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Audience Development in Public Cultural Centers: A Qualitative Study in Helsingborg and Elsinore

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KONSTANTINOS KARATZIAS

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The dissertation of Konstantinos Karatzias is approved.

Programme Coordinator: Prof. Emanuele Pellegrini, IMT School for Advanced Studies Lucca

Advisor: Prof. Lorenzo Casini, IMT School for Advanced Studies Lucca

Co-Advisor: Prof. Katja Lindqvist, Lund University

The dissertation of Konstantinos Karatzias has been reviewed by:

Prof. Mark Thatcher, The London School of Economics and Political Science

Prof. Nieves Acedo del Barrio, University of Navarra

IMT School for Advanced Studies, Lucca

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Dedicated to my dearest parents
Dimitra and Vasilis

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Vita and publications

VITA

August 29, 1985	Born, Serres, Greece
1999 - 2007	Degree in Classical Guitar Conservatorium "Kyttaro" Serres, Greece
2003 - 2007	B.Sc. Degree in Accounting and Control Final marks: 7,32/10 University of Macedonia Thessaloniki, Greece
2008 – 2009	M.Sc. Degree in Accounting and Control Vrije University Amsterdam, The Netherlands
2008 – 2009	Research and Teaching Assistant Department of Accounting Vrije University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands
April – July 2013	Visiting Researcher M.A. "Museology" Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece
2013 - 2014	Visiting Researcher Department of Service Management Lund University, Sweden
2015 -	Economist / Manager of European Funds Kavala Development Company S.A. Kavala, Greece

PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

K. Karatzias (2012) *Effects of the financial crises on Amerivan Museums: Lessons learned from the First Great Depression and the Global Financial Crisis of 2007-2010*. PREDELLA online journal. ISSN: 1827 – 8655, n.30.

K. Karatzias (2012) *Cultural book policy in times of crisis: the case of the book sector in Greece*. Paper presented at the ENCATC conference on "Networked Culture". 12 – 14 September 2012. University of Goldsmiths. London, United Kingdom.

K. Karatzias (2013) *Management challenges for the Museums in the 21st century*. Research Seminar in the M.Sc's program "Museology". 17 April 2013. Department of Architecture. Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

K. Karatzias (2013) *The role of public cultural centers in local development: The cases of Helsingborg and Elsinore*. Presentation during the workshop "Culture for regional Development". 29 November 2013. Department of Service Management and Service Studies. Lund University, Sweden.

K. Karatzias (2013) *The role of public cultural centers in local development: The cases of Helsingborg and Elsinore.* Research Seminar. 4 December 2013. Department of Service Management and Service Studies. Lund University, Sweden.

K. Karatzias (2014) *Audience development and public local cultural centers: A Scandinavian perspective*. Paper presented at the ENCATC conference on "New Challenges for the Arts and Culture: Is it just about money?. 17- 19 September 2014. Music and Dramatic Laboratory JAMU. Brno, Czech Republic.

K. Karatzias (2016) *Cultural Policies for Enlightenment and Empowerment in Scandinavian cities: the cases of public cultural centers in Elsinore and Helsingborg*. Paper presented at the conference on "Arts and Social Innovation: Empowerment, Impact and Policy". Lithuanian Academy of Music and Theatre. Vilnius, Lithuania.

Abstract

Audience development in cultural arts organizations is the institutional practice of increasing audiences, deepening relationships with the audiences and diversifying the audience base (EAC/08/2015 Tender specifications). As a critical function of the strategic management in arts organizations (Varbanova, 2012) audience development thus contributes, to the cultural policy goal of providing access to the high arts for all and the cultural policy goal of providing opportunities for the self-expression of the community (Bjørnsen, 2014).

However, public local cultural centers, as the community centers that offer different art forms and opportunities for social interaction (Shaw et al., 2006), are absent from the audience development literature and as such, one of the main ambitions of this doctoral thesis is to explore the critical function of management for this type of cultural organizations. The purpose of this qualitative study is to understand the perception of directors of cultural centers and their practice of audience development, and more, the management implications of a city's political visions on audience development and what the directors perceive it would take to improve the practice of audience development all the while taking into consideration the current challenges in practicing audience development. In order to answer the research questions, this study uses a qualitative approach to compare two case studies (Yin,2009), namely the Dunkers Kulturhus in Helsingborg, Sweden, and the Culture Yard in Elsinore, Denmark.

According to the semi-interviews with their directors and the documents related to the political vision of the respective cities and the management of the two cultural centers, the findings show that directors perceive audience development to play a major role in their organizations although they understand audience development in a more holistic way than the literature suggests. Moreover, the political visions in the cities of Helsingborg and Elsinore clearly impact strategic management in both organizations and their directors navigate between the political and the art market by considering the legitimacy criteria of both markets when planning for audience development (Lindqvist, 2007). Finally, the success of any audience development plan depends on the ability to keep the relationship with their audience in the core of everything these cultural centers do.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

"I would say it is the human factor that matters the most. Audience development allows us to create a coherent strategy of the organization considering the changing and complex issue that is audience."

ADESTE conference (Fiaccarini et al., 2016:13)

1.1 Introduction

Currently, the term "audience development" describes the activities in cultural organizations which are undertaken to reach and engage existing and new audiences and directs the organizational change which is necessary in order to bring audiences at the center of the management system of organizations (Fiaccarini et al., 2016). Mainly a practice-based activity in the arts and cultural fields, audience development includes elements of marketing, programming and education and relates to the tools, activities and methods to meet the needs of existing and potential audiences and to develop on-going relationships between the organization and its audiences (Varbanova, 2012). As a concept, audience development is perceived and implemented differently depending on the country and the local context (Fiaccarini et al., 2016) and it is related to the idea of making cultural activities accessible to as many people as possible (Bjørnsen, 2014).

This study is designed to explore the role of audience development as a critical function of management in public cultural centers by using a case study approach. I will focus on the operating directors' own perceptions of audience development and the ways to improve audience development practice in two public cultural centers in the cities of Helsingborg, Sweden, and Elsinore, Denmark. Also, the goal of

this study is to explore the fit of the two cultural centers in their respective cities' political visions and in what way this fit is perceived to influence audience development practice in these cultural organizations. The two public cultural centers of the case studies are the Dunkers Kulturhus in Helsingborg and the Culture Yard in Elsinore. Audience development in the UK generally follows a marketing orientation while in the cases of Denmark and Sweden, following the Scandinavian tradition of cultural policy (Duelund, 2003), a more participatory approach is taken (Maelen, 2008). The growing adoption of audience development in the practice of cultural organizations has attracted a lot of interest from practitioners and researchers in different countries (Fiaccarini et al., 2016) but there remains a dearth of research into its approach and use from public cultural centers in the context of cities in Sweden and Denmark.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The findings of the most recent Eurobarometer survey on cultural access and participation (TNS Opinion & Social, 2013) has provided the evidence that in general fewer Europeans are engaging in cultural activities, either as performers or audience. Although there are differences between member states, the survey pointed out that most Europeans prefer to watch or listen to a cultural program on TV or on the radio (72%) and read a book (68%) while the least favorite cultural activities among them are to visit a theater (28%) and to watch an opera, ballet or dance performance (18%). According to the survey, the main reason for non-participation is the lack of interest, time, money and choice. These results indicate the preference of the Europeans as an audience for cultural activities that can be done at home instead of choose to participate in the activities of traditional cultural organizations like theaters, museums, galleries, opera, cinemas and cultural centers. By recognizing the responsibility of government and cultural organizations for the increase of cultural participation, Androulla Vassiliou, the

European Commissioner for Education, Culture, Multilingualism and Youth, stated that "*this survey shows that governments need to re-think how they support culture to stimulate public participation and culture's potential as an engine for jobs and growth. The cultural and creative sectors also need to adapt to reach new audiences and explore new funding models*". (Press Release by European Commission, Brussels, 4 November 2013).

In this new environment, the relationship with their existing and potential audiences becomes a central focus in the development strategies cultural organizations[1]. The recent study by ADESTE (Audience Developer: Skills and Training in Europe) project on audience development (2013 – 2016), marks the importance for cultural organizations, either public, non profit, or private, to place audiences at the center of their management systems by building and implementing audience development plans. One of the main goals of the ADESTE project was to explore the development of the definition for the term audience development and this analysis provides a useful framework for this thesis too.

According to this analysis, the definition of audience development followed these conceptual steps from a pure marketing approach to a more strategic analysis (Directorate General for Education and Culture Creative Europe programme – Glossary, 2015):

- "*Audience Development is about quantitatively and qualitatively targeting new sector s in innovative ways to broaden the arts audience base, then nurturing new attenders, along with existing audiences, to encourage them to grow with the organization*" (Rogers, 1998)

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[1] The article *Art and Audience* by Zangwill (1999) provides an extensive account of the relationship between works of art and audiences from an aesthetic perspective. This relationship remains outside the scope of the Ph.D. thesis.

- "*Audience development is a planned process which involves building a relationship between an individual and the arts. This takes time and cannot happen by itself. Arts organisations must work to develop these relationships*" (Maitland, 2000)

- "*The term Audience Development describes activity which is undertaken specifically to meet the needs of existing and potential audiences, and to help arts organizations to develop on-going relationships with audiences. It can include aspects of marketing, commissioning, programming, education, customer care and distribution. 'Audience' encompasses attendees, visitors, readers, listeners, viewers, participants and learners*" (Grants for the Arts, Arts Council England, 2011)

- "*Audience development is a strategic, dynamic and interactive process of making the arts widely accessible. It aims at engaging individuals and communities in experiencing, enjoying, participating in and valuing the arts through various means available today for cultural operators from digital tools to volunteering, from co-creation to partnerships. Audience development can be understood in various ways, depending on its objectives and target groups: 1) increasing audiences; 2) deepening relationship with the audiences; and 3) diversifying audiences*". (EAC/08/2015 Tender specifications)

As can be concluded from the above definitions, there is a general agreement that although being an amorphous concept (Hayes, 2002), audience development as an institutional practice is an on-going and transformative process - a strategic issue – that should be embedded in the whole organization and can take various forms (Fiaccarini et al., 2016). In his doctoral thesis, Maelen (2008) examined eight different approaches to audience development (Maitland, 2000, 2002, 2005; Rogers, 1998; McCarthy & Jinnett, 2001; Hayes & Slater, 2002; Cashman, 2002; Kawashima, 2000; Morris, 1999) and based on the analysis of arts marketing literature (Colbert, 2007; Hirschman, 1986; Kotler, 1976) he concluded that audience development is an upgraded

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version arts marketing and a term serving political objectives. In other words "*a term that encompasses both the instrumentality of recent public policies and the ideas of cultural policies of the post World War II era of democratization of cultural policies and cultural democracy*" (Maelen, 2008).

Audience development as an institutional practice, then, cannot escape the close connection with the policy goal of providing access to the high arts for all, a strategy defined as democratization of culture, and the policy goal of providing opportunities for the self-expression of the community, a strategy defined as cultural democracy (Bjørnsen, 2014). The question remains as to whether or not and in what way this instrumentality of public policies affect audience development in practice and creates challenges for the management of cultural organizations. Similarly, the same question is valid in the case of the Scandinavian context where audience development discourse is discussed in cultural politics and arts management in Denmark, Sweden and Norway (Lindelof, 2014). Recent studies by Lindqvist (2007, 2012) have indicated that the strategic management of public cultural organizations is influenced by politics in general and thus, it is interesting to examine what is the influence of politics on audience development in practice. The focus of this research is on public local cultural centers which are multi-disciplinary spaces that offer a variety of cultural experiences in the fields of local history, art, music, drama and other art forms to a local, regional, national and international public (Carelli et al., 2007). Local cultural centers in Helsinki have been found to serve political goals for the democratization of culture, cultural democracy and provision of experiences to their users (Silvanto et al., 2008) and to the best of my knowledge this is the only peer-reviewed study exploring public cultural centers and their relationship with audiences, adopting an audience perspective. In the current study, I focus on the relationship of public local cultural centers with their audiences in two cities of Sweden and Denmark by examining

the perspective of their directors as key players in the strategic management of these organizations (Cray, 2011).

1.3 Purpose

In this research, a comparative qualitative case study methodology is used to answer the questions that frame the study. The purpose of this qualitative study is to understand directors' perception on audience development within public cultural centers, the management implications of the cities' political visions on audience development and what the directors perceive it would take to improve the practice of audience development in the cultural centers taking into consideration the current challenges of audience development.

Public cultural centers are not present in the literature for audience development theory and practice and in general, one of the main ambitions of the research is to explore this critical function of management in this type of cultural organizations. When we consider that cultural centers, as multi-arts spaces that offer transdisciplinary activities to both locals and tourists, are represented in only seven European networks[2] out of the twenty two networks that are selected by the European Commission and representing the Arts and Cultural Sector in Europe for 2014 – 2017 (EACEA, 2016), then the absence of cultural centers from major published studies regarding audience development is to be expected. Moreover, the focus of this thesis is on two cultural centers which are part of the public sector and thus the relationship between the political level and the operational becomes the central point in the analysis of audience

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[2] Biennale des Jeunes Createurs de l'Europe et de la Mediteranee (BJCEM), Culture Action Europe (CAE), European Festivals Association (EFA), European Network on Cultural Management and Policy (ENCATC), European Network of Cultural Centers (ENCC), European Union National Institutes for Culture (EUNIC), Pepinieres Europeenes pour Jeunes Artistes (PEJA).

development practices as a strategic management activity (Lindqvist, 2007). The theoretical part will present definitions of audience development in key studies (Maitland, 2000; Rogers, 1998; Hayes & Slater, 2002; Cashman, 2002; Kawashima, 2000; EAC/08/2015 Tender specifications). Furthermore, I will refer to the research studies that explore issues of audience development in Scandinavia (Maelen, 2008; Suonsyrja, 2007; Lindelof, 2014; Scollen, 2007; Lindelof, 2015). Then, I discuss the relevance of the cities' political vision for the management practices of public cultural organizations in general and finally, I conclude with the conceptualization of public cultural centers and the challenges they face in relation to the development of their relationship with the existing and potential audiences.

The empirical part will include the comparative analysis of qualitative data (semi-structured interviews and document analysis) gathered with regards to the two case studies, namely the Dunkers Kulturhus in Helsingborg, Sweden, and the Culture Yard in Elsinore, Denmark. Both cases represent interesting examples for the use of culture in local development and similar political visions condition the management of their operations. The study will compare how the impact of these political visions on the audience development practices is perceived by the directors of the cultural centers. The issue here is in which way public principals affect the way the local cultural centers relate to their existing and future audiences (Lindqvist, 2007). The results indicate that the political visions in the cities of Helsingborg and Elsinore clearly impact the mission statement formation and appropriation directions in both organizations and currently their directors navigate strategically between the political and the art market by considering the legitimacy criteria of both markets when planning for audience development.

1.4 Research questions

In order to find out how directors approach audience development, and how the cities' political visions affect audience development strategies and activities, this study posits and answers the following research questions:

1) How do the directors of public cultural centers perceive and practice audience development?

2) How do the directors perceive the cultural centers' relationship to the political vision of the cities and the implications for audience development?

3) What the directors perceive it would take to improve the practice of audience development in the cultural centers taking into consideration the current challenges of audience development?

1.5 Significance of the study

The intent of the study is to contribute to the overall knowledge base about audience development in public cultural centers. Specifically, this study focuses on audience development in theory and practice in public cultural centers and the effects of the cities' political vision on audience development strategies within public cultural centers. Previous audience development research (Maitland, 2000, 2002, 2005; Rogers, 1998; McCarthy & Jinnett, 2001; Hayes & Slater, 2002; Cashman, 2002; Kawashima, 2000; Morris, 1999) is not focusing on the context and conditions under which the management of audience relationships takes place. Using the interpretive tradition for the data collection and analysis, this study follows the research path that places the context in its center to investigate audience development action and thus it is closer to the field of public management or cultural institutions studies (Lindqvist 2007, 2012; Hasitschka et al. 2005).

Furthermore, the study contributes to the understanding of public local cultural centers in two Scandinavian countries,

Sweden and Denmark, and enriches the research field of arts management studies that apply comparative case study methodology. Focusing on the directors' perspective is also a contribution of this study towards exploring the individual cultural organization's approach to the external environment (Lindqvist, 2012)

1.6 Theoretical approach and method

This study aims at a *meaningful understanding* (Heracleous, 2004:175) of the directors' perception of audience development in public cultural centers and thus, it adopts the interpretive approach taking "*human interpretation as the starting point for developing knowledge about the social world*" (Prasad, 2005:13).

The qualitative research case study for this dissertation is grounded in the interpretive theoretical approach, which guides and leads the data collection and analysis. Following a stream of academic research applying qualitative methodologies to understand the effects of politics the strategic management of cultural organizations (Lindqvist, 2007), this dissertation connects a number of different theoretical areas relating to business administration and political science. In her research on the effects of public governance on strategic action and management of individual public arts institutions, Lindqvist (2007:1) introduced the investigation of public arts institutions as organizations that fall between the political market and the professional art field. And as such, "*public governance does affect strategic planning and action in the individual arts organizations by presenting it with opposing logics of control and evaluation and by creating economic and political vulnerability for the organization through budget and management controls*". Later, it is recognized that "*how individual organizations approach these conditions still needs to be researched*" (Lindqvist, 2012).

The dissertation takes the question to the core by investigating audience development approaches for two individual public

cultural centers and how these practices are related to the political visions in the cities. The analytical part is based on data collected from semi-structured interviews with the operating directors of the Dunkers Kulturhus and the Culture Yard as well as data from various archived documents and publications.

Following the historical development of the term 'audience development' in key publications, I examine the cases of the Dunkers Kulturhus and the Culture Yard in Helsingborg and Elsinore. The two case studies were chosen because they share two common characteristics in addition to having their own unique features. Both organizations are public arts organizations, that is arts organizations with a public principal and with activities oriented towards a general public. One unique aspect is that the Dunkers Kulturhus started its operations in 2002 and faced a period of mismanagement that followed a decrease in audience numbers. After this crisis, the operational management changed in 2011 and its new director, started a number of structural changes that launched a new era for the house. In the case of the Culture Yard, the characteristics setting it apart are the clear target of the municipality to make the center a hotspot for cultural experiences for both citizens and visitors, and thus, the center has a strong political and community support.

1.7 Summary – Dissertation overview

This chapter introduced the subject of the dissertation as a whole, presented an overview of the background and problem statement, outlined the purpose of the study, stated the research question and study significance, presented a theoretical perspective, and defined conceptual definitions used during the course of this dissertation research. Chapter 2 reviews the literature of cultural centers, focusing on the relevance for the management practice of public cultural centers the literature in audience development have. More specifically, the literature review focuses on previous research on audience development

and public cultural centers. Chapter 3 defines the epistemological framework used in this qualitative case study, as well as the philosophical foundations, research approach, research strategies, research method, time horizon, participant information, data collection and analysis, research steps, reliability and validity in qualitative research, the role of the researcher, and limitations. Chapter 4 discusses the findings of this study and Chapter 5 provides the discussion of the study's findings, the theoretical and practical implications and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This literature review is an essential part of this research study as it explores the existing literature in order to identify what is already known through research and practice in the area of audience development in public cultural centers, specifically which concepts and theories are relevant to this field, what are the gaps and inconsistencies in the findings of previous research and most importantly to discover what are the unanswered research questions in previous studies (Bryman, 2012).

Public cultural centers have been scarcely present in the literature of audience development and therefore, the discussion on this chapter is centered on operational level research questions around this type of cultural organization; in other words, what relevance for management practice of public cultural centers does literature in audience development have? After exploring a selection of relevant definitions of audience development in order to understand of how the concept has evolved, I will refer to the few studies that explore issues of audience development in Scandinavia (Maelen, 2008; Suonsyrja, 2007; Lindelof, 2015). Then, I discuss the relevance of the cities' political vision for the management practices of public cultural organizations in general and finally, I conclude with the conceptualization of public cultural centers and the challenges they face in relation to the development of their relationship with the existing and potential audiences.

2.2 Audience development as a strategic issue

The goal of this part is to present a few key references in the literature of audience development with the aim of following its

historical development from a marketing approach to a more holistic and strategic issue for cultural organizations[3].

The term audience development has a British origin and has been part of the overall cultural policy objective to create inclusive cultural institutions that are open to a wide range of audiences (Kawashima, 2000). In exploring its definition, the concept of audience development carries different meanings and practices to different cultural organizations according to the way they perceive their relationship to be with the existing and potential audience (Bjørnsen, 2014). It is most frequently defined as a collective term, which contains a number of initiatives in order to meet the challenges that cultural organizations face in relation to creating long-term relationships with the public (Hansen, 2015). Although the concept of audience development is relatively new, it has been historically linked to different cultural policy developments within the basic idea to make art and culture accessible to all (Hayes, 2002; Kawashima, 2000). However, this idea is processed in various ways throughout history, including questions like what defines the art and culture that should be available to all and what these questions imply (Bjørnsen, 2014). Historically, audience development practices mark a movement between artistic, social, financial and educational motives (Kawashima, 2000) and has been underpinned by the Liberal Humanist view of 'culture for all', suggesting that the high arts can be made accessible to all people through the removal of practical and perceptual barriers (Kawashima, 2000; Hayes, 2003).

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[3] For an extensive and detailed bibliography on the issue of audience development I refer the reader to the doctoral study "Arts Centres as Audience Relationship Managers" by Maelen (2008) and the final bibliography document from the ADESTE project Study on Audience Development – How to place audiences at the centre of cultural organisations (Directorate-General for Education and Culture Creative Europe programme, 2015)

One of the first definitions of audience development was given by the Arts Council of England which has produced an extensive number of reports on this term. According to their report (2011) audience development "*describes activity which is undertaken specifically to meet the needs of existing and potential audiences and to help arts organisations to develop ongoing relationships with audiences. It can include aspects of marketing, commissioning, programming, education, customer care and distribution.*" This definition has been particularly used to explore the ways and strategies various cultural and arts organizations put in practice to manage their relationships with their audience, a term encompassing "*attendees, visitors, readers, listeners, viewers, participants and learners*" (Grants for the Arts, Arts Council England, 2011).

Similarly, Maitland (2000) pointed out that "*audience development is a planned process which involves building a relationship between an individual and the arts*" underlining that audience development "*projects only work if they are part of a long term strategy for audience development which is developed jointly by the artistic, education and marketing functions of an organization*". Following this definition, Maitland recognizes four types of barriers, namely physical, psychological, social and lack of information, which arts organizations try to overcome in their plan to increase attendance and participation in old and new audiences, as well as improving understanding, knowledge and appreciation of particular art forms.

In the same pattern of focusing on the close relationship of audience development with artistic, education and marketing functions of cultural organizations, Rick Rogers (1998 – cited in Maelen, 2008) emphasized that "*working collaboratively, education and marketing can enhance the vital activity of audience development – sustaining and expanding existing or regular audiences or visitors, creating new attenders and participants, and enhancing their enjoyment, understanding, skills and confidence across art forms*".

In one of the most used framework of audience development practices, Hayes and Slater (2002) present two kinds of approaches: the missionary and the mainstream audience development. According to the missionary approach, the aim is to expand the volume of the audience pool and attract new audiences by adjusting to their sociological and demographic characteristics, while the mainstream approach addresses the needs of the existing audiences and aims at deepening their experiences. Hayes and Slater claim that arts organizations mainly follow the missionary approach for the reason that the existing funding is available for programs that attract especially new audiences or because they fear of gaining an elitist image if they focus on existing audiences. Mainstream projects are resource-intensive in terms of time, money and labour forces and they call for a more holistic view of audience development. A holistic approach to audience development implies the inclusion of all the functions in the management of cultural organizations towards developing the relationships with their audiences and it carries a strategic connotation. Strategic action in cultural organizations involves all the actions, including resource allocation and the adaptation to the organizational environment, that are planned in order to meet the objective of the organization (Lindqvist, 2007; Cray, 2011).

Similarly, Nobuko Kawashima (2000) was one of the first researchers to explore audience development in theory and practice and identified four types of audience development strategies that although conceptually different in practice they are not mutually exclusive:

- Cultural Inclusion: Targeting and focusing on lower social class people who face economic and social barriers in attending arts events

- Extended Marketing: Stimulating interest in potential audiences by marketing in order to attend artistically improved performances

- **Taste Cultivation:** Cultivating the taste of the existing audiences which are introduced to different art genres and forms.

- **Audience Education:** Increasing the understanding and enjoyment of the arts which existing attenders currently consume.

In one of the most recent attempts to define audience development and provide successful approaches and methods in the area of audience development that are shared among European cultural organizations, the *Study on Audience Development – How to place audiences at the centre of cultural organizations* (2015), funded by the EU's Creative programme, adopts a more holistic and processual vision of audience development by defining it as a "…*strategic, dynamic and interactive process of making the arts widely accessible. It aims at engaging individuals and communities in experiencing, enjoying, participating in and valuing the arts through various means available today for cultural operators, from digital tools to volunteering, from co-creation to partnerships*" (EAC/08/2015 Tender specifications). One of the ambitions of this study to examine whether public cultural centers follow this development of the concept of audience development and what are the management implications in this case.

- In accordance to the critical stance towards audience development as "*a more politically correct term for marketing culture*" (Bjørnsen, 2014:3), recent research has shown that renowned audience development guidebooks such as Heather Maitland's *A Guide to Audience Development* (2000), arts marketing books such as Joanne Scheff Bernstein's *Arts Marketing Insights – The Dynamics of Building and Retaining Performing Arts Audiences* (2007) and arts management publications such as the *Journal of Arts Management, Law, & Society* and the *International Journal of Arts Management* are

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full of examples of marketing and management changes within cultural organizations in order to increase audience numbers and generated income but without considering "*the aesthetical or experience merits of those changes*" (Sigurjonsson, 2010: 268). Thus, one area of controversy in the literature about audience development revolves around the question whether there is a conflict between marketing and audience development. Lee (2005) suggest that arts marketing in fact follows the changes in relation to the cultural policy context by adhering to the increasing social roles of cultural organizations and the strengthening of the state intervention in their operation. Ultimately, the discussion of whether arts marketing has negative implications for audience development in theory and practice remains out of the scope of this study and merits further exploration in future research.

- In the most comprehensive examination of the audience development concept in a historical perspective and its relationship with cultural politics Maelen (2008) examined eight different approaches to audience development (Maitland, 2000, 2002, 2005; Rogers, 1998; McCarthy & Jinnett, 2001; Hayes & Slater, 2002; Cashman, 2002; Kawashima, 2000; Morris, 1999) and based on the analysis of arts marketing literature (Colbert, 2007; Hirschman, 1986; Kotler, 1976) he concluded that audience development in theory and in practice serves political objectives. In other words "*a term that encompasses both the instrumentality of recent public policies and the ideas of cultural policies of the post World War II era of democratization of cultural policies and cultural democracy*" (Maelen, 2008). The conclusion here is that audience development cannot escape the discussion of democratizing culture, i.e. "*making cultural activities available to as many people as possible, across geographical and social dividing lines*" (Bjørnsen, 2014:2) and the idea of giving the opportunity to people excluded from the community to express their own culture, namely the strategy of cultural

democracy which was a dominant discourse in the 1970's (Silvanto et al., 2008). These two concepts – democratization of culture and cultural democracy – are key concepts in the national and local policy context but it is not clear what are the management implications for audience development in public cultural organizations.   The analysis below will establish the link of audience development with the wider policy goals in the local context and it will suggest the exploration of the political vision in cities in relation to audience development practices within public cultural centers.

2.3 Audience development in the Scandinavian context

As the rise of the audience development discourse in relation to performing arts institutions has been going on for the past two decades, particularly in the United Kingdom, it has also recently being discussed in cultural politics and arts management theory and practices in Denmark, Norway and Sweden. In this context, there are contrasting aims within the audience development discourse depending on whether the perspective of the institution, the political level or the one of the audience is taken (Lindelof, 2014).

From the institutional perspective "*it seems that the audience development discourse has forced the institutions to start rethinking the ways in which they engage with their audiences more systematically in their institutional practice*" (Lindelof, 2014:14). Audience agencies, such Arts & Audiences (the Nordic cross-sector meeting point for audience development practices) and the Audiences Denmark (an independent, non-governmental arm of the Danish Centre for Arts and Interculture), are sharing best practices of audience development in line with the ADESTE project *Study on Audience Development – How to place audiences at the centre of cultural organizations* (2015). Additionally, the scarce published academic research such as the master's thesis by Suonsyrjä (2007)

and the doctoral thesis by Maelen (2008) explore the theory and the practices of audience development in dance and arts centers in Finland and Norway respectively using the typologies and the concept of audience development as it was established in the British context (Kawashima, 2000). On the other hand, the discovery of the motivation for attenders and non-attenders in arts activities is a critical function of the audience development discourse and previous research has well documented the attendance rates of various audience groups of people differentiated by categories such as age, gender, ethnicity, disability and educational level in various cultural and arts activities (Lindelof, 2014). Compared to the perspectives of the institution and the audience, it remains unclear what are the rationales behind the rhetoric and actions of cultural organizations in their efforts to reach a broader audience and to deepen the relationship with the existing audience remain undiscovered. This question belongs primarily to the field of cultural policy and it marks the scarcity of research on what are the dominant rationales on policies regarding the relationship of public cultural organizations with their existing and potential audiences and what are the consequences of these policies on the operational management of public cultural organizations.

The discussion regarding the rationales is relevant for cultural policies in general since "*policies always come with a rationale*" (Skot-Hansen, 2005:31) and it brings forward the discussion of *instrumentalization* in cultural policies, a concept that denotes the use of "*cultural venues and cultural investments as a means or instrument to attain goals in other than cultural areas…the instrumental aspect lies in emphasizing culture and cultural ventures as a means and not an end in itself*" (Vestheim, 1994:65). The concept of instrumentalization has implications for the purpose of this study as it is recognized in previous research that there is a need to explore theoretically and empirically the effects of the politics on the management of individual cultural organizations at the operational level (Gray, 2011; Lindqvist, 2007, 2012)

2.4 Audience development in public local cultural organizations

Until this point of the thesis, the concept of audience development has been examined as an organizational activity within cultural and arts organizations and its relationship with national cultural policy goals of various countries, namely democratization of culture and cultural democracy, has been strongly established in previous research, especially in the British cultural policy context (Kawashima, 2006; Barlow et al., 2007). In Scandinavia, the historical and cultural region in Northern Europe including Denmark, Norway and Sweden, national cultural policies have been historically included in the idea of social welfare and thus, promote "*both freedom of artistic expression and equal access for everyone to arts and cultural products*" (Duelund, 2008: 12).   Duelund (2003, 2008) in his studies regarding Nordic[4] cultural policies establishes the relationship between the political and economic environment with the production, distribution and consumption of art:

"*Cultural policies always reflect the political and economic struggles to establish a frame for artistic and aesthetic expression and other direct and indirect tools that governments and the state apparatus use to fund, stimulate and regulate the production, distribution and consumption of art*" - Duelund (2008: 11)

According to the comparative and most comprehensive study on Nordic cultural policies – *Nordic Cultural Policy in Transition*– Duelund (2003) identifies four distinctive periods in the post-war Scandinavia characterized by different cultural policy rationales and goals: the democratization of culture (1960 – 1975), cultural democracy (1975 – 1985), social and economic instrumentalization (1985 – 1995) and economic and political colonization (1995 – 2007). Taking into consideration the
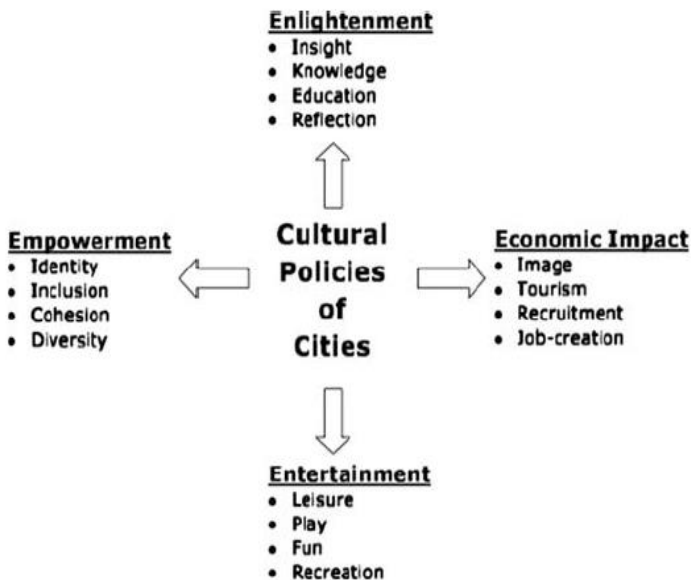
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[4] Nordic countries consist of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, and their associated territories (Greenland, the Faroe Islands, and the Aland Islands)

definition of cultural policy by Duelund (2008) and the holistic definition of audience development as the total activities of cultural organizations towards increasing audiences, deepening relationship with the audiences and diversifying audiences (EAC/08/2015 Tender specifications) then, the argument of this study is that audience development represents goals that are central principles in Scandinavian cultural policies. The question that remains absent is what are the management implications of the cultural policy objectives for the operation of cultural centers regarding audience development. The focus of this study is on local cultural policies and local cultural centers within an urban context since the exploration of this relationship is scarce in previous research. To the best of my knowledge, the research by Silvanto et al. (2008) is the only study examining the relationship of local cultural centers with their audiences.

The role of cultural policies in cities has changed significantly the last few decades (Silvanto et al., 2008) and the changing rationales and objectives of urban cultural policies reflect the transformation of cities to places of cultural consumption as the new type of economy within cities (Navarro, 2012:637).

According to Skott-Hansen (2005), the tradition of democratizing high culture for all was the dominant cultural policy discouse in European cities until the 1960s, when there was a change towards the political goal of prioritizing the self-expression of different social group under the strategy of cultural democracy in the late 1970s – early 1980s. It was the 1990s that marked was the turn of the public investment on tourism, city image and job creation (Skott-Hansen, 2005). These traditions can be manifested in the Four E's model (figure 1) as Enlightenment, Empowerment, Economic impact and Entertainment rationales and they suggest a change in the role of culture in cities from a humanistic function serving social goals to strategies of 'policy attachment' and 'instrumentalization'. These two strategies point the assessment of culture on terms of what it can do rather on what it is and the attachment of cultural policy to other policy

concerns (Lindqvist, 2012; Gray, 2008; Belfiore, 2004), such as city development and tourism (Lindqvist, 2016).

Enlightenment
- Insight
- Knowledge
- Education
- Reflection

Empowerment
- Identity
- Inclusion
- Cohesion
- Diversity

Cultural Policies of Cities

Economic Impact
- Image
- Tourism
- Recruitment
- Job-creation

Entertainment
- Leisure
- Play
- Fun
- Recreation

Source: Skot-Hansen (2005).

Figure 1. Four E's model for cultural policy rationales in cities (Source: Skot – Hansen, 2005)

Although these rationales manifest themselves in the urban cultural policies through various practices and cultural organizations, it remains unclear what are the implications at the organizational level for public cultural institutions. The study by Silvanto et al. (2008) explored the way key cultural objectives are realized to three urban cultural centers in Helsinki, Finland, and how the overall rationales of urban cultural policy (Skot-Hansen, 2005) are manifested in the experience of their users. Additionally, Olsen (2012) used the same framework to explore the degree of integration/marginalization of arts festivals in the

urban regimes of Manchester, Copenhagen and Vienna and what are the implications for the operation of these festivals.

It has already been argued that audience development is related to the rationales of national cultural policies, namely the rationales of democratization of culture and cultural democracy. In a similar way, cultural policies in European cities are related to audience development through the political objectives of increasing arts participation and providing opportunities to the local community for self-expression. One of the themes this study introduces is in what way the political visions in the cities of Helsingborg and Elsinore influence the perception and practice of audience development in the respective two public cultural centers.

In exploring the issue of urban cultural policies, my standpoint is that audience development is an essential part of local cultural policies. After accepting the definition cultural policy as the domain of policy that directs the cultural practices, products and forms of circulation and consumption (Craik, 2007), it is my hypothesis that the political vision of cities expresses the cultural policy goals of the local government. Thus, the question is whether and in what way this vision affects audience development in public cultural centers.

2.5 Conceptualizing cultural centers

Defining and conceptualizing cultural centers for the purposes of this study was an initial challenge since there is no distinctive definition for this type of cultural organizations in the literature (Shaw et al., 2006). Cultural centers in Europe have their own characteristics depending on the country and municipality in which they are developing their activities but they all share a number of common organizational and institutional characteristics (European Network of Cultural Centers). The focus of this research study is on local public multi-disciplinary cultural centers, conceptualized as cultural organizations with a

public principal – the municipality in this case – and with a wide range of activities towards local citizens and tourists.

In 2006, Shaw et al. published a report on behalf of the Arts Council of England regarding a study on arts centres in the United Kingdom with the title *Arts centres research - Summary and recommendations*. In this report, the researchers define art centers as places that offer opportunities to artists and the public "*influenced by its history and location, its architecture and facilities, and the style and effectiveness of its governance and management*" (Shaw et al., 2006:1). Following this definition they are distinguishing between the non-metropolitan, multi-artform model and the metropolitan, specialist model of arts centers with the first being a multi-space venue in towns and smaller cities providing various facilities and activities to its public as audience, as participants and as volunteers. The metropolitan model is usually found in larger cities, they specialize in one or more artform and "*it may have a strong relationship with its local community, but its relationship with artists and with audiences for its more specialist and often high-profile programme is as important, if not more so*" (Shaw et al., 2006:2).

Accordingly, a cultural center retains the main characteristics of arts centers, namely the multi-space character of the venue, the relationships with the local community and the opportunities for the public to engage as audience, participant and volunteer in a range of activities. However, the broader meaning of culture (Mulcahy, 2006) is what defines the nature and character of cultural centers in this dissertation by conceptualizing them as multi-spaces for theatre, galleries, musical performances, workshops, education, talks etc. (Evans, 2001).

Therefore, a cultural center possess the following three characteristics (Shaw et al., 2006: 15-16):

- "*creates different entry point for the public to different art forms and genres*"

- «*has creative relationships with artists*"and

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- "*has a social dimension and at least one space dedicated to social interaction*".

For the purposes of this research I base the definition of cultural centers on the one provided for arts centers by Shaw et al. (2006) and I consider the balance of following elements to contribute to their successfulness according to Hutchison et al. (1996:22 cited by Maelen, 2008:86): 1) the building itself and its immediate and geographic location, 2) the characteristics and wishes of the community, 3) the perspective and overall strategy of local community, 4) other types of arts provisions and 5) the vision, preferences and skills of those leading the centre (staff and governing body).

In overall, I will build on the Silvanto et al.'s (2008) suggestion that local cultural centers reflect the latest developments of society by serving all the political objectives that are suggested from the 'Four Es' framework model: Enlightenment, Empowerment, Economic Impact and Entertainment (Skot-Hansen, 2005). Additionally, after having examined the definition of audience development in the literature the following hypotheses can be drawn in relation to audience development within public cultural centers:

- Audience development is a practice-based activity

- Audience development can take various meanings depending on the context

- Audience development should be analyzed as a strategic issue

- Audience development is an integral part of local cultural policies

- Public cultural centers are serving political objectives that represent various rationales

- Public cultural centers are offering a variety of cultural experiences to a local, regional, national and international public

In exploring these issues, the following research questions are proposed:

1) How do the directors of public cultural centers perceive and practice audience development?

2) How do the directors perceive the cultural centers' relationship to the political vision of the cities and the implications for audience development?

3) What the directors perceive it would take to improve the practice of audience development in the cultural centers taking into consideration the current challenges of audience development?

2.6 Summary

As an approach, audience development has escaped the narrow marketing perspective and it refers to the holistic perspective that focuses all the activities of cultural organizations towards increasing audiences, deepening relationship with the audiences and diversifying audiences (EAC/08/2015 - Tender specifications). This study argues that as a concept audience development is an essential part of local cultural policies in Sweden and Denmark, as part of the Scandinavian tradition of social welfare in politics, because it is related to the democratization of culture and cultural democracy strategies. In the first case, audience development has the goal to provide access to the art and culture for all and in the second strategy audience development aims at providing space for the self-expression of the community.

Cultural policy, then, comes with a rationale and the rationales can be found both in national and local cultural policies. With regards to the space of cities, the 'Four E's' model by Skot-Hansen (2005) provides four rationales that manifest themselves simultaneously in cultural policies through various immaterial practices and cultural spaces: Enlightenment, Empowerment, Economic impact and Entertainment. It is my hypothesis that these rationales are expressed in the political vision of the cities and I argue that the strategic analysis of audience development should consider the impact of these political visions. In overall, the directors' perception on audience development is adopted since there is a dearth of research on the actual use of this critical function of management in public cultural centers.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

For the purposes of this study, I chose to apply the qualitative research approach. The qualitative approach was taken so that it would be possible to focus on how the directors of the public cultural centers can have different ways of looking at reality (Prasad, 2005). In other words, qualitative research explores a phenomenon by collecting, analyzing and interpreting data by observing human behavior (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). The purpose of this qualitative study is to understand directors' perceptions on audience development, the implications of the cities' political visions on audience development and what the directors perceive it would take to improve the practice of audience development in the cultural centers taking into consideration the current challenges in practicing audience development.

3.2 Research 'Onion'

Research methodology provides the general framework for the investigation of research topics and guides the collection and analysis of data (Silverman, 2000; Bryman, 2012). Regarding the choice of the relevant research design for this particular study, I follow the categorization that has been suggested by Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2009). Their model, which has the characteristic name 'Research Onion' (Figure 2), provides a clear structure for the most appropriate strategies and methods for conducting research in the framework of a study or a project. Alternatively, 'Research Onion' provides the answers on how a research project must be carried out using a methodology that is needed for the research (Saunders et al., 2009).

As it is implied by its name, the "Research Onion" model depicts the different parts of the research methodology by using the layers of an actual onion (Saunders et al., 2009). The higher layer represents the choice of the "research philosophy". The next layer represents the choice of the "research approach" which leads to the next and third layer which is the "research strategy" or as it is commonly known as research method (Bryman, 2012). The fourth layer depicts the type of the data that will analyzed as the "research choice" and the fifth layer represents the choice of the "research time horizon". The sixth and last layer is the choice of the method for the collection and analysis of the data as the "research technique and procedure".
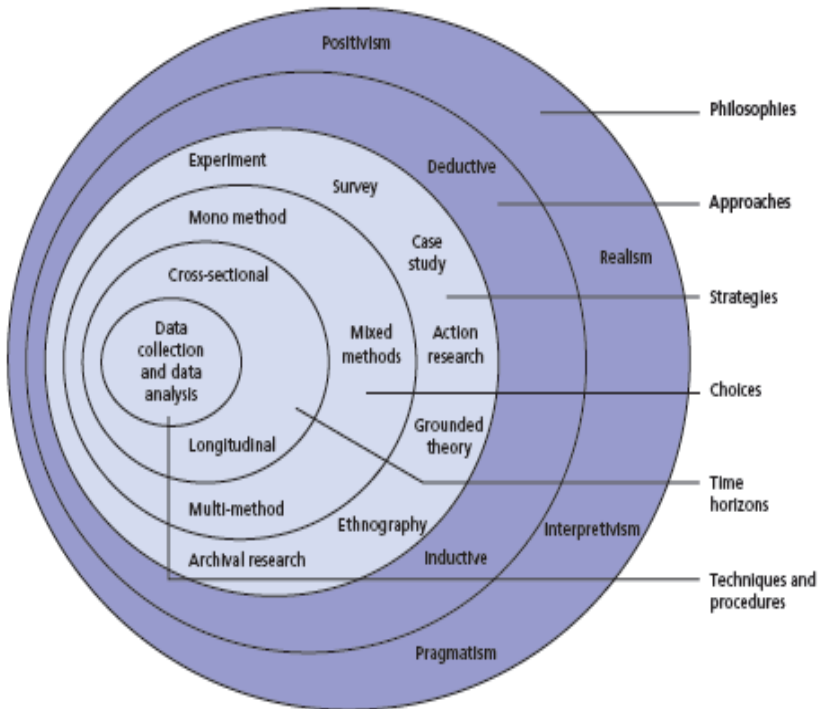

Figure 2. The Research Onion (Source: Mark Saunders, Philip Lewis and Andrian Thornhill, 2009)

Following this description of the "Research Onion", the different parts of the research methodology that guide the thesis are presented in the next sections.

Layer 1: Research philosophy

This layer contains the research philosophy considerations that refer to a system of beliefs and assumptions about the development of knowledge. Each belief and assumption provideσ structure, guidance and limitations to the following decisions and ultimately the way a researcher can collect and analyze data to create valid findings. Consequently, every stage of the research will be affected by a number of types of assumptions which are done consciously or unconsciously by the researcher (Burrell and Morgan, 1979).

Assumptions within this layer are divided into two main categories: epistemological assumptions, namely the questions of what is regarded as acceptable knowledge in the social world, and ontological assumptions, namely the concern whether "*the social world is regarded as something external to social actors or as something that people are in the process of making*" (Bryman, 2012). The five major philosophies in business and management studies are positivism, critical realism, interpretivism, post-modernism and pragmatism and these philosophies apply in this study too as the research field of the dissertation connects various theoretical areas relating to arts management, business administration and political science.

The ontological position of this research project is constructionism (often also referred to as constructivism) which asserts that social phenomena in the world and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors (Bryman, 2012; Lincoln et al., 2011). In this sense, the focus of audience development and its analysis is more context oriented than is the case in most audience development research in arts management theory.

In terms of analysis and the epistemological stance, this study adopts the interpretivist perspective in order to understand the way operating directors of public cultural centers interpret and perceive the notion of audience development and how this interpretation guides their activities in their activities that concern their relationship with their audiences. The interpretivist paradigm advocates that "*there are differences between people and the objects of the natural sciences*" (Bryman, 2012:30) and thus the role of the researcher is to recognize the social construction of reality. Saunders et al., (2009) recognize the important role of 'social actors' in the interpretivist approach:

"*The metaphor of the theatre suggests that as humans we play a part on the stage of human life. In theatrical productions, actors play a part which they interpret in a particular way (which may be their own or that of the director) and act out their part in accordance with this interpretation. In the same way we interpret our everyday social roles in accordance with the meaning we give to these roles. In addition, we interpret the social roles of others in accordance with our own set of meanings*"

Layer 2: Research approach

Before the choice of the research approach, which can either be *deductive* or *inductive*, it is necessary for the researcher to define the type and the purpose of the research project (Bryman, 2012). In general, the type of any research project can be descriptive, causal or exploratory (Given, 2008). According to the SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative research methods (2008) exploratory research will have the objective to collect data in order to observe relationships and differences in the characteristics of a population. In this research project regarding the exploration of audience development practices in public cultural centers and the impact of the political vision on these practices, the research questions fall within the exploratory research design.

The goal of this doctoral thesis regarding the exploration of the research questions as identified from the literature review in the fields of audience development, cultural policy and arts management, the latter situated as a field of research in between public governance and business administration, determines also the research approach that will be followed. However, the exploration of the research questions presupposes the collection of data from interviews and documents that will lead to the building on the theory of audience development in public cultural centers. The reason for this is that in the previous literature there is no research on the connection between audience development and politics. Therefore, the main objective of the research approach in this project is to collect data from two public cultural centers and their political environment with the goal to explore the research questions identified. Therefore, the doctoral thesis is guided by an inductive approach in an effort to build a theory after the collection and analysis of the data.

Layer 3: Research Strategy

The third layer involves the selection of the appropriate research strategy which is guided by the research questions and objectives, the existing knowledge, the amount of time and other resources and finally the philosophical considerations of the researcher (Saunders et. al., 2009). These research strategies are: 1) experiment, 2) survey, 3) case study, 4) action research, 5) action research, 6) grounded theory, 7) ethnography, and 8) archival research. As the research project is oriented towards the collection of data from public cultural centers with objective of exploring the impact of public governance on audience development practices, the research strategy employed in this project is the case study.

Case study

Thomas (2011) describes case studies as "*analyses of persons, events, decisions, periods, projects, policies, institutions, or other systems that are studied holistically by one or more method. The case that is the subject of the inquiry will be an instance of a class of phenomena that provides an analytical frame − an object − within which the study is conducted and which the case illuminates and explicates.*"

Case studies as a research strategy are used frequently both in quantitative and qualitative research studies and the main researchers whose methods are used extensively on case study research are Robert K. Yin (2009), Sharan Merriam (1998), and Robert E. Stake (1995).

For Yin (2009) there are five elements of a case study which are important to define it as a research strategy:

1) the study's research questions: In this study, I asked operating directors how they understand audience development, how they practice it and how the political vision of the cities influence these practices. Moreover, the interviews included question on what directors perceive needs to be done in order to improve the practice of audience development regarding the current challenges of audience development

2) its propositions: I am interested in examining the concept of audience development as it is perceived by the operating directors of public cultural centers, how audience development is practiced and what are the discrepancies between them.

3) its unit of analysis: For this study, the units of analysis or 'cases' are the public cultural centers in Helsingborg and Elsinore and the questions and propositions about these two cultural organizations are related to the concept of audience development.

4) the logic linking the data to the propositions: the themes that were identified during the data collection and analysis were

used as answers to the research questions identified in chapters 1 and 2.

5) the criteria for interpreting the findings: These criteria will be the theories of audience development as identified and the impact of the political level on the operational level of the cultural centers as identified in the literature chapter. The goal here is to identify the relevant and rival theories that interpret the findings accordingly.

Layer 4: Method choice

The purpose of this study and the nature of the research questions regarding audience development, public cultural centers, political administration and public governance demand the use of a qualitative method for data analysis. Accordingly, the research philosophy and the exploratory nature of this study require the use of qualitative data as the type of data for this project that will be used to reach the conclusions

Layer 5: Time horizon

The time horizon of conducting a research project defines also its form (Bryman 2012). If the research will be conducted in a certain time period for the total population or for part of the total population in the case of a sample, then the research can be characterized as 'cross-sectional' (Firebaugh, 2008). An example of a cross-sectional design is the study by Beardsworth and Keil (1992) where they explore the dietary beliefs and practices of vegetarians and for the purposes of which they interviewed seventy-six vegetarians and vegans in the East Midlands. In the case where the research project examines the total population or one part of it in different time periods then the research can be characterized as 'longitudinal' (Bryman, 2012).

Following the division between cross – sectional and longitudinal research, it is necessary to distinguish a particular case in the cross – sectional research which is used when there is

a comparison between two nations, namely the comparative design named as cross – national research (Bryman, 2012). Hantrais et al. (1996) have pointed out that such research occurs "*when individuals or teams set out to examine particular issues or phenomena in two or more countries with the express intention of comparing their manifestations in different socio-cultural settings (institutions, customs, traditions, value systems, life styles, language, thought, patterns), using the same research instruments either to carry out secondary analysis of national data or to conduct new empirical work. The aim may be to seek explanations for similarities and differences or to gain a greater awareness and a deeper understanding of social reality in different national contexts*".

Due to the limitations in the time and funding framework for this research project and the difficulty of controlling the external variables such as the political and economic environment, the researcher has chosen the cross-national type of study in which there is comparison between two public cultural centers in Sweden and Denmark during a certain time period.

Layer 6: Methods of Collecting and Analyzing Data

In the final layer of the research onion, the research design continues with the selection of the data collection and analysis method. Following the decisions made in the previous layers, the researcher decides on what data collection methods will work best and what type of analysis will provide the results to answer the research questions.

Data Collection

The approach for collecting data in this qualitative research project involve the direct interaction with the director of the two cultural centers. The main methods for collecting qualitative data are ethnography, interviews, focus group, observations, action research and documents (Bryman, 2012)

In her book *Qualitative Researching* Mason (2002) makes a distinction between sources of data on the one hand and methods for generating data from these sources on the other. Most commonly used data sources in qualitative research are people, organizations/institutions/entities, texts, settings and environments, objects/artefacts/media products, events and happenings.

However, the differentiation of the sources of data from the methods for generating data from these sources does not imply that the data are independent from the researcher and this is a consideration that creates the limitation of this study. In fact, fact Mason (2002:52) also discusses the role of the researcher in the process of data collection:

"I think it is more accurate to speak of generating data than collecting data, precisely because most qualitative perspectives would reject the idea that a researcher can be a completely neutral collector of information about the social world. Instead, the researcher is seen as actively constructing knowledge about that world according to certain principles and using certain methods derived from, or which express, their epistemological position. Therefore, as a researcher you do not simply work out where to find data which already exist in a collectable state. Instead you work out how best you can generate data from your chosen data sources. For this reason, the term method in qualitative research generally is meant to imply more than a practical technique or procedure for gaining data. It also implies a data generation process involving activities that are intellectual, analytical and interpretive."

Consistent with the goals of this study, the sources for generating data on audience development theory and practices are the two operating directors of the Dunkers Kulturhus and the Culture Yard, documents related to the political vision of the cities and documents related to the management of the two public cultural centers. The selection of both interviewing and document review provides the benefits of having multiple sources for data generation, a strategy described as triangulation (Yin, 2009; Stake, 2000).

Interviews

Interviewing is "*one of the most widespread knowledge-producing practices across the social scientific disciplines*" (Given, 2008). According to Edwards et al. (2013 – Adapted from Mason 2002:62), the core characteristics of qualitative interviewing are:

1) *the interactional exchange of dialogue*

2) *a thematic, topic-centred, biographical or narrative approach where the researcher has topics, themes or issues they wish to cover, but with a fluid and flexible structure*

3) *A perspective regarding knowledge as situated and contextual, requiring the researcher to ensure that relevant contexts are brought into focus so that the situated knowledge can be produced. Meanings and understandings are created in an interaction, which is eff ectively a co-production, involving the construction or reconstruction of knowledge*

In this study, the interviews were set as one-to-one interactional conversations with the directors of the cultural centers and they were conducted as face to face interactions and over the Internet in one occasion. I interviewed the participants with the purpose of extracting data from the conversation guided by a semi-structure format regarding the practice of audience development in public cultural centers and whether and in what way the political level influences these practices. During the interviews I covered different topics on this theme. (APPENDIX A) and four interviews took place with the directors, as key decision makers and planners of the cultural activities of the centers, and in order to acquire a deep understanding of the perception and practices of audience development. The interviews were held in the participant's offices in the physical location of the cultural centers and over the Internet between November 2013 and August 2014 and they lasted from 1 hour to 1, 5 hours. All the participants were invited by email in which I informed the

participants about myself as a researcher and the purpose of the research and I explained the research process and the protection of confidentiality after the end of the interview.

I used the semi-structured approach for the interviews in order to gain knowledge on the participants' personal information and their perception and experiences with audience development since the initial approach to the topic had a fairly clear focus shaped by the assumptions of the researcher and previous studies. The interview guide and the flexible nature of the interview questions allowed the use of nine different kinds of questions (Kvale, 1996): 1) introducing questions, 2) follow-up questions, 3) probing questions, 4) specifying questions, 5) direct questions, 6) indirect questions, 7) structuring questions, 8) silence, and 9) interpreting questions.

Audio recording and the transcription of the interviews fully serve the purpose of the data collection and ensure the accuracy and the protection of the data in this study in which the researcher operated high quality equipment for these two activities. The transcription process began after the first set of interviews in November – December 2013 and was completed by August 2014.

Document review

In addition to interviewing as a method for data collection, this study used and reviewed secondary data documents (SDDs) produced by the Dunkers Kulturhus and the Culture Yard and the public administration of Helsingborg and Elsinore. Secondary data refers to "*any data that are examined to answer a research question other than the question(s) for which the data were initially collected*" (Vartanian, 2011:3) and "*are important in describing the historical background and current situation in a community or country where the research is being conducted*". (Given, 2008: 232). The following SDDs were reviewed:

1. The contract between the cultural centers and the municipality

2. The strategy/goals regarding the Culture Yard – made two years the actual opening of the house

3. The current strategy plans regarding both cultural centers

4. Report regarding audience development – The Culture Yard is one of the cases in the project

5. The vision of the municipality in Helsingborg and Elsinore

6. Goals attached to the visions of the municipalities

7. Details on the visions of the municipalities

Data Analysis

Data analysis refers to the "*process of resolving data into its constituent components, to reveal its characteristic elements and structure*" (Dey, 1993). Although the researcher can follow different strategies and approaches to analyze the data, namely analytic induction, grounded theory, narrative analysis and thematic analysis (Bryman, 2012), the analysis of qualitative data share a number of common characteristics. These include the "*simultaneous data collection and analysis, the practice of writing memos during and after data collection, the use of some sort of coding, the use of writing as a tool for analysis, and the development of concepts and connection of one's analysis to the literature in one's field*" (Given, 2008:186). Moreover, the qualitative data collected from the interviews in this research needs to be converted to word-processed text, as this is the form that will used in the analytical process (Saunders et al., 2009: 485)

The acceptance of interpretivism as the philosophical foundation of this research and the adoption of the inductive approach in building a theory on audience development in public cultural

centers grounded on *qualitative* data dictates the method for analyzing the data acquired from the interviews and documents, namely grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss,1967). Grounded theory can be described as the "*discovery of theory from data systematically obtained from social research*" (Glaser et. al., 1967:2).

Regardless of the different methods of analyzing qualitative data using inductive or deductive approaches, the steps of this research study are the following (Saunders et al., 2009:491): 1) to understand data, 2) to integrate related data from transcripts and notes, 3) to identify codes and key themes, 4) to develop theories based on these relationships, and 5) to interpret findings and draw conclusions.

3.3 Research location and participants

The focus of the study on multi-arts venues require the selection of the most representative case studies that address the research aims at the highest degree. The absence of any relevant data for the total population of cultural centers in Europe and in specific countries addressed the need of the researcher to use *purposive sampling* (Palys, 2008). According to this method of sampling, Bryman (2012) states that "*the goal of purposive sampling is to sample cases/participants in a strategic way, so that those sampled are relevant to the research questions that are being posed*". Therefore, the objective is two specific cultural centers: the Dunkers Kulturhus and the Culture Yard, located in Helsingborg and Elsinore respectively. Helsingborg is a town in Skåne county in Sweden and Elsinore is a city and the municipal seat of Helsingør Municipality on the northeast coast of the island of Zealand in eastern Denmark. Helsinborg and Elsinore are located in the closest geographical point between Sweden and Denmark and because of their connection as twin towns creates a common ground for sharing projects. Both cultural centers, in the same way as other organizations in the cities, have developed common cultural projects and their managers and administrators

are in constant collaboration through various communication channels. The shared history and political vision of the two cities create the most relevant environment to study and compare the two case studies.

 The two cultural centers were chosen because they share two common characteristics in addition to having their own unique features. Both organizations are public arts organizations, that is arts organizations with a public principal and with activities oriented towards a general public. One unique aspect is that the Dunkers kulturhus started its operations in 2002 and faced a period of mismanagement that followed a decrease in audience numbers. After this crisis, the operational management changed in 2011 and its new director started a number of structural changes that launched a new era for the house. In the case of the Culture Yard, the characteristics setting it apart are the clear target of the municipality to make the center a hotspot for cultural experiences for both the citizens and the visitors, and thus, the center has a strong political support.

In general, the selection criteria were based on each cultural center's ability to benefit the understanding audience development in theory and practice. A similar approach is adopted by Suonsyrja (2007) in her research regarding audience development in the regional dance centers in Finland. It has to be noted that the methodology in this and previous empirical studies is relevant to increase the knowledge on how various cultural organizations in Scandinavia and in Europe are connecting with the existing and potential audiences. Thus, the current study follows within this field of research that investigates audience development as it is applied in the reality of the cultural sector in general. Since the overall study intended to determine the ways public cultural centers perceive and practice audience development and how these strategies are affected by public governance, then the cases of the Dunkers Kulturhus in Helsingborg and the Culture Yard in Elsinore

which share common characteristics and have their own features as explained above were selected.

With regards to the participants, purposive sampling was applied too in selecting the operating directors to be interviewed for this study as they are leaders of the cultural centers and they understand and initialize the process and strategies utilized to develop and manage audience relationships. In both of the cases, the political visions of the cultural administration in the municipalities guides the formulation annual action plan and the orientation of the activities in the cultural centers. The directors of the centers, then, in collaboration with the rest of the management team enjoy an autonomy in planning their activities that present to their audiences while meet the political goals and budgets. In this process, the directors have the most critical and decisive role in influencing the planning of the cultural projects and the role they want to play in the society. Thus, the focus of this research initially on the role of the directors is obvious in understanding audience development in public cultural centers and is shaping the path for future research on lower level of the operational management. Moreover, the selection of interviewing the different directors in the research site of the case studies is important in understanding the context of their behavior in general and their activities in relation to developing their audience, a method that is described as thick description of the case (Geertz, 1973). Thick description becomes the method for not providing merely the facts on the relationship between the cultural center, as represented by the directors, and the audience by providing for example facts for the numbers of visitors, programs and marketing techniques. The goal here is to interpret and comment mainly on the perception, understanding and motivation of the operational directors because "*to thickly describe social action is actually to begin to interpret it by recording the circumstances, meanings, intentions, strategies, motivations, and so on that characterize a particular episode*" (Thomas Schwandt, 2007).

3.4 Research protocol

In accordance to the scope of this study, I followed specific steps in order to extract the data that is relevant to the propositions of the research questions (Yin, 2009).

The initial step included the invitation of the participants by email and their acquaintance with the goals of the researcher, the details of the projects, the personal details of the researcher and the information regarding the interviews as well as the expected results and effects of the research project. In the second, the researcher met with the participants in their location of the two respective cultural centers and he interviewed them in – depth using semi – structured questions (details on the interview in the chapter 4). During the interviews, the actual questions and answers were recorded and the next step included the transcription of this material. Following the transcription, the participants were given the transcript in order to double – check and authenticate the material. In the last steps, the researcher reviewed the data and coded the data for themes that are significant in revealing details about the research questions. Following the suggestion by Charmaz (2006), the research adopted the focused coding methodology in discovering the most common codes in relation to the data, instead of creating a detailed coding that is performed usually when initially reviewing the transcript.

3.5 Reliability and validity in qualitative research

In the history of social sciences, the qualitative research approach has been and continues to be under severe criticism with regards to its reliability and validity (Bryman, 2012). Qualitative research studies have been accused for being "*of poor standard*", that "*there is no clearly defined set of quality criteria available for judging it, so that it is of uncertain quality*" (Hammersley, 2007) and that the researchers conducting them "*have no way of verifying their truth statements*" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000:8).

Furthermore, case study methodology has been under attack for generating no scientific value and that "*any appearance of absolute knowledge, or intrinsic knowledge about singular isolated objects, is found to be illusory upon analysis*" (Campbell and Stanley, 1963:6-7). In general the problems with the conventional thinking about case – study research can be summarized in five misunderstandings or oversimplifications about the nature of such research (Flyvbjerg, 2003): "(1) *Theoretical knowledge is more valuable than practical knowledge; (2) One cannot generalize from a single case, therefore the single case study cannot contribute to scientific development; (3) The case study is most useful for generating hypotheses, while other methods are more suitable for hypotheses testing and theory building; (4) The case study contains a bias toward verification; and (5) It is often difficult to summarize specific case studies*".

Similarly to the case of the quantitative researcher, reliability and validity are important criteria when assessing the quality of qualitative research. However, the different nature of the quantitative and qualitative research pose a question on whether the notions of reliability and validity can be transferred from the quantitative to the qualitative approach. As noted in Bryman's *Social Research Methods* book (2012) there have been three different viewpoints taken by qualitative researchers in relation to these issues.

The first stance adapts reliability and validity for qualitative research with very little change of meaning. For example, Mason (2002:21) supports that reliability, validity, and generazability "*are different kinds of measures of the quality, rigour and wider potential of research, which are achieved according to certain methodological and disciplinary conventions and principles*". Different than Mason, LeCompte and Goertz (1982) employ reliability and validity in the same direction of adapting these criteria to qualitative research. The second stance formulates alternative criteria for evaluating qualitative research and the most representative researchers in this stance are Lincoln and

Guba (1985) who propose two primary criteria for assessing a qualitative study: trustworthiness and authenticity. The third stance lies between the adaptation of quantitative research criteria and the selection of alternative quality criteria when evaluating the quality of qualitative research. In this viewpoint, Hammersley (1992a) accepts that there is an external social reality that can be accessed by the researcher but that this access is not direct (Bryman, 2012).

These three stances – adapting reliability and validity for qualitative research, setting alternative criteria for qualitative research and Hammersley's subtle realism – can be described with reference to the realist position the qualitative researcher accepts. As Bryman (2008:399) states:

"*Writers on qualitative research who apply the ideas of reliability and validity with little if any adaption broadly position themselves as realists – that is, as saying that social reality can be captured by qualitative researchers through their concepts and theories.*"

This study follows the position of Lincoln and Guba (1985, 1994) and accepts the two primary criteria for assessing a qualitative study, namely the trustworthiness and authenticity criteria (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

In order to address the criteria of trustworthiness, I followed the provisions for ensuring the credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability of this study as suggested by Shenton (2004):

- Credibility: The main strategy in the credibility criteria was to adopt the appropriate research method for examining audience development empirically with a case study analysis through interviews and document review. Moreover, I developed an early familiarity with the research sites through initial and frequent visits and from online material before, during and after the conduct of the research project and I triangulated the data by using multiple participants and sources of data. Member checks

of data collected was also a strong point of this research project while the study ensured a thick description of the case in order to contextualize the behavior of those participants engaged with audience development. Finally, previous research on audience development, public governance and strategic management framed the data findings.

- Transferability: The criteria of transferability allows for the inference of one study to be transferred to similar and comparable cases. In this study, the context of public cultural centers and the description of the phenomenon of audience development is described at the extent that it allows the comparison with other cultural organizations that present various art forms and cultural activities and they have a public administration as their principal. However, the current case studies' limitations prove the difficulty of generating the results of a large number of cultural centers as the results show that strategic management is clearly conditioned by the political level

- Dependability: In order to ensure that the study can be repeated with the same results, the strategy followed in this case is to describe all the research steps followed, the interview questions used as well as the research design and its implementation.

- Confirmability: Reducing the researcher's bias in order to achieve the objective presentation of the experiences and ideas of the participants is key strategy to ensure confirmability. As such, the thick description of the case ,the acceptance and recognition of the researcher's beliefs and assumptions and the recognition of the limitations in this study's methods allow a comparison of the findings to objectivity.

3.6 The role of the researcher

The role of the researcher is particularly central in qualitative research studies as it assumes the direct and personal involvement of the researcher in the research procedure. The researcher who follows the qualitative paradigm is considered to carry in the research his own experiences, opinions, expectations and biases (Isari et. al., 2015). It is obvious that the moment the researcher chooses one topic, one research question and one particular theory over another, then the threat for bias in the research process appears. In other words, "*researchers, like everyone else, are products of the social world and therefore have values that will be more or less apparent in their research*" (Given, 2008:60).

As the researcher is personally involved in the case of a qualitative study, bias can appear in the choice of research area, the formulation of research question, the choice of method, the formulation of research design and data-collection techniques, the implementation of data collection, the analysis of data, the interpretation of data and the reporting of conclusions (Bryman, 2012:39 - 41). The role of the researcher demands that he recognizes the values and assumptions he carries in the research process.

Regarding my academic experience, I am in the position to combine a curriculum of management and business studies with studies in classical guitar. The operating directors of the two public cultural centers similarly are active artists and art educators with a background in management studies and their position in these two organizations demands that these two fields are intermingled. As the focus of this research is audience development, a crucial activity of arts management, the similarity of my educational background with this of the operating directors gave me the unique opportunity to comprehend the challenges that the artistic directors face in the daily operations of the cultural centers and under the demands of the political governance to attract audience and visitors while

at the same keeping intact the artistic integrity of their services and products.

Another point at which bias and the intrusion of values can occur (Bryman, 2012:39) is my affection for the people being studied and the arts organizations of whose activities on audience development I explore. As I have been introduced in the arts and culture since a very young age and I have been passionate for the activities of arts organizations and I believe in their positive role in our societies, it is true that I developed a sympathy, closeness and a particular personal attachment with the cultural centers as organizations and the artistic directors as the participants in this study.

3.7 Limitations of the study

This study was conducted in two public cultural centers in Sweden and Denmark but it focused on data collected only from the operating directors, as opposed to gaining insight from other categories of personnel, such as employees and workers or politicians and administrators. The scope of the study is limited at only public cultural centers and, thus, results should be replicated to other cultural and arts organizations with caution.

The focus of the interviews was only limited to audience development and not on other activities and practices of arts management which are related to the operation of cultural centers. On the other hand the cases included only cultural centers that have public principals and not private, not-for-profit or volunteer entities. Therefore, the two cases of this study cannot be representative of all cultural centers, although it is expected that the findings will be similar.

Additionally, replication of the findings from this study is difficult because of the nature of qualitative case studies (Bryman, 2012). In fact, the focus on audience development in public cultural centers is the output of the researcher's belief on what he considers to be of crucial importance in arts management and cultural organizations and what their role should be in the society. In addition, the personal characteristics (affiliation, age, personality, gender etc.) and the philosophical stance of the researcher affect the choice of the research questions of this study, the interpretation of the data, the links of the data to the propositions of the research questions and the research design in overall.

Finally, the criticism for this study is possible to include the lack of transparency in the practicalities the researcher of this study employed to reach this study's conclusions. As a matter of fact, "*it is often not obvious how the analysis was conducted – in other words, what the researcher was actually doing when the data were analysed and therefore how the study's conclusions were arrived at*"

(Bryman, 2012:406). However, the goal of this chapter is to clarify in the highest degree possible the process that was followed in the exploration of the theory and practices of audience development in public cultural centers in Helsingborg and Elsinore.

3.8 Summary

Chapter 3 defines the epistemological and ontological framework used in this qualitative case study, as well as the research approach, research strategy, method choice, time horizon, methods of collection and analyzing data according to the 'Research Onion' model suggested by Saunders et al. (2009). Additionally, there is a description of the research location and participants , the research protocol and the strategies followed to address the criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability for trustworthiness. Finally, the bias created from the interactive role of the researcher and the limitations due to the critique of qualitative research in this study are provided.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative research study is to explore public cultural centers' approach to audience development and in what way political goals affect audience development practices in these cultural centers. The following research questions guided this conduct of this study:

1) How do the directors of public cultural centers perceive and practice audience development?;

2) How do the directors perceive the cultural centers' relationship to the political vision of the cities and the implications for audience development? ; and

3) What the directors perceive it would take to improve the practice of audience development in the cultural centers taking into consideration the current challenges of audience development?

The research findings of this chapter are based on analysis of the following data sources: semi – structured interviews, documents of the public administration, documents related to the organization and management of the two cultural centers and the researcher's observations within the buildings. The chapter is organized according to the three themes, as identified by the research questions, where the document and interview data are intermingled in the narrative.

4.2 Background

The participants of this study include the creative directors of the Dunkers Kulturhus in Helsingborg, Sweden, and the creative director of the Culture Yard in Elsinore, Denmark. Their age ranges from fifty to sixty years old and they had over ten years

of similar experience in developing and directing theatre, modern dance, drama, concerts, musicals, exhibitions and educational programs. More specifically, the managing director of the Dunkers Kulturhus had experience as a writer, performer and host in the TV and her academic background includes training in business and economic studies. The artistic and managing director of the Culture Yard studied film and he has been a director of theater, cinema, television and digital art; his background does not include any management and organizational studies. For reporting purposes, and to protect participants' identities, each participant was assigned a pseudonym. The operating director of Dunkers Kulturhus in Helsingborg is referred as director A and the operating director of Dunkers Kulturhus in Elsinore is referred as director B.

4.3 Cases

Helsingborg

Helsingborg, a town in the center of the Øresund region, is Sweden's closest point to Denmark and one of the oldest cities in Sweden. It's geographical position at the narrowest part of Øresund made it very important for Denmark, which was controlling both sides of that strait during the medieval times. In the fifteenth century, the Danes introduced the Sound Duty (Sound Dues), a levy on all trading vessels passing through the sound between Elsinore and Helsingborg, an economic activity that had a very positive effect for both cities for almost four centuries

From the middle of the nineteenth century onwards Helsingborg started growing in population due to industrialization and since then, Helsingborg has become the trademark of trade, transport and business. Examples of this industrial evolution are the three ferry companies that connect the Øresund and the retailer of furniture and home interiors IKEA that has its international

corporate headquarters in Helsingborg. Also, in 2001 Campus Helsingborg opened as a branch of Lund University.

One of the most prominent figures who also contributed in the economic and cultural development of Helsingborg was Henry Christian Louis Dunker, a Swedish businessman and industrialist. He was also infamous for the benefits he granted to his workers such as free healthcare and subsidized medicine. Also, Henry Dunker at the time of his death donated his fortune to the Henry and Gerda Dunker Foundation which subsequently funded many projects in the city to promote the arts, culture and the sports. Among the contributions of the Henry and Gerda Dunker Foundation were the city theater, the Graphic museum, the Kulturmagasinet museum, the football stadium and the construction of the Dunkers Culture House. The influence and impact of the funding from the Henry and Gerda Dunker Foundation in specific and the private funding in general to the cultural development of the region is worth being studied in the future.

Dunkers Kulturhus

Dunkers Culture House (Dunkers Kulturhus in Swedish) is a multi-arts venue with large spaces for exhibitions, performing arts and educational activities for children and young people in the arts, music, media, dance and theater, accommodating a bar, a restaurant and a tourist shop. The cultural center is led by its creative director and consists of two compartments: Dunkers Exhibition and Performing Arts (DUS) and School of Culture for children. Within the center there is management support covering business development, operations co-ordination and culture co-ordination. Support for human resources management, finance, marketing and IT issues is obtained from the municipality's culture administration while support for the operations in technical issues belong to the cultural center.

The Dunkers Culture House started being realized in 1997 by the Danish architect Kim Utzon. Initially, the plan of the municipality was including the establishment of a new city museum, a proposition that met obstacles in the public opinion, when eventually it was developed into creating a community space for the tourists and the locals to participate in various artistic and cultural activities.

Niels Righolt, the first Director of Dunkers Culture House, pointed out the expectations that were raised by the politics that surrounding the decisions to use funds from the Henry and Gerda Dunkers Foundations to pay for the construction, the first permanent displays, the referendum on the name of the center, its location in the town and, finally, the intensive marketing campaign of the building's striking architecture. As he noted in the first annual report of Dunkers Culture House for the period 2002 – 2007 "*this was a building which, from day one, was to make a difference to local life and to put Helsingborg on the map artistically, both at home and abroad. It was to serve as a living room for Helsingborg but it was also to attract investors, job-seekers and tourists to Helsingborg. The new arts center was intended, in other words to be popular local meeting place with an attractive program for local people and high-profile, international culture center that would mirror the decisive, dynamic, multi-faceted city of Helsingborg – and thus contribute to the city's development. At the time when the center was opened to the public there was widespread political agreement in Helsingborg that culture and the arts were a growth factor and an important building block in the transformation of Helsingborg. The establishment of Dunkers Culture House can only be properly understood in this context*".

Elsinore

The city of Elsinore, situated in Eastern Demark, is mostly known internationally for its castle Kronborg, where William Shakespeare's play Hamlet is set. Elsinore was also defined historically by the establishment of the Sound Dues in 1429, as

all foreign ships passing through the strait had to pay a toll, a law leveraging both the town's economy and Denmark's state income. With this source of income Eric the Pomerania built the castle Kronborg and already in the seventeenth century Elsinore had grown into the third biggest town in Denmark because of the toll and tax payments from the ships.

The most notable site of Elsinore was the Dockyard which covered the whole area between the town and Kronborg castle and it was founded in 1882. At its peak development, it had 3,600 employees. However, the last ship left the dockyard in 1983, and it closed the same year following heavy losses.

After the end of the industrial era, the city of Elsinore faced an identity crisis and had to redefine itself, and came up with an ambitious project, following a long discussion with the locals and the politicians. This project is called Kulturhavn Kronborg (Culture-harbour of Kronborg) and it officially opened on 26th May 2013, intended to appeal to tourists and locals with an interest in culture. Kulturhavn Kronborg is a joint initiative by Kronborg Castle, the Danish Maritime Museum, the Culture Yard and Elsinore Harbour to offer a variety of culture and arts experiences to visitors and locals to Elsinore. The main attraction of the project is Kronborg Castle, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, where besides its historical importance the location attracts thousands of spectators for William Shakespeare's play Hamlet that is performed annually in its courtyard since 1937.

At the heart of Kulturhavn Kronborg lies the Culture Yard, the new cultural center and the main public library located in the old dockyard. The story regarding the Culture Yard is rooted in Elsinore's unique history and location on the Sound and unfolds in a culturally and architecturally innovative center. The Culture Yard consists of Elsinore's main library full of modern facilities, a large and a small stage, the Yard Museum, exhibition hall, eatery, arcade, meeting facilities and workshops. The initial idea and ambition of Elsinore's Council was to develop an entirely

new urban quarter that can connect the city, the harbor and Kronborg Castle.

The Culture Yard

The Culture Yard was established in 2010 in the buildings of the former Elsinore Shipyard and it is a space dedicated to concerts, theater, performance, events and exhibitions. Some of the recent most notable events that were hosted are the annual Clickfestival, dedicated to new media and contemporary culture, and the INDEX: Award Ceremony, an important prize for designs aimed at the improvement of the life of people worldwide, both in developed and developing countries. The different teams of the organization include youth, children, theater and performance, music, the cultural harbor Kronborg (an ambitious project by the city of Elsinore to leave the industrial era behind and it is dedicated to culture and events, designed to attract residents and visitors), exhibitions, academy, debate and talks, literature, film and gastronomy. Support and responsibility for the facilities, overall strategy, accounting, video and programming, scene and technical issues, public relations and marketing, sponsoring and fundraising, business-to-business, sales and hosting belongs to the management of the cultural center.

The Culture Yard has been from the beginning a multi-activity space both for local and tourists. In the outline for organizing the content of the Culture Yard, the municipality of Elsinore stated the objective for "*The Culture Yard to be a cultural center for knowledge and creativity, expression, experience and education and identity filled with life in all hours – 7 days a week. It should be a place where people come together: children, adolescents, adults, locals and tourists – in other words, the venue for the local and the global.*"

With regards to the governance system, the Culture Yard is a public cultural organization under the authority of the Center for Culture, Sport and Urban Development which is responsible to

implement the municipality's vision and strategy for culture – including cultural tourism, local/municipal/regional planning, Sound co-operation – including Elsinore-Helsingborg co-operation, residential structure, housing, social efforts and sports.

The steering of the Culture Yard is done through the annual action plan, which is a document stating what the center is supposed to do and what are the main goals within the next year. In the previous years, the action plan was presented to the political committee. Now, the Cultural Yard still meets with the political committee but the agreement is made between the center and the culture administration.

4.4 Theme 1: How do the directors of public cultural centers approach audience development?

This section describes the way audience development as a term is perceived and approached by the operating directors of both cultural centers. The discussion involved questions how the directors understand the term 'audience development' and what kind of role it does play in the public cultural center they manage.

In exploring the concept of audience development, both directors agreed upon the fact that although there are different aspects of the concept, the audience plays a crucial role in the operation of the cultural centers and that the relationship of their institution with the external environment is influenced by the way these cultural centers related with the audience and public which is constantly changing its behavior and preferences. It is therefore the duty of the cultural centers to adapt to these changing patterns. This point is exemplified by Director A's comment that "*first of all, the world is always changing, the world outside the institution, meaning the public's behavior, patterns, what they like to do, their preferences, their stress level, what they think they must achieve and so on. So the world is changing and the technology is*

rapidly changing which is also changing our behavior in very radical ways. So that's the first thing. You need always to be in contact with the audience and also the public which is not still your audience in order to attract them". And on the same pattern, Director B explains that "*the way we look at audience is more interesting to see how the institution can cope with the reality and develop itself as being part of the local society or the audience that we are looking for. So that's number one I think which is very important*".

Following their initial approach to audience relationships, the directors expressed their personal opinion on creating a two - way relationship they would like to develop with the existing and potential audience. They both want the audience to be deeply involved in the activities of the cultural centers and to have a feeling of ownership as the director A states: "*So audience development for me is more like ownership. I would like my audience to feel like ownership around this institution, that they actually feel that this is their house that can be a part of it, they can create change in here, they can change us and they can develop us. So I want to have a very open relationship to the public and always be in contact with them, not only through advertisement and marketing things. But also on a personal level and group level*"

Director B similarly believes that audience development "*it is not just to communicate or to make a post or whatever but its also to work with the coming audience, to work with the involvement part actually*". He further explains that he does not favor the term "audience development" but he rather sees it as "*institutional development*" because it is the cultural organizations that need to be developed in order to attract and involve the audience: "*If you put yourself into this model where you have a subject and an object and you put yourself as a subject and then you have the audience as an object and that thing is absolutely wrong. You have to have the audience as the subject and they want an object and we need to find as an institution what that object is. Therefore, it is our responsibility to develop*".

With regards to the role audience development plays in the organization, both directors approach the relationship they

develop with the existing and potential audience as part of the strategy the cultural centers develop. However, at the time this study was taking place, the two cultural centers were facing different issues and problems due to their operation on different locations and contexts and thus the institutional approach to audience development differed in one key aspect. More specifically, Dunkers Kulturhus had been operating already since 2002 as multi-disciplinary center between art exhibitions, music activities, theater, restaurant service, art school for children and a dance studio but without a clear vision of what locals wanted. Moreover, a period of mismanagement during the following years led to a decrease in audience numbers. After this crisis, its new operations director, director A, was hired in order to start a number of structural changes that would launch a new era for the house. These changes were made possible because there was the political need and motivation for justifying the use of tax money in Helsingborg and the radical change was centered around the audience of Dunkers Kulturhus: "*There was a big economic challenge as well so I had to go into the whole organization's nervous system and find the crisis; 'where's the audience', 'why aren't they coming', 'what do they miss in this house' so we need to be very humble and know they audience and know why they are not here and how do we need to change to make them come back and be attractive to them again*". After realizing that the audience numbers were decreasing, the director A made a turning point in recruiting a person to work on a strategic level who would work full-time with audience development, with the relationship with the audience, developing the content of what the culture center does and evaluating of what the culture center does. Evaluation is a keyword in the director A's description of action: "*We evaluate everything together with the audience. Sometimes we do in in advance, we go out with an idea, we have a thought of doing this exhibition. 'Whats your take on that', we talk on the audience before, we produce things and then also always afterwards to evaluate 'did we hit the right target', 'did the people feel what we hoped they would feel and experience'* ". Thus, audience

development as the relationship of the cultural center with their audience became a strategic focus for all the actions of the organization.

On the other hand, the Culture Yard had been operating since 2011 and its development was linked to the identity crisis the city of Elsinore was facing during that time. This identity crisis was particularly originated from the particular historical context in Elsinore, which was influenced by two periods. The first period lasted 400 years from around 1420 until 1855-57 approximately and it is connected with a prosperous era for the city when the ships had to stop and pay the toll. During that time Elsinore was the second largest city in Denmark and an international port due to this particular character for the economy of the city. The second period started when the city toll ended in the nineteenth century and around thirty years later the new shipyard inaugurated the industrial era for Elsinore. The operations of the shipyard lasted for over 100 year and when it closed down in 1983 the hit in the city's economy and society was tremendous. It was in the 1990s when Elsinore's people were looking for a new identity since the shipyard was a big part of the community's memory. Thus, there was this period when Elsinore should find the new future and in a way the political decision was made to develop the harbor as a culture harbor by investing on infrastructure for culture and leisure. The Dunkers Kulturhus then is situated in this context and the director B recognized that the culture center must develop a story telling for the history of the place in all the activities they organize. In fact, "*this is very basic for our house, we develop a lot of research around our story-telling, being part of this culture harbor with this story. And then of course, we have to combine these things with the groups that we are interested in the possibility to come to our houses*", director B explains. Furthermore, the director B explained that the culture center is involved on all kinds of activities without the belief that any special activities have to be constructed to development. Instead, the culture center develops on each activity to give it a storytelling link and it's a responsibility for

everybody in the organization to think about this relationship with the story they would like to offer to the audience. In order to keep themselves aware of this, the director B adds that the cultural center has developed a tool - 'the culture compass' - which is a kind of wheel in which the organization can check if they have been thinking well enough about the storyline, the context, the specific feeling about a certain activity. Additionally, the cultural compass assists in evaluating if they have made enough activities in a certain 'field'.

The Cultural Compass

The cultural compass (figure 1) is an orientation model that navigates and guides the cultural projects of the center and ultimately the work it presents to its audience.

THE CULTURECOMPASS
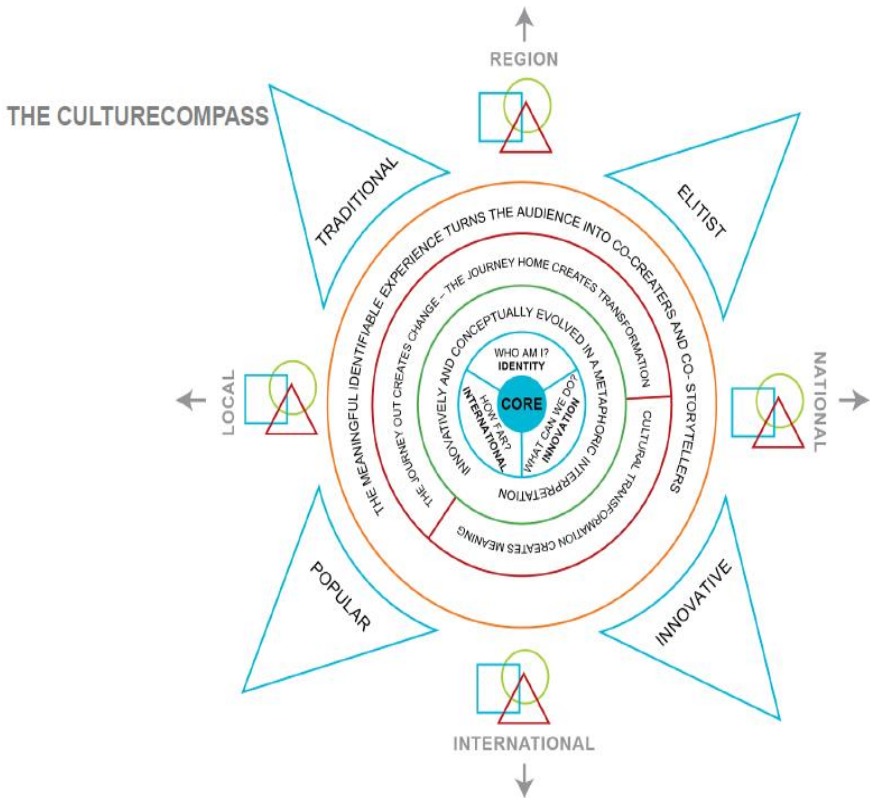
Figure 3. Cultural Compass, The Culture Yard (Source: New Maps for New Programming)

The core

The core consists of the 4 waves that represent the mythological way of thinking and they are part of the historical and mythological DNA of the city. They are related to the past, the present and the future of the city. These 4 waves are:

• The identity wave

• The Maritime wave

• The Shipyard – industry wave

• What is the meaning of everything?

The identity wave asks the question "Who am I?", the Maritime wave asks the question "Where are we going?" and "How can we be inspired by the world coming from the outside?", and the Shipyard – industry wave is about "What can we do together?".

The formats

The formats are related to the specific art forms and cultural projects that the center offers to the public and the audience. It can vary between concerts, performances, exhibitions or hybrid projects that combine different forms.

The Values

The values are taken from the values of the city and currently the Culture Yard has taken the values of the Vision 2020, namely authenticity, tranquility, intimacy and mysteriousness.

Sometimes, the Culture Yard works with other values that filter the stories that the center creates. For example, as the director B explains, "*important is the value of social cohesion which is close to the value of closeness, being close to each other. Thus, this is important to have in the premises of the program*".

Change and transition

This part of the circle is related to the audience and the approach the Culture Yard takes in the way it related to them. In the strategy of the Culture Yard there is a quote that summarizes this approach: "*The travel puzzles you, makes you wonder, and the travel home creates a transition*". And what the director B of the Culture Yard desires is to change people from being pure spectators and people buying tickets to co-storytellers and co-creators. He asserts that "*we have this as part of the idea that as much as we can we try to make our audience developed into co-creators, co-storytellers. That is very important. And we say that if we can move*

people just from being people buying tickets to people that choose art or being part of an artistic environment, being part of the festival, then we succeed a lot."

Orientations

The triangles outside the circle point to the direction the Culture Yard takes in every project. These orientations are the traditional, the elite, the popular and the innovative. The objective of the center is to always be in between the orientations and offer hybrid projects that push the intersection of these orientations.

The dimensions

The dimensions represent the qualities of the truthful, the good and the beautiful.

The truthful dimension (didactic dimension) is represented by the quadruple and addresses the historical reality as a boost to a community experience and art / cultural experience.

The good dimension (social dimension) is represented by the circle and refers to the recreational experience as a framework for learning and cultural experience. It is driven through recreational experiences within and between the Culture Harbor institutions.

The beautiful dimension (artistic dimension) is represented by the triangle and addresses the staged art and cultural experience as a redeemer and a framework for the community and didactics. It is driven mainly through projects in the harbor's and institutions' scenes.

The importance of the Cultural Compass begins from the fact that it is a framework that guides in a holistic way all the various

cultural and art projects that are designed in the organization. Additionally, its significance continues because the orientations are put into the CRM (Customer – Relation – Management) system which run all the center, all the equipment, all the venues, all the technicians and the front – house. As the director B explains "*using the Habermas terminology, the Cultural Compass combines the lifeworld with the system world.*"

4.5 Theme 2: How do cultural centers fit the political vision of the cities and what are the implications for audience development?

Helsingborg Vision 2035

In discussing the relevance of the political visions for Helsingborg and Elsinore, both directors responded positively regarding the fact that the cultural centers are part of the visions towards which both cities develop. In Helsingborg, Director A says that Dunkers Kulturhus "*must fit into the vision. Its mandatory, we cannot skip that. But the vision is very sweeping with big lines, words like togetherness, attractiveness and global thinking in a local community, we are supposed to be creative. And I mean a lot of things that we do here log into these goals. So its not hard to interact with this vision. Its already what we do, I think*". Furthermore, Director A explains that the vision includes the concept of creativity and culture because "*everybody knows that if you have a city where you cannot see a movie, or you cannot and do some dancing or experience art then nobody wants to live there*". However, although the development of culture in the city becomes a political priority through the vision it does not really affect the budget priorities but it only suggests the target groups for the activities of the culture center.

Helsingborg Vision 2035 provides a direction for how life in Helsingborg should look like in 2035. The vision provides the content and the priorities which are on previous programs, plans, and identified areas for the development of the city. In a report produced for the preparation of the vision, the Municipal Vice Chairman says that "*the focus of the vision process is for the Helsingborg's best. The perspective that we start from is the sustainable development of social, economic and environmental perspective.*" The Mayor of Helsingborg in describing the vision of city adds that "*using the common vision, we can gather all the power that exist in our organization as well as among the city's business community and residents so that everyone pulls in the same direction.*"

The vision describes that in 2035 Helsingborg will be a creative, vibrant, global, joint and balanced city for the people and businesses and that the city should be exciting, attractive and sustainable. According to documents describing the vision, these concepts imply the following:

The creative city

Being a creative city, Helsingborg should have the best school for every children and the best climate for entrepreneurs and it should offer opportunities for those who want to create, build, change, experience and evolve. Also, there must be a synergy between research, industry, culture and schools towards the development of the city.

The vibrant city

Helsingborg will develop into a city with activities and experiences for all ages where everybody will be able to enjoy a vibrant city life, active sports, community programs and internationally recognized culture. The culture offered to the citizens should include both independent and established cultural players.

The joint city

Helsingborg should be a city of fellowship, equality and tolerance where equal opportunities and health-care is offered for all. Here sustainable growth and development are highly mentioned together with an exciting residential environment.

The global city

Being a global city, Helsingborg should promote the values of curiosity, openness and optimism in order to create an environment which is open to the outside world. Helsingborg has a smart infrastructure and a sustainable public transport system that brings it in close contact with Denmark and the rest of the world.

The balanced city

Helsingborg is also in close contact with nature and takes responsibility for how it uses the energy and natural resources. The city is on the way to create a sustainable ecological footprint through the local small-scale production, smart climate adaptation and sustainable environmental and energy initiatives.

In public documents from the municipality administration it is explained what are the specific assignments of for Dunkers kulturhus which are related to the vision. These assignment for Dunkers Kulturhus are:

•   Provide children and young people in Helsingborg an inspiring and stimulating learning environment in various art forms such as music, dance, media, drama, art and more.

•   Inspire and support young people's own ideas and creativity.

- Be a resource for preschool and school.

- Handle and administer grants to youth culture initiatives.

- Co-ordinate interaction with the city's schools.

- Conduct interesting and contemporary exhibitions.

- Offer complementary and diverse music and performing arts performances.

- Create an understanding of the connection between past, present and future by communicating relevant and interesting stories from the history of Helsingborg in inspiring ways and through interactive method.

- Encourage and support young people exploring their own creativity.

Although these political demands are very broad and targeted in the sense that the culture center should do this and that, the how question is totally to the director and the organization. More specifically, the director A of Dunkers Kulturhus supports that "*the politicians have said that we are supposed to increase social sustainability through culture and art in Helsingborg. Now that's a very wide goal. How do you do that? The first activity is about these kids coming from a multi-ethnic lower class place, that's the typical activity that tries to increase social sustainability in the whole city. Also in the country school here where people take long education on their spare time from 8 years to 18 years, you can go here and play an instrument, you can paint, you can do dancing classes, theater and so on. That's a way also to create immaterial value that have to do with social sustainability.*"

Elsinore Vision 2020

The local government has adopted a vision, Vision 2020 and in this vision there are the overall goals of the development of the municipality. Vision 2020 is built on a mission, a vision core, two groups in particular, three characteristics of the municipality as

well as on a foundation, describing the mood or atmosphere that the municipality wants the citizens and visitors to meet in the urban space and nature.

The mission

The mission for the Elsinore municipality is to help maximize the quality of life for its citizens through the services provided by the employees who daily work to deliver to citizens.

The vision

The vision consists of three sentences, which set the direction for which the municipality would like to move towards 2020. Thus, Elsinore will be primarily known as North Zealand's most attractive settlement municipality for families, a municipality with good conditions for doing business and the municipality in which citizens and businesses are part of and contribute to the community.

The vision is driven by the unique strengths that naturally support Elsinore as a great place to live and stay, the increasing average age of the local population's composition in 2020, the need to attract families which create a better balance in the composition of the population and change the municipality's social profile and finally, the historical tendency for newcomers to the municipality to have higher incomes than average, which in turn can help to strengthen the local economy.

Focus groups

The city of Elsinore is for all its citizens. Yet, there two groups in the particular focus of the Vision 2020, namely families and visitors. This is because the municipality in the coming years will

face a number of challenges that will push the economy down and a demographic pressure that keeps the education and health levels and the number of families with children low. A focus on attracting more families and visitors will help to create a better economic and social balance in the municipality.

Families will be attracted by providing a vibrant and safe city with attractive homes, located in safe neighbourhoods with schools and day-care quality. There should also be an integrated infrastructure that ensures that it is easy to get to and from the municipality and that there is a safe and easy access to nearby commercial opportunities as well as to the city's unique culture, leisure and nightlife activities.

Visitors are also attracted by an open and vibrant city that offers cultural opportunities, great experiences and great conference facilities. Additionally, a large and varied range of accommodation will ensure that the visitors will immerse themselves in the area's vibrant history and unique nature. This focus is necessary since Elsinore is a historic city with beautiful scenery and because it is a municipality that is steeped in culture. Also, the focus on visitors should also be seen in the context of the municipality's employment. A development-oriented tourism efforts can help to create new jobs, thereby increasing both private and public revenue. In general, the tourist industry is a great asset to the municipality and the generation of income and creation of jobs, while culture offers for locals and visitors are improved.

The municipality characteristics

The characteristics captures the three areas that the municipality should be good at and well known for. The three characteristics are lifelong learning, a vibrant place and early intervention.

Lifelong learning in day care and schools, which must be characterized by high professionalism, and follows the youth and adult life. This requires that there attractive learning environments based on strong co-operation between educational institutions and businesses across the Sound and the region.

Being a vibrant place, Elsinore municipality's unique nature, culture and history should be available to both the citizens and the visitors. The municipality has in these landmark qualities to manifest itself as a unique area that offers vast and varied natural beauty combined with the feel of a rich and historic city life.

Finally, Elsinore will provide its citizens the opportunity to be self-reliant and the ability to take responsibility for their own lives, as long as it is safe. This requires that everyone has easy access to living healthy and active life, while the municipality helps with prevention and early intervention when necessary.

The foundation

The foundation is built on four characteristics: authenticity, tranquility, intimacy and mysteriousness. These four properties must characterize Elsinore and manifest themselves in the mood or atmosphere that the municipality wants the citizens and visitors to feel in the urban space and nature. These properties are therefore the focus of urban planning, cultural collaborations, construction and similar projects.

Culture Yard is part of a larger master plan that transforms the landscape around Kronborg and Elsinore Harbour for a unified, recreational cultural space that binds the city, Kronborg Castle and the harbor together. The main idea is to highlight Kronborg's unique location and simultaneously to make the shipyard area accessible to all and create life and activity on the shipyard grounds. Based in Elsinore values around authenticity,

tranquility, intimacy and mysteriousness, the Culture Yard not only ensure and maintain a diverse cultural offerings of high quality - but also become a focal point for the dissemination of Elsinore common stories. "*Culture Yard to be a cultural center for knowledge and creativity / expression, experience, education and identity full of life in every waking day - 7 days a week. It must be the place where people meet: children, adolescents, adults, locals and tourists - in other words: the meeting place for the local and the global*", as it is expressed in the vision for the Culture Yard that was adopted by the city council in Elsinore.

The Culture Yard is part of the Elsinore Vision 2020 that sets out the direction for the municipality's work – whether the focus is on children, the elderly, employment, traffic or otherwise. Director B recognizes that the Culture Yard has been part of working with the goals of the political vision and that some of them are directly linked to this house, especially around the visitors but also around families:

"*The childrens center for example is very proactive doing art schools and painting schools, workshops etc. Its all part of making this town into a children-friendly families, friendly artistic place where you can get inspiration and develop your artistic tasks and you can meet around these things. That's one part. And then, having the more traditional programs, concerts, talks and the film club we have, things like that, is part of the package we need to have as a house. We have to be able to be attractive to the local in that sense. And then we have the more signature events and the signature events are designed to attract the visitors from outside*"

Based on the factors that identified as central in the analysis of the visions for the cities of Helsingborg and Helsingor and the audience development practices of their cultural centers, some conclusions can be drawn as to the effects of the political priorities to the audience relationships.

First, both the centers adopt and follow the focus towards the audience and public groups that the visions set up us the priorities. For Elsinore these are the families and the visitors and for Dunkers the priorities are for children and young people and the businesses. However, they do not limit themselves in these groups. This is somehow expected since other studies on cultural centers (Maelen, 2008) have showed that art centers subject themselves to some degree of cultural policy instrumentality in widening audience access and developing new audiences. This implies that their program accommodates the demands of their governmental for professionalism and cultural policy instrumentality. However, cultural centers, they remain true to their mission and their operations to the fit the shifting operational possibilities they are awarded.

Currently, this is a consequence of the managerial autonomy politicians allow cultural center managers to have in programming and setting their goals, strategies and activities. As the director B in the Culture Yard explains "*our relationship with the municipality is quite confident in a way. So its not that its written on the paper. Its very much about "this is a mission" and "this is a task" and there's a meeting with the politicians from the art council and they control us. But then you come and present some ideas and they say that's fine, that's exactly what we like and it's a very dialogue-based. Its not like a written paper once a year with some numbers*." And the director A in the Dunkers Kulturhus is granted with the same freedom in in programming and planning the activities in the cultural center as she adds that "*the political demands are very broad. They are targeted in the sense that you should do this and not that. But the how question is up to me and to the organization*."

4.6 Theme 3: What the directors perceive it would take to improve the practice audience development in the cultural centers taking into consideration the current challenges of audience development?

In discussing the challenges in practicing audience development both directors pointed out that they are facing difficulties in the way they relate to specific focus groups, especially young people and children, because the establishment of deeper relationships requires an investment in resources regarding time, money and competences. In the case of Dunkers Kulturhus, the director A explains than in the organization "*it takes time if you want to have some really interesting and deeper evaluations and not just counting how many people come to see this theater show. Then you need time, money and the right competence. And people also need to know how can I do a good audience development activity*". Moreover, there is the issue that it is difficult to evaluate children's opinion on the artistic activities because "*If you ask a child "what do you wish for most in the world" they will say peace on earth. But this is not really what they wish.*" Therefore, in order to get straight answers from a child instead of getting the politically correct answer or the loyal answer the directors perceive that they should a knowledge within the organization for how to interview children and how to interact with them. Moreover, according to the director A in the Dunkers Kulturhus it is crucial that any effort for active participation of the audience must be followed by granting power and authority to influence activities within the cultural centers, a case which still meets resistance from the organizations:

"*If you really want to have audience's participation then you need to give them some power also. Give away some of the power and that's what I work with now to give some power to the children so they can affect the things that we do here. So that's the challenge, more like an internal resistance*".

Similarly, in the case the Culture Yard in Elsinore it is indicated that investing resources is a troubling issue in outreaching the

audience, especially young people. According to the director B, young people are more difficult to be attracted in the activities of the cultural center because of their attachment to new media and technology such as social media and smartphones in comparison to citizens over fifty five, who are the most energetic and loyal audience. Furthermore, the challenge begins from the fact the process of establishing and preserving the relationship with the existing and potential audience is not visible and therefore, it cannot be evaluated. "*One problem always here and everywhere with outreaching, it takes a lot of resources. For example, when we strategically talk about that we would like to deal with groups of young people, so it takes a lot of resources because we talk about it, we discuss and we go to meetings and we do some things. And the effect is not visible. Its slow moves that are good for something but its invisible work to the outside and it takes resources*", explains director B. And thus, the approach to relate to young people "*Its not about just having a concert or it could be anything else. But its also to create the room and the story around it or for example, think about it if we can create an option to sleep over or could we have special food or creating the whole atmosphere around it*".

Regarding the effectiveness of audience development, both cultural centers evaluate audience development with statistics in relation to their audiences which they have to present to their public principals each year. These metrics refer mainly to data on the number of people who visit the cultural centers as well as on the number of tickets they sell and where the people buy their tickets from. The difference is that currently on the Culture Yard there is no system of qualitative performance measurement as the director B indicated: "*for example we never ask people afterwards "was it a good experience", which many people do, so we don't know much about those who were here, how did they like it. We have a feeling of course but we have no real documentation*". On the other hand, the director A affirmed that "*increase is the thing we are trying to measure but I am more interested in the quality of their experiences*" commenting further that the center is evaluating also "*through interviews, through evaluations directly with the audience when they*

are on the spot, through user surveys that we send out 'How did you experience this course in break-dance'? , 'what was good what was bad'? 'What should we change and so one' ". In both cases, the directors perceive that performance measurement is a function that can be improved towards including more qualitative data in relation to their audiences and this is an aspect which is currently being developed by their organizations.

In exploring the directors' perception on how they see the future of audience development in their organization and the ways to improve its effectiveness, they both recognize that it is uncertain how the audience's behavior will change in the future and that it is not possible to predict the future of audience development. The director A in the Dunkers Kulturhus sees a gap between those who have access to infinite technology and access to education, money and resources and those who don't have access and stand outside of the system and lack behind and thus, the challenge for the cultural center is how to bridge this gap. In this case, there is a constant need to change the way they work with the audience and the best strategy is to stay in contact with them as much as there are available resources. In other words, "*We must always change and I cannot say anything about the future because we are I think at the tipping point. I see that a lot of young people are moving away from the smart-phone world and become more analog. They want to meet, they want to do things with their hands, they want to interact with more senses than just the eye or the thumbs. So you cant say " Oh no everything is going to be through an iPhone", im not so sure about that*", supports director A.

Technological advances and the increased use of social media by young people will create a new context and will definitely influence the way the Culture Yard relates to young audiences, although the degree and the direction of this change is uncertain. Director B believes that "*if you are able to see what is going on and you have a modern mind and you are connected with your audience then I think you have a chance to see what will happen*". Additionally, the success of the current tool and method of the cultural

compass allows the management of the Culture Yard to adapt every time to the audience's behavior and the political priorities and goals of the local government. This current success also allows a certain amount of freedom from the local administration for the management of the Culture Yard to set its own strategies and activities. On this issue the director B explains that "*And maybe if you are looking for our model maybe that's the only I can think of now is that the municipality allows us to be free and it makes us very movable in a way because we don't have to make a show-off to some numbers we promised to the municipality but of course we give what we should give and more also. But its not put in numbers because then it would be like a prison for us*". Overall, the effectiveness of the current method of working with the cultural compass, the success in attracting the expected audience numbers and the freedom from the local governance to set their own strategies gives the opportunity and space for the Culture Yard to keep staying connected with their audiences and to explore new and alternative ways on how to enrich this two – way relationship. In referring to the Culture Yard's philosophy, the director B says that "*we don't have only egalitarian, classical, traditional stuff in our house. We come all the way round the compass and the only thing we want is to have high standards. If we are able to see what is going on and we have a modern mind and we are connected with our audience then I think we have a chance to see what will happen. I think we have a pretty good idea of what we have to do actually*", pointing to the preservation of the high artistic quality in their future strategies.

4.7 Summary

This chapter presents the findings of the study which are based on analysis of interview transcripts, document review and observations from the cultural centers during the course of the study. The three themes that were discussed in three parts are the following: 1) How do the directors of public cultural centers perceive and practice audience development? 2) How do the directors perceive the cultural centers' relationship to the

political vision of the cities and the implications for audience development? and 3) What the directors perceive it would take to improve the practice of audience development in the cultural centers taking into consideration the current challenges of audience development?.

Data in the first section focused in the directors' perception and practices of audience development in Dunker Kulturhus and the Culture Yard. In short, both cultural centers adopt a holistic approach on audience development with differences in how the organization approaches and relates to the existing and potential audience.

The second section focuses on the political vision in Elsinore and Helsingborg and it describes the goals which are related to the cultural centers. Participants discussed the relevance of these visions for the practices of audience development in the cultural centers and both operation directors agree that the vision only sets the priorities and focus groups as potential audiences but it remains on their responsibility to find the way how to approach audience relationships.

Finally, the third section focused on the perception of the directors regarding the challenges and the improvement in the effectiveness of audience development in the future. Although there are differences on their perception whether the young generation will increase or decrease the use of technological advances, both directors feel that the future of audience development is uncertain as the audience changes behaviors and patterns but it all depends on whether they will keep close contact with their audiences.

Audience development in the cases of public cultural centers in this study follow a holistic approach according to how the creative directors perceive the relationship with the existing and potential audience and according to the political goals and priorities of the local government. Following this understanding, chapter 5 discusses the findings that emerged from this study,

the theoretical and practical implications and provides suggestions for future practice and research.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The purpose of this study is to explore the approach of public local cultural centers towards audience development by gathering and analyzing the directors' perception and experiences on the practices of audience development in the cultural organizations they manage. The research included semi-structured interviews with the creative directors of the Dunkers Kulturhus in Helsingborg, Sweden, and the Culture Yard in Elsinore, Denmark and review of documents related to the political vision of the respected cities and documents regarding the organization, management and governance of the cultural centers. In this chapter I summarize, analyze and discuss the findings with regards to the three questions that guided the research in this study in light of the relevant literature and I explore the main practical and theoretical implications for audience development in public local cultural centers. Finally, I conclude with the limitations of this study and recommendations for future research.

5.1 Overview of the study

The purpose of this qualitative research study is to explore public cultural centers' approaches to audience development and in what way political goals of the local governance affect audience development practices in these cultural organizations. The theory of audience development as a conceptual framework and the lack of similar research from the perspective of the directors for this type of multi-disciplinary cultural organizations in the environment of cities guided the purpose of this study and the formulation of the research questions. The

fundamental research questions framing this research are the following:

1) How do the directors of public cultural centers perceive and approach audience development?

2) How do the directors perceive the cultural centers' fit to the political vision of the cities and the implications for audience development?

3) What do the directors perceive it would take to improve the practice of audience development in the cultural centers taking into consideration the current challenges of audience development?

5.2 Discussion

Theme 1: How do the directors of public cultural centers perceive and approach audience development?

According to the most current research *Study on audience development - How to place audiences at the centre of cultural organisations* (2016) by Fondazione Fitzcarraldo together with Culture Action Europe, ECCOM and Intercult developed in the framework of the Creative Europe program, the definition of the term audience development has developed from a pure marketing approach to include a more holistic and strategic approach in the relationship cultural organizations develop with the existing and potential audience. The definition of the Creative Europe on what audience development summarizes the latest developments on how cultural organizations perceive their relationship with audiences:

"*Audience development is a strategic, dynamic and interactive process of making the arts widely accessible. It aims at engaging individuals and communities in experiencing, enjoying, participating in and*

valuing the arts through various means available today for cultural operators, from digital tools to volunteering, from co-creation to partnerships (EAC/08/2015 Tender specifications)

In accordance to this definition by the Creative Europe program, the participants in this study, namely the creative directors of the two cultural centers of the case studies, perceive audience development widely, including practices to widen and attract audiences with the same socio-demographic profile as the current audience, to deepen relationship with the audiences by enhancing their experiences with the cultural and arts activities and to diversify audiences by attracting people with a different profile from the current audience, including people with no previous contact with the arts. These three aims of the Creative Europe definition on audience development are related to the four types of audience development practices in the framework by Kawashima (2000): audience education, taste cultivation, extended marketing and cultural inclusion. Audience education and taste cultivation are targeted towards the existing audiences and aim at increasing the understanding of the arts and introduce various art genres and forms. On the other hand, diversifying the audience is related to the strategy of using extended marketing to persuade potential audience to attend cultural activities while at the same time it is related to the strategy of targeting potential lower social class audience who face various economic and social barriers in attending arts events. On the basis of the findings generated by the interviews of this study, it is concluded that the directors perceive the role of the cultural centers to include all the above mentioned four audience development strategies as proposed by Kawashima (2000). In fact, the multi-disciplinary character of the cultural centers which is manifested in various activities including concerts, theater, performance, events, exhibitions and education and their position between political goals and artistic excellence (Lindqvist, 2007) provides the unique opportunity for these cultural organizations to pursue a variety of social, financial, educational and artistic purposes (Kawashima, 2000).

Moreover, the operating directors of the public cultural centers supported that audience development is a versatile concept and area of practice in the cultural organizations they manage and it still remains a "buzzword" (Scollen, 2007). According to them, there is no consensus on the variety of activities that audience development includes and it can have various meanings depending on the focus group and the context. Still, audience development activities in the Dunkers Kulturhus and the Culture Yard can be both described as 'mainstream', focusing on existing arts attenders and 'missionary' focusing on traditional non-attenders (Hayes et al., 2002).

Regarding the role audience development plays in the cultural centers, the focus of this study was not concentrated on specific projects and activities of audience development rather on the way the institutional design of the cultural centers affects the audience relationships. In one of the very first attempts to define and explore audience development in theory and practice, the arts marketing Heather Maitland (2000) pointed out the importance of the artistic, education and marketing functions of an organization in building relationships between an individual and the arts and similarly, Hayes (2003) emphasized the collaboration of marketing, education and programming to enhance audience development. Thus, this literature suggests that audience development is a preoccupation for certain departments and functions of a cultural organization putting the audience in the periphery and not in the center of what an organization does. However, at the audience development workshop held in Zagreb on 14th November 2014, organized by the European Network of Cultural Centers, the managers of the participating cultural centers agreed that a basic principle of audience development is that the audience should be the focus of everything that any cultural institution does and that audiences are not to be approached as passive consumers; it is important to engage them in cultural institution's activities.

A key finding of this research is that audience development has strategic implications for the cultural centers that place audience in the center of all their activities (Hayes, 2003). With regards to cultural organizations, strategic action refers to the plans that include all aspects of organizational structure and performance designed to meet the objectives of the organization (Cray, 2011; Lindqvist, 2007). In the cases of this study, developing audience relationships is part of the strategic action of the Dunkers Kulturhus and the Culture Yard. The director of Dunkers Kulturhus recruited one person to work on a strategic level with audience development, with the relationship with the audience, and to develop the content of what the organization does while all the activities of the organization are evaluated in light of the of audience quantity and quality objectives. Although, responsibilities for human resources management, finance, marketing and IT issues remain outside Dunkers Kulturhus, "*audience development is simulated strategically in the whole organization*", according to its director. Similarly, the Culture Yard has developed the 'culture compass' which guides all the activities and functions of the organization towards the specific audience objectives. The 'culture compass' gives the unique opportunity to connect all the departments and people within the organization and to orientate it towards the audience through the Customer Relationship Management (CRM) system. CRM is a business strategy that focuses on customer needs and how to develop the relationship between the customer and the company and "*it involves a personalized and interactive approach for the entire customer lifecycle*" (Fletcher et al., 2001:540). Therefore, CRM is a holistic approach for managing the interaction with existing and potential audience for arts and cultural organizations.

In general, 'audience development' is understood in a more broad way than the definitions which are given in the literature and in both of the cases, the relationship with the audience is not one way direction following a top-down approach. In Dunkers Kulturhus, the director understands audience development "*as a*

term that you have to deal with always as an institution because there are different aspects of this concept…so the world is changing and the technology is rapidly changing which is also changing our behavior in very radical ways. That's the first thing. You need always to be in contact with the audience and also the public which is not still your audience in order to attract them. So audience development for me is more like ownership". And in the Culture Yard, the director explains that "*the way we look at audience is more interesting to see how the institution can cope with the reality and develop itself as being part of the local society or the audience that we are looking for*". Thus, 'audience development' practices in both cultural centers call the need for a more holistic approach in the way arts organizations are attached to their audiences (Hayes et al., 2002)

Theme 2: How do the directors perceive the cultural centers' fit to the political vision of the cities and the implications for audience development?

In this theme I explored the political visions that describe the objectives for the city's development in Elsinore and Helsingborg and how the directors perceive the implications for audience development in the cultural centers depending on their fit to these political visions. This question is part of the research stream that investigates the implications of politics on the management of cultural organizations both empirically and theoretically (Gray, 2011; Lindqvist, 2007; 2008; 2012). Gray (2011) calls for an understanding of the how power relationships in politics affect the creation of distinct strategies for the management and administration of the museums and galleries, whether public, private, voluntary or community. In this sense, Lindqvist identifies that public governance affects the strategic action of public cultural organizations in Sweden (2007) and that public sector reforms have sector-level and organizational effects for arts and cultural organizations (2012). Moreover, cultural organizations face different models of governance and management control and these conditions clearly affect their

management (Lindqvist, 2008). Nevertheless, there is still the growing need for empirical studies that explore the approach of individual cultural organizations towards this political environment. In accordance with this research field, the purpose is to identify the impact of the political vision on audience development practices as part of the strategic action in public cultural centers.

In exploring this theme, the analysis of the two case studies has demonstrated that both public cultural centers are part of the political vision in the cities of Helsingborg and Elsinore. In the first case, the vision Helsingborg 2035 guides the municipality's activities in creating a creative, vibrant, global, joint and balanced city with a special focus on social sustainability. The focus is on young people and businesses and although these goals are translated in specific assignment for the Dunkers Kulturhus, the director perceives these objectives to be very broad in the sense that it remains within the responsibility of the cultural center to plan its strategies and activities with regards to audience development. Similarly, the vision Elsinore 2020 aims at developing the city as North Zealand's most attractive settlement municipality for families, a municipality with good conditions for doing business and the municipality in which citizens and businesses are part of and contribute to the community. According to the analysis, the Culture Yard is part of this city plan for development and specific goals are assigned to the cultural center by local politicians. However, the strategies and activities to achieve these goals with regards to audience development still remain within the operational management of the Culture Yard.

In general, the analysis leads to the connection of this theme with the research that explores the impact of public governance on strategic action. On the basis of the findings generated by the first them, it is concluded that audience development in public cultural centers is approached as a strategic activity that involves the whole organization and covers all the actions designed to

develop and retain the relationship with the audience. In this sense, the second theme focused on the relationship between the elected politicians as principals and on the operating management of the cultural centers as agents, in a relationship that is described as the principal – agent problem or theory of agency in public governance literature (Eisenhardt, 1989; Gnan et al., 2013). The political visions of Helsingborg and Elsinore are an essential part of this relationship is our case studies since they direct the mission statement formation and appropriation directions. The key findings were predictable for the two public cultural organizations studied (Lindqvist, 2007) and thus, the outcome suggest that for the cultural centers in Helsingborg and Elsinore the relationship with the local political environment create the following effects in relation to audience development:

- A necessity to simultaneously navigate and act strategically on a political and art market

- A necessity to strategically consider the various legitimacy criteria of the two markets

- A strong presence of vague political objectives

- A lack of correlation in governance and management control between assignments and resources allocated

- A situation of underfunding which follows the creation of vague political visions and leads to economic vulnerability

- A situation of competing political interests that lead to political vulnerability

- An effective use of the communication channel between the politicians, cultural administrators and the directors of the cultural centers

- A directly instrumental view of art and culture from politics

As it has been stated, the above mentioned effects of public governance on management of cultural organizations have been identified in previous studies and this relationship deserves further and deeper exploration in merit of future studies in the field of public cultural centers.

Theme 3: What the directors perceive it would take to improve the practice of audience development in the cultural centers taking into consideration the current challenges of audience development?

The directors of the Dunkers Kulturhus and the Culture Yard perceived that a holistic approach to audience development will result in deeper relationships with the audience, especially young people and children which is the focus of the political vision in both Helsingborg and Elsinore. The participants support that the main challenges in practicing audience development holistically are the investment in resources including time, money and competences; a discussion that inevitable leads to the challenge of underfunding in both cases. Another challenge in practicing audience development is perceived to be the difficulty with evaluating audience experiences with regards to the cultural centers' activities due to the lack of any established tool and procedure and the general difficulty to evaluate the relationship with the existing and potential audience; a relationship which is by nature not visible according to both the directors and therefore it cannot be evaluated.

In overall, the exploration of this theme led to the discussion of the barriers that prohibit audience from participating to the cultural centers' activities and which cannot be grasped in the current performance measurement systems. Traditionally, the factors that prohibit participation in the arts have been associated with physical and financial barriers, social, cognitive barriers, cultural barriers, attitudinal barriers, technological

barriers and psychological barriers (Directorate-General for Education and Culture Creative Europe programme – Glossary, 2015). In this study, the directors perceive technological barriers to be the most challenging issue in relation the younger audiences. On the one hand, the director of Dunkers Kulturhus believes that the use of technology will decrease in the future for younger generations and that the cultural center should invent new and more analog ways to interact with these group ages. On the contrary, the director of the Culture Yard predicts that the attachment of younger audiences to technology and new media will increase and the cultural center should invent new strategies to attract these audience groups accordingly. The research field of audience development through digital means and technology has many interesting connections to the issues discussed in this them(Crawford, 2014; Da Milano et al., 2015; Giacardi et al., 2012; Saldanha et al., 2015) and it merits further exploration in the context of public cultural centers in future studies.

Following the discussion on the challenges for practicing audience development, both the directors appeared reluctant and distanced themselves from any effort to predict on whether audience development will change and towards which direction. The effectiveness of their current efforts and activities to increase audience numbers and to create a positive attitude of the audience towards their cultural organizations is responsible for the fact that audience development strategies are received with satisfaction from the management and the local governments in the city of Helsingborg and Elsinore. Therefore, the success key for the effectiveness of the current and future strategies depends solely to the development and preservation of deeper relationships with their audience, according to both directors. In fact, they believe that it is their duty to turn from a 'product-led' approach to audience development, an approach that is still dominated by the tradition of Liberal Humanist ideology and based on a belief in the superiority and autonomy of the high arts, towards the 'target-led' approach that views culture as a means for marking and reproducing social distinction

(Kawashima, 2000). The 'product-led' approach indicates a strategy that offers the same artistic and cultural product to certain target groups while the 'target-led' approach indicates the adaptation of the cultural and artistic product on the needs of non-participant target groups. High artistic quality then becomes the central issue in the directors' vision for the future of audience development:

 "*It is not that the organisation needs to compromise on artistic quality in the 'target-led' approach, but that it has to identify the kinds of benefit these non-regular attenders seek and to determine if it can offer them*" (Kawashima, 2000: 23).

5.3 Theoretical and practical implications

As a result of this study, there have been a number of theoretical and practical implications regarding audience development in public cultural centers. Public cultural centers do not constitute a 'sector' in the literature and one of the aims of this research is to build a theory on the overall management of these organizations. Thus, in chapter 2 I have initially conceptualized cultural centers using the definition from the framework for arts centers by Shaw et al.'s study (2006) as the physical locations that:

- create different entry points for the public and audience to different art forms and genres

- have creative relationships with artists, and

- have a social dimension and possess at least one space dedicated to social interaction

Moreover, the focus of this study was on public cultural centers, i.e., cultural centers that have a public principal with their activities oriented towards a general public (Lindqvist, 2007). In general, this type of cultural organization is absent from peer-reviewed studies and similarly there is a lack of research regarding audience development in public cultural centers.

Therefore, the study was of an exploratory nature as very little work has been done that investigates the theory and practice of audience development in public cultural centers. The only study on public cultural centers that focuses on the relationship with their audiences adopts the audience perspective to analyze how key cultural objectives are realized in the urban cultural centers of three neighborhoods in the city of Helsinki and what arguments the users of these cultural centers employ to motivate their visits to the centers (Silvanto et al., 2008). According to Skot – Hansen's framework model (2005) that was discussed in chapter 2, the planning and management of these centers in Helsinki were linked to discussions on the democratization of culture and cultural democracy and the rationales of Enlightenment, Empowerment, Entertainment and Experience can be found in the arguments used by the visitors to motivate their visits to the centers.

The main theoretical contribution of this doctoral thesis is the investigation of the relationship between the cultural centers and the audience from the operating directors' perspective. The focus on operating directors' perspective has interesting connections with the underdeveloped theoretical discussion regarding the two critical functions of managing cultural organizations, namely leadership and strategic decision making (Cray et al., 2007; Hewison, 2004). This discussion necessarily includes the challenges cultural centers face in funding, governance, and competition that may result in decrease of their audiences. The case studies have provided initial evidence that different leadership styles and decision making styles are relevant depending on the certain circumstances. For example, in the Dunkers Kulturhus that was facing a period of mismanagement after five years of its opening there was a need for a transformational and participatory style of leader that would focus the organization on the immediate problems and would promote a sense of belonging and orientation towards common goals for the organization. On the other hand, the Culture Yard was opening during an era for Elsinore that was marked by

social and political agreement to create a cultural space where locals would meet and socialize in the search for their new identity. Thus, a charismatic leader was necessary to promote high levels of commitment under a strong vision that would include the whole new organization towards the pursuit of the common goals of the city. This study suggests that the impact of the different leadership and decision making styles on audience development within cultural organizations is an issue that deserves further empirical and theoretical exploration.

Using an interpretive approach, the goal of the study is to understand the directors' perception of audience development, how they practice it, the influence of it on the institutional design of the organization, the challenges and the ways to improve its effectiveness. Furthermore, the study explored the impact of the political vision on audience development practices and validated the results of previous studies (Lindqvist, 2007; 2012) that strategic management of public cultural organizations is influenced by public governance due to the introduction of opposing logics of control and evaluation and the creation of economic and political vulnerability for the organization through budget and management controls. Thus, the study has the ambition to contribute theoretically and empirically on the recent and underdeveloped research field that explores the influence of politics in a broader sense on audience development and overall management of individual cultural organizations (Lindqvist, 2012; Gray, 2011; Zan et al., 2007; Castro et al., 2009). Future research studies will be able to use the individual case studies of this research to build larger samples and the main implications in order to study the theory and practice of audience development in public cultural centers in other local, regional and national contexts and to introduce new factors other than the political environment that influence audience development.

Previous research on audience development (Maitland, 2000, 2002, 2005; Rogers, 1998; McCarthy & Jinnett, 2001; Hayes & Slater, 2002; Cashman, 2002; Kawashima, 2000, 2006; Morris,

1999) has well emphasized the importance of marketing, education and programming in the activities of cultural organizations to create and develop the relationship with their existing and potential audience, as the theory of audience development implies. However, the main recommendation of this study is that audience development should be understood in a more holistic way than the definitions of audience development suggest in the sense that all the activities that take place within the cultural center are oriented towards the audience. This holistic approach to audience development reflects the latest development in the research on how to place the audience in the center on everything the cultural organization does (Directorate-General for Education and Culture Creative Europe programme, 2015) and it implies a strategic mindset towards the relationship with the audience (Hayes, 2003).

Strategic decision making in arts organizations is traditionally linked to the top management (Cray et al., 2011) and another implication of this study is that an audience development plan should be the initiative and preoccupation of the directors in public cultural centers. The effectiveness of this audience development plan depends on the co-ordination of all the departments and people in the public cultural centers and thus, it is important that the management system translates the objectives and missions of the top management regarding audience development to activities for all the organization. Specifically for the cultural centers that have a public principal it is also recommended that the management system navigates the strategies and activities of the organization between the political and the art market. This study has showed that the political vision of the cities directs mission statement formation and appropriation directions. Since public arts organizations are obliged to accept the assignments from their principal and they have to strategically consider the legitimacy criteria of the political and art market, then it is also crucial that the management system of the organization recognizes and acts on

this necessity. I argue that the tool of the 'cultural compass' designed and used by the Culture Yard in Elsinore is a tool that helps the cultural centers to strategically work with the orientations provided by the political priorities while at the same keeping the artistic and cultural quality of the operating management and thus, working on the strategic level with the audience relationships they aim at.

5.4 Suggestions for future research

This study aimed to explore the theory and practice of audience development in public cultural centers through the directors' perspective. Public cultural centers have been neglected from previous research in general and in relation to audience development and this research suggest the following areas that will study this critical function of arts management.

First, there is the need to work on the concept of public cultural centers and to establish a theory of this particular type of cultural organization. The lack of substantial research on public cultural centers suggest that these organizations do not constitute a sector and this study can be the initiative to start exploring their organizational, managerial and strategic perspectives and the challenges they meet in their operations. Furthermore, public cultural centers can be compared to independent, non-profit and private cultural centers in order to identify the similarities and differences in their relationship with the external environment, including audiences, politicians and the community. A good starting point to build a conceptual framework and to choose a sample of case studies is the European Network of Cultural Centers (ENCC) that currently represents over 3000 cultural centers in at least fifteen countries and allows cross-cultural and cross-national comparisons. Moreover, a larger sample can include case studies from other Scandinavian countries and compare it with other cultural policy traditions in the European context. Also, a comparative study between public cultural

centers and independent cultural centers (Verstraete et al., 2008) could explore whether funding sources influence spending on audience development in cultural organizations (Hughes et al., 2004).

Second, the findings of this study suggest that the concept of audience development is perceived very narrowly in the literature in comparison to the directors' perception of this strategic function of management. The holistic approach to audience development suggests that the focus of future research must include not only the top management but employees from all the levels of management and departments. Strategic action in arts organizations is traditionally a preoccupation of the managing board and the administrative director (Cray et al., 2011) and it is interesting for future research to explore the management challenges for all levels in the organization. Moreover, the opinion of the audiences is necessary to be included in future research as a way to evaluate the effectiveness of any audience development project.

Third, the strategic approach to audience development requires that audience development is explored in relation to the overall macro-external and micro-external environment of the cultural centers (Varbanova, 2012). The macro-external environment includes all the political, legislative, economic, social, technological, informational, global and cultural policy factors that influence the performance of cultural organizations. A cultural center's micro-environment include the arts and cultural markets and the creative industries and also the elements within the organization, such as artistic programs, management methods, organizational culture, structures, policies, resources, capacity and others. Previous research on the relocation of one of England's Royal Ballet companies from London to Birmingham in 1990 connected the investment to audience development as part of a new urban regeneration plan (Bryson, 2007) and this analysis is more context oriented than is the case in most audience development research.

Fourth, a future study should consider the impact of leadership and strategic decision - making in cultural organizations on the effectiveness of audience development activities. According to Cray et al. (2007), there is a relationship between the four leadership styles in arts organizations, namely the charismatic, transactional, transformational and participatory types with the four approaches to strategic decision making, i.e. the rational, the political, the incremental and the garbage can. These four approaches can lead to different performances and activities and thus, it will be interesting to explore the different outcomes in relation to audience development.

Fifth, future research can focus on specific projects of audience development practices in order to have a deeper understanding of what a cultural center does in developing the relationship with the audiences and what are the effects of these projects on enhancing the audience experiences. For example, the *Talking Theatre* project (2004 – 2006) was an initiative by performing arts centers aiming to understand non-attenders, their reasons for non-attendance and their reactions to a range of live performances (Scollen, 2007). Similarly, the *Theatre Talks* method carried in Central Denmark Region in the period 2010 – 2012 evaluated the attitude and the behavior of attenders and non-attenders to the experience of actual theatrical events (Hansen, 2015). Thus, I support that a project-based approach to audience development gives a more profound understanding how the audience experiences the cultural activities of cultural organizations in general.

Finally, future research can compare in theory and practice the concept of 'audience development' with the concept of 'audience engagement' which is a more recent term that represents a growing body of practice in the arts sector. In general, audience engagement is defined as "*a guiding philosophy in the creation and delivery of arts experiences in which the paramount concern is maximizing impact on the participant* "(Brown et al., 2011:5). If audience engagement implies the change of focus in maximizing

the impact from the organization to the audience, then it remains a question whether this leads to different strategies and evaluation methods in exploring the relationship of cultural organizations with their audiences.

5.5 Conclusion

The directors of the public cultural centers in Helsingborg and Elsinore perceive audience development as playing a major role in their organizations. Indeed, they understand audience development in a more holistic way than the extant literature suggests. Undoubtedly this gap between the institutional perspective and the theoretical perspective on the concept of audience development is also evident in the way that audience development is practiced in both cultural centers. Although there is no clear division of audience development responsibilities within the cultural centers, audiences are strategically placed in the center of everything both the organizations do.

The political visions in the cities of Helsingborg and Elsinore clearly impact upon the formation and appropriation of the mission statements and directions of both organizations and how their current directors strategically navigate between the political sphere and the art world by considering the legitimacy criteria of both markets when planning for audience development. Both cultural centers are presented with opposing logics of control and evaluation that can create an economic and political vulnerability but the directors perceive their relationship and communication with the current local government to be satisfying. However, this satisfactory situation is clearly influenced by the current positive performance of the cultural centers and thus, the directors hold their autonomy in managing their own resources and organizations within a general framework of overall objectives and resources regarding audiences. Whether the principle of an "arm's length"

arrangement between the local government of Helsingborg and Elsinore and the public cultural centers is a valid statement or just rhetorical (Lindqvist, 2007), this is a question that has to be explored in the future.

Overall, the directors are facing challenges regarding time, funding and competences in practicing audience development. As such they cannot predict the future of this critical function of management since the outcomes of the current technological advancement and social progress are not certain. However, the effectiveness of any audience development plan and activity depends on whether the directors as cultural leaders in their organizations will be able to commit themselves to keeping the relationship with their audience at the core of everything these cultural centers do.

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE

A) Personal Info

    1. What is your position in the organization?
    2. What is your educational background and previous positions?
    3. Can you describe the cultural center that you manage?
    4. What are your duties and responsibilities?
    5. What is your relationship with the public local administration?
    6. What are the challenges of your current position?

B) Research Question 1: How do the directors of public cultural centers perceive and practice audience development?

    1. How do you understand audience development?
    2. What kind of aspect does it play in the organization?
    3. What is the impact of audience development activities at the organizational/institutional level?
    4. Which attributes of the organization does it affect?

C) Research Question 2: How do the directors perceive the cultural centers' relationship to the political vision of the cities and the implications for audience development?

1. Can you describe the political vision of the city?
2. How does your organization fit in this vision?
3. How does this affect the relationship you develop with the existing and potential audience?
4. What other demands and requirements from the political regarding audience development exist?
5. How these demands affect your organization?

D) What the directors perceive it would take to improve the practice of audience development in the cultural centers taking into consideration the current challenges of audience development?

1. Can you describe the challenges in practicing audience development?
2. How do you measure the effectiveness of audience development?
3. How can audience development be improved?
4. What is the future of audience development in your organization?

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