing arts organizations is the increased *institutional capacity* of these organizations. Institutional capacity includes better production opportunities, stronger contacts with performers and producers, increased organizational prestige, and greater opportunities for networking and collaboration. As described by the manager of a local performing art organization, the Center plays the role of a catalyst for developing new partnerships, increasing the prestige of performing art organizations and the community, and developing the world-class productions:

Kauffman Center served as a catalyst… What the Kaufman center did was it gave us the opportunity to improve all of the other venues…And what this means is…we now have all new and renovated facilities that are as good as the Kaufman Center, and it was because of the founding of the Kaufman Center that we were able to do this…You know frequently opera companies will do joint productions

> with one or two other opera companies. We were very limited in doing this in the past, but now we have a lot more possibilities…This past season we did Nixon in China but that production left Kansas City, and it went straight to the San Francisco Company. The San Francisco opera is an international company. Never in the past could we have done something like that, but now a production which works on our stage also works in San Francisco, and we are in the final stages of discussing a collaboration that we are going to be presenting in 10 years in San Francisco. So we have the opportunity to do this to work with companies that are of high international level….The facilities are also very attractive to singers. Now when a singer comes to Kansas City, they are going to rehearse in a wonderful facility…And this attracts good singers and the singers tell their colleagues, and they tell their managers, and it makes Kansas City a much more attractive place for them to perform. (Luskin, July 2012)

At the same time, the consolidation of the leading performing arts institutions of the area in one building might have downsides. First, shared facilities imply shared spaces and shared audiences, they also imply that a particular institution is associated less with its own peculiar space and is associated more with multiple identities. In this sense, a particular institution sacrifices part of its own identity that is linked to a particular building in favor of the extra-institutional identity by being absorbed in the image of *The Kauffman Center*. Second, improved performing arts facilities imply the increased ticket prices which limit the *accessibility* to some population groups and if *accessibility* is one of the goals of the expansion, then there is a contradiction:

> One thing that has happened is moving to the new Kaufman Center it is hard to maintain expenses for us. And we did raise ticket prices, and we continued selling tickets even though it was more expensive. But we have always had a certain number of inexpensive tickets, and we kept those seats when we moved it to the Kaufman. We would like to feel that there is nobody who would like to attend the Lyric Opera, can't because it is too expensive. (Luskin, July 2012)

Hence, one of the major reservations regarding the Kauffman Center was the common expectation that the number of ticket sales is going to drop after the first season, however, unlike with many new performing venues that tend to experience 15 percent drop in subscription sales in the second year, sales in the *Kauffman Center* have held steady (Koepp, 2012). In order to

ensure continued subscriptions in future seasons, managers of performing arts organizations

employed several strategies, including investing into the quality of productions, and building

stronger networks and deeper relationships with community through the public education and

outreach:

> Ticket sales are strong this year…And part of our strategy, in our first year in the Kaufman Center we knew we would have all of these people who wanted to see the new building and our challenge was to make sure that we put something in the building that people would want to continue coming back and seeing. We knew we had to do an excellent first season. And I think that the subscription campaign and the success of the subscription campaign for the second season suggests that we were successful that the audience really liked what it saw, and so they are coming back for the second year…So we feel it has made a real impact on the company, and it is a sustainable impact. (Luskin, July 2012)

Despite some of its limitations, the *Kauffman Center* had an overall positive impact on

individual performing arts organizations, and it has opened up the room for greater creativity and

innovation, and for exploring new directions and formats, which is particularly important for the

long-term. As explained by the executive director of the *Kansas City Lyric Opera*, the *Kauffman*

Center is an excellent performing arts venue, and in this sense the building is something that the

Opera now has to worry about less, and it can now give more attention to thinking about

reaching its current and future audiences in more innovative ways:

> Now I think we are going to be able to start asking ourselves, "Are there other things, additional things that we might want to do?" And I think that you will probably see in the future…now that we have a very nice rehearsal facility, we could do small operas, we could do operas using our young singers in our production facility, and have a smaller audience that is interested in maybe new opera, maybe new works…That's where you may see some growth and some development of the company. (Luskin, July 2012)

As an extra-institutional partnership, the *Kauffmann Center* has so far proven to be

effective in increasing the overall image of the performing arts sector in the Kansas City area,

improving the institutional capacity of individual performing art organizations, and benefitting

the community as a whole.

2.4. The Evolution of Managerial Roles: the Focus on a Community

An important element in the long-term sustainability of the arts is the nature and quality of management of art organizations. Effective performing arts management implies a particular professional judgment and managerial intuition. This study shows that a special kind of managerial logic – sustainable thinking and sustainable acting – improve the probability that art organizations will thrive through hard times by translating challenges into opportunities, which is one of the key narratives of institutional resilience. Managers of performing arts institutions are responsible for the wide array of diverse functions including involvement in developing the repertoire and recruiting professional artists, developing a funding base and managing finances, maintaining productive relationships with the boards, marketing their organizations, coordinating public outreach and public education, and dealing with day-to-day organizational routines (T. S. Stein & Bathurst, 2008).

There are three managerial roles in the world of performing arts that are particularly important for the long-term sustainability: building relationships between their institutions and communities; stimulating communication, conversation, and debate based on the semi-instrumental role of art; and willing and being able to take risks, constantly learn and adapt. The most prominent managerial role discussed in the interviews for this study is *building relationships* between performing art institutions and actors in the external institutional environment. This managerial role includes *building relationships* with three major groups of stakeholders: donors, partners (public schools, other community organizations), and the community at large (audiences, young people, and future generations). The role of *building relationships* applies to the internal organizational management as well, where managers are

seen as leaders, mediators, and facilitators, who *build relationships* with their subordinates and

colleagues, and guide the entire organization towards common goals:

> I guess that's the other thing you have to be, you have to know if you are a good leader. And if you are not a good leader, you have to either learn what that is to be a good leader or not become one. Because when you have lack of good leadership in organizations like this, it becomes, it can become void of all of the things that you are trying to get to, and becomes complicated and confused about where it should be going. Really this is the kind of organization that really has to have a strong vision. (Scouffas, June, 2012)

Building both institutional and extra-institutional relationship between performing arts

organizations and their communities are particularly important for long-term sustainability. As

explained by a performing art manager:

> In terms of sustainability, the success of any performing arts organization is contingent upon building relationships with audience, with donors and with the larger community…You cannot teach good judgment, you can teach techniques but as I look at people in the field, you got a lot of people that are very smart, very sincere, that are struggling because their communities are not behind what they are doing. So, I think it is imperative no matter how well trained someone is, how many degrees or courses you have been through in arts administration, if your community does not fully support what is going on, it will be nearly impossible to succeed. So, I would encourage whoever goes in this business to first step back and make sure that the goals of the organization are as aligned as they can possibly be with the desires and objectives of arts community in which they reside. (Byrne, June, 2012)

Building relationships implies that managers of performing art institutions envision

themselves as *connectors* between their institution and other elements of social and cultural

networks connecting their organization with other elements in the community of its location:

> I see art as a relationship, and if I am the creator of the work then what am I trying to create communicate say, you know what's the story of the theme of personal as well in theater you know that changes from production to production, but as artists we choose our productions we choose our topics based on what appeals to us inside…I personally see myself as a connector you know I mean connecting what? Connecting person to person, connecting person to art, and connecting artist to artist. You know I mean I try to be a translator, and a little bit of cheer leader, and certainly a supporter. (Christilles, July 2012)

Managers interviewed for this research are consistent in seeing the *relationship building* function as an important civic duty of their organizations, and they treat it using the accountability narrative. This implies the "stewardship of the contributions" that they receive (Chu, July, 2012), and it also implies delivering on the institutional promise by serving audiences that are "greater in every sense: greater in enthusiasm, greater in size, greater in diversity, greater in socio-economic level"(Byrne, June, 2012). *Building relationships* with local communities also includes offering high quality aesthetic experiences that allow public to "feel enriched personally by hearing some of the greatest works of art that man is ever created" (Byrne, June, 2012), and keeping art organizations "very relevant to this community" by making a particular community "distinctive and recognizable in other communities as well." (Chu, July, 2012)

Sustainability seems to be simple and intuitive; yet *building relationships* with a particular community implies knowing this community, and matching this knowledge with particular managerial practices. Administrators who manage to make their organizations indispensable to communities are succeeding in the art of sustainability:

> And almost every community is different, and we have had orchestras going out of business that otherwise one would imagine should support, and this includes Syracuse and New Mexico Symphony and Florida Philharmonic, and the Honolulu Symphony. Sometimes they have been resurrected in some fashions, hard to say whether it will continue…aligning the objectives of the institution and the objectives of the community, and finding ways to create relevance and create connections I think is essential… defining techniques and different ways in which to make themselves indispensable in their community, they need to come up with the role that makes it such that the community cannot imagine going on without an orchestra, and that requires the alignment in the goals of the orchestra and larger goals of the community, and the people who are in the board for that organization is around. (Byrne, June, 2012)

Connecting with communities and *building relationships* appears to be an effective sustainability strategy that is much more likely to keep performing arts organizations afloat than management tools widely-discussed in the literature, such as diversifying the revenue base,

integrating technology into the process of artistic production and delivery, using marketing tool to target and keep audiences, etc. All of these things are still important but in the arts management world, effectiveness involves looking at the management not "as a commerce transaction but as a relationship transaction" (Christilles, July 2012). Thus, although the performing arts have always been dependent on public for their sustainability, the role of managers as connectors to their communities is a fairly recent emphasis, and it is going to be the mainstream in the future:

> I've been doing this for a very long time but I think managers now have a much larger role in the community, and I think when there is partners you know managers and artistic directors I think that now has become both people have an obligation to the community, we have to be part of the political construct, we have to be part of the social fabric we have to be part of the artistic fabric, we have to engage audiences, we have to engage in schools. There is a whole panorama of obligations and responsibilities that you have to be investing in. You can't just sit at the desk and try to raise money, or try and manage the organization-you have got to be a face of the company, have got to be out there in the community. I don't think that has always been the case, I think sometimes the managers were considered back room people who just dealt with numbers. (Bentley, July, 2012)

The other major managerial role is the ability to use art in order to stimulate *communication, conversation, and debate* between an art organization and its community. This managerial role is a reflection of the *semi-instrumental function* of art institutions for society. In this role performing art managers use their positions to communicate values and messages generated by their art institutions to the community at large.

> Well, the managers have to communicate the subject, so people get interested in this. And they have a message to tell, and they must be able to attract the people to listen to this message. So in our time it is probably more important to have public relations managers who is doing this in a very professional way, the communication between the people and your institution, but it is getting more and more important not only to have very professional performances, high artistic level, but also to communicate this result with people, and transfer this information to people, to deliver this information to many people in different ways – going to people who are not very close to artistic field but try to reach them, try to explain how beautiful the music is. (Wulff, March, 2012)

The purpose of this *communication* is, however, not to transmit and replicate ideas; it is rather to stimulate a *conversation* or a *debate* about the art, society, and the relationships between the two. Such *conversation,* while originated in the arts, could lead to a broader discussion of the human nature and the world, and managers of performing art organizations often serve as catalysts for such discussions. The ability of performing art managers to tell a story and *communicate* through the arts is of particular importance for the sustainability of arts organizations. As explained by one of the managers, story-telling is part of good art management:

> I would go back to the idea of vertical points of connection, a vertical point of entry is really important. Reflect upon the values of what inspired you in the first place. For instance, the creative values the high creative ability and persistence. Look back on what those founding values are and perpetuate them. Good management. Techniques. And finally kind of the story telling, the brand and story that you have, and what is the richness and the humanity of what you do that you can talk about to connect people. Who are the people involved? What is unique about it? What is the history of the people on stage? What are the personal values of the conductors and musicians what are the human things that the advertised person can relate to. (Evano, July, 2012)

Therefore, both the *relationship building* and stimulating *communication/conversation/debate* are important managerial roles for the long-term sustainability of the performing arts. By strengthening the connection between an art organization and a community and by including arts into multidimensional social and cultural discourse, managers of performing arts organizations enhance the institutional capital for sustainability. It should be noted that such a strong emphasis on community in the world of performing arts organizations, particularly live arts, results not only from the fact that performing art organizations work with mass audience but also because the majority of these organizations are registered as nonprofit corporations, which in itself brings their missions closer to the community and its needs (Frumkin, 2002).

The third important managerial role has to do with the management style that has proven its effectiveness in ensuring institutional resilience of performing arts organizations today. Managers interviewed for this study describe such style as *flexibility and adaptability, willingness and ability to take risks, and constantly learn* that allows organizations to take the advantage of challenges and environmental instabilities by transforming them into the opportunities for the development:

> You know so I mean I think that the biggest thing about being a manager going forward different than before is being comfortable with being flexible. If you look at generations before it's like… these are big scary things. I mean ok I'm going after this big several thousand dollar grant, and I'm getting the university to kick in other money, and it's an 800 thousand dollar project…Our creative campus grant, when we did that project we heard so much of our colleagues saying they had to do so many-342 experiences before they had the successful one. Failure is more a part of life than winning. But you only remember the wins, so you have to never lose site that the win is there, and you are always moving forward. You are learning something every time. It gets you a little closer every time, and so we talk a lot in our field now about risk management and assessing your comfort level with risk. I think risk management, and flexibility, and your adaptability has something to do with your tolerance of risk. It is scary to risk on lots of different levels but you know that's ok, that's life, and I'd rather… I would hope that everyone around me could find the joy in life and be free enough to recognize it when it happens. (Christilles, July 2012)

This managerial role is based on pragmatic thinking and sustainable acting that is considered by both museum and literature organizations as a special kind of managerial rationality and as an important element of the sustainability narrative. It implies that day-to-day sustainable thinking and sustainable acting matters more for long-term institutional sustainability than having a formalized strategic plan and a precisely formulated list of operational priorities. This idea is also applicable to the world of performing art organizations, regardless of their institutional structure. This is how it is described by the representatives of both a university-affiliated art center and a free-standing nonprofit art organization:

You know instead of always worried that they have their belt and they have their suspenders, they have their rain because you can't plan for everything. You can plan for a lot, you can absolutely think you have a plan for everything and then you have no worry when the thing you thought of occurs. You have to trust that you built a good enough toolbox that somewhere in there is that resource, or you've partnered with somebody that has the resource and thought about something you haven't thought about and you know be able to recognize that genius when it comes forward. Oh my god, yes, thank you! (Christilles, July 2012)

Trying to do new and interesting opera but be sensitive to your audience. It is all of those things and it is constantly balancing everything and always being very open to changes and opportunities. And you know the world of opera does change. And you have to be flexible to change with it. I don't know how different the world of opera will be in 15 years. We will still be performing in big auditoriums like the Kaufman. People will still want to see them. That's not going to change. Maybe there will be more opera and outreach in other locations. But I don't know that it is going to be radically different. (Luskin, July 2012)

Sustainable management in performing arts means staying true to the mission while responding to the growing needs of diverse audiences. This implies keeping the *balance* between popular demand and artistic experimentation, developing innovative approaches to the performing aesthetics, and exploring new genres and possibilities that are yet to be accessible to the public at large. In this regard, a successful manager, who is acting sustainably, would be able to reconcile this contradiction by balancing the art of performance and the art of effective management:

There are a number of things that are contradictory. I think first of all you need to be honest and true to the art form and you want it to be as excellent and as good as is possible. The challenge is to find away to do that and still pay your bills. If you have year after year of deficits, if you are doing brilliant opera but you can't pay for it eventually, you're not going to exist. So you have to do really good opera, but do it in such a way that you can pay for it. I think there is a world of opera where we have to do certain basic repertoire and it is important to do opera that is less well known. There has to be a good balance…And you have to find the proper blend of these things. (Luskin, July 2012)

In medium-sized and large performing art organizations, the *balance* between the management and artistic sides are based on a dual leadership structure, where the leadership is

carried through the synchronized work of an executive director and an artistic director (Bentley, July, 2012; Luskin, July 2012). In some ways, this resembles the city government structure in the U.S. cities, where elected officials such as the mayor play political role and appointed officials such as city managers are responsible for administration, but where there is also an overlap between political representation and efficient administration. In this respect, the symbiosis between these two roles will ensure the sustainability of the overall management:

> There are some organizations where the artistic director simply says I am going to go forward with my vision and it is simply everyone else's job to simply find the money find the resources which is a very naive impractical especially in this economy approach to have, and those companies tend to get into significant financial distress at some point because the money is being spent and maybe it is being spent to further a high quality previous product, maybe not. It doesn't always happen that way but if at some point resources are no longer available the companies begin to have shortfalls in their annual budget, the companies begin to have accumulated deficit, the companies begin to have to cut back on expenses, and then all of a sudden the organization itself becomes very quickly in distress. So one of the things that has made this a sustainable institution has been the ability of the executive leadership and artistic leadership to find a common agreement on how to ensure quality within the context of available resources. (Bentley, July, 2012).

Keeping the balance might not be an easy thing to do, especially when managers of the same institution come from different professional backgrounds. An artist who becomes an art manager and a general manager who joins an art organization are different professions, and finding a common language can be a serious issue. Even at the discourse level, the language used by artists who are in management positions is very different from the language used by professionally trained managers. The first quotation below describes how a person with an artistic background defined what the art management is, and the second quotation offers the definition from a professionally trained manager:

> Well, the term 'culture management' has two parts – one is culture, and one is management. How to attract sponsors, manage the structures are all important questions but culture management means thinking very carefully what is your

message, what is culture, what is the subject, which is different from selling chocolate or cars. This must be clear in your mind, so it is more philosophic…it is very hard to think how to warm the heart of the people. For instance, even finding a title for a cultural project is very important. And I would recommend for cultural managers, to, please do your work and study the economic part of management but then, please, take care and study very carefully what means art and what means culture…to do it in a responsible way, to communicate with or by art this needs very strong interest to come very close to the subject. (Wulff, March, 2012)

Before I became the executive director I was in a general manager position, and then in 2002 I became the executive director…The things that were most important to me were to instill the most sound business practices, to ensure that we had accurate data and record keeping, so we can properly measure what we were and were not accomplishing, to make changes in the staff that were necessary – to ensure that we had competent people to execute what we were trying to do, and then challenge the organization to perform at a higher level, and I am talking about on the administrative side but to encourage the organization to raise its sights in terms of what we hope to accomplish, to make sure that we dealt with the known revenue and known expenses, and that we cannot depend on wishful thinking to make future plans. (Byrne, June, 2012)

Our study also finds that an important part of the pragmatic managerial philosophy is the ethical commitment of art managers to intergenerational sustainability. From all the art organizations examined for this study, this commitment is spelled out in the most direct way by the managers of the performing arts organizations. The commitment to intergenerational sustainability exists on several levels, first, as the commitment to the sustainability of a particular organization, and second, as a commitment to the younger generations. In terms of the first, managers realize that a sustainable organization is more than a person, and a good manager should ensure that it keeps functioning effectively, even when they retire and leave the organization:

And many people keep saying oh now you are retiring how is the company going to survive without you and I'll say to them that the point to what I've been trying to do for all these years is I've been trying to institutionalize the way to do things. The company is not me. It is an institution, and yes I play an important role, but the company will continue to exist without me because the company is so much more than me. And you try to surround yourself with good people; good staff…to have a vision or sense of what you want the company to be doing… That is how it

works. You set that tone and then you have people moving ahead…(Luskin, July 2012)

In terms of the second part of the managerial commitment to intergenerational sustainability, it is found in the vital role of art managers in public outreach. *Building relationships* and connecting with younger generations seems to be of particular significance for any sustainable theater, opera, orchestra, or a dance company, and, there is a strong sense of personal managerial responsibility towards future generations:

> … [w]e are counselors to young dancers cause even our professional dancers they are often 18 years old they are still young they are still kids *they could be my granddaughters, so you have that obligation you have an obligation to encourage and engage the rest of your staff to make sure that they continue to remember why we are all here* which is about the art form and what is going on in the studio and why we are raising money so there is a whole pallet of I think responsibilities that management now has in order to maintain a successful organization that remains at the tip of the spear in terms of focus and importance in a community. [Emphasis added]. (Bentley, July, 2012)

As it is clear from the quote above, at the root of the managerial commitment to the future generations is the instinct to treat younger public of performing art organizations as their own descendants, that is the classical idea behind the concept of intergenerational equity (Parfit, 1984). From a managerial stand point, fulfilling obligations to future generations might be a challenging task, especially at the times of economic recession, when arts are the first on the list to be cut, and when arts education is the most vulnerable budget line. Hence, staying true to this obligation often involves good judgment and ability to push the things through even when it is uncomfortable. As one of the art managers described it, when one of the programs for young people was under the threat of being cut, she personally stepped in to defend the program:

> I suppose *the biggest role I've played with that with the adventures program is I'm like a dog with a bone, I won't let it go*. Because one, it's about the art in our schools, it is about the art, it is about children, and the exposure and I've seen so many wonderful things happen over the years, and I've seen so many moments and.. it is right that we do it this way. [emphasis added] (Christilles, July 2012)

III.   The Extensive Public Education and the Intrinsic Impacts of the Performing Arts

Audience development is one of the most prominent themes in the performing arts interviews, which is not surprising, as almost every performing arts organization has a formal public education department. Reaching out to wide audiences is one of the leading arguments used to justify the crucial role of performing arts for communities and societies; it is also an important strategy aimed at enhancing arts participation. Recent surveys of the public participation in the arts reveal a downward trend in attendance at traditional performing arts events with the lowest participation in opera (4.8%), ballet (6.6%), nonmusical plays and classical music (21.2 and 20.9%), and the highest participation in musical plays (37.6%) (Hager & Winkler, 2012). Therefore, audience development through the public education function is a natural response to the declining participation trends. Moreover, some studies demonstrate that frequent arts participants are those who engage with arts in multiple ways (mentally, emotionally, and socially), and the intensity of such engagement determines the quality of individual experience from the arts (K. F. McCarthy, 2004). Therefore, it seems natural for the performing arts organizations to focus on their audience and its needs, and attempt to understand individual motivations for arts participation.

Numerous studies address the question of why people participate in performing arts and what kinds of benefits exist at both the individual and community levels (Hager & Winkler, 2012; Seaman, 2005; Swanson, Davis, & Zhao, 2008). The studies of performing arts audience can be divided into two groups: studies focusing on the demographic predictors of attendance and studies looking at the motivation aspects of attendance. The most widely recognized and researched psychological motivations of art participation include: aesthetic motivation,

educational motivation, desire to escape from everyday routines, recreation, desire to improve

self-esteem, and art participation as social interaction and the source of social connections

(Hager & Winkler, 2012; Swanson, et al., 2008). People tend to seek for the connections with

performing arts in a variety of life situations, including both happy and challenging times:

> [a]nd I think by also exposing our community to we are doing the best we
> can and we are trying to produce the best art that we can. And we want our
> community to see that it impacts them by seeing what's possible… Well
> you know it seems like whenever there is something really catastrophic
> that happens in the world in our community or whatever we go to the arts I
> think for solace for comfort and for hopefulness it helps get us through
> whether it be music or a form of visual art whatever form it is I really
> think it helps us get through the tough times it also helps us celebrate there
> are so many ways we rely on the arts. Whether we even think about it or
> not we just do we go to music or we go to the arts you know when you're
> down, you just go over where we are…It can be like an escape that gets
> you through the tough times and that gives us hope. (Martin, July 2012)

There appears to be little clarity regarding what matters more for participation: age,

gender, socioeconomic status, or individual-level drivers, but there are some useful findings to be

taken into account by performing arts organizations. For example, Hager and Winkler found that

demographic variables are more consistent predictors of participation as compared to

psychological motivations (Hager & Winkler, 2012). Particularly, their study suggests that arts

performing arts organizations interested in developing their audience should be concerned less

with gender and age, since they already attract different genders and generations, and they should

focus more on people with higher socio-economic status – as their most likely audience, or on

lower socio-economic and less educated households – if they want to reach out groups of

population. In terms of motivations, opera and orchestra attendees are not seeking social

opportunities, but they are motivated by the desire to escape from real world through the arts.

The study by Sawnson et all demonstrated that socialization motivation appears to be particularly

important among the highest income group (Swanson, et al., 2008), which is understandable because arts environment is a source of social capital and connections.

The major weakness of attendance studies is that they are focusing too much on the demand side of the performing arts, which often means neglecting the supply – i.e. the importance of arts and aesthetic experience. To fill this gap, some scholars look at the benefits of arts themselves that include a wide range of economic, social and cultural contributions of the arts to communities; as well as such as individual level benefits as an opportunity to socialize, escape from everyday routines, the improved quality of life (physical and mental health, reduced stress), using performing arts as a rehabilitation therapy, etc. (Belfiore, 2002; A.S. Brown & Novak, 2007; Guetzkow, 2002; Jackson, 2006; K. F. McCarthy, 2004) While focusing on the benefits of performing arts is an important research direction that will help to look at the arts in a more holistic way, the main limitation of these studies is that there seems to be a strong preoccupation with the study of the instrumental benefits of the arts and a lack of attention to intrinsic contributions. One of the explanations is that arts advocates themselves are reluctant to emphasize the intrinsic aspects of the arts experience because such arguments do not resonate well with donors (K. F. McCarthy, 2004). However, this study finds that intrinsic significance is an important element of the intergenerational sustainability of the arts, and is worth separate attention.

While there can be significant instrumental benefits to communities from the performing arts, and numerous economic and social benefits of having a vital performing arts sector are easily recognizable, the intrinsic significance of performing art for the communities is less obvious, yet it is vitally important for understanding the intergenerational role of the arts. *Social and community relevance* is only a partial explanation of the long-term sustainability of arts

institutions; another key factor is *the uniqueness and distinctiveness* of art institutions that is found in their intrinsic significance. This study finds evidence of the intrinsic significance of the performing arts by looking at their unique value for society. As explained by one of the art managers, performing arts contribute to a society through their aesthetic value and the ability to make communities more aesthetically appealing:

> So the arts generically and this company specifically I think has a very important role in the advancement of a community and making this place here an interesting and exciting and consistently new place to be. When you come down on first Friday to the crossroads art district, and you see thousands and thousands of people in the galleries walking along the galleries and walking down the streets, and there is music on the streets, it creates a sense of it, makes living appealing… Providing the community with the experience of a creative act, with music, and choreography, and design, and I think a community that doesn't have a large density of creative endeavors, whether it is a gallery or performing arts organization or library or a museum, I think it is not so successful of being a community. So I think the arts really define cities as communities, where people are communities, need to be sustained in a creative way it cannot always be just about business... (Bentley, July, 2012)

The distinct impact of the performing arts is based on their aesthetics, in particular, the unique ability of the live performing arts to evoke strong emotions, which are enhanced by the interaction between performers and their audience.

> Well, we believe that great music is something that has almost a spiritual component that touches people, it refreshes them, and it enriches the quality of their life. And this is borne out by the reactions that are replayed to us by our audience…We work hard to deliver over what we promised to people so that they walk away feeling enriched personally by hearing some of the greatest works of art that man is ever created. (Byrne, June, 2012)

Aside from the emotional and aesthetic appeal that is usually short-lived, performing art organizations are capable of cultivating certain long-lasting values and moral attitudes. For example, to be a successful performer – whether a musician or a dancer – one needs to invest a lot of time, energy, persistence, and personal dedication to this occupation on an everyday basis. Hence, when young people look at performing artists as role models, they are likely to pick up

this attitude, and adopt it as their own approach to pursuing important life goals. The director of the Kansas City Ballet calls this attitude *the commitment to excellence*:

> Well, first of all the arts generically are about the pursuit of perfection through the commitment to excellence the pursuit of perfection through excellence. And I think that's a benefit to any community to have organizations, whether they are businesses whether they are for profit, whether they are individuals, whether they are arts organizations, who are residents in the community, and who value excellence above all else so there's that. The Kansas City Ballet we have first of all we have a category of dancers who have committed their lives to again the pursuit of perfection through the attainment of excellence. (Bentley, July, 2012)

The commitment to excellence is a crucial part for any kind of performing art, since the acquisition of high level artistic skills requires not only a talent, but also a lot of everyday work, discipline and persistence, creativity, and the ability to overcome challenges and be resilient. This is not to say that being a painter or a writer does not require persistence, but while an artist or a writer works when their inspiration is right, a violinist or a ballet dancer has to work every day, and periods of interruption are not favorable to developing artistic excellence and mastery. An example from the world of music is given by the public outreach director of the *Oregon Bach Festival*, where he explains that particular personality traits of a great composer promote certain moral influences on individuals and communities, and they also impact the vision of the festival itself:

> Well, I think for us it goes back to what made Bach a great composer. His own personality traits, his creativity is determination and persistence. It wasn't easy for him as a musician given the forces to do what he wanted to do and he was doggedly determined and hardworking persistent- great personality traits but also the level of creativity of musicality art history all of those things because there is such high values that come out of Bach's music. So those are great qualities to have as a person but also as an organization also as a community so in the way that we create programs and shows not just referring to a time but also things that are relevant in Bach's time but also in today's time. The types of musical forms that he synthesized in his music back then can be seen in music that we do today. You know the tango player there are elements of using dance and rhythms of the time just like in his music it is the same it just isn't of that time. So the values are timeless. (Evano, July, 2012)

In some cases, performing arts institutions attempt to specifically target young people who, in their opinion, have the right attitude, personality traits, and leadership qualities, and are likely to make an impact on their communities. *The Kansas City Ballet* does so through their scholarship program that is designed to reach the community at large and not just professional dancers:

> I also work with high school kids. Inner city high school kids are a smaller program because it's more intense. And I will work with one or two high schools with their staff and identify probably 12 to 15 maybe as many as 20 upper level upper grade students in what I call project X, project exposure to the arts. And what I'm looking for are high achievers because I'm seeing those are good candidates for future leaders in our community. Most likely they are going to stay in our community. And I want them to know about the arts I want them to know this is something that they can do, and participate in without, you know, it is too late for them to start on a professional dance track. (Martin, July 2012)

> …[v]ery few of our students will become professional ballet dancers because it is a highly demanding art form and only 1 percent of any body of any community actually becomes a serious professional classical ballet dancer, but in the process of committing themselves to the aspect to the of training … they are beginning to understand commitment, they are beginning to understand creativity, they are beginning to understand teamwork, they are beginning to understand discipline, they are beginning to understand the importance of being on time. These are things that any employer regardless of the business would want very much to have within their organization so we are basically in the process or in the work of building good citizens. (Bentley, July, 2012)

These individual-level values are foundational for the intergenerational sustainability of the arts because people are likely to practice values and attitudes acquired through the art experience in their lives and transmit them to the future generations. Such values and moral attitudes also enhance the prospects of *bonding connections* between individuals and the arts, which necessitates the lasting relationships. At the same time, the attitudes and values developed by experiencing art are not the same as the individual level benefits of art participation that are widely described in the literature (Hager & Winkler, 2012; K. F. McCarthy, 2004; Seaman, 2005; Swanson, et al., 2008). These values and attitudes are not about the instrumental value of

art, they are more about the unexpected impact of art on an individual, which is intrinsic in nature.

This individual connection to the arts is a particularly prominent topic in the performing art interviews, which makes sense because performing arts offer a particularly strong emotional experience that is likely to make a lasting psychological impact on many individuals at the same time. While looking at a thought provoking painting and reading a critical novel may exert a very powerful influence on a museum visitor or a book reader, attending a performing arts event is more likely to influence greater number of people, and this influence is likely to be stronger. Hence, the collective aesthetics of the performing arts and performer-audiences symbiosis enhance the lasting impact of the arts on people's lives. As explained by one of the art managers, these distinct qualities of the life performance are not easily substitutable by any other kind of experience:

> The two biggest things for me are the value of live performance; that there is something that happens when the performer and the audience are in the same room and in the same physical space. There is something that happens that cannot be replicated by anything that Bill Gates or Steve Jobs will create; they will never be able to replicate that experience. So we try to inculcate a sense of how exciting that can be. The other thing is, because we are a classical theater, although we do other plays, that's the other strategy, by the way, we've been doing more non-Shakespeare plays, we consider our work language-based, so an appreciation for the power of language and that words have a power of their own that cannot be reduced to 140 characters, an appreciation for a more expansive view of how language works in communication than what it gets reduced to on Twitter and all of that. (Sneed, August, 2011)

The psychological influence of art is enhanced when people are exposed to the performing arts at a young age. This explains why the public education function in the performing arts is so well developed and institutionalized, as compared to the other arts. Public education is important for all art organizations. However, museums and literature organizations rely on public education as sustainability strategies and a proactive audience development tool

that will ensure that people will develop art appreciation and will continue coming to museums and will be reading the literature. Performing arts, on the other hand, rely on public education as part of their institutional identity, as part of both the art production process (recruiting new dancers, actors, musicians) and the art delivery process (developing art audiences). Hence, the museum exists long after the painting is seen, and a book is read long after its author is gone. However, the performing arts sector has to work constantly on cultivating and replacing both its productive force and, to a lesser extent, the audience. Therefore, the performing arts have the longest and the strongest tradition of establishing formalized public education departments, and these departments usually receive solid institutional support and funding.

As compared to other arts organizations, the function of public education in the performing art industry is the most developed and comprehensive. While museums target their services to relatively small local audiences and tourists – often with a specialized interest in visual arts, and the audience for literature is largely self-selected, performing arts organizations on average tend to reach out to greater and more diverse audiences. Performing arts organizations also spend a great deal of time and money on developing large scale outreach programs for the various segments of population but especially for young people. The extensive public education function allows performing arts organizations to enhance the quality of interaction between audiences and artists by developing opportunities for the multiples points of audience involvement. These include direct interactions with artists, workshops, lectures and discussions about the history of a particular play, opera, other kind of performance; communicating information through web sites and arranging interactive dialogues between artists and audience through social media, etc.

An increasing number of performing art organizations also arranges post-performance activities to provide an opportunity for their audiences to have deeper experiences. As explained by an art manager, in finding a proper connection to multi-level audiences, it is important to find a point of entry for each of these audiences – something that will resonate with these particular people, and something that will be bring them back:

> So now we have kind of built into those programs and I think probably one of the best phrases that I've come across to define it is called "points of entry". So it's like a vertical approach to education or a vertical approach to connection. So at its very lowest level you have somebody liking something on Facebook, or liking a picture, like a two second or three second brief emotion involved meaningful interaction-it is a very brief one that can be shared by about anyone-to something that is an in-depth scholarly professional, like a 17 day residence, a master class on a PhD level. So those are the two extremes, and there are several points in between, depending on the level of sophistication, comfort cost, all those points are just the way the festival has been structured. (Evano, July, 2012)

The performing arts also use a wide range of innovative outreach programs, as compared to the other arts. One such example is the utilization of the idea of physical knowledge, or physical sensation in ballet or music. Similar to sports, individual bonding with performing arts can be enhanced by the presence of the physical activity, or a physical contact with an instrument:

> A lot of people looked at sports…almost everybody has some sport that they kind of like, or they might watch, or they might want to play or participate in…And actually some people realized that when you participate in sports you're building a physical knowledge as well a mental and emotional knowledge … So when I'm watching football and the receiver goes out for the pass and makes a really great catch you physically know what that feels like, right? And it just adds another element to that, and you want to experience that again because you experienced it when you were younger or whatever. If you've never held a violin in your hands, you don't know- you might like the music- but it still doesn't resonate the same way as if you have held the violin in your hand and played it, and felt that vibration in your body. The experience is a little bit deeper. It's more personal and it resonates with you on a lot of different levels. It's not just hearing, there's an actual physical connection to the work. If you've experienced it, there is a deeper connection to what's going on the stage. (Scouffas, June, 2012)

Therefore, performing arts benefit from the studies of athletic activity by developing innovative projects that involve physical activity. One such example is the project "Instrument Petting Zoo" organized by *The Lied Center of Kansas* (Scouffas, June, 2012). In this project musicians allowed to use their instruments to young people and adults who did not have a prior experience of playing an instrument. The public response to such initiative was fascinating. Many people overcame their fear and played an instrument for the first time in their lives, which in many ways changed their perception of the music performance by making it more personal, and also made their involvement with the arts more substantial.

Aside from shaping individual attitudes and values, the performing art experience is important in itself, as a critical reflection of reality and as a source of alterative thinking about everyday life. Hence even if a performance is not necessarily promoting certain attitudes, it is still valuable as an experience. As one of the experts described it, art allows seeing life as it is, without distraction, which is an important natural inclination of human beings:

> I have a strong belief that these high super star performances they will exist always because people have the desire to be impressed by superstars, but on the other hand, there is a different desire for people to be more active, more involved. Because of our electronic media life, we have a feeling that we are able to know everything in the world, but in fact we are not well-informed. It is kind of information trash what we have, it is like a super trash, and it does not mean that we are informed. It means really nothing if there is no analysis, if you do not have background information. That means the desire of people is growing to create something that is unique, and which cannot be replaced easily. And to listen to original… if you play on stage – you cannot manipulate it, this is reality. And this is an interesting situation today that the reality on stage becomes more real than the reality of our daily life because we cannot trust our five sense. We don't know what is being told to us and because everything could be manipulated in media... The reality of our daily life gets more fragile, at the same time the reality on stage – in the theater, or in the concert gets more important because people see that it is not only the decoration of daily life. (Wulff, March, 2012)

Whether we agree or not with the expert's perception of the popular media, performing art does offer an opportunity to see life as it is, and to reflect on the humanistic reality. In this

sense, an outstanding performance-whether a concert, a play, or a ballet-carries with itself a moral component, and performing art organizations that produce and promote this kind of art are likely to build lasting relationships with their audiences and sustain the performing arts in the long-run. Finally, intrinsic significance is a key to the intergenerational sustainability of the performing art institutions due the ability of the performing arts to remain relevant in the past, present, and future. Performing art is to a lesser extent a historic experience, as compared to visual arts, although a particular play might have been created at a certain point in history, and its content is the reflection of a particular time, it could also be timeless in terms of its relevance. This kind of art is valuable to many generations:

> And certainly, an appreciation for Shakespeare, and this would be the third thing in relation to all of that which is an appreciation for Shakespeare as a living, and not a historical artifact, text. So we try to help them understand how much the situations, the characters, the themes, the relationships in Shakespeare, how current they still are, which is why he's still the most produced playwright in the world. Human beings have not changed; our fundamental desires, our lusts, our passions, our hopes, our dreams and Shakespeare articulated those perhaps better than anyone else ever has, at least in the English language. And not only that, but we also try to give them an appreciation for how much Shakespeare continues to influence popular culture. So when I give talks I'm always talking about the TV shows, the films, the songs by popular artists that are inspired by and draw from the canon of Shakespeare. (Sneed, August, 2011)

IV.   Conclusion

As this chapter demonstrates, the key to understanding the long-term sustainability of the performing arts lies in the understanding of the symbiotic relationship that performing arts were able to build over the course of their history with multiple publics – philanthropists and other donors, actors, musicians, dancers and other performers, audiences, and partner organizations. Institutions of private patronage helped establish the performing arts in the United States, and they have been important for sustaining the sector throughout hard times and continuous social transformations. But it was the introduction of the nonprofit business model in the twentieth

century which increased the number and variety of the performing arts, and offered multiple instruments to their managers for seeking greater financial sustainability and greater connectedness to their communities.

The nonprofit business model is not without limitations; however, it has been adaptable enough to sustain the sector to this day. Additionally, as a result of the pragmatic management strategies, contemporary performing arts organizations found themselves embedded in a web of social connections that has a detrimental impact on their institutional resilience. When one funding source collapsed, performing arts organizations have the capacity to resort to alternatives; when the audience changes, they find new ways to develop audiences, when there is an important social project to run, they work in partnership with other community organizations. The larger this web of connections is, the better are the chances that each element of the web is restorable, renewable, or substitutable. Hence, sustainable performing arts organizations constantly work to build and sustain the web of their partnerships.

Contemporary performing arts organizations are connected with their communities in a multiplicity of ways including partnerships with other community organizations (such as the public school system), developing socially important projects, and making tangible and intangible contributions to their communities. Additionally, numerous benefits of participation in the performing arts exist at both individual and community levels, and these benefits include both very instrumental contributions (economic resources, community revitalization, etc.) and very intrinsic impacts (important values carried out in a society). Sustainable performing arts organizations no longer limit their mission to offering high quality performing art experiences; rather, they are functioning as important civic organizations. Hence, missions of contemporary performing arts organizations reflect such elements as diversity, access, and inclusiveness.

The very nature of performing arts aesthetics has been conducive to opening the doors to mass audiences of various walks of life and different socio-economic status. Therefore, in some ways, performing arts institutions are more egalitarian by nature, as compared to the other art organizations. Performing arts were accessible to larger audiences, while museums existed for as elite institutions for a longer time, and literature was accessible to those who knew how to read. In the American context, after the introduction of commercial and nonprofit institutional forms, performing arts organizations shifted from the mixed repertoire to highbrow art being presented by nonprofits, and more popular forms of entertainment offered by commercial organizations. However, over time, as part of their institutional adaptation, both types of organizations started experimenting with the mixed art forms, and regardless of their legal status, organizations directed substantial efforts to public outreach and developing their audiences from various population groups. Hence, the history of the performing arts sector is in itself an example of successful institutional adaptations and sustainability.

Contemporary performing art organizations increasingly emphasize their civic roles and perform an important normative function in their communities by cultivating and implementing an ethic of sustainability through their organizational practices. This brings performing art institutions back to their core purpose, and ensures that they serve the public interest in a way that remains distinct from the corporate business world. The focus on civic roles and social equity is thus an adaptive strategy aimed at keeping and reinforcing the institutional distinctiveness of the performing arts sector.

The choice of adaptive strategies for sustainability in the world of performing arts depends on a particular institutional affiliation. For example, university-based organizations take advantage of the extra-institutional protection provided by universities (baseline funding,

facilities, access to quality human resources and audiences, etc.), as well as the web of connections, innovative ideas and multiple opportunities to collaborate with different university departments. On the other hand, free-standing organizations enjoy greater flexibility and managerial autonomy; they take advantage of various funding sources, and usually have a profound connection to various community groups. However, both types of institutions tend to adopt cross-sectoral strategies, develop hybrid forms of governance and the synergy of aesthetic forms. In other words, either rationally or intuitively performing arts organizations develop multiple strategies for sustainability, where the success is the matter of balancing institutional missions with the wide array of sustainability strategies.

Managers of performing arts organizations play the key role in this process, and are of particular importance is their ability to make sense of the intra- and extra-institutional environments and make decisions in the best interest of their organizations, as well as their current and future publics. The most prominent managerial roles that ensure the long-term sustainability of performing arts organizations include building relationships and serving as connectors between their institutions and multiple stakeholders; stimulating communication, conversation, and debate as part of their community engagement; and adopting a managerial style that is based on flexibility, and willingness to take risks and adapt. Additionally, managers of performing arts institutions, who work with multiple stakeholders and large audiences, are accustomed to thinking about future generations as part of their moral community. The moral obligation of the performing arts to the future generations is embedded in the institutionalized and well-developed public education function (that tends to be stronger than a similar function in museums and literature organizations), as well as through the increasing recognition of the lasting intrinsic impacts of performing arts on their diverse audiences. The intergenerational

sustainability of performing arts institutions is grounded in the values that they promote in a society.

Chapter 8. Intergenerational Sustainability: Lessons from the Arts

This study has attempted to develop a framework that connects the ideas of intergenerational equity and sustainability by looking at formalized arts organizations in three fields of art – museums, literature, music and performing arts. The study used a grounded theory methodological approach that is based on a combination of historical analysis, semi-structured interviews with art managers and experts, analysis of organizational practices and strategic documents, as well as direct and participant observations. This study was designed to identify, classify, and explain mainstream sustainability strategies in the arts sector, and to develop a theoretical framework that connects these strategies with the long-term survival of arts organizations. The value of this framework is the connection it makes between current sustainability strategies, long-term institutional survival and intergenerational equity. The analysis begins with a critical review of existing theories and studies of sustainability, art institutions and organizations, and intergenerational equity. These subjects are covered in Chapters 2-4. Chapters 5-7 are dedicated to presenting findings regarding intergenerational sustainability as well as both distinct and common themes found in and between three fields of aesthetics (museums, literature, music and performing arts).

This concluding chapter is a generalized consideration of the main ideas and findings across three fields of art with a particular emphasis on common tendencies and connections to theory. This chapter covers such subjects as institutional capital for sustainability, institutional factors of resilience, the evolution of the institutional missions and managerial roles, and the intrinsic value of the arts. Finally, Chapter 8 describes main the theoretical implications of the research findings, hypotheses developed as a result of this study, and a consideration of future research directions.
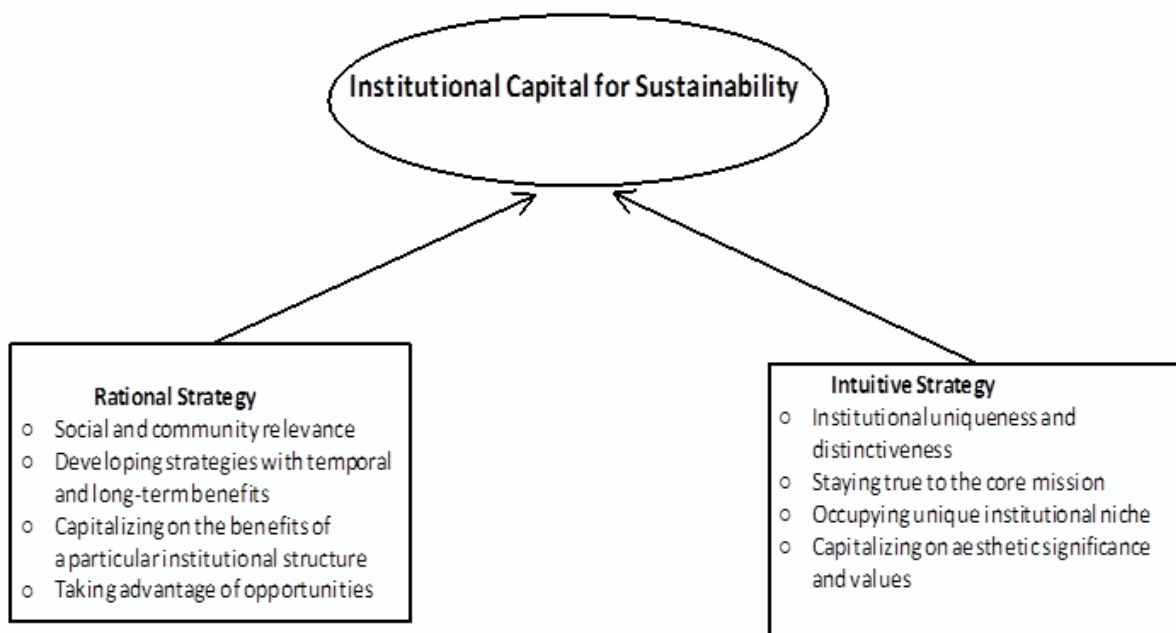
I.   Institutional Capital for Sustainability

The literature review and analysis presented in the first three chapters demonstrates that art institutions contribute to the development of various forms of capital (cultural, social, economic, human, and creative) (Bleiker, 2006; Caves, 2000; Cherbo, et al., 2008; Cunningham, 2002; Currid, 2007; Dieleman, 2008; Florida, 2002; Haley, 2008; Lloyd, 2010; Markusen & Gadwa, 2010; K. F. McCarthy, Elizabeth Heneghan Ondaatje and Jennifer L. Novak, 2007; Tepper, 2002; E. Thompson, et al., 2002; Tubadji, 2010). In this study I have claimed that art institutions particularly contribute to the formation and development of cultural capital, which is a resilient form of capital because of its cumulative properties. By fulfilling their instrumental, semi-instrumental, and intrinsic roles, art institutions are capable of enhancing the sustainability of communities and societies (Moldavanova, 2013).

This study also demonstrated that art institutions themselves need capital in order to survive, and I offered the term 'capital for sustainability' to refer to this capacity of art institutions to keep afloat for many generations. There are many kinds of capital in the world of art organizations: financial (operational funds, endowments, etc.), physical (museum buildings and collections), virtual (web-sites, digital collections), human (artists, museum management and staff capacity, community of museum donors and friends) and intangible (value for the society). As research field work demonstrated, art managers either consciously or intuitively work towards enhancing the capital of their organizations. They employ a number of short and long-term strategies for sustainability to keep their organizations afloat, prosperous and capable of serving the temporal public as well as future generations. Hence, in theoretical terms, the construct 'capital for sustainability' helps connecting the temporal and intergenerational aspects of sustainability by explaining how short-term strategies can translate into long-term outcomes.

This study found that the multitude of sustainability strategies in the world of arts organizations is of two particular types: rational strategies and intuitive strategies (Figure 1). Both of these strategies in the long run lead to the enhanced institutional capital for sustainability. Evidence of rational strategies is found in a special kind of managerial behavior – sustainable thinking and sustainable acting – managerial behavior that produces institutional resilience and helps art organizations to sustain through hard times. This includes such common organizational strategies as engaging in public-private partnerships within and outside the arts sector, implementing audience development programs and diversifying community outreach, diversifying the experiences by including more popular, entertainment-type programs, utilizing technology and social media, and implementing interdisciplinary projects, among other. This research shows that organizational choices of particular strategies are mediated by the characteristics of institutional structure, whether an arts organization is a free-standing nonprofit, private, or a university affiliated organization. However, the structure by itself does not define sustainability.

Figure 1.

Institutional Capital for Sustainability

Rational Strategy
o Social and community relevance
o Developing strategies with temporal and long-term benefits
o Capitalizing on the benefits of a particular institutional structure
o Taking advantage of opportunities

Intuitive Strategy
o Institutional uniqueness and distinctiveness
o Staying true to the core mission
o Occupying unique institutional niche
o Capitalizing on aesthetic significance and values

In the world of arts organizations, the institutional resilience narrative is associated with several characteristics: being adaptable, being responsive to change, being innovative, and being open to new opportunities, rather than following a pre-determined plan. As explained by one of the managers, rational strategy includes "administrative management, staying on strategy, good common sense, practical business skills…understanding and working with your audience and community-that has been a traded point of success, and it will continue to be." (Evano, July, 2012) Thus, rational institutional strategy for sustainability is a combination of factors involving both internal management and external relations. Evidence of the rational strategy is found in the evolving missions of arts organizations as well as in managerial roles that are associated with institutional resilience.

The second institutional and managerial strategy is intuitive. The purpose is to develop solutions that enhance the institutional distinctiveness of the sector as well as particular arts organizations. The intuitive strategy implies staying true to the mission and establishing the value of a particular art form and a particular art organization for a society, without treating is as a commodity or as a mere source of economic capital. It also implies identifying a unique institutional niche, and directing an organization towards occupying this niche. Hence, sustainable art organizations increase their capital for sustainability by utilizing their strengths and capitalizing on what distinguishes them from other organizations, sectors, and forms of art. This also means capitalizing on aesthetic significance and values promoted through the arts to a community. Compared to the rational strategy, the intuitive strategy is less explicit. It is rooted in the interpretative institutional and managerial order rather than in specific programmatic documents, statutes, or other formalized routines. The evidence of the intuitive strategy is also

found in the intrinsic value of the arts that is communicated to a community through well-developed, institutionalized public outreach programs.

In the long run, both rational and intuitive strategies combine and result in greater institutional capital for sustainability. Hence, managers of art organizations share a belief in the long-term future of the arts, regardless of the various challenges in the external environment that the arts are facing. In fact, as described by one art manager, classic arts are more likely to endure because the societal changes are likely to make the art experience even more precious:

> There are all kinds of questions like that, what has the electronic age done to us, and we are in a live performing, where is the value in that? And I think the constant…the impedance to understand yourself and doing that through the arts and communicating and being involved with physical touch with people as opposed to electronically will always be there. And in some ways those experiences-as we get more decentralized, more electronic, more detached- those opportunities to come together become more precious…Will we ever lose it? No, there will always be artists in our community, there will always be a community, there will always be people wanting to express and wanting to experience that. I don't think we should prescribe how it would look but understand that it is really the base of what all this is about; it is just a very basic core of how we are as human beings, and it is not going to go away. (Christilles, July 2012)

The future of the arts forms and expressions is likely to lie with the hybrids, and the future of the art organizations is likely to lie with hybrid institutional forms. Kenneth J. Foster calls it a 'mixtape narrative' that is a hybrid of aesthetic expressions united by the same idea: it looks like theater, it sounds like music; it draws some of its ideas from popular culture and creates a new experience (Foster, 2010). This study identifies and describes the changing nature of organizations and institutions, as evidenced by the increasing number of institutional hybrids (for instance, the combination of a nonprofit status and university affiliation) and symbiotic forms of art production (such as literary festivals, or music performances in art museums). These institutional adaptations foster the immediate resilience of arts organizations and enhance the likelihood of their long-term sustainability.

I find that the arts organizations of the future are likely to be more interdisciplinary. With the spread of digital technology and increasing globalization, the very idea of museum, or theater, or library as a building is being re-conceptualized, giving way to a post-structural and postmodern vision of art institutions as constellations of ideas and relationships rather than formal structures or physical objects. The identity of a particular art institution is increasingly determined by its publics, and by how that institution communicates itself to these publics. For example, in the future it would matter less which objects a museum has on display, and it would matter more what relationships a museum would be able to build with its public, and what ideas and values it would carry through the community.

The sustainability discourse for the arts today is less about growth and more about the sustainability itself, which means rethinking core values and focusing on the impact and quality of art experiences (Foster, 2010). As this research demonstrates, sustainability strategies translate into the institutional capital for sustainability when particular organizations are able to adapt to changing realities while continuing to follow their missions, and when the managers of these organizations hold a vision of the future and have some idea about what it takes to keep their organizations afloat.

II.   Institutional Factors of Resilience

This study explored institutional variations of sustainability strategies in the arts sector by looking at free-standing nonprofit, private, and university-affiliated arts organizations. The advantages and disadvantages of each of these institutional structures, as they pertain to the long-term sustainability, are summarized in Table 1. Based on managerial interviews and the analysis of organizational practices, this study suggests that institutional structure by itself does not determine sustainability. Instead, sustainable outcomes are achieved when organizational

managers make decisions considering the peculiarities of particular structures. The ability to use the advantages of each of these institutional structures determines whether an organization is going to be resilient in the face of internal and external shocks, and whether it is going to be sustainable in the long-term.

The findings of this study are consistent with the broader nonprofit literature that emphasizes the resilience of a nonprofit business model (Frumkin, 2002; Ott, 2001; Salamon, 2003). This research also finds that the free-standing nonprofit arts model, as compared to a university-affiliation, has a number of institutional advantages. These include greater managerial autonomy and flexibility, greater institutional adaptability and easier responsiveness to change. These factors become particularly important in times of turbulence, when the ability of an institution to adjust, react, and reformat matters greatly. Nonprofit organizations that do not have institutional constraints except for their own can take advantage of their connections with local communities, greater proximity to their attendees, partners, donors and other stakeholders, and access to broader funding opportunities. This enhances their prospects for survival and serves as a foundation for the future. On the other hand, managers of nonprofit organizations are, to a greater extent, preoccupied with fundraising, sometimes at the expense of attention to the artistic side, which is a negative factor. In times of economic recession nonprofits tend to rely more heavily on individual and corporate sponsors and adopt a wide range of strategies borrowed from the business world, which leads to the greater commercialization of the sector. While this might be a workable short-term solution, it can result in negative long-term outcomes, such as mission drift.

Table 1. Findings: *Institutional Factors of Resilience*

Free-Standing Nonprofit Organizations		University-Affiliated Organizations	
Advantages	*Limitations*	*Advantages*	*Limitations*
Greater managerial autonomy and flexibility Greater adaptability and response to change Proximity to the communities of service Greater accessibility More developed public outreach Access to broader funding opportunities Ability to build networks of clients and supporters	Mission drift as a result of commercialization Shifting towards entertainment (dependence on visitor/audience numbers) Reliance on individual and corporate sponsors affects programmatic decisions Higher participation fees limit the audience Preoccupation of managers with fundraising at the expense of a creative work Competition with the commercial sector	Baseline support and institutional shield from environmental pressures Access to intellectual and human resources, new ideas and creativity Opportunities for interdisciplinary projects, long-lasting collaborations Access to a highly educated audience Positive impact on image and identity Less emphasis on commercial strategies	The subordination of the mission to the goals of a larger institution Lack of institutional and managerial autonomy Bureaucratization Utilitarianism: using art organizations for fundraising and public relations Funding and membership limitations Distance from the larger public (elitist perceptions) Vulnerability of the public education function

Managers of university-affiliated arts organizations generally describe such institutional disadvantages as: the lack of institutional and managerial autonomy, bureaucratization, a utilitarian approach to arts organizations (i.e. using them as a source of grant funding), funding and professional organization membership limitations, vulnerability of the public education function to budget cuts, etc. (Table 1). In describing the constraints of university affiliation, one interview participant compared a university with the Catholic Church, in terms of the rigidity and strictness of the rules. The same person, however, when asked which institutional form is more likely to persist in the long-term, positively stated that the future is going to be more promising for organizations that are part of a larger institutional umbrella. Indeed, often Universities play the role of a buffer from external shocks to their arts organizations often providing a small but important base-line funding that gets arts organizations through hard times and provides access

to quality human resources and audiences. Other important advantages of a university affiliation found across all three sub-fields of arts include: access to technology and innovation, access to research and development, new ideas, a positive impact on organizational image[9], numerous opportunities for interdisciplinary and collaborative projects with other university divisions, and a much less emphasis on commercial strategies that are prevalent in the world of free-standing arts organizations.

Finally, both free-standing nonprofit and university-affiliated arts organizations, each in their own way, can be subject to mission drift-the shift from a primarily aesthetic orientation to a production orientation, and such consequence of the commercialization of the nonprofit arts sector is something that the arts organizations need to keep in mind if they want to maintain their institutional distinctiveness. For example, in attempting to cope with the pressures of a competitive environment and address consequences of the economic recession, nonprofit arts organizations are increasingly reliant on the adoption of cross-sectoral strategies such as a stronger customer-based orientation, incorporating entertainment-like forms of art production, increasing emphasis on marketing at the expense of aesthetics, etc. This problem is relevant to the nonprofit sector as a whole (Jones, 2007), however, it is particularly important for the arts – the sector that tends to depend upon its uniqueness and distinctiveness for long-term survival.

The source of mission drift in the world of university-affiliated arts organizations is the subordination of their missions to the goals of a larger institution. Thus, the primary goal of a university is education, and in many cases university-affiliated arts organizations tend to justify their existence by adopting this goal as their own. While there is nothing wrong with the

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[9] Affiliation with university has been characterized as a positive factor for arts organizations' image. Hence, art organizations affiliated with universities are generally seen as sophisticated, advanced and intellectual. If taken to extremes, this could be a limitation: university affiliation may keep arts organizations further away from the general public.

educational mission, in some cases, aesthetic mission may suffer: arts organizations tend to integrate into university-wide projects and spend much time and effort competing for grants, serving as a source of additional revenues for university-related research and development. This may distract university-affiliated art institutions from their main missions as well as from the ability to bring in new art work. Hence, while particular institutional forms are not immune from disadvantages, both free-standing and university-affiliated arts organizations have developed a number of approaches that facilitate capitalizing on the strengths of their structures to ensure immediate institutional resilience and long-term survival. The ability of arts organizations to adopt effective coping strategies and capitalize on their institutional structure is as important as the ability to stick to the missions.

III.   The Evolution of Institutional Missions

Museums. The adaptive nature of the arts sector is reflected in the evolving missions of arts organizations, and this study finds some variation in the missions of museums, literature organizations, and music and performing arts organizations (Table 2). For instance, in order to meet contemporary demands, museums drift from elite to more egalitarian missions, such as audience diversification initiatives, and expensive public outreach-a tendency that has become a mainstream in many art organizations. Art museums are shifting from serving just the humanities to a more interdisciplinary focus, including museum as part of social discourse and in the long-run enhancing museums' institutional capital for sustainability. In this regard museums increasingly see themselves as social agents and catalysts for change. Museums believe that through their programs they foster the development and spread of progressive and sustainable ideas. Thus, museums are increasingly moving towards the semi-instrumental role of the arts that speaks of the values that arts organizations contribute to a society.

Table 2. Findings: *Thinking in the Long-Term*

	Museums	Literature	Music and Performing Arts
Missions	Greater shift from an elite to an egalitarian institution Shift from serving the humanities to a more interdisciplinary focus Stewardship of collective identity and community relationships Museum as a social agent and a catalyst of new ideas Being up-to-date (reference to our time)	Increasing importance of access and accessibility Emphasis on multiplicity of viewpoints and cultures, richness of human experience Recognizing and promoting global impact Integrating literature in community development Being up-to-date (timeliness and timelessness)	Forming symbiotic relationships with the community Greater focus on audience development - Access - Diversity - Inclusiveness Promoting the value of social equity Being up-to-date (reference to our time)
Managerial roles	Stewardship (balancing preservation and sharing) Manager as an educator, illuminator Management as innovation Manager as facilitator of art-inspired communication, conversation, debate Manager as 'choreographer' of social relationships	Stewardship of the book as an art object (for print literature) Management as innovation Managing opportunities rather than organizations Manager as communicator (the spread of culture and knowledge)	Building relationships with local communities, serving as connectors to communities Manager as facilitator of art-inspired communication, conversation, debate Management as adaptation (adaptability, willingness to take risks, constantly learn)

Literature organizations. Literature organizations increasingly emphasize access and accessibility in their missions. The development of the electronic literature formats as well as the utilization of the institution of literary translation ensures that the idea of accessibility is implemented in practice. One hundred years ago it was unthinkable to get speedy access to the literature published in different parts of the word, and book exchanges were done mainly through libraries or the commercial book trade. Today literature is available online, and anyone with Internet access in any part of the world can read it. Such mobility also fostered an increasing emphasis on multiplicity of viewpoints, cultures, and the richness of human experiences, all of which are embedded in institutional missions of literature organizations. Literature became a

creative force for globalization and the engine for the transmission of cultural capital, and this part of the mission is likely to increase in importance in the long-term.

On the other hand, the introduction of the electronic literature and greater mobility of the literature market has resulted in issues for the traditional publishing business. Finally, literature organizations are catching up with museums and performing art organizations in establishing an institutionalized public education function that assures the integration of literature, as a creative force, in community development. Hence, literature organizations pursue their own adaptive path to sustainability.

Music and Performing Arts. This study shows that among all of the arts organizations, music and performing arts are more likely to rely on their connection to communities for their long-term sustainability. This message is reflected in institutional missions, by making it clear that the performing arts are attempting to form not just good but symbiotic relationships with their communities. This means greater focus on audience development and on such values as access, diversity, and inclusiveness. Thus, regardless of their form of ownership and institutional structure, music and performing arts organizations all tend to be real public organizations that serve diverse and multiple publics, including both current and future generations. Not surprisingly, crucial part of music and performing arts missions is the promotion of the value of social equity defined as an equal opportunity of access to various population groups. This explains why the public education function is particularly prominent in the world of music and performing arts organizations.

Another important element that is found in the missions of all three groups of arts organizations is their attempts to be up-to-date, able to make a reference to our time and be relevant to current and future generations. Museums, literature, and performing arts, all realized

that in many senses both their immediate survival and long-term endurance depend upon their ability to find a common language with people from different generations, and they are doing so by reaching out to wider audiences with messages about the significance of the arts. Finally, in many cases, the ability of art managers to convey institutional missions and show the connection of these missions with the community defines whether art organizations are going to succeed in their path to sustainability.

IV.   Managing Sustainability

This research suggests that a key to organizational ability to stand the test of time is the institutional resilience of arts organizations achieved through the particular incremental choices of art managers. Particular managerial decisions over time translate into capital for sustainability-an unseen endowment that sustains arts organizations in the long-term. Institutional resilience is understood here as "the capacity to cope with unanticipated dangers after they have become manifest, learning to bounce back" (Wildavsky, et al., 1988, p. 77), the capacity that incorporates "both the ability of a system to persists despite disruptions and the ability to regenerate and maintain existing organization" (Gunderson & Pritchard, 2002, p. 4). The ability of systems and organizations to respond to the outside and inside pressures by adapting and changing rather than remaining static has been acknowledged in resilience studies of environmental systems over the past decade (Gunderson & Pritchard, 2002; Krasny, et al., 2010; B. Walker, et al., 2004; B. H. Walker & Salt, 2006). As this study demonstrates, it is also true for the arts.

As an example, museum managers early on recognized the role of a museum as an institution of intergenerational memory that serves the vertical moral community. As the director of Brooklyn Museum Frederic A. Lukas in 1908 described in his essay on the purposes of

museums, one of the goals of museums is "to carefully gather and preserve all objects that may aid in giving an idea of the life that was here three centuries ago and to provide for the information of those who will be here three centuries hence" (Genoways & Andrei, 2008, p. 58). However, the analysis of institutional missions and strategic plans available to the researcher demonstrated that concerns for the long-term sustainability and upholding the interests of future generations are not necessarily voiced directly in these strategic documents. This does not mean that sustainability and care for the future generations are unimportant for art managers. This study determined that the main evidence of sustainability in the art world is found primarily in sustainable thinking and sustainable acting by art managers, rather than in declaring sustainability as a formal goal and including it in the policy documents.

The principle of "acting sustainably in the first place" (Keller, 2011) appears important for building capital for the sustainability of art institutions, and as this research concludes, both sustainable thinking and care for the future generations are embedded in particular management choices and institutional actions aimed at achieving favorable long-term outcomes. For example, while cultural managers acknowledge the limitation of a formal strategic plan as a document that is usually designed for 5-8 years, they demonstrate their long-term commitments on a very pragmatic level. As one of the interviewees explained,

> … [w]e usually have strategic plans for five years, but I believe in strategic doing, not strategic planning. Strategic planning is fine in an ideal world, but world is not ideal. You end up running a place by taking advantage of opportunities that were never imagined in a University strategic plan, and having to deal with crises that no strategic plan could foresee… when I talk about strategic planning I mean what do we need to do in the next two or five years to continue being competitive, what are the next big things out there, what niche should we be occupying that none else does. (Krishtalka, June, 2011)

The idea of sustainable thinking involves being able to seek new opportunities and being adaptable rather than following a tradition or a formal strategic plan. In the long-run, sustainable

thinking is producing outcomes favorable to the interests of future generations. Thinking in the long-term implies making the right choices right now and designing programs that connect art institutions with the day-to-day life of their communities. According to the manager of a publishing organization, any kind of intergenerational impact would have been impossible without 'shepherding' organizations through the difficult times:

> This is something that we believe as a corporation, that without our customers there are no means to be in business… so it is important to *shepherd organizations* through the difficult times and build those long-term partnerships. (Lillian, April, 2012)

The above mentioned quotes belong to the managers of different kinds of art institutions: the director of a university-affiliated museum and the CEO of a private publishing company. They use different, sector-specific language to describe the idea of sustainable thinking and sustainable acting. However, ideas are essentially the same: sustainable management implies guiding art organizations through difficult times rather than performing more traditional managerial functions (organization, planning, motivation, control). Being flexible and responsive to the extra- and intra- institutional pressures appears more important than following a strategic plan. This does not mean that strategic plans are unimportant in the world of arts organizations; they are very important but as a framework for making sustainable decisions rather than as a set of fixed objectives and actions.

Similar to the results of Wildavsky's study of public safety (Wildavsky, et al., 1988), this research finds that since it is impossible to make accurate predictions about the long-term future, the strategy of long-term planning (risk-aversion) appears less important for art managers than resilience (an immediate system response, risk-taking). Such resilience in the world of cultural organizations cannot be reduced to seeking system efficiency; instead resilience is both about the

capacity of the system "to deal with shocks and disturbances… and using such events to catalyze renewal, novelty, and innovation" (Krasny, et al., 2011).

Because of limited character of our knowledge of the future, traditional decision theory or rational choice theory, based on the assumption that individuals have nearly complete information about the environment and are able to competently evaluate alternatives, expectations, and preferences, is ill suited to decision-making in the name of future generations. Instead, neo-institutional theory is better suited to understanding and explaining managerial decision-making processes in pursuit of favorable long-term outcomes. In particular, March and Olsen's framework of the logic of appropriateness provides the explanation of how particular institutional arrangements are most likely to result in institutional resilience are set in place (March & Heath, 1994; March & Olsen, 1989).

Following March and Olsen, managers of sustainable art organizations would not simply act as rational strategic planners in considering the longer-term sustainability; they would be trying to make sense of existing environmental settings and institutional conditions, while making decisions with practical implications for future generations (March & Olsen, 1989). In particular, managers act in a framework of rules, formalized procedures, organizational forms, conventions, roles, informal beliefs, codes, and cultures. Such institution-based behavior is grounded in institutional history and reflects subtle lessons of art institutions' cumulative experience, and the process of rule application based on discourse and deliberation. This finding is counterintuitive because, by definition, the logic of appropriateness is based on past institutional experience and it is backward looking. It makes sense in the world of cultural organizations; by their very nature these organizations are capitalizing on the past to develop sustainability strategies that would be applicable now and in the long-term.

Based on these institutional ideas, it is possible to understand how following certain everyday routines by art managers eventually results in accountability to future generations. Thus, although a formal commitment to the ethic of sustainability is not necessarily declared in the institutional missions and strategic plans, managers believe that such commitment is the guiding principle for their decisions:

> I don't know what will happen in 30 years. I hope that…it is less expensive for families to be here; that we never have to say no to someone who would like their children to be in a class here because of money. I think we can perhaps, be in that situation because I know what we all believe at the arts center as museum people do, that we sometimes feel that we are safeguarding something that is extremely important, and at the end of the financial downturn we want to still be here and still be standing, and to have provided the experiences and performance and visual arts that make us human. (Tate, September, 2011)

By exploring the managerial roles associated with the intergenerational sustainability of art organizations in three fields of art, this study finds some common themes, some variations, and some notable differences in managerial roles (Table 2). The traditional role of *management as stewardship* (Davis, et al., 1997) appears to be most prominent for museums and literature organizations. For example, museum managers increasingly view stewardship as the balance between preservation and sharing, with the greater emphasis placed on sharing art with both local and global communities. Management as stewardship is generally seen as an adaptive strategy that is likely to ensure greater long-term sustainability of museums. For example, as the study shows, museums of all institutional forms and affiliations do not merely open their doors to public but increasingly digitize their collections to make them widely accessible. In some cases, managers of art organizations allocate funds for digitizing collections even when it is not the most economically beneficial course. The reason managers do it is because this is a long-term, sustainable solution that is going to be important in the future.

Management as stewardship is the most prominent role for literature organizations as well; however, it is most prevalent in the world of print literature, where the book is viewed as a valuable art object. Stewardship is less prominent for electronic literature, where such themes as *management as innovation* and *managing opportunities* prevail. This is because, among all three sub-fields of aesthetics examined in this study, literature is the most dynamic industry that relies most heavily on technological progress and market mechanisms. To ensure the long-term sustainability of their organizations, literature managers have to be extremely innovative, adaptable, and able to take advantage of opportunities, as they come along. The invention of electronic literature and the introduction of the institution of literary translation are perhaps the best examples of the sector's adaptation to the realities of the day, and to what are going to be the realities of the long-term future.

Managers of music and performing arts organizations primarily view themselves as connectors to their communities, and *management as building relationships* with local communities appears to be the most prominent managerial role. This finding is not entirely surprising. Among all art organizations examined in this study, the sustainability of music and performing arts is most directly dependent upon the quality of their relationships with local communities. Performing art is a collective kind of experience that relies on the symbiotic relationship between artists and mass audiences (Davies, 2011; Fischer-Lichte, 2008; Godlovitch, 1998; Thom, 1993). Moreover, as generations pass, music and performing art organizations are forced to constantly replace both their audiences and their productive force (musicians, dancers, actors). The findings only make the point that aesthetics and management are inter-connected in the world of arts, and art managers capitalize on these connections.

The study finds that the role of building relationships with the community is important for both chief executive officials and artistic directors in the performing arts sector, which is analogous to the public role of city government officials. Thus, earlier in the twentieth century, a mayor was primarily responsible for political functions and the responsiveness to the citizens, while the chief administrative officer mainly dealt with the city administrative business. However, as the structure of local government evolved (H.G. Frederickson, Gary A. Johnson, & Wood, 2004), both a city manager and a mayor became equally responsible for connecting with the community. This is true for the arts sector as well, and in sustainable performing arts organizations, both an artistic director and a general manager make it a part of their jobs to build connections with the community at large.

This research also finds evidence of both indirect and direct commitment of art managers to future generations. This commitment is most often connected with the development of the public education function in the arts sector. Public education departments, which have been growing across the arts sector since 1970s, is the evidence of the institutionalized commitment of arts organizations to future generations. The educational function is also growing exponentially in the world of literature, in response to declining reading patterns (NEA, 2004, 2007). There have been some successes in increasing arts participation through the early outreach (NEA, 2008), and contemporary art organizations are engaging in various public programs with the special attention to programs for the youth – as young as three years old (Genoways & Ireland, 2003; Hooper-Greenhill, 1999; Packer, 2006).

This study also finds a more direct commitment of art managers to future generations, as illustrated by the following two quotations coming from the directors of a university-affiliated art museum and the director of a nonprofit ballet company:

> I want to know what art has to say to you about your life… so that what happens to *your children* in a world where the ice sheets are melting… so when *your grandchildren* come to the museum, they will say, "That's very interesting; in 2011 the ice sheets were still melting." And here's the sense of loss and longing that human beings felt about that, rather than saying, "Okay, that's the world of science and here is the world of art. [emphasis added] (Hardy, September, 2011)

> We are counselors to young dancers because even our professional dancers they are often 18 years old, they are still young, they are still kids, *they could be my granddaughters, so you have that obligation, you have an obligation to encourage and engage the rest of your staff to make sure that they continue to remember why we are all here.* [emphasis added] (Bentley, July, 2012)

What is fascinating about these two quotes is the language that both of these managers use to describe their decision-making process. Thus, both the art museum director and the CEO of a ballet company describe the rationale for their decisions as a commitment, or an obligation to their own children and grandchildren. Hence, both of them personalize organizational decisions as if they were deciding for their own descendants, which, according to Parfit, is the most appropriate way of implementing the idea of intergenerational equity in practice (Parfit, 1984). Hence, by providing the evidence of both direct and indirect commitment of art managers to future generations, this study refutes claims regarding the impossibility of the intergenerational equity in practice.

V. Intrinsic Value of the Arts and Long-Term Sustainability

This study shows that institutional capital for sustainability results from the combination of two institutional strategies: rational and intuitive. While the first strategy is more obvious and can be directly spotted in organizational documents and practices, the latter is about the value of arts organizations to society and the messages carried through arts organizations to both current and future generations. The value impact of the nonprofit sector has been documented in the scholarship, and of particular value is the work of Peter Frumkin, who identifies four major roles of nonprofit organizations: service delivery, social entrepreneurship, civic and political

engagement, and values and faith (Frumkin, 2002). His work argues that there is a moral dimension to the nonprofit sector that distinguishes it from the state by providing individuals with empowerment and protection against alienation, and by serving as mediating structures that connect public purposes with the values of people. Our study looked at the value impact of arts organizations of various institutional forms, including nonprofits. The findings demonstrate that the intrinsic value of the arts in each category – museums, literature, music and performing arts – has both similarities and differences (Table 3).

Museums are increasingly positioning themselves as educational institutions, shifting away from the mere preservation of art objects and moving toward promoting the connection between art objects and the social discourses that will shape our current and future world. Establishing formal public education departments and developing educational programs for all ages[10], but especially for young people, evidence of museums' commitment to the educational value. This study identified three themes found in the educational contribution of museums: community citizenship, responsibility, and the sense of stewardship. As discussed in Chapter 5, the idea of community citizenship is different from the concept of civic engagement, although the two are related in many ways. Community citizenship presupposes museums' ability to educate and foster informed decision-making as well as virtuous attitudes towards community. Museums, as institutions holding cultural objects, are able to use these objects to foster human creativity, which may inform decision-making by museum visitors. By interacting with art and learning from museums' practices directed toward preserving art objects for future generations, museum visitors absorb the idea of sustainable thinking in relation to art, social, environmental, and economic systems.

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[10] This tendency has been on the rise in American museums since 1970s

Table 3. Findings: *Intrinsic Value of the Arts*

Museums	Literature	Music and Performing Arts

Museum as an educational institution
 	
- Community citizenship:
 	
  - *educating and fostering informed decision-making,*
  - *cultivating virtuous attitudes towards community*
 	
- Responsibility/sense of stewardship of the common environmental, cultural, economic and other resources
 	
- The appreciation of artistic and natural beauty
	Literature as a language of communication between generations
	
	- Broad access and universal accessibility
	
	- Transcending the boundaries of time and space:
	
	  - *Connecting past to present and to future*
	  - *Global impact*
	
	- The power of story-telling
	
	  - *Transmission of cultural capital*
	  - *Raising cultural awareness*
	  - *Fostering creativity and openness to new ideas*
		Performing arts as community-oriented institutions
		
		- Sense of community and social bonding
		
		- Shared experience and unique connection between artists and audience
		
		- Educational value: performing art as the commitment to excellence
		
		- Inspirational value (emotional appeal)

Literature and its institutions serve as a language of communication between generations, thus transmitting cultural and other forms of capital from one generation to the next. Literature institutions promote the values of broad access and universal accessibility to human heritage. Literature, as we know it today, is able to transcend the boundaries of time and space, and such inventions as the electronic format and the institution of literary translation make this property even more important. As discussed in Chapter 6, literature can connect people across the globe but it can also connect people across generations. Finally, the value impact of literature is embedded in its ability to possess the power of story-telling that contributes to individuals and societies. Through stories and narratives literature raises cultural awareness and fosters creativity and openness to new ideas.

Music and performing arts organizations increasingly position themselves as community-oriented institutions that posses a civic role in addition to an artistic role. This theme runs across all performing arts interviews and practices, which is explained by the interconnectedness

between a society and performing arts. By providing high quality performing arts experiences and running extensive public outreach programs, music and performing arts organizations promote a sense of community and social bonding. As explained in Chapter 7, live performing arts experiences have the ability to evoke inspirational values; and performing art, as a sub-field of aesthetics that is based upon the commitment to excellence [11], is capable of having motivational values. Overall, by being intrinsically meaningful to their audiences and community as a whole, arts organizations create their own institutional capital for sustainability and thereby the prospects for future generations.

VI.   Future Research Directions and Hypotheses Generated by the Study

The study of intergenerational sustainability of arts institutions has resulted in a theoretical framework that connects ideas of intergenerational equity and sustainability, and shows how current sustainable strategies produce institutional capital for sustainability. The next logical step of this study would be testing the assumptions of the framework by looking at specific contexts in which art organizations co-exist as part of the same urban ecology. As this study demonstrated, arts organizations are more likely to be sustainable if they manage to build symbiotic relationships with other social structures, community organizations and the community itself. This study identified a list of institutional and organizational factors that are likely to result in the long-term sustainability of particular arts organizations (Table 4).

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[11] Constant work, training, and practicing that is required of musicians, ballet dancers and other performers more so than in the other arts.

Table 4. Hypotheses for Future Research

H1. Greater institutional capacity results in greater institutional capital for sustainability

- Utilizing technology and social media *(positive relationship)*

- Public-private partnerships *(positive relationship)*

- Audience development programs *(positive relationship)*

- Interdisciplinary projects *(positive relationship)*

- Reliance on diverse funding *(positive relationship)*

- Presence of a strategic plan *(no relationship)*

- Institutional structure: form of ownership, size *(no relationship)*

- Location *(no relationship)*

H2. Greater managerial capacity results in greater institutional capital for sustainability

- Experience and reliance on certain roles

H3. Mission statement

- Presence of specific elements results in greater institutional capital

H4. Institutional commitment to future generations results in greater institutional capital for sustainability

- Public education function

Looking at a particular context would allow testing some of these predictions, as well as to identify how these factors interact with each other. It is possible to do so by selecting an urban center with the vibrant arts life that is at the same time struggling with the pressures of recession and economic downturn. Such study could be qualitative in nature, and could employ the social network analysis methodology (Newman, 2009; Wasserman & Faust, 1994) to explore the relationships between different institutions and social actors. Another research direction would be to look for proper ways to operationalize long-term sustainability and its predictors, and design a survey that would allow collecting data about a larger number of arts organizations located in different geographies but existing in a similar cultural policy context. This survey

would allow testing hypotheses regarding the determinants of institutional sustainability generated by this study (Table 4).

Findings of this study suggest that for all arts organizations regardless of the field, both institutional capacity and greater managerial capacity would over time translate into greater institutional capital for sustainability. I expect to find a positive relationship between institutional capacity and the ability of arts organizations to utilize technology and social media, actively engage in public-private partnerships, implement specific audience development programs, engage in interdisciplinary projects, and rely on diverse sources of funding. I also expect to find little relationship between institutional capacity and particular institutional structure (free standing nonprofit, private, or university-affiliated organizations), as well as between institutional capacity and the presence of a formally adopted strategic plan. Finally, I expect to find greater managerial capacity in organizations that have more experienced managers (years in the arts sector, overall management experience, professional associations membership, etc.), and in which managers associate themselves with particular managerial roles identified in this study as part of the sustainable thinking and sustainable acting narrative.

Based on the findings of this study, I expect that certain mission elements are more likely to translate into institutional capital for sustainability (as outlined in Table 2), and that organizations whose missions reflect these elements are more likely to be sustainable (Table 4). Finally, since this study found that the narratives of sustainability and intergenerational equity are related, and in many respects are mutually reinforcing, I expect to find that institutional commitment to future generations is likely to result in greater institutional capital for sustainability. As this study shows, the presence of a well-established public education functions would be a valid proxy for the institutional commitment to future generations. Thus, arts

organizations that have institutionalized, professionalized, and financially supported public education function, are expected to be more sustainable. Hence, the suggested mixed methods study based on the combination of arts organizations survey and the exploration of a specific urban context would be an appropriate way to test the theoretical assumptions and hypotheses generated by this study.

VII.   The Discussion of the Research Implications and Limitations

This study has attempted to connect the ideas of sustainability and social equity, and to make a claim regarding sustainable public administration in intergenerational terms. By looking at organizational experiences within three domains of art – museums, literature, music and performing arts-I find that the ethic of long-term sustainability is carried out through organizational practices and that by acting 'sustainably' managers of art organizations ensure institutional endurance of their organizations and the arts sector in general, thus vouching safe the interests of future generations. Therefore, this study not only refutes arguments regarding the impossibility of the intergenerational equity but it also shows how intergenerational equity, as an idea, is applicable to administrative practices. This study shows the many ways by which arts organizations include future generations in the domain of their temporal publics, thus serving several publics at the same time.

Moreover, this study contributes to the larger body of literature on sustainability by providing convincing evidence regarding the crucial role of the cultural dimension for the holistic understanding of sustainability as a complex multidimensional concept. This is done by showing how the narratives of sustainability and intergenerational equity are embedded in the arts sector, day-to-day managerial decisions, and art organizational practices. More importantly, the study shows that the narratives of sustainability and intergenerational equity are related in

fundamental ways. The field work performed for this study provides precise illustrations of the profound connectedness of the concepts of intergenerational equity and sustainability, and offers an empirical inquiry regarding institutional paths for achieving long-term sustainability through short-term strategies. Hence, the study finds evidence of both institutional and managerial commitment of arts organizations to future generations.

Like any inductive research, this study is not immune from limitations. The main limitation of this research stems from the use of the grounded theory, which is an inductive methodology that poses particular challenges to generalizing research findings. Grounded theory complicates using conclusions based on small scale investigations to explain bigger conceptual questions. For the purposes of this study I chose to ground the research questions and methodology with the literature review, consultations with experts, and the analysis of documents from multiple sources, and diversifying the choice of organizations included in the study – both geographically and in terms of their institutional forms. Such strategy intended to increase the validity, consistency, and generalizability of the study observations. In the absence of previous studies of long-term sustainability and intergenerational equity in the arts, grounded theory was the most appropriate methodology at this stage.

The second limitation stems from the constraints at the data collection stage. Initially, this study planned to look at similar organizational practices, policies and strategic documents pertaining to the area of interest. However, as the field work progressed, it turned out that the same documents were not available across all the organizations. For instance, not all organizations had strategic plans or formal mission statements, very few organizations had very elaborate collection policies and emergency preparedness strategies, organizational web-sites were all of different quality, etc. Additionally, due to the time and funding limitations, it was

practically impossible to visit all the organizations in person, or observe their practices in a direct way. Despite these limitations, it was possible to look at particular organizations and draw general inferences about how they maintain and promote works of art, how they reconcile tradition with the use of technology, etc.

Another limitation is the diversity of the sub-fields chosen as subjects of study and diversity of organizations chosen for the interviewing, which complicated generalizing the findings. However, while three subfields of aesthetics (visual arts, literature, music and performing arts) are very distinct, they all display the commitment of currently living people to future generations. Additionally, this research cold have benefitted from including examples of institutions that failed to act sustainably Although limitations of time and funding did not allow such a possibility, this idea warrants exploration in future research.

Finally, the research approach limited the potential for projecting findings regarding long-term sustainability and intergenerational equity found in the arts to other public policy areas. At the same time, although the fields of art are quite distinct from such public policy areas as education, environment, public safety, etc., it is still possible to extrapolate some of the findings regarding the core values displayed by these institutions in the name of future generations to the broader range of public and semi-public institutions. Since institutions of art exist in the same social, economic, and political context as the other public institutions, they have likely developed a similar set of survival strategies. Therefore, while a particular institutional choice might be area specific, the range of choices is likely to be similar. This research has asked broad conceptual questions that exceed the boundaries of particular institutions, therefore the findings presented here contribute to the development of the general theory regarding the ethic of sustainability.

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