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ARTS CENTRES AS AUDIENCE RELATIONSHIP MANAGERS

by

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A PhD-thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Cultural Policy Studies

CENTRE FOR CULTURAL POLICY STUDIES,
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Table of contents

List of Figures and Tables 5
Acknowledgements 6
Declaration and Notes 7
Preface 8
Summary 9
Abbreviations 10

Chapter 1 Cultural Policies in Britain and Norway. A brief introduction. 11
1.1 Introduction 11
1.2 The early foundations of British and Norwegian Cultural Policies 14
1.3 Cultural politics and the influence of the Second World War 16
1.3.1 Britain 16
1.3.2 Norway 18
1.4 Cultural politics in the post-war years 19
1.4.1 Britain 20
1.4.2 Norway 21
1.5 Cultural politics in the 1960 and 1970s 24
1.5.1 Britain 25
1.5.2 Norway 29
1.6 Cultural politics from the 1980s and onwards 33
1.6.1 Britain 34
1.6.2 Norway 41
1.7 Summary and notes on continuation 49

Chapter 2 The World Of Arts Centres 53
2.1 Introduction 53
2.2 The evolution of the concept of arts centres in Britain and Norway 54
2.2.1 The history of the Arts Centre Concept in Britain 54
2.2.1.1 'Plans for an Arts Centre' – where it all started 54
2.2.1.2 What became of the post-war idealism? 57
2.2.1.3 Arts to the people – arts centres and a new consciousness 59
2.2.1.4 Arts for the people – a change of consciousness turns into institutionalisation of participation and arts provision 60
2.2.1.5 The entry of commercialisation and increased professionalism 63
2.2.1.6 The British concept of an Arts Centre today – potential instruments of improving social, environmental and economic well-being 66
2.2.2 The history of the Arts Centre Concept in Norway 69
2.2.2.1 The freedom to congregate and organise – where it all started 69
2.2.2.2 Community halls and post-world war cultural policies 70
2.2.2.3 Cultural democracy in Norway turned the concept of community hall into arts centre 72
2.2.2.4 The Norwegian Concept of an arts centre today – institutionalised professional arts providers 78

2.3. Arts centres – a conceptualisation 84
2.3.1 Conceptualising the British arts centre 85
2.3.2 Conceptualising the Norwegian arts centre 88
2.3.3 Similarities and discrepancies between the British and Norwegian arts centre concept 89
2.4 The world of arts centres 96
2.5 Summary and notes on continuation 106

Chapter 3 Managing Audience Relationship in the Arts. Arts marketing and audience development in Britain and Norway 111
3.1 Introduction 111
3.2 Commodification and new public management – two aspects of prevailing government policies 115
3.2.1 The commodification of the arts 115
3.2.2. Arts organisations and new public management 119
3.2.3 Exemplifying the impacts of new public management on the practice of arts organisations 126
3.3 Managing audience relationships in the arts 129
3.3.1 The evolution of the concept of arts marketing 129
3.3.2 The concept of audience development 148
3.3.2.1 Why bother with defining the Audience Development concept? 150
3.3.2.2 Current attempts to define audience development 153
3.3.2.3 Communication of benefits and diffusion of innovations 171
3.3.2.4 A commentary on the definitions 181
3.4. Summary and notes on continuation 192

CHAPTER 4 Two Case Studies 200
4.1 Introduction 200
4.2 Outline of methodological frame of reference 203
4.2.1 Comments on what a case study is 204
4.2.2 Issues of strategy and design 206
4.2.2.1 The research problem – units of investigation, casing and process 206
4.2.2.2 Undertaking cross-national comparative research 209
4.2.2.3 Data collection methods, data analysis and validation 210
4.3 The two case studies 214
4.3.1 Introduction 214
4.3.2 Application of methodology 220
4.3.2.1 The selection of cases 220
4.3.2.2 Preparation of data gathering and data gathering techniques 223
4.3.2.3 Questionnaires response rates 226
4.3.2.4 Case-internal evaluation 227
4.4 Presentation and analysis of the case study findings 228
4.4.1 The case study findings 228
4.4.2 Analysis of the case study findings 239
4.4.2.1 Colchester Arts Centre – the British case 239
4.4.2.1.1 How does the leadership of Colchester Arts Centre perceive the factors influencing its relations with its

community and network partners? 239
4.4.2.1.2 How does the leadership of Colchester Arts Centre understand and maintain its centre's relevance to its community? 242
4.4.2.1.3 How does the leadership of Colchester Arts Centre recognise, manage and sustain its networks of partners? 244
4.4.2.1.4 Are there similarities and differences in perceptions of the above treated issues between the Colchester Arts Centre and its partners and stakeholders within the communities it serves? 248
4.4.2.2 Ibsenhuset – the Norwegian case 253
4.4.2.2.1 How does the leadership of Ibsenhuset perceive the factors influencing its relations with its community and network partners? 253
4.4.2.2.2 How does the leadership of Ibsenhuset understand and maintain its centre's relevance to its community? 256
4.4.2.2.3 How does the leadership of Ibsenhuset recognise, manage and sustain its networks of partners? 258
4.4.2.2.4 Are there similarities and differences in perceptions of the above treated issues between the Ibsenhuset and its partners and stakeholders within the communities it serves? 260
4.4.3 Comparing the results from the two case studies 265
4.5 Conclusions and research evaluation. 272

Chapter 5 Arts Centres as Audience Relationship Managers 281
5.1 Introduction 281
5.2 A summary of the main aspects of chapters 1-4 282
5.2.1 Cultural policies in Britain and Norway 282
5.2.2 The world of arts centres 285
5.2.3 Managing audience relationships in the arts 288
5.2.4 Two case studies 292
5.3 Arts centres as audience relationship managers 297

Bibliography 307
Appendixes 321

List of Figures and Tables

Figures **Page**

Figure 1.1 The parallelism of cultural policy rationales since 1945 51
Figure 2.1 The Progression of Economic Value 102
Figure 2.2 An arts centre's network connections 104
Figure 3.1 Hirschman's arts marketing exchange levels 133
Figure 3.2 Dimensions and characteristics of the cultural offering 138
Figure 3.3 Needs satisfied through arts consumption 139
Figure 3.4 The determinants of artistic value 140
Figure 3.5 The process of artistic value creation and diffusion 144
Figure 3.6 An arts work's value chain 147
Figure 2.1/3.7 An arts centre's network connections 148
Figure 3.8 Participation Model 157
Figure 3.9 Hayes and Slater's map of audience development potential 163
Figure 3.10 The principle of benefit communication 174
Figure 3.11 Psychographic segmentation 1 179
Figure 3.12 An expanded version of an arts centre's network map 198
Figure 4.1 Colchester Arts Centre network map 239
Figure 4.2 Illustrating the context in which the Colchester Arts Centre operates 242
Figure 4.3 Colchester Arts Centre network map re-configured 252
Figure 4.4 The Ibsenhuset network map 254
Figure 4.5 The Ibsenhuset network map re-configured 265
Figure 2.2/5.2 An arts centre's network connections 287
Figure 3.13/5.3 An expanded version of an arts centre's network map 292
Figure 3.6/5.4 An arts work's value chain 300
Figure 5.5 Illustration of a value added spiral for arts works 301
Figure 5.6 An arts centre's a value spiral 305

Tables

Table 3.1 Alignment among participation goal, target population, and relevant factors 159
Table 3.2 Comparison of characteristics of arts marketing and audience development practices 170
Table 3.3 Psychographic segmentation of audience 1 178
Table 3.4 Psychographic segmentation of audience 2 180
Table 3.5 Psychographic segmentation of audience 3 180
Table 3.6 Suggested characteristics of innovators 180
Table 3.7 Comparison of the eight different audience development definitions 182
Table 4.1 Information on Colchester Arts Centre 222
Table 4.2 Information on Ibsenhuset 223
Table 4.3 Links from expected practice to observed patterns of behaviour 230

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Thinking about it, that was also what I did when I sought enrolment as a PhD student at the Centre for Cultural Policy Studies, University of Warwick. I am deeply grateful to the Centre's director Mr. Oliver Bennett and my supervisor Ms. Heather Maitland for accepting me as their student. I hope to have met their expectations and that especially Heather will find all the hours she has spent reading and discussing my provisional manuscripts have been worth while. I also thank my examiners Mr. Francois Colbert and Mr. Christopher Bilton for an enjoyable viva and for their constructive recommendations.

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Tromsø/Venice/University of Warwick
January 2008 - Kjell Magne Mælen (Maelen)

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis contains one reference to an article I have published earlier[1] and that parts of the thesis have been presented as a paper at the 2nd Nordic Conference for Cultural Policy Research in Borås, Sweeden August 25-26. 2005.

Apart from this the thesis is an original work of my own except where it contains references to works published by cited authors.

I also declare that this thesis has not been submitted for a degree at any other university.

Notes

This thesis examines whether such cultural policy instruments as arts centres in Britain and Norway are recognising and accommodating the cultural policy goal of widening audience access and developing new audiences. The reason why I chose Britain and Norway is very simple: Norway is my home country, and Britain was chosen because I wanted to study audience development; and what better place to do it since I at the same time could to have Ms. Heather Maitland as my supervisor. Arts centres were chosen as cases because I have a personal experience as arts centre director for 9 years.

Because I have used some American sources in addition to British the spellings of certain words are not consistent. American spelling is only used in quotations from U.S. sources.

In addition I have used Norwegian sources. Where they are quoted it is my translation. In the bibliography the original titles are not translated into English.

References within the text use the author-date format referring to the actual source used. The bibliography presents the references in a single list. In one or two 'one-off' cases I have included a reference in the footnotes instead of the bibliography.

1 Maelen, K. M. (1998) Spotlight on Marketing: What are Nonprofit Arts Organizations Really Selling? BRAVO For The Arts, Issue 43, pp 8-9

Preface

At the age of forty-three after nearly eighteen years of working in different positions as a civil servant I decided to make a shift and pursue a living in what I had been doing for long in my free time – organising and presenting artistic and cultural events. In 1995 I went from the position as deputy city manager in my home town Tromsø, Norway to the position as director of the town's arts centre. I knew I would be working with an experienced staff and felt certain that I had the skills and proficiency they needed; and knew I was capable of learning by doing. I soon discovered, however, that there were gaps both in my own and in the arts centre's know-how on developing audiences and relationships with the community it served.

The controversies that had marked the founding of the arts centre some ten years ago still made their mark on internal operations and impacted on the relationships with parts of the local artistic and political community. Yet the lack of expertise in managing audience relationships – in basic marketing techniques – was even more apparent.

When my partner was granted a sabbatical and we agreed to spend it in The Bay Area, California, I took one year's leave and got myself a Masters in Arts Administration at the Golden Gate University, San Francisco. After returning inspired with new knowledge we made some real progress in developing both audience and stakeholder relationships, but there were still things I did not understand and still more to learn in order to be a proficient arts manager.

Another sabbatical came our way and this time England was chosen to be the land of opportunity. I soon identified the Centre for Cultural Policy Studies, University of Warwick and its senior lecturer Heather Maitland as the most excellent and skilled person in the British Isles to provide me with the knowledge and insight I needed.

More than five years have passed since I started as a part-time PhD student. Yet another sabbatical is needed to finish up my PhD thesis. Venice is now the location. During all these years I have visited numerous arts organisations at home and abroad. All over I see the need to improve audience relationship management. I hope this thesis is going to be regarded as a small contribution to this need for improvement. Yet, I know that there is still much to learn – at least I know that I have just started.

Tromsø/Venice/University of Warwick
January 2008
Kjell Magne Mælen (Maelen)

Summary

This thesis examines the extent to which such cultural policy instruments as arts centres in Britain and Norway are recognising and accommodating the cultural policy goal of widening audience access and developing new audiences.

After establishing what the cultural policy is that arts centres in Britain and Norway are supposed to deliver against (Chapter 1). I continue to sketch out the history of the arts centres concept in the two countries, and to form an idea of what an arts centre is that aims to transcend national borders and work as a basis for determining how cultural policies in Britain and Norway have impacted on the role arts centres have as cultural policy instruments (Chapter 2).

Before taking a closer look at two specific arts centres in Britain and Norway, I examine how audience relationships are managed in the arts in general by first mapping how the arts marketing concept has evolved and then how an engagement with marketing in the arts has led to the development of the concept of audience development which seems to be specific to this industry especially in Anglo-American cultural policy debate (Chapter 3).

Scrutinising the audience development concept I discover that in Britain there seems to be very little agreement over what it really means; and with respect to Norway, the concept has hardly yet started to influence discussion over audience relations. I discuss some key concepts - commodification, managerialism or governance in the form of new public management - and their impacts on how arts organisations are expected to relate to their audiences under current public management ideas and conclude that audience development simply is arts marketing upgraded; and a term concocted to serve political objectives – i.e. 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 democratisation of cultural policies and cultural democracy.

To investigate whether arts centres are accommodating such cultural policy objectives I conduct case studies of two arts centres in Britain (Colchester Arts Centre, Essex) and Norway (Ibsenhuset, Telemark). I conclude from my findings that the influences of

- the relevance to their communities; and
- their own objectives in supporting the realisation of their mission as arts organisations

seem to carry more weight than the expressed performance propositions of governmental cultural policy agencies(Chapter 4).

However, I also conclude that the management style employed internally and in relations with community partners influence an arts centre's ability to address the needs of its audiences. Hence I close this thesis by conceptualising a broad audience relationship management model which has the capacity to maximise the contribution to artistic value which arts centres are so well positioned to make (Chapter 5).

Abbreviations

ACE	Arts Council of England
ACGB	Arts Council of Great Britain.
AP	Arbeiderpartiet/The Labour Party (Norway)
CAC	Colchester Arts Centre (CAC).
CEMA/ C.E.M.A	Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts
DCMS	Department for Culture. Media and Sport
DES	Department of Education.
ENSA	Entertainments National Service Association
FKA	Familie-, kultur- og administrasjonskomiteen, Stortinget/The Standing Committee for Family, Culture and Administrative Affairs, The Norwegian Parliament
GLC	Greater London Council
IBH	Ibsenhuset
KD	Kulturdepartementet/The Ministry of Cultural Affairs.
KKD	Kultur- og kirkedepartementet/The Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs
KUD	Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet/The Ministry for Church and Education.
KUK	Kirke- og undervisningskomiteen, Stortinget/The Standing Committee for Church and Education Affairs, The Norwegian Parliament
KVD	Kultur- og vitskapsdepartementet/The Ministry of Culture and Science Affairs.
LGA	Local Government Association
MAC	Midlands Arts Centre
MBA	Master of Business Administration
NKr	Norwegian krone
NOU	Norges Offentlige Utredninger/Norwegian Official Reports
NPM	New Public Management
NPO	Nonprofit organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
RAA	Regional Arts Association

CHAPTER 1
CULTURAL POLICIES IN BRITAIN AND NORWAY
A brief introduction

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines whether such cultural policy instruments as arts centres in Britain and Norway are recognising and accommodating the cultural policy goal of widening audience access and developing new audiences.

This objective is based on the understanding that cultural policy exists as a specific field of politics; that arts centres are organisations that emerge out of processes in this field of politics as specific instruments of this policy; and that widening access and developing new audiences are cultural policy goals that arts centres are supposed to deliver.

The aim of this chapter is to give a brief introduction to some basic features in British and Norwegian cultural policies in order to be able to establish what the cultural policy is that arts centres in Britain and Norway are supposed to deliver and by that to create a common frame of reference for the rest of the thesis.

A widespread definition of politics is that it is the actions of governments – e.g. the governing of a political entity, such as a nation, and the administration and control of its internal and external affairs. But this thesis will define the term more broadly – as the process by which groups make decisions – meaning that political actions can be observed in all organised human group interactions, including governmental, corporate, and non-public private institutions and organisations of diverse kinds.

Geir Vestheim starts his attempts to define cultural policy by placing it in line with the general definition referred to above when he writes: *"generally speaking modern cultural policy is about the role government plays in supporting production and distribution of works of art"* (Vestheim, 1995. p.13). But he is quick to add that this definition is too narrow. The decision to support the creation and distribution of works of art will involve value judgements; hence the cultural policy of a state will encompass the shaping and managing of a society's values and living standards. Oliver Bennett concurs as he briefly discusses the definition of the term in the introduction to an article on cultural policy in the United Kingdom (Bennett. 1995). In another article on British cultural policies 1970-1990 (Bennett. 1991) he divides cultural policies into two types – the first being planned actions *"(d)eveloped in the public sector, or those developed by organisations supported by the public sector"*(Ibid., p.294). The second type of politics Bennett finds is growing out of actions in the private sector which he then locates in two spheres. the first being small private arts organisations, and the second national and multinational culture industry companies (Ibid., p.294).

The importance of non-governmental non-profit group actions in cultural politics is the underlying purport in Chris Bilton's study on the origins of the community arts movement (Bilton, 1997). He sees cultural policy as *"(t)he product of an analogous conflict between opposing factions with different aims, moulding cultural policies and institutions to their own interest"* (Bilton. 1997. p.4). Following Bilton's understanding. power to influence political institutions and organisations such as governments and their political instruments will shift between opposing forces. and

consequently extra-governmental political groups will align their actions to try to move their own priorities up and onto the political agendas of government.

Dahl seems to follow the same line of thought when he argues that from a historical point of view cultural policy may be defined as the way the physical objects and goods as well as immaterial benefits and values of culture and art that always has existed, is gradually absorbed by public sectors and government, consequently embraced and made an object of public policies (Dahl, 2003, p.24). Over time and in retrospect it is possible to identify patterns of such cultural policies or political and social actions in the field of culture, which can be described and announced as mechanisms. Mechanisms are neither consistent regularities nor mere descriptions, not predictions but more ordered patterns that will surface under specific conditions and have unpredictable consequences (Dahl, 2003, p.25).

Bennett (1995), however, occupies himself with the motives behind what turns ordered patterns into cultural policies, and suggests that they expose dominant sets of ideas that act as doctrines or rationales used to justify governmental and other group actions. Accordingly cultural policies are aspects of general public policies, and as such they are best understood against the backdrop of these (Belfiore, 2004, p.187), which is partly what will be demonstrated throughout this thesis.

1.2 THE EARLY FOUNDATIONS OF BRITISH AND NORWEGIAN CULTURAL POLICIES

It is not the subject of this thesis to give a detailed and inclusive account of developments in the cultural policies of Britain and Norway. Authors like Bennett (1991, 1995), Bakke (2001, 2003), Belfiore (2002, 2003, 2004), Bilton (1997), Dahl (2003, 2004, 2006), Duelund (Duelund, 2003), Hewison (1995), Mangset (1992, 2000), Minihan (1977) and Vestheim (1995) have made important contributions available to interested readers. In this brief account I will restrict myself to pointing out some features, which indicate how the development of cultural policies in the two countries intercepts with specific reference to the issues of widening audience access and arts centres. Bennett's (1995) rationales – laissez-faire, national prestige, economic importance, civilising mission and correcting the market – and Dahl's (2003, 2004, and 2006, pp.268-271) mechanisms – imitation, donation, redistribution, bureaucratisation and market regulation – serve as guides to understanding this development of cultural policies in the two countries.

According to these authors cultural policy actions have been part of both the public and private repertoire of activities in Britain and Norway for at least two centuries. Although the preceding British and Norwegian history was very different, it seems that the role cultural policy actions played in government and private organisational life from the beginning of the nineteenth century up to the Second World War have been more alike than different if one compares them with the situation in continental Europe. Based on Bennett (1991, 1995), Bjørnsen (Bjørnsen, 2005; Bjørnsen, 2006), Dahl (2006), Minihan (1977) and Solhjell (Solhjell, 2005; Solhjell, 2006) one can sum up the following similar traits:

- Economic importance. Both in Britain and Norway the enhancement of formative arts (industrial design) is a prime motivation behind the

establishment of art societies, national galleries and museums as well as visual arts education. These institutions are set up both to provide and enhance professional skills in order to improve crafts and industry production. but also to enrich and inspire a general interest for the inherent dignification of arts.

- Laissez-faire. Governmental reluctance to financially support the arts permeates British cultural policy history. Arts and cultural activities are seen as primarily a private pastime. The feeling for the need to establish a reputation as a national state on its own terms motivates more decisive interventions for the advancement of arts in Norway. but up until the 1880s governmental spending on the arts was met with liberalistic opposition especially from non-urban quarters in government and parliament.
- Civilising mission. From the beginning of the nineteenth century the idealistic assumption that cultural experiences can have civilizing and humanising effects on the public at large, is a running theme. It is the preoccupation with the general effects of industrialisation, the growing urbanisation and decline in morals that spurs this advocacy for the arts in Britain. In Norway these concerns also play a part, but the main motivation behind both governmental and private action in the field of cultural policies is the need to educate the people. From the 1880s on, large popular movements with distinct ideological programmes[2] become important forces in the creation of a modern Norwegian democracy and the enlightening and transforming effects of artistic and cultural activities become important parts of their educational and political operations. In Britain the same can be said about the activities of the British Institute of Adult Education, University Extra Mural Departments and the Workers' Educational Association of the 1920s and 1930s. Both countries also establish national broadcasting companies with the same aims of civilising their populations.

2 Programmes based on teetotalism, religious Puritanism, the creation of a separate written Norwegian language as an alternative to a norwegianised Danish and finally the organising of the working class

1.3 CULTURAL POLITICS AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The long, more or less non-interference. approach towards government intervention in the cultural field in Britain and Norway was dramatically changed during the Second World War.

1.3.1 Britain

Wartime in Britain opened up public support for the arts on a scale that was unprecedented. The turmoil, the suffering, the pressure both authorities and people all over the country experienced, needed counter-weight. Providing a widespread and inclusive access to enjoyment and encouragement of high quality live entertainment were seen as proper remedies and two organisations were created to serve as brokers of cultural opportunities in urban as well as rural areas throughout the country, in factories and in army service camps – the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA) and the Entertainments National Service Association (ENSA). While ENSA was wound up after the war, its more than two and a half million performances of mainly light entertainment made a significant contribution to the positive standing live music and theatre had in British society after the war and prepared for the coming of governmental decisions to continue to widen access to works of art.

It is CEMA, however, that history deems the most important wartime cultural policy player. It was instigated as early as December 1939 by a private initiative, but was soon supported by governmental funding and incorporated into the governmental

portfolio. Its chairman for most of the wartime years. Lord Keynes. later – in the summer of 1945 – described CEMA's role as follows:

> (...)(t)o carry music, drama and pictures to places which otherwise would be cut off from all contact with the masterpieces of happier days and times: to air-raid shelters, to war-time hostels, to factories, to mining villages. (...); the duty of C.E.M.A. was to maintain the opportunities of artistic performance for the hard-pressed and often exiled civilians' (Keynes, 1946, p.20).

Robert Hewison (1995) argues that this substantiation of what Bennett (1995) calls "*civilising mission*" or "*culture's civilising powers*", which was CEMA's objective right from its inception, contained an in-built conflict between "*(w)idespread provision of opportunities for hearing good music and the enjoyment of arts generally*" and "*(t)he encouragement of music-making and play-acting by the people themselves*" (1995, p.32[3]). By 1945 Hewison, however, argues that this conflict was resolved in that the rationale conveyed by Keynes in the citation above – the civilising mission of the arts – had won.

CEMA's success was so evident that immediate steps were taken to secure its further existence as soon as the war was over. No one – not in Parliament – disputed state support for the arts any more and the committee was made permanent under the name of the Arts Council of Great Britain (ACGB). The ACGB set out to achieve its task "*(w)ith the policies, programmes, and to a great extent, the personnel which it inherited form CEMA*" (Minihan 1977, 230), and under the chairmanship of Lord Keynes, thence enshrining the civilising mission in post-war cultural policies.

3 Hewison is here citing the clauses in the CEMA memorandum

1.3.2 Norway

In Norway the transformation had begun in the 1930s, when high unemployment coupled with prospects of increased leisure time as industrial rationalisation spread, and the emergence of mass entertainment through cinema and broadcasting, raised concerns for the general well-being of the people. In both countries the Labour movements gained growing support and established themselves as governing parties, but while the Depression of the 1930s in effect put an end to growing government support for the arts in Britain, in Norway a government-appointed task force in 1934 presented a wide range of initiatives with the aim of enlightening the people and bringing about a wider and more planned access to the inherent values of intellectual life, thought, arts and cultural activities (KUD, 1934).

These policy objectives were so unanimously received and supported that even the World War II Nazi government in occupied Norway seized upon them and then twisted them into Nazi propaganda administered by its Ministry for Culture and Enlightenment. (Dahl and Helseth, 2006; Solhjell, 2005). This fact is important to recognise because it shows that the institutionalisation of cultural politics has been an ongoing affair in Norway from the 1930s and through the war years.

Emerging out of the Second World War and the Nazi occupation came a unified and stronger feeling of community and patriotism across all strata of Norwegian society than before the war. A common national attitude had emerged that the Norwegians had more to defend than just their territory – a common way of life and human dignity, as Helge Sivertsen, a former Minister of Church and Educational Affairs, once put it (Sivertsen, 1985, p.20).

Soon after the liberation a joint political platform was worked out between the main political parties of left and right. It became the basis for the formation of a national coalition government and influenced much of Norwegian policies for years to come. Important in this context is that the platform picked up the initiatives from the governmental task force of 1934, and emphasised among other things the importance education and science, sports and cultural institutions had in motivating the people to take a positive perspective on the future. Hence, these proposals became actual references for the Storting[4] in 1947 when it asked the government to propose a policy for active support to voluntary organisations organising cultural, social and sports activities for young people (Roshauw, 1980, p.97) which we may categorise as the Norwegian equivalent of the CEMA-objective *"(t)he encouragement of music-making and play-acting by the people themselves"* – see the above reference to Hewison (1995, p.32).

1.4 CULTURAL POLITICS IN THE POST-WAR YEARS

The Labour movements in Britain and Norway that capitalised on the new progressive political mood in society after the war were influenced by proposals put forward in The Beveridge Report of 1942[5]. The Norwegian government was exiled in London during the war and was of course well informed about the British political discourse. The report proposed a comprehensive social welfare system which resonated well with social democratic and liberal ideas at the time. Consequently in the aftermath of World War II the policy and decision makers from all parties in both Britain and Norway joined forces in the construction and building of what has

4 The name of the Norwegian Parliament

5 http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/2WWbevendgereport.htm

become known as the welfare state. Arts and cultural activities were recognised to as having prominent places in the new welfare state, yet the cultural policies that emerged were fundamentally biased.

1.4.1 Britain

Chris Bilton (1997, pp.14-15) agrees with Hewison (1995) that in Britain's case ACGB inherited the contradictory ideological grounds that CEMA had been built on – on the one hand amateurism and participation born out of the adult education initiatives and programmes of the 1920s and 1930s; and on the other the idealistic idea of the transforming powers of professional arts based on 'access' and cultural consumption. This dualism characterised the shaping of governmental cultural policies in the post-war years and had crucial impacts on arts centres' operations, as I will show later.

Minihan (1977) describes how the Labour Government of 1945-51 stepped up the funding for the arts, entertainment and recreational activities. In this respect its 1948 Local Government Act was a very important cultural policy move that over decades to come worked to keep social and participatory aspects alive in cultural politics. The Act allowed local authorities other than county and parish councils, the discretionary powers to levy the equivalent up to a sixpenny rate for the support of arts.

But as the financial predicament of the British national economy evolved in the late 1940s and early 1950s caused by a crumbling Empire, the Korean War and later the Suez crisis, the Conservative Party came into power and traditionalist inspirations came to dominate the cultural policy debate. The Nobel Prize laureate in Literature,

T. S. Eliot, became a dominant figure in a campaign against the welfare state cultural policies (Bennett, 1995, p.212) which he saw as *"a threat to Culture because of 'the dogma of equal opportunity' and the potential changes that could be brought about through state control of education"* (Hewison, 1995, p.53). Equal opportunity would deprive the elite of its predominant right to education. The elite was the only force in society that could defend Culture

> '(a)gainst the corruptions of industrialisation and mass society that threatened to blot out all sweetness and light. All classes in society might have some share in the values of this Culture, but the preservation of these values was the specific responsibility of the elites which occupied the high ground. (Hewison, 1995, p.53)

The change in the financial support and public cultural policy discourse made it opportune for the ACGB to shift its priorities from an ambitious programme of encouraging regional diversity, participation and building of new arts venues to supporting and initiating national centres of artistic excellence mainly in metropolitan London (Hewison, 1995, pp.56 and 120). In addition to this the Soviet invasion of Hungary and the Cold War had a striking influence on cultural policies in Britain. The role artists played in the totalitarian Eastern Europe brought back the inherent scepticism in British public opinion towards official patronage. Minihan writes: *"Centuries of governmental indifference to the problems of art support and maintenance have nurtured a feeling that art must be financially independent of the state in order to be entirely free of official regulations and control"* (1977, p.244).

1.4.2 Norway

Although the post-war Norwegian authorities had a much stronger and more ideological commitment to the social and participatory aspects of cultural politics than

their British colleagues it is interesting to notice that in reality much the same dualism – i.e. amateurism and participation on the one hand and wider access to high art on the other – existed in Norwegian cultural policy as well. It was in fact the idea of the need to continue the creation of the Norwegian state through the mechanism of imitation and the rationale of civilising mission that first and foremost guided the formation of cultural policy as the Labour government gave priority to seeking parliamentary backing for the establishment of national touring organisations for film, theatre and visual arts in the late 1940s.

The Labour Party, which held the majority in the Norwegian Parliament from 1945 until 1965[6], became the undertaker of the Norwegian model of the welfare state. One of the most important features of this model was the influence of the macro economic theories on economic policy and planning developed under the auspices of Professor Ragnar Frisch[7], the Director of Research at the Department of Economics, University of Oslo[8] (Slagstad, 1998, pp.169-179). Slagstad observes that these new economic theories on social improvement and increased welfare presupposed economic growth through increased production. All approved political actions should contribute to the enhancement of the nation's productive capacity and it was prognosticated that growing national income would consequently lead to a rise in standards of living. Following this the strategy was to educate the public to execute rational choices as consumers – i.e. through national plans and standards achieve a directed domestic consumption through producing desirable consumer goods and services.

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6 The Labour Party (Det norske Arbeiderparti) got 76 out of 150 seats in the 1945-election, 85 in 1949, 77 in 1953, 78 in 1957 and 74 in 1961 when two seats were won by the Socialist Popular Party (Sosialistisk Folkeparti)

7 In 1969 Ragnar Frisch together with the Dutch professor Jan Tinbergen received the Prize in Economic Science in Memory of Alfred Nobel for their contributions in creating a rational foundation for economic policy and planning with the help of well-developed theory and statistical analysis – ref http://www.nobel.se/economics/laureates/1969/index.html

8 The Labour Party recruited some of his students as secretaries of state and high-ranking governmental officers when it formed its government and set up the post-war administration

In this context cultural policy was broadly defined as actions that would counteract all factors that restricted human beings from executing their potential in the family, at work, in school, in their neighbourhood, in organisations and so on. Internally the Labour Party formulated a cultural policy programme where the aim was nothing less than to change the whole society by stimulating "*(t)he free and equal human being; the working, cooperative and tolerant person in a society of equals where solidarity commanded the common ground not class divisions, social rank or harsh competition – a society where not everything was measured in money*" (Sivertsen, 1985, p.21).

In the Storting, however, the party was forced to seek compromises (Vestheim, 1995, p.158) and paired the establishment of the previously mentioned national touring arts organisations, financial support for improvements and construction of community halls as well as a massive support to voluntary organised non-vocational education and recreational activities, with a kind of laissez-faire-like development optimism attributed to the cultural field: If the state provided the populace with improved welfare standards and education, and substantially increased personal spending power, cultural consumption would increase and create a larger market for cultural products (Gjerde, 1985, p.34; Mangset, 1992, p.129).

By the end of the 1950s, however, this optimism was quite subdued by the fact that theatre, concert and cinema attendances had decreased significantly rather than the opposite (Mangset, 1992, p.130; Vestheim, 1995, p.162). The public used its increased private wealth to acquire goods other than cultural ones except for those provided by a commercialised cultural industry on the rise. There was a growing concern among artists, professional arts organisations and politicians that the

Norwegian cultural heritage and identity was at stake. Members of the Labour Party leadership dedicated to educational and cultural affairs recognised that arts institutions were not able to grow earned income and rationalise their operations to compensate for increased costs. The State had to take permanent action to safeguard national cultural identity, prosperity, variety and diversity and to nurture the arts as a witness of the nation's vitality and creative force.

Looking back, what emerges out of the cultural policies of the late 1940s and 1950s in both Britain and Norway is the old idealistic rationale that the arts must be brought out to the people, the principle of *democratisation of culture*, which brushed up in a more modernised form "*(i)mplies that preconditions for access should be established and that all social classes and people living in all geographic areas should have access to culture*"(Bakke, 2003, p.159).

1.5 CULTURAL POLITICS IN THE 1960s AND 1970s

The social and industrial changes that both countries experienced in the 1960s with social relationships across the entire class spectrum being transformed, gave rise to a public debate about the democratising effects of current cultural policies. Studies and commentaries in many countries across Europe, voiced concerns with findings and observations showing that the arts attracted no more that 5-10% of the population. The absence of opportunities to experience and restrictions in geographical access were seen as the problem (Bennett, 1996, p.4). The policy of *democratisation of culture* – the policy of distributing to or sprinkling the people with idealistic canonised cultural heritage by means of national centres of excellence or touring

organisations – had failed. The composition of audiences had not changed to the extent that was envisaged – if at all (Vestheim, 1995. p.70). From the United States and France came two opposite ways of handling these challenges (Hewison, 1995. p.121): From the U.S. the Kennedy Administration inspired mutual intimacy and mutual endorsement between the political establishment and the players of the cultural industries, and from France the Charles de Gaulle's Fifth Republic policy of investment in decentralised instruments of cultural policies, among them regional arts centres where the people should be brought in direct contact with excellent works of art whether traditional or contemporary (Ahearne, 2002, pp.8-9).

1.5.1 Britain

When the British Labour party, after the elections in 1964, took office under the premiership of Harold Wilson, these new insights materialised in February 1965 in the first ever British government White Paper[9] on cultural policies – A Policy for the Arts (DES, 1965).

This White Paper picked up on earlier and existing ideas and mirrored current cultural policy debates. It launched several important proposals and the government promised to develop a fully comprehensive policy for the arts. In the context of this thesis the most important proposals were:

- The establishment of a capital fund within the remit of the Arts Council of Great Britain to encourage regional and local authorities and other agencies to join forces in the building of new arts centres and venues throughout the country. Succeeded by an unequivocal call for the exploitation of the powers local authorities have according to law to invest in the arts, and an invitation

9 By White Paper I refer to statements of Governmental policy on a particular subject

to do so through partnerships both with the ACGB and with other agencies at local and regional level.

- An increase in ACGB funds for the continuation of the existing grants-in-aid programme with emphasis on support for touring and new artistic ideas.

According to the growing admission of the inadequacies of current cultural policies, the government characterised its own initiatives as *"(b)ridging the gap between what have come to be called the 'higher' forms of entertainment and the traditional sources – the brass band, the amateur concert party, the entertainer, the music hall and the pop group – and to challenge the fact that that gap exists"* (DES, 1965, p.16). At the same time it pointed ahead when it talked of culture development as *"(j)ust as essential as any movement of industry or provision of public services"* (DES, 1965, pp.5-6) in recruiting leadership and competence to towns and provincial centres throughout the country.

Furthermore the White Paper encouraged the ACGB to experiment with actions that would reduce or eliminate barriers to access the arts like subsidised transport, reduced ticket prices for special attendance groups, better and more attractive audience facilities, adjusting opening hours and so on (DES, 1965, pp.17-18). Consequently the revised Arts Council's Royal Charter from 1967 contained *"(a)n explicit pronouncement of the Council's obligation to increase accessibility of the arts to the public throughout Britain and across social classes"* (Belfiore, 2002, p.92; Hewison, 1995, p.140). And as I will demonstrate in Chapter 2 this change in governmental policies coincided with and stimulated increased investment in arts centres throughout the country – organisations with the aim to widen access to the arts or to *"bridge the gap"* as the government chose to frame it.

Yet, even if the new arts centres of the 1960s and 1970s to some degree seem to meet the goal of fostering new audiences for the arts, public and private money spent on bricks and mortar were conceived as reminiscent of an outdated cultural policy by many cultural workers and political activists at the beginning of the 1970s. The *community arts movement,* as it was labelled, was one of the fruits of the radical cultural and political activities that occurred in Great Britain from the late 1960s. It ideated that the arts within the existing cultural policy framework were stripped of their liberating potential – art was locked in elitist conventions. Community arts however, was

> (w)oven (...) from three separate strands. Firstly there was the passionate interest in creating new and liberatory forms of arts expression, (...) Secondly there was the movement by groups of fine artists out of the galleries and into the streets. Thirdly there was the emergence of a new kind of political activists who believed that creativity was an essential tool in any kind of radical struggle. (...) (Kelly, 1984, p.11)

As opposed to being content with only providing the physical and financial infrastructure for arts provision, the proponents of the community arts movement insisted that the 'local people' – the workers, the inhabitants of bleak housing estates, the under-privileged, the villagers, the minorities – should make their own decisions about what kind of arts they needed and "*(r)efuse the exclusive role of passive audience*" (Lane, 1978, p.20). As I will discuss in the next chapter, the artistic programming in the many community-based arts organisations and experimental arts centres that emerged, was directed by a vision of the Arts being less Art and more like creative social activity.

In spite of all its potential it did not take many years for the community arts movement to become "*(d)irected (...) away from the areas of danger in which its founders had*

been dabbling, and towards altogether safer pastures" (Kelly, 1984, p.14). Kelly points to two main reasons for this – the first being that since the movement had *"(n)o coherent sense of its own history, and no political framework within which such a history could be located, it* (was[10]) *unable to construct any programme which might give effect to its aims"* (Kelly, 1984, p.4). Secondly, when discovering that the Arts Council from 1974 (Shaw, 1979, p.9) was willing to fund community arts projects *"(b)ecause it could not be seen as obstructing the future"* (Kelly, 1984, p.10), the movement's partakers gradually allowed themselves to become accustomed to arts council funding and then not to discern the strings attached to such funding, according to Kelly the movement became grant-addicted. From being invaders of the British arts territory, community artists and their activities were recognised, understood and, Kelly argues, even controlled by arts and education authorities; hence *"community arts became welfare arts"*(Kelly, 1984, p.29).

Hewison (1995, pp.150-153) rightly credits the Arts Council for trying *"to ride the tiger of the counter-culture"* as he puts it, but the truth was that it was the arts institutions of 'high culture' that benefited most from the growth in public spending in the arts from 1964 and onwards. And as a commentary to this development, Lord Redcliffe-Maud announced in 1976 the need to address what priority community artists should receive in competition for strictly limited funds when their aim was to increase public participation rather than raise the standards of artistic excellence (Redcliffe-Maud, 1976, pp.158-159). He therefore suggested devolution of support for the community arts to regional level where the possibility of raising local government support was more likely. The national level should concentrate on artistic excellence leaving participatory arts activities to regional and local bodies. On the one hand this

[10] Author's addition

fitted in well with the interest of many in the community arts movement. On the other hand Kelly characterises this as an exploitation *"for ends altogether different"* from those envisaged by the organised parts of the community arts movement.

Bennett offers an explanation to why this merging process could happen – an approach that goes beyond Kelly's explanations of the community arts movement's *"no coherent sense of its history, and no political framework"* as well as inability *"to construct any programme which might give effect to its aims"* (Kelly, 1984, p.4). Bennett argues that both the advocates of democratisation of culture occupying the Arts Council and the proponents of cultural democracy in the community arts movement subscribed to a 'culturalist idea' meaning *'(t)hey both accorded culture and the arts a key role in personal and social transformation'* (Bennett, 1996, p.7). Bilton (1997) agrees with Bennett but offers a more in-depth analysis. He argues that the reason for this merger lies in the fact that the ideas of the community arts movement were based on *'a hybrid of Marxist cultural theory and the cultural idealism of Matthew Arnold'*.

> In describing the benefits of cultural democracy, the community artists' faith in the uplifting and transforming power of culture resembled the idealist tradition at its most mystical. In their attack on the cultural establishment, they drew on Marxist theory at its most reductive. The community arts movement was in effect invoking Arnold's faith in culture, disguised in the language of Marx. (Bilton, 1997, p.7)

1.5.2 Norway

As mentioned in Section 1.4.2 above and in the beginning of this section[11], artists and politicians in Norway could well identify themselves with the need to rethink

11 Section 1.5

cultural policies that was felt throughout Europe. However. in a small nation like Norway the debate had an additional aspect which intensified it and made actions more urgent. The introduction of television[12] and the growing import and consumption of foreign cultural industry products, were seen as the reason for the stagnation and even decline in production and demand for works created by Norwegian artists. This development was defined as a threat to Norwegian culture as a whole (Dahl and Helseth, 2006, p.220). The most vocal debater was the Norwegian Authors Union, which with reference to statistics could prove the peril[13]. In the course of a few years a united understanding was formed from left to right on the political scale that the state had to take more explicit steps in the field of cultural policy. The Norwegian parliament had to admit that the lack of public funding heavily restricted the production of artistic works in Norway (Mangset, 1992. p.133). Consequently in 1964 the Storting approved a Governmental proposal to establish the Norwegian Cultural Fund and the Norwegian Council for Cultural Affairs. Two areas were pointed out as of crucial importance: 1) A purchase scheme for contemporary Norwegian fiction which has since become a model for equivalent schemes for factual prose, visual arts and phonograms. Funded by the state through levies on consumption of cultural industry products these schemes, through funding production, purchase and distribution of contemporary works of art, are aimed at securing Norway a healthy echelon of artists in every field. 2) A predefined ratio of 30% of the Cultural Fund dedicated to the support of adaptations and moderations of old and erection of new buildings designated for artistic and cultural activities and production. A scheme which pointed ahead to the later grand-scale investment in arts centres throughout the country discussed in more detail in Chapter 2. As in Britain

12 The Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation started its first official televised broadcast in August 1960

13 The relative number of Norwegian fiction titles published in Norway had fallen from 68 % in 1931 to 31 % in 1959 (MANGSET, P (1992) Kulturliv og forvaltning , Oslo, Universitetsforlaget)

the Storting acknowledged the need to provide artists and arts presenters. as well as the audience. with adequate facilities.

Sections 1.3 and 1.4.2 above mention that the Storting in the late 1940s and early 1950s instituted a policy for active support to amateur and recreational activities in culture and sports for young people and endorsed a programme for capital funding for community halls. Hence Vestheim (1995, pp.172-173) argues that Norway as well as Denmark and Sweden had developed fundamental societal features that made them intuitively receptive to the new cultural policy concept that emerged in Europe during the late 1960s and early 1970s.[14]. The long-standing tradition of co-operation between voluntary organisations, local and national authorities that had survived and even developed in and around community halls during the more top-down centralised cultural policies of the 1950s and 1960s, lay ripe for the principles of the new ideas of the 1970s. The fundamental ideological concept of the policy was self-empowerment through arts and cultural. educational and organisational activities. The 'cultural policy concept' so much opposed by the centre-right parliamentary opposition two decades back – see Chapter 2[15] – now became national bipartisan policies through the parliamentary handling in the spring 1975 of two governmental white papers (KUD. 1973-74a; KUD. 1973-74b).

From the mid-1970s on. the Storting reinforced this policy by amending the Local Government Act. obliging every municipal and county council to set up a committee

14 Through conferences and reports organised and published by the Council of Europe and UNESCO. results of research and debate in the cultural policy field through the 1960s, became important external inspirations for the development of the Norwegian version of a cultural policy based on geographical. social and political decentralisation (For instance the UNESCO-report 'Cultural development experiences and policies' written by Augustin Girard the then highly influential director of the research department in the French Ministry of Culture. in collaboration with Genevieve Gentil (UNESCO 1972) Direct references to this are made in the introductory passage in the Norwegian Government's White Paper on cultural policy from 1973 - St meld nr 8 (1973-1974) Om organisering og finansiering av kulturarbeid)

15 Section 2.2.2

for cultural affairs and allocate administrative resources to its disposal. Local authorities were entrusted with financial means to take action and there was a massive increase in state capital funding for local and regional arts organisations. The ambition was, through appropriate facilities at local and regional levels, to achieve increased arts participation, attendance and provision especially among children and young people.

The result was a tremendous shift in focus, which allowed for a blending of, on the one hand every imaginable culture and arts activity rooted in local and regional traditions, and on the other hand a deliberate policy of supporting the establishment of arts centres – which I will demonstrate in Chapter 2 – centres of cultural and artistic co-operation between professional and amateur artists, between different professional artists and arts institutions like national touring organisations, regional theatres and invigorators of local and regional identities and development.

This shift in cultural policy was not an isolated policy change. It happened simultaneously with the implementation of a national policy of redistribution and expansion of local and regional public services – especially in the health, social and educational sectors.

The Norwegian version of the cultural democracy strand in cultural policy therefore "*(i)mplied a change in the concept of culture from a traditional interpretation emphasising artistic quality to a conception that blurred the distinction between culture and leisure*" (Bakke, 2003, p.160). Sports and other types of recreational activities organised by all sorts of community groups were included and entitled to funding from budgets designated for culture and arts activities.

In retrospect it stands out that the cultural policies in both Britain and Norway were designed to meet both the democratisation ambitions of the preceding years by increasing support for touring and building new facilities; and at the same time to accommodate new demands to include the ordinary citizen in cultural life through participatory activities – conceptualised as *cultural democracy*. In Britain this rationale resulted in some support for participatory creative arts activities as a means of self-expression and communication through the community arts movement. In Norway cultural policies were officially extended through parliamentary decisions to include all self-realisation activities in arts, sports and recreational activities, and support for amateur activities in the arts was increased substantially.

1.6 CULTURAL POLITICS FROM THE 1980s ONWARDS

While the advocates of *democratisation of culture* and *cultural democracy* were competing for influence over resources in the field of cultural policies in more countries than Britain and Norway, the financial and political base which this competition aimed to tap into was under erosion. The impact of the crisis in world economies in the seventies (of which the rise of oil prices in 1973 and the world-wide recession that followed, is the most often remembered example) has over the years illustrated how much cultural politics in each and every country in our time is interwoven with and dependant on the mechanisms of global economics.

The 1970s' shocks to the world economy resulted in world-wide reorganisation of production and restructuring of social relations. On the one hand multi-national companies expanded their operations and soon transcended national economies in

terms of the value of their gross outputs. Over the years consumer products of incorporated global corporations became an integrated part of peoples' lives. On the other hand old social relations based on property, tradition, old elitist power structures and value consensus were shaken. The old ideological world of social democracy and capitalism both crumbled. Out of this rose new political ideas of less state, less public spending, more individual freedom: first and foremost in how to spend one's own earnings – on public services through taxation or on private services through the market place.

1.6.1 Britain

Nigel Lawson, Margaret Thatcher's Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1983-1989 once described the political mission of Thatcherism *"(a)s a moral and ideological project that set out to release new energies and produce cultural change"*(Lawson, 1992, quoted in Hewison, 1995, p.210). To succeed in this venture fundamental changes in economic policies were actuated. The basic idea was to extend the sovereignty of the consumer by introducing market mechanisms in as much of public services as possible. When this is done, what happens, as Hewison observes, is that the utilitarianism of the free market is released into new spheres of human life –

> (t)he sheer utility of making money gives access to power to anyone who can make profit. But freedom of the individual is purely economic: there is freedom to make money, but also freedom to starve. The market becomes the only sphere of social action, and the economic becomes the only motive for morality. Ultimately, economic activity becomes the principal form of human expression. (...) (y)ou are what you buy. The citizen is redefined as the consumer, as a paying customer for public services which previously were available by right, and which the individual may now opt out of helping to provide for others. (Hewison, 1995, p.212)

The deregulation of public services that became the mark of the British Conservative governments in the 1980's and early 1990's was a consequence of the changes described

above. It happened world wide even though the Thatcher and Reagan administrations in the UK and U.S. were in the forefront. Considerable transformations in international and national economies from the seventies onwards led, for instance, governments all over the world to alter their economic and communication policies drastically in the direction of what David Hesmondhalgh (2002) labels '*marketisation*' (Hesmondhalgh, 2002, p.88) and created new opportunities and totally new contexts for creating and communicating artistic products. As he sums up (Ibid., pp.231-232) the number of book titles, TV-channels, films released and recorded music albums doubled during the 1990s. Similarly, home electronic facilities – computers, VCRs, CD- and DVD-players – were bought in vast quantities and consequently artistic products were offered and could be enjoyed on a scale unprecedented in history. This all created a basis for changes in what has become aesthetically acceptable, and the ideas of monarchical powers and governmental bodies claiming cultural authority are no longer working as they have done before (Bennett, 1995, p.214 and Owens, 1988, p.57).

As a consequence of the preceding years' attack from the community arts movement on the Arts Council as standard-bearer of old idealistic ideas and the new conservative ideologies which argued for less public subsidies of the arts, the ACGB had to endure cuts in government funding. With less money new guidelines were brought in, in October 1981. Here old tunes of quality and access were re-emphasised, old ties to the voluntary regional arts associations (RAA) were reinvigorated and new ideas of how to make the funding go further were introduced.

Since 1953, when the ACGB had closed down its regional offices, new Regional Arts Associations (RAA) formed by local authorities, local institutions and

individual members had sprung up all over Britain. Although local authorities contributed some funds, the great share – 90% – of the RAAs' budgets came from the ACGB (Hewison, 1995. p.254). The RAAs did not make the same distinction between amateur and professional as the ACGB and consequently they represented the perfect instrument – as pointed out by Lord Redcliffe-Maud (p. 18) when discussing the community arts movement – for a council that wanted to devolve some of its responsibilities and which, in view of the existing political realities, was not eager to engage directly with cultural democracy activities.

Furthermore, the government and ACGB introduced the idea of challenge funding – meaning that it made its grants conditional on matching funds being provided by local authorities; a business sponsor incentive scheme was introduced that would match government money with any sponsorship deal agreed: and a sponsor unit was set up by the Arts Council to seek money for the council's own operations. In the same way marketing – a feature that I will discuss in more depth in Chapter 3 – was introduced as a solution to the funding problems of the arts. An incentive scheme was set up to encourage organisations to increase their own earnings from plural sources – an aspect which I will return to in Chapter 2[16] where I describe the process of how arts centres are incorporated into the tool kit of the new official policy strategies of more liberalistic public finances.

Still further restructuring was to come. The Regional Arts Associations (RAA) were reorganised in 1990 into Regional Arts Boards as a result of a process of devolution of tasks and funding from the Arts Council to regional level. As a further consequence of this process the Arts Council of Great Britain ceased to exist in 1994 when the

16 Section 2.2.1.4

responsibility for the subcommittees for Scotland and Wales were transferred to their respective Scottish and Welsh governmental offices. Although the National Lottery Act of 1993 provided the now Arts Council of England (ACE) with new sources of capital funding for the arts, the 1990s restructuring left the Arts Council with responsibility for the main national companies and organisations and for touring companies as well as major project funding.

But the government and the Arts Council were not the only public major players in the field of cultural politics. The Labour Party won the majority from the Conservatives in the Greater London Council (GLC) in 1981 and as the 1980s progressed the new GLC engaged itself heavily in the arts both as a government adversary but also because *"(a)rts were seen as the leading edge of a radical social and economic agenda. Economic change and restructuring of industry called for the development of a cultural policy to cope with the problems of an increasingly "post-industrial" city where traditional constituencies were declining, and new ones emerging'* (Hewison, 1995 , p.238).

The GLC set up its own arts committee, defined more widlely than did the Arts Council and included photography, video, electronic music. It funded new and radical forms of art as well as the more conventional arts and their institutions. With the traditional electorate in decline the strategy was to stimulate arts institutions to reach out to minorities and disadvantaged groups – blacks and Asians – as well as the growing middle class among public employers and private entrepreneurs. Furthermore a cultural industry unit was set up to provide investment loans to fuel an industry on the rise in Greater London. Hewison (1995, p.240) argues that this

expansive and radical cultural policy was one of the reasons why the Thatcher government decided to put an end to the GLC and its sister metropolitan country councils from 1986.

When New Labour came to power in Britain in the late 1990's under the premiership of Tony Blair, a new approach to state cultural policy was launched – or one might say that the 1980s-vision of the GLC were revived. The Blair governments reiterated the well-known cultural policy traits of access, excellence, education and economic value, and brushed them up to suit a policy for the new millennium, focusing on giving each individual citizen the opportunity to share, attend, or participate in the creation of the best of arts and cultural experiences, or as the former cultural secretary Chris Smith phrased it:

> Access, in ensuring that the greatest number of people have the opportunity to experience work of quality. Excellence, in ensuring that governmental support is used to underpin the best, and the most innovative, and the things that would not otherwise find a voice. Education, in ensuring that creativity is not extinguished by the formal education system and beyond. And economic value, in ensuring that the full economic and employment impact of the whole range of creative industries is acknowledged and assisted by government (Smith, 1998, pp.2-3).

These objectives have since guided the practical policies at both governmental levels and in the arm's lengths bodies in the field of culture. Defined as instrumentalism in cultural policy (Belfiore and Bennett, 2006b, p.18) it has gained a new drive under the New Labour government since 1997. Lee (2006) however, refers to several authors as she argues that culture policy under New Labour should not be reduced to mere instrumentalism. It is better analysed with a holistic approach as New Labour politics bears the mark of integrated political strategy in reaction to previous neo-liberalistic reductionism of the arts into a vehicle for commodification of human relationships and experience (McGuigan, 2005). And it is based upon recognition of the arts as a sector

vital to making a contribution to resolving the challenges New Labour has identified for health, crime, employment, education and community development, through governmental actions like the Social Exclusion Unit[17] and the inter-departmental Policy Action Team 10's Arts and sport report[18]. Arts organisations are expected to advance social and cultural inclusion, neighbourhood and urban renewal, and spur the creation of new job opportunities (DCMS, 1999, pp.6 and 8). Accordingly all over the UK they have been reinvented as 'centres of social change' (Belfiore, 2003, p.2; DCMS, 2000a).

To match this instrumentality the system of national and regional arts councils and boards has undergone a period of reform, from having regional principals to forming a monolithic organisation, which in all its parts is committed to the funding agreement between the government and the national arts councils.

The new and reformed Arts Council of England (ACE), which was appointed in the summer of 2002, soon presented its goals and objectives in a manifesto for the years from 2003 to 2006. In the manifesto it proclaims the start of a new era of significant expansion for the arts in England. Its objectives now resonate with both the ideas of cultural democratisation – the civilising mission and cultural democracy – as opposed to earlier emphasis on the first and nearly 30 years after the first governmental White Paper (DES, 1965) reiterating the aim of bridging the gap between high and low:

> (...) We will create more opportunities for people to experience and take part in life-changing artistic experiences, through:
>
> - making, doing and contributing
> - watching, viewing, listening and reading
> - performing, playing and publishing.

17 The government created the Social Exclusion Unit in 1997 to reflect its determination to take a cross-government approach to improving the life chances of the most disadvantaged in society

18 http://www.socialexclusion.gov.uk/page.asp?id=407

> We believe that access to the arts goes hand in hand with artistic excellence. Participation, contribution and engagement in the arts are the bridge between access and excellence (ACE, 2003a, p.3).

The Council appreciates the foundational importance of arts organisations because they *"(p)lay a leadership role in terms of artistic innovation and experimentation, as well as in how they are managed and governed"* (Ibid., p.3). But ACE goes further and introduces a new aspect into the relationship between itself and the organisations it funds. The Arts Council enunciates clearly that these partner organisations are crucial to fulfilling ACE's own ambitions especially in cultural diversity. Although ACE *"(w)ill not ask them to take on any agendas that are not consistent with their fundamental purpose and ambition"* (2003, p.5), it expects *"(...) (t)hem to be well managed and to deliver using our investment. We want them to thrive and not just survive. But we will exercise the right to withdraw our investment from those who repeatedly mismanage or fail to deliver"* (Ibid., p.5).

What ACE here establishes are links between every arts organisation's operation it funds and ACE's own ambition to contribute to governmental policies both on accountability and transparency, but also on wider issues – i.e. the integration of cultural policies into the New Labour government's wider political agenda on how to solve current problems of social and cultural exclusion in contemporary British society. In so doing this strategy becomes a first-rate example of what can be called cultural governance – a sector-specific version of the current way to perform public management:

> Currently, (...), public management is typically characterised in terms of 'governance'. The solution of social problems is no longer considered the exclusive responsibility of government. There is a growing awareness that this also requires efforts by numerous other agents: quasi-governmental organisations, the business community, civic organisations and citizens (Denters et al., 2003 , p.3)

In the wake of the many years of cultural policy instrumentalism and hoping for a New Labour acknowledgement for arts' so-called *'intrinsic values'*, criticism of New Labour policy has flourished in British media and publications (Belfiore and Bennett, 2006a), (Gray, 2000; Hytner, 2003; Tusa, 2000) and not without some effect. With one year's interval two consecutive New Labour Ministers of Arts – Estelle Morris and Tessa Jowell – expressed acknowledgment of a tension in British cultural policies between *'instrumental'* and *'intrinsic'* values of the arts (Morris, October 2003; Jowell, 2004). Jowell seemed to be surprised when she wrote:

> Too often politicians have been forced to debate culture in terms only of its instrumental benefits to other agendas – education, the reduction of crime, improvements in wellbeing – explaining – or in some instances almost apologising for – our investment in culture only in terms of something else. In political and public discourse in this country we have avoided the more difficult approach of investigating, questioning and celebrating what culture actually does in and of itself. There is another story to tell on culture and it's up to politicians in my position to give a lead in changing the atmosphere, and changing the terms of debate (Jowell, 2004, p.9).

Belfiore and Bennett (2006) argue, however that, one should not regard these two statements as the introduction of a new rationale in current British cultural policies. They posit that Jowell's language *"(i)s still very much inscribed in the post-1980s rhetoric of public 'investment' in the arts"* (2006, p.8) – or as she puts it herself: *"(y)es, we will need to keep proving that engagement with culture can improve educational attainment, and can help reduce crime. But we should also stand up for what culture can do for individuals in a way that nothing else can"* (Jowell, 2004, p.18).

1.6.2 Norway

In spite of the effects the 1970's world economic recession had on the Norwegian economy, public spending in the field of cultural policies multiplied nearly eight times

from 1970 to 1980 (KUD, 1981-82, p.1)[19] with building projects profiting the most. But this formidable relative growth did not result in equivalent increases in production and attendance. According to the White Paper of the centre-right government that took power in the early 1980s this lack of results was the effect of funds being used to improve production facilities and working environments (KVD. 1983-84, p.4).

As the 1970s became the decade for carving out the new Norwegian cultural policies, the 1980s became the decade for implementation (Vestheim, 1995, p.190). Ambitious politicians and bureaucrats – many of them either formerly or simultaneously heavily engaged in local voluntary and amateur cultural and arts activities – occupied the local and regional committees and offices of cultural affairs and became empowered with resources to both plan and fund various arts activities and arts facilities (Vestheim, 1995, Chapter 11). This was mirrored in the fact that local and regional public authorities expanded their spending on cultural activities by 35% and 75% respectively from 1982-1991 and increased their portion of total public spending on the arts from 57% in 1980 to 62% in 1990 (KD, 1991-92, p.11).

But at the same time new policy trends emerged. Both the Labour party and the centre-right governments of the early 1980s warned against the expectations of constant growth in pubic spending in the arts. The Labour Party announced the need to prioritise and redistribute funds within the total arts budget. The centre-right government of 1981 announced the need to increase earned income through sponsoring and market oriented activities (KVD. 1983-84, p.5; Bakke, 2003, p.161). It concurred with the prevailing cultural policy objectives of participation and cultural democracy, but was more eager to locate these objectives in the political rhetoric of equal geographic opportunities than the

19 White paper on Cultural policy presented to the Storting by the first Gro Harlem Brundtland (Labour party) cabinet

Labour government's emphasis on culture and arts as agents of economic and social inclusion and change.

The centre-right government was also ready to embrace international economic policy ideas of decreasing the importance of governmental responsibilities in providing public services and introduced deregulation as an element in Norwegian cultural policy; and used for example its parliamentary majority to deregulate the media and television industry and abolish the national broadcasting monopoly. The then Secretary of Culture and Science[20] Lars Roar Langslet has named these changes a media revolution in his book on cultural policies published in 1987 after he left office due to the centre-right's loss of its parliamentary majority (Langslet, 1987, p.121). Langslet was a firm believer in artistic quality as the central issue of cultural policy (Ibid., pp.45-67). Accordingly, in the previously mentioned government White Paper of 1983-84, he argued for a shift in focus away from cultural democracy activities at the local and regional level emphasising instead the importance of strengthening national institutions by funding the restoration of old and building new arts facilities (KVD, 1983-84, pp.5 and 24-25) (Langslet, 1987, p.118).

The centre-right majority of the 1980's also pushed through another reform of major significance for the field of cultural policies. The whole system for distribution of public income between national, regional and local authorities was reformed and reshaped in the mid-1980s. For instance, former earmarked subsidies for cultural activities were replaced by framework funds the consequences being that the exact distribution of public funds

20 The centre-right cabinet premiered by Kåre Willoch (Conservative party) was the first Norwegian government to establish a separate department for culture

was no longer dictated by national interests, but was dependant on how regional and local levels of government defined their needs.

Although in 1989 the new Labour Party government made it easier for investing in centres of artistic excellence by introducing the concept of regional arts centres as a bulwark against a perceived threat coming from the growing international cultural and media industries, shifting governments from left to right have, since the 1980s, advocated the same policy of the importance of quality in the arts and culture. This focus was strengthened under the leadership of the Secretary for Cultural Affairs in the third Gro Harlem Brundtland cabinet (Labour Party), Åse Kleveland – herself an artist. She presented the Storting with a White Paper on cultural policy (KD, 1991-92) which in a decisive way put the reforms of delegation and devolvement from national to regional and local governmental levels of the 1980s into practice in the fields of cultural politics. The most effective and crucial feature was to divide arts organisations into three categories – a category of arts institutions of national interest wholly funded by the state, a category of regional arts institutions of principal interest jointly funded by the state (60%) and regional/local authorities (40%); and finally regional and local arts organisations primarily funded by these same authorities with state funding as an option after application (Ibid., pp.11-12).

Furthermore, and also in line with previous concerns of establishing a system of effective management of public financial resources, the White Paper announced that in the future there would be strings attached to governmental funding – organisations with national funding would be expected to give priority to securing access to their events for children

and young people, and systems for monitoring the efficiency of resource management in arts organisations under governmental funding would be established.

Still there was and indeed is no doubt that Norwegian cultural policy is based upon the public sector's, and especially the state's, prime responsibility for providing artists with the means to produce and present their art works. To this very day Norwegian authorities provide between 70% and 95% of the running costs of national arts organisations such as the national opera and networks of national and regional theatre companies and symphony orchestras (Mangset, 2000)

As previously mentioned, the objective of using cultural policy instruments to counter challenges resulting from increasing globalisation, had long been a crucial part of Norwegian policy. It was revived in the Labour Party government's White Paper in 1981-82, the reason for it being *"(t)hat the market economy is being influenced to a greater extent by interests of multinational corporations, which cannot secure a satisfactory foundation for Norwegian artists"* (Bakke, 2003, p.162). The same argument was reiterated in the centre-right government's[21] motivations when presenting the Ministry of Cultural Affairs' budget for 1998 (Ibid., p.163). It was also a central argument in the broad internal party programme debate on cultural politics launched by the Labour party in the run-up to its convention in 2000. Here the effects of globalisation and the growing multi-cultural Norwegian society were interrelated issues of concern. A committee of influential party members headed by Turid Birkeland[22], the Labour Secretary of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs in 1996-1997, argued for the need to revitalise both professional and amateur arts in cultural policy as opposed to the 1970s notion of an

21 The first Kjell Magne Bondevik (Christian Peoples party) cabinet

22 From Oct 1996 to Oct 1997 – member of the Labour party cabinet premiered by Torbjørn Jagland

expanded cultural policy which included participatory and recreational activities (APs faggruppe kultur, 2000, pp.4-5). Creation and appreciation of contemporary arts as well as preservation of the national heritage were accentuated as important in themselves and as vehicles at every citizen's disposal in their struggle to cope with the rapid changes in society. The committee argued for the advancement of artistic quality and the improvement of artists' living conditions; for building each and every citizen's cultural capital, motivation and interest to attend and take part in cultural and artistic activities; for increased efforts in mediation and promotion of the arts to increase attendance; and for enhancing governmental management of arts and culture (APs faggruppe kultur, 2000, p.10) .

A new government White Paper on cultural politics was presented to the Storting in spring 2003 (KKD, 2002-03), this time by a new centre-right government[23]. This policy document builds on the above presented analysis, perspectives and objectives prevalent since the 1980s, and its relevance to the current idea of what a Norwegian arts centre is will be demonstrated in the next chapter. It reinforces the emphasis on professional arts and craftsmanship as a value in itself and stresses that the encouragement of quality in the arts will be of central governmental concern. Still, the White Paper announces a shift from considering the growing globalisation, individualisation and marketisation of culture as a threat, to recognising these aspects as fundamental features of today's Norwegian society and capitalising on them; "*(w)e need to create a new understanding of what our common national heritage is. Traditional ideas about what is Norwegian and Norwegian identity is changing*"(KKD, 2002-03, p.107). The government argues that these aspects challenge ideas that have been regarded as fundamental to Norwegian cultural policies: "*Until today Norwegian Cultural policy and Norwegian arts institutions have been*

23 The second Kjell Magne Bondevik (Christian Peoples party) cabinet

founded on a nation building project. (...)(t)hat we (read: all Norwegians[24]) *have a common national heritage, and that one of the most important issues in cultural policy has been to strengthen this national cultural community"* (Ibid., p.107).

From now on, the government argues, our cultural policies should be based on *"a dynamic and inclusive perspective"* (Ibid., p.107) that allows all Norwegians irrespective of ethnic origin the same chance to create, express, attend and participate. In the fields of cultural policy the best way to do this, the government proposes, is to recognise the value of the arts in itself and to arrange for artistic growth and cultural exchange among artists as well as arts organisations at home and abroad. This, along with growing commercial interests in the arts stemming from cultural industries on the rise, inspires artistic renewal and brings Norwegian artists and arts organisations in contact and cooperation with foreign partners; opens up new markets for Norwegian artists; and also causes raised interest in how locally-based cultural products can be developed, interchanged and thrive in the global world – what has been labelled glocalisation *(sic)*.

In this complex reality the government still ascertains that *"(t)o get the most benefit out of the potential this represents – (...) – extensive financial governmental involvement is necessary"* (KKD, 2002-03, p.7). At the same time the White Paper argues that private funding must supplement governmental subsidies in order to have the growth in total funding necessary for artistic expansion (Ibid., p.10). The government is optimistic when it comes to growth in private funding and sponsorships because more companies than before appreciate that a thriving arts sector adds value both to companies themselves and to the society in which they operate (Ibid., p.118). It recognises, however, that private funding and sponsorships can be volatile, but underlines that government agencies cannot

[24] Authors addition.

intervene in such business relationships, the consequence being that *"(i)f an arts institution experiences loss of private funding, the government will not accept any responsibility for compensating it. And the other way around private funding will have no effect at the level of public funding"* (Ibid., p.119)[25].

The government reaffirms its demands on funded organisations regarding financial resource management and the need to cooperate with others to make funding suffice. The White Paper is permeated with references to the standard financial control routines and results indicators. Every arts organisation funded by the government on a regular basis receives an award letter which lists objectives to meet and control routines to fulfil; and there are annual budget conferences between ministry officials and the arts organisations regularly funded by the government where accountability issues are discussed. But the government admits that *"(f)or the more qualitative aspects of the arts, which in reality is as important* (as the quantitative factors[26]), *the system of target-driven management, inspection and control have relatively limited value"* (KKD, 2002-03, p.86).

The parliamentary debate that followed the White Paper did not expose significant deviations from the Governmental proposals for further policies as far as demands for increased efficient management in arts organisations and even marketisation go, although the parties on the centre-left of the political spectrum were somewhat more reluctant to approve a system of target-driven management, inspection and control, arguing that they did not want this to become *"a strait-jacket"* for arts organisations (FKA, 2004, pp.49-50)

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[25] Author's translation
[26] My addition

1.7 SUMMARY AND NOTES ON CONTINUATION

The intention of this brief introduction has been to direct attention to some of the central characteristics of the development of British and Norwegian cultural policies especially since the Second World War. Its aim has been to show how this development has reflected both internal mechanisms of their own – i.e. the controversy between enlightenment and participation, the increasing marketisation of consumption of cultural goods and the evolution of the managerialization of arts organisations; as well as the cultural policies' dependencies on the wider context of economic and social policies internationally and at home.

Taking an overview, what seems to stand out is that both the rationales of democratisation of the arts and cultural democracy, run parallel as features of cultural politics in both countries through the last six decades. Chris Bilton (1997) agrees as he characterises it as a flaw *"(t)hat cultural democracy is 'periodised' as a fleeting historical event which 'had its day' in the late 1970s and early 1980s"* (Ibid., p.3).

Similarly a new rationale surfaces in the 1970s and builds up to running parallel with the former two into our time. Bennett (1996) argues that as the idea of democratisation got *"(s)tripped of its missionary language, the idea of access was conceptualised as (...) a kind of human right"*(Bennett, 1996, p.4). He summarises that the new governmental policy of social and geographical access in Britain was followed by a set of different actions: the Arts Council increased its support for touring; public support to keep ticket prices down was defended; arts organisations were encouraged to develop and offer educational programmes to break down barriers and to build new

audiences; and marketing techniques were introduced as an additional element in the efforts to bring arts to new audiences.

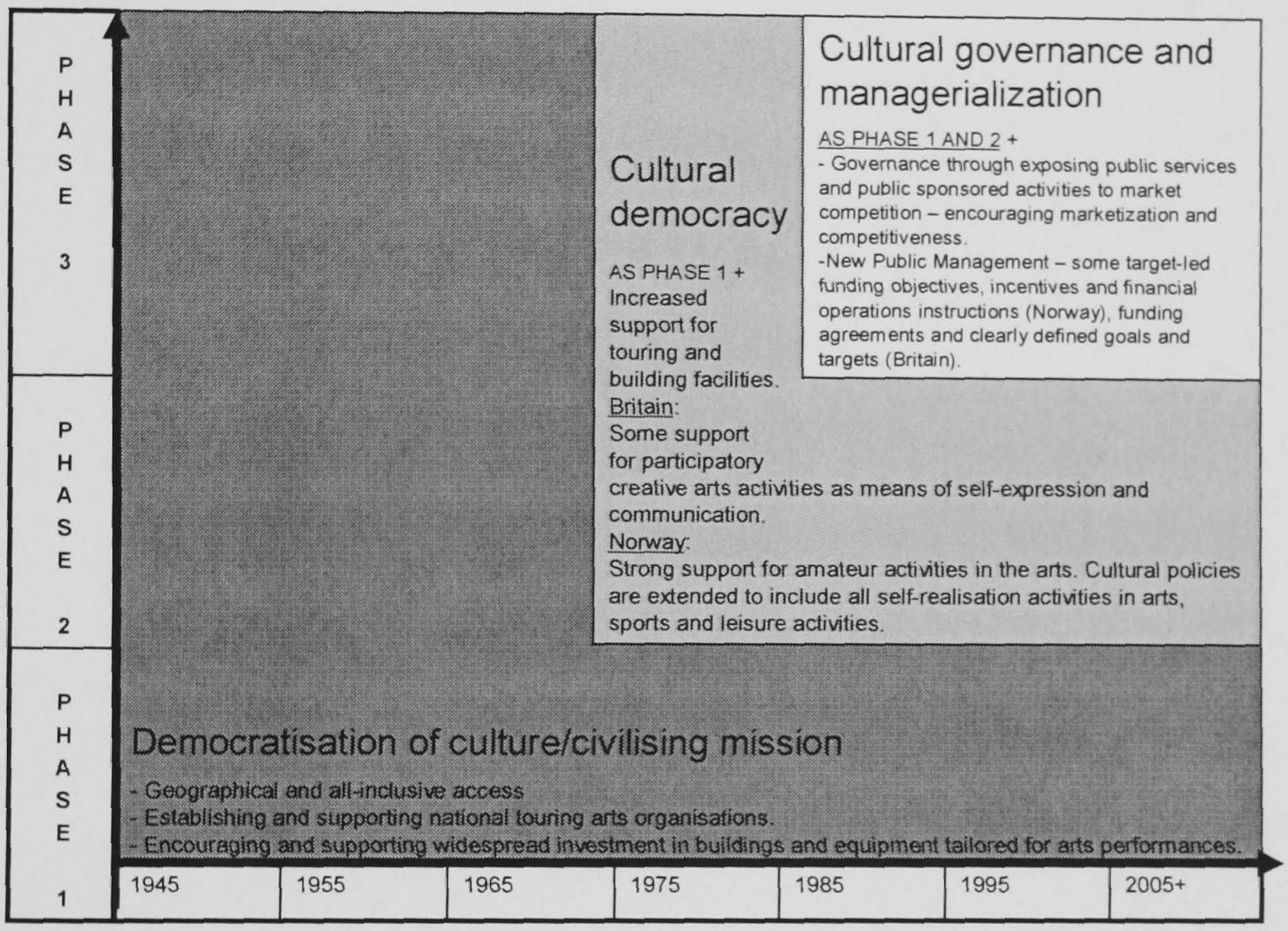
Although the idea of arts and culture as *"a humanising force in society"* (Langslet, 1982, p.1), today seems to sit more firmly with Norwegian decision-makers than with their British colleagues, Norway's first Secretary of Cultural Affairs Lars Roar Langslet opened up new perspectives when, soon after his appointment, he invited his Conservative Party co-members to share his views on the future development of cultural policies (Ibid.). All means including new technologies must be used to disseminate and distribute works of art; people must be treated as *'grown ups'*, meaning the state cannot decide what cultural products an individual shall consume: *"(c)ultural policy's main task is to give all individuals access to those values that cultural heritage and contemporary cultural life hold"* (Ibid., p.1); the rise of the cultural industries resulting in *"(t)he option for every citizen wherever (s)he lives to familiarise with the best that is made by the best* (artist[27]) *there is not only at home, but in the whole world. This is the great cultural revolution of our time"*(Ibid., p.9).

I have described the effects of this shift in ideas and policies from the beginning of the 1980s until today, featuring a gradual convergence from the neo-liberalist policy focusing on marketisation and encouragement of consumerism as the vehicles to secure all-inclusive participation in economic, social and cultural life, to a more holistic policy in both countries – a much clearer convergence in Britain than in Norway though – where culture now is redefined as *"a driving force of human resource development and community development and also as an effective means to tackle social problems"* (Lee, 2005b, p.1; Lee, 2006). Labelling this new rationale

[27] Artist category list shortened by the author.

cultural governance seems to resonate well with the features described, and as is the case for the rationales of democratisation and cultural democracy, this one also runs parallel to them as the following figure illustrates.

Figure 1.1 The parallelism of cultural policy rationales since 1945



By this a common frame of reference for the rest of this thesis is laid out. Some aspects of what has been discussed above will be touched upon in the following chapters and some will be handled more thoroughly because they are essential to the subject of this thesis, namely whether such cultural policy instruments as arts centres in Britain and Norway are recognising and accommodating the cultural policy goal of widening audience access and developing new audiences.

The next two chapters will hence cover the development of arts centres and the role they play in cultural policy in Britain and Norway (Chapter 2) followed by a closer look at two

aspects of current cultural policies, commodification and managerialism, and how they have manifested them selves in the cultural policy aim of widening audience access and developing new audiences (Chapter 3).

CHAPTER 2
THE WORLD OF ARTS CENTRES

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Through the last four decades of the 20th century arts centres opened in urban and rural communities all over Britain and Norway. Many were the results of years of local struggle and heavy lobbying from arts enthusiasts advocating the need for a venue where the arts could be properly presented to the people. In other communities they were established as a consequence of long standing community-based arts activities, which needed satisfactory accommodation to thrive and develop (Vestheim, 1995, pp.191 and 197). Some arts centres were a result of deliberate political decisions to capitalise on arts to support local regeneration and development. Yet others were established within Higher Education Institutions with the aims of supporting teaching and research as well as enhancing the quality of life of students, staff and the wider community (Bennett, Shaw & Allen, 1999).

Nevertheless, the circumstances that once made the establishment of an arts centre possible do not last for ever and the situation under which it operates is constantly changing. Initial organisational affiliations may disintegrate. Funders' policies may change as well as local demographics. New arts providers may appear in the community and attract the audiences away. The critical mass that supported the establishment in the first place may find them selves lacking both the ability to draw on community support for the arts centre and to invigorate change in the management of it. To sustain its social and political economy the arts centre must evolve to accommodate the circumstantial changes in the community it serves.

Through a broad sketch of the history of the concept of arts centres in Britain and Norway this chapter will aim to answer how arts centres developed in the two countries, what arts centres are for and the impact actual cultural policies of the time had on them, ending up with a discussion of a generic model of what an arts centre is.

2.2 THE EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT OF ARTS CENTRES IN BRITAIN AND NORWAY

The development of arts centres and the role they play in cultural policy has been the focus of more systematic scrutiny and research in Britain than in Norway. The following narratives will mirror this and the Norwegian account is consequently intended to be more detailed than the one about British arts centres.

2.2.1 The history of the Arts Centre Concept in Britain

2.2.1.1 'Plans for an Arts Centre' – where it all started

In Chapter 1[28] I mentioned how the Arts Council of Great Britain (ACGB) continued the work that the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts (CEMA) had done during the Second World War and how ACGB engaged itself in the provision of new arts venues outside metropolitan London in its first years. The reason for this engagement was that the "*(d)eplorable lack of suitable buildings*" (ACGB, 1945, p.3) throughout the country had been a barrier to CEMA's stated aim for the "*(w)idespread provision of opportunities for hearing good music and the enjoyment of arts generally*" (Hewison, 1995, p.32)[29] and would continue to be so for the new Arts Council. In 1945 the Arts Council therefore published the booklet '*Plans for an Arts Centre*' and organised a

28 Section 1.3.2 and 1.4.1

29 Hewison is here citing the clauses in the CEMA memorandum

touring exhibition complete with models for all-purpose halls. The booklet started a campaign to promote the building of multipurpose halls in mid-sized towns to house visiting companies, touring exhibitions and concert artists where it was not economically possible to run a separate theatre, arts gallery and concert hall (ACGB, 1945, p.4). The campaign bolstered the main ideological principle of this time – i.e. the civilising mission and the democratisation of culture (Bennett, 1995) – see the previous discussion in Chapter 1.

By this the Arts Council capitalised on two important factors. First and foremost, the amount of unprecedented response to widespread arts activities during the war, which as mentioned in Chapter 1 also led to its own establishment (Keynes, 1946, 20), and secondly, the recognition central and local governments since the late 1930s had given to the need for 'community centres' designed to serve the social and cultural needs of a neighbourhood – often meaning new housing and trading estates, suburbs as well as smaller towns (ACGB, 1945, p.5). With regards to the latter ACGB advised local authorities to arrange the centres to include adequate provision for the arts if they regarded a special building – an arts centre – as an inaccessible luxury.

The booklet documents that ACGB was not only concerned with the provision of professional arts; it premissed that arts centres should be designed to accommodate local amateurs as well as visiting professionals, so illustrating that the ACGB during its first years worked to realise the contradictory ideological components of CEMA – see Chapter 1[30]. Furthermore, pointing several decades ahead to the more utilitarian aspects of the cultural politics of 21st century – see Chapter 1[31] – the Arts Council underlined the

30 Section 1.4.1

31 Section 1.6

importance of the physical environment offered not only to artists and performers but to the audience as well. Inspired by examples from other countries – especially USA, Canada and Sweden – ACGB presented detailed suggestions in the shape of two ideal models including architectural design, a room programme with spaces for social interaction such as a restaurant, site location, transportation etc. The rationale behind this was to make potential decision-makers aware that *"(s)uccessful practice and enjoyment of the arts need happy and stimulating surroundings (...) not impaired by an institutional atmosphere of the sort of drab background of austerity that so frequently accompanies 'educational' and 'social' activities, in the false sense these words have sometimes acquired"* (ACGB, 1945, p.6).

Also pointing ahead ACGB contributed suggestions on arts centre management and who might take the responsibility for foundation and operation. The Council advised that the staff should not too be big, but qualified. It emphasised that the manager did not need to be an expert in the field of arts, but to "*(k)now unfailingly what expert help he needs as each occasion arises*" (ACGB, 1945, p.26). What is more the social aspect of an evening out was also important. The Arts Council underlined the significance of the well-being of audiences, artists and performers as it was proposed to employ a full kitchen staff and a gardener as well as caretakers and maintenance personnel.

By the end of the Second World War local authorities in general had few statutory powers to provide buildings or facilities for entertainment. Only private corporations were given such powers through the option of introducing private bills in Parliament. These restrictions had been put in place to protect commercial theatre interests (ACGB, 1945, p.22). Thus the Arts Council was concerned about the possibilities of carrying into effect

its vision of a multitude of arts centres in towns all over Britain. One could, as in earlier times, rely on generous individual donors or voluntary societies and charities, but ACGB envisioned a future where more and more local authorities would wish to be engaged in the provision of arts through establishing arts centres, and advised in the booklet three alternative options for approaching this task –

- under a Private Act to erect a building and present or rather let it out to professional and amateur entertainment;
- in bombed areas as part of a re-planning scheme – refurbish or erect a new building and let it out; and
- under the Physical Training and Recreation Act (1937) acquire, adapt and equip a centre, let it out to an appropriate organisation and even assist financially in maintaining the building.

Confident of future expansion of arts centres throughout Britain, the ACGB more than suggested – it offered its active co-operation and support to local authorities and organisations searching for ways to carry out arts provision projects. This task became somewhat easier to achieve when in 1948 Parliament gave local authorities limited financial powers of their own (Minihan, 1977, pp.241-243; Redcliffe-Maud, 1976, p.10).

2.2.1.2 What became of the post-war idealism?

I have dwelled on the Arts Council booklet *'Plans for an Arts Centre'* because it initiated a new perspective on arts provision and reflected convincingly the idealism that informed the British arts community in the late 1940s and early 1950s. According to John Lane (1978) and Robert Hewison (1995) this did not last for long. In 1952-1955 the Arts Council underwent a process of refocusing. ACGB wanted to expand

grant-giving at the cost of direct promotion and closed down, as I have discussed in Chapter 1[32], the regional offices it had inherited from CEMA. This *"(r)etarded the development of the arts-centre concept for nearly ten years"* (Lane, 1978, p.4). ACGB argued that these outposts had outlived their function and were expensive (Redcliffe-Maud, 1976, p.72)[33]. However, local arts organisations, especially in the South West-region where membership-based arts centres and arts clubs had relied heavily on their regional offices for touring and booking assistance, were reluctant to let go of their network and shared arts provision interest with the staffs of these offices. A delegation from the region met with the ACGB in London in 1956 and was as a result granted financial resources for administrative purposes. This gave birth to the first regional arts association – in effect a regional federation of arts centres, clubs and societies supported by local authorities (Hewison, 1995, p.46; Redcliffe-Maud, 1976, p.89).

As a consequence of this type of reshaping of organisational efforts from below, of amateurs and arts enthusiasts with their various stakeholders devoting huge efforts to their realisation, 35 arts centres were established in England and Wales through the period up to the mid-1960s. Half of them were located in the South of England and usually had a club membership, and hence an important social aspect to their activities. Lane observes that this meant that arts were brought *"(t)o those who already enjoyed a predominant high level of educational and occupational status"* (Lane, 1978, p.5). However, both Lane and Hutchison and Forrester (1987) are still in no doubt that these arts centres had prepared the ground for what happened later.

32 Section 1.4.1

33 According to Redcliffe-Maud they accounted for only 5 % of ACGB's total budget (1976, 89)

Redcliffe-Maud also argues that the will to confederate powers in the South-West into a regional arts association was of great importance and inspired the foundation of a similar regional arts association in the Midlands in 1958 and many more alike to come.

2.2.1.3 Arts to the people – arts centres and a new consciousness

Hutchison and Forrester (1987, p.7) call it *'a sea-change in thinking'* when they describe the development of arts centres and the role that especially the newcomers came to play in their communities from the mid-1960s. Both they and John Lane (1978, p.5) point to Birmingham and the Midlands Arts Centre (MAC), which they argue spearheaded a breakthrough for an ideological transition in the way many arts centres eventually came to understand their role in the provision of arts.

MAC came into being as a result of private efforts (Lane, 1978, p.5) with the vision to provide both professional performances and exhibitions, and opportunities for children and young people to participate in artistic and cultural activities by acquiring skills, and engaging with the arts. Its concern with arts provision for the majority placed it in the mainstream of changes in cultural policies that surfaced from the mid-1960s all over Europe, as I described in Chapter 1[34], and it fitted in well with the initiatives advocated by the Labour government in its 1965 White Paper *A policy for the Arts* (DES, 1965). As I commented on in Chapter 1[35], Arts Centres were seen as the perfect tool for the Labour Party's new cultural policy because they offered an opportunity to combine high standards with local involvement and commitment, and not least provide friendly meeting grounds where entertainment, amateur arts and fine arts could join in breaking down old barriers between artists and audiences.

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34 Section 1.5

35 Section 1.5.1

The reorganisation of local government that passed Parliament in 1972[36] removed the limitations in the 1948 Act for councils on spending rates. All new local councils were now free to spend the local levied rates at their own discretion – i.e. on arts and entertainment if they chose to do so (Redcliffe-Maud, 1976, p.103)[37].

The common denominator for the arts centres that opened in the late sixties and early seventies was, however, according to Lane, not as revolutionary as one was led to believe. As in the US, France and other countries they became professionally-managed organisations in purpose-built costly facilities with more in common with these sister organisations and the art clubs of South England than intended. Lane posits that perhaps *"(t)he main difference between the new professional centres and the old was the conviction that art should no longer be the preserve of a privileged minority but must be made more widely available to the population as a whole"* (Lane, 1978, p.7).

2.2.1.4 Arts for the people – a change of consciousness turns into institutionalisation of participation and arts provision

When the first national conference for British arts centres and community arts groups in May 1974 articulated a common *"(d)etermination to make creative activity as well as the 'art object' available and accessible to the vast majority of the population who are currently untouched by the 'art' which is provided for their consumption"* (Hutchison and Forrester, 1987, 10) it became an illustration of the converging process between the champions of the traditional ideals of democratisation of culture and the activists of the community arts movement described in Chapter 1[38]. As Lane analysed this process, by the end of the 1970s the basic model of an arts centre had evolved – a

36 The Local Government Act 1972, implemented from April 1st 1974

37 Support for entertainment and the arts was discretionary, under section 145 of the Local Government Act 1972

38 Section 1.5.1

base for both participatory arts activities as well as presentation of mainly performing arts, and a junction for the arts of the past as well as the arts and cultural activities of today. Lane explains this development as a result of *"(t)he fundamental process by which society evolves institutions it requires"* (Lane, 1978, p.19). New centres would only be left to *"(p)ioneer their own variations on the quintessential, if hybrid theme"* (Ibid., p.19).

Together with the increased powers given to local government after 1974, Lane's analysis provides an approach to understanding why the 1980s saw an increasing number of initiatives taken by local authorities (Hutchison and Forrester, 1987). By the time the Audit Commission in 1991 published its report on local authorities, entertainment and the arts, local authorities had come to play an equally important role in supporting the arts and live entertainment as the Arts Council of Great Britain – as far as net expenditure goes. Local authorities operated about 260 theatres, 100 concerts halls and 50 arts centres – the majority of such facilities outside London. In spite of the recession in the late 1970s and early 1980s; and although during the late 1980s the Thatcher government, as discussed in Chapter 1[39], was determined to deregulate public services, contain the growth in local authority expenditure and introduce private business sponsorships and marketing in the arts, the Audit Commission clearly stated that local authority support was highly significant in national terms and provided an essential infrastructure without which many people outside London would have no access to arts and live entertainment.

The commission highlighted, however, that local authorities were *"(b)y no means always clear (...) why money was being spent. And even when reasons are clear,*

39 Section 1.6.1

achievement is rarely monitored" (Audit Commission, 1991, p.6). Among other points the commission concluded that:

> Many local authorities therefore need to carry out a fundamental reappraisal of their involvement with entertainment and the arts, examining their objectives, the balance between grant and support for venues operated by the authority, the management and operation of venues, the selection of grant recipients and the monitoring of achievement (Audit Commission, 1991, p.6).

Motivated by changes in governmental policies[40] and on the basis of what the commission observed, it recommended that local authority cultural policies should be based on

- an analysis of the current provision and use of services taking market research and monitored performance of existing services into account;
- clearly stated reasons and aims for support associated with measurable objectives, targets and timescales; all presented in an entertainment and arts development plan for a three-four year period.

For venues like arts centres the commission advised local authorities to provide clear policy objectives for each one and stated: "*It is not enough simply to require that a venue's account breaks even or shows a profit* (...). (One[41]) *should provide guidelines on the types of event to hold and on the overall mix of financial arrangements with performers; (...)*" (Audit Commission, 1991, p.33)

Hutchison and Forrester comment that this kind of increased involvement by local authorities led to a shift in many arts centres from a focus on the needs of the artist to community needs. It seems, however, equally reasonable to describe this process as one of institutionalisation in the sense that arts centres were incorporated into the tool

40 For instance the introduction of Compulsory Competitive Tendering made by the Local Government Planning and Land Act and Local Government Act in 1988

41 Author's addition

kit of official local policy strategies, and as the first signs of New Public Management – i.e. financial and fiscal regulations, rituals and rules about governance, planning, verification and auditing, and not least unwritten conventions about what is politically acceptable use of public money – that were to come and which I discuss in more detail in Chapter 3.

2.2.1.5 The entry of commercialisation and increased professionalism

The central government was eager to follow up on the Audit Commission's proposals from 1991 and subsequently the Department of National Heritage commissioned a report on local authorities' management of arts and entertainment facilities, which was completed in 1993 (Positive Solutions, 1993). The report echoed the Audit Commission in most of its observations, and recognised that local authorities were increasingly attempting to take a holistic approach to their arts policy including management of their facilities. Nevertheless, although 80% of those authorities that directly managed arts and entertainment facilities declared that their policy was based upon clearly stated aims and objectives which explained why they were managing and supporting them, documents with details supporting these declarations proved hard to produce for over 40% of the authorities questioned. This led Positive Solutions to conclude that *"(t)here remains a significant portion of local authorities, including some of which spend substantial sums on arts and entertainment facilities, which have no such plans or plans too vague to be of practical use in assessing effectiveness"* (Positive Solutions, 1993, p.16).

Though the report determined that the Audit Commission's proposals had not been fully adopted, it found that the provision of arts and entertainments through directly-managed facilities had changed considerably and now for many local authorities

included policy documents and business plans. implementation of finance control procedures, monitoring of efficiency and effectiveness, in addition to the fact that many facilities were already managed in partnerships with other public sector agencies and the private and voluntary sectors. However. a large proportion of local authorities had made very small changes to the way they managed their facilities and the scope for improvements was substantial in the same management areas. Interestingly. the report noted that similar weaknesses were found within trust-managed arts facilities and that very few private sector companies had substantial experience in managing arts facilities and venues (Positive Solutions, 1993. pp.27-28). Subsequent to the findings. the report recommended a variety of actions to be taken by the Secretary of State in furtherance of reaching more objectified cost-effective managing of arts facilities run by local authorities.

Hence. when Hutchison and Forrester in 1996 published their second report on arts centres in the United Kingdom they had observed two major changes since the mid-1980s with respect to the circumstances under which arts centres operated: revenue funding had decreased in real terms and expectations in terms of levels of activities and earned income were increasing (Hutchison and Forrester. 1996). Instead of restricting their programming. arts centres tried to manage this biased situation by doing the same with fewer people rather than doing less and reorganising operations or refocusing activities (Hutchison and Forrester. 1996, p.52). Many kept up their engagement in participatory and educational activities as well as creating their own productions and housing professional performance companies.

Another accommodation was the increasing emphasis put on commercial activities – a central Thatcherite cultural policy guideline as mentioned in Chapter 1[42]. The pressure to raise the level of earned income forced arts centres to focus on augmented box office revenues and to engage themselves in running bars and cafés. It seems worth noting that it was not until this need to increase earned income became paramount that the full potential of the recommendations given by the Arts Council of Great Britain in 1945 to emphasise spaces for social interaction that would give centres for the arts a feeling of exuberance and well-being – see Section 2.2.1.1 above, were acknowledged.

As a result of this increased commercialisation and the earlier described institutionalisation process – see Section 2.2.1.4 above, Hutchison and Forrester found art centres in Britain had become more professionalised. The average number of full-time staff had increased and usage of volunteers decreased (Hutchison and Forrester, 1996, p.17). They portray arts centres as complex and diverse organisations characterised by their ability to develop, organise and present multiple art forms, to be dependent on income from a wide range of sources and to be reachable all day. Such a type of organisation "*(r)equires highly experienced and skilled Directors and governing bodies with business and management, as well as programming, skills*" (Hutchison and Forrester, 1996, p.55). This was well in accordance with the rising expectations of professional management and accelerating demands on performance through reporting requirements from governmental bodies, which as we have seen prescribed higher standards of product quality, formal systems and procedures as well as organisational consistency.

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42 Section 1.6.1

2.2.1.6 The British concept of an Arts Centre today – reduced dependence on public subsidy demands new cultural policy strategies

In October 2005 a group of researchers was commissioned by the Arts Council of England to

- determine the extent to which arts centres were helping to fulfil the ACE's *Ambitions for the Arts 2003-2006*;
- analyse the impact of the ACE's funding on these organisations; and
- identify successful approaches to 'multi-artform. multi-space. multi-access' programming on which arts centres and the Arts Council might build (P. Shaw et al., 2006, p. 1).

The report, which was delivered in September 2006, confirms that the changes Hutchison and Forrester observed from 1987 to 1996 have speeded up. Earned income is now the largest single source of funding – on average 56.9%. "*The principal sources of income are catering, the hire of space (...) and popular, commercial programming followed by retail and, in a few cases, parking fees*" (Ibid., p.2). The report also underlines the importance of professional leadership and managerial skills especially when it comes to programming and audience development (Ibid., p.9 and 13).

But at the same time the report indicates that cultural governance and managerialism represented in the system of evidence-based policies. best practices and funding agreements like the ones pursuant to the ACE's declaration *Ambitions for the Arts*. is not working quite the way it was expected by the National Government and consequently the Arts Council of England.

The great variations from small scale to large scale arts centres. from multi-art-form. multi-space non-metropolitan arts centres to specialist and often high-profiled

metropolitan arts centres, lead the researchers to caution the Arts Council to adapt a more flexible approach in its future strategies and relations with arts centres: *"What matters (...) is for the Arts Council to understand how arts centres can help it do its job and to use that understanding to inform the type and level of investment arts centres need in order to do it"* (Ibid., p.11).

There are several reasons for this cautioning. Firstly, ACE needs to recognise that it is not the sole funder of arts centres. Arts Council subsidy counts on average only for 18.8% which is almost the same as the average funding proportion coming from local authorities (18%). The research team advices the ACE to

> Recognise that arts centres, offering a wide-ranging of art forms and different types of opportunity for artists and the public, finance their work from a number of different sources. In order for arts centres to thrive, not just survive, the Arts Council needs to develop a more holistic understanding of arts centre economics and to acknowledge that what has traditionally been referred to as 'ancillary' activity is, in most cases, central to arts centres' well being in social and financial terms (Ibid., p.13).

Secondly, based on the variation among arts centres with respect to financial resources, community relations, programming profile, leadership and managerial capabilities, the report advises the Arts Council to apply a more differentiated approach towards arts centres. It urges ACE first to determine *"(w)hat it is trying to achieve in a particular arts form, or for a particular group of artists, or section of the public and decide, on a case by case basis, whether its investment in an arts centre is helping it to achieve those objectives"* (Ibid., p.11).

Thirdly, the report strongly underlines the importance good programming has for a successful arts centre – i.e. programmes composed by programmers knowledgeable of trends and developments in different art forms, of their practitioners and of the actual

audiences and willing to spend time and resources on *"(s)eeing work, reading about it, meeting with artists, and belonging to networks and consortia whose participants are knowledgeable and enthusiastic about particular artforms and practices"* (Ibid., p. 6). The research team finds that programming an arts centre requires talent, training, finance and encouragement from stakeholders and hence advices ACE to invest in the professional development of arts centres' chief executives since they often are the principal programmers.

Fourthly, such investment in securing professional leadership and managerial skills, will most likely help improving arts centres' audience development strategies and activities for two reasons:

1. *"(t)hat audience development happens when audience members trust the programmer or a venue. The quality of the artistic process and product, and the communication of this, is paramount* (Ibid., p.12.)
2. that *"(l)ack of organisational responsibility (...) and the consequent lack of investment in appropriately experienced staff"* (Ibid., p.9) are significant barriers because *"few* (arts centres[43]) *see it* (read: audience development[44]) *as an activity that can take place throughout an organisation and to which all functions might contribute* (Ibid., p. 9).

On the whole, the research team behind the 2006 Arts Council report on arts centres does not question the basics of the ideas behind cultural governance and managerialism and the importance of access and social and cultural inclusion, which means that many of the working principles of the community arts movements in the field of participatory activities have been taken up and gained credibility as desirable work practices. What it emphasises is, that for these principles to work there is a need

[43] Author's addition
[44] Author's addition

for a more differentiated, consistent, collaborative and supportive strategy on behalf of the ACE. The following chapters further investigate these issues. Chapter 3 will explore how this emphasis on access, and social and cultural inclusion. has manifested itself in the concept of audience development, and Chapter 4 explores the extent to which this in turn manifests itself in organisational policy and practices.

2.2.2 The history of the Arts Centre Concept in Norway

2.2.2.1 The freedom to congregate and organise – where it all started

To understand the Norwegian concept of an arts centre we have to go back to the mid-19th century. Compared to Britain and other continental European countries Norway stayed an agrarian society long into the twentieth century, but industrialisation and urbanisation nevertheless set their mark on Norwegian society as the years progressed. During the last half of the 19th century, the backbone of what has marked Norwegian society and democracy up to now had its inception. Norway experienced an exceptional growth in member-based associations, societies and clubs in various fields. Local and regional organisations formed national unions and umbrella organisations. A civil society was formed which over the decades came to hold the principal part in the formative story of the interchange between government and populace in Norwegian society today (Dahl and Helseth, 2006, p.129). Important in this context are the counter movements based on teetotalism, religious Puritanism, the creation of a separate written Norwegian language as an alternative to a norwegianised Danish and finally the organisation of the working class. All these large counter movements had one attribute in common which came to symbolise their strength and willingness to participate in the formation of the Norwegian society of today – they all emphasised the importance of convening for social, cultural and formational activities organised in

and around specially-erected communal buildings – bethels[45]. assembly halls. meeting houses, village halls and so on. According to Erik Fossåskaret the Norwegian ethnologist Andreas Ropeid has referred to this ability to manifest an ideological programme in erecting and maintaining communal buildings as perhaps the most significant characteristic of the Norwegian counter movements of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The halls were materialised symbols of strength and perseverance in the topographical, societal and cultural landscape (Fossåskaret, 2000, pp.11-12). And even if these halls were, for a long time breeding grounds for bold voices and organisations in political opposition, they also became cradles for social networking, a diversity of cultural and amateur arts activities and, eventually, local communities' ability to build new inter-personal relations. This is why, as mentioned in Chapter 1, participatory arts and leisure activities have been such a central issue in the formulation of cultural policies in Norway since the Second World War.

2.2.2.2 Community halls and post world war cultural policies

In Chapter 1[46] I briefly described the unity and feeling of community that marked the political and societal atmosphere in the post-World War II years in Norway, which created the basis for a national coalition government and influenced much of Norwegian policies for years to come, as well as delivered a parliamentary backing for a series of important cultural policy decisions like the establishment of national touring organisations for theatre, film and visual arts. However, when the Storting in 1950 endorsed a programme for capital funding for community halls it was after the first general debate on cultural policies in parliamentary history. By this time the broad

45 A bethel is a place where God is worshipped – popular as a name for religious meeting houses among some Protestant denominations – and should be kept here because it is of significance to the context. It comes from Hebraic 'beth-El' "house of God"

46 Section 1.3.1 and 1.4.2

post-war coalition had collapsed and the Labour party governed by sole majority. The parliamentary endorsement which for decades to come would determine a public responsibility to fund arenas and technical facilities for arts and cultural activities, especially arenas directed towards children and young people, was opposed by the centre-right parties. Although they had the same concerns for the future well-being of especially young people, they did not see community halls as a public responsibility. The nation already had a well-knit network of the counter movements' communal buildings owned and operated by the many volunteer member-based associations. According to the opposition, there was consequently no need for this massive national public enterprise and in particular no need for a politically unacceptable system of central planning and coordination carried out by a governmental office. (Roshauw, 1980, pp.83-88).

The Storting granted, however, support to community halls of the modest sum of 200 000 NKr[47] in the 1951 national budget. In spite of very moderate annual growth up until the 1970s the programme had both fundamental and real impact on arts provision. From 1950 to 1986 when the funding programme was reorganised, 740 community hall projects had been funded by the state[48] (Vaagland, Andersen & Eide, 2002, p.23). To gain capital funding the halls had to be owned by co-operative societies, act as centres of sports, recreational and cultural activities and inflict no restrictions upon which organisation or individual had access to their premises, resources and activities; thus taking care of both amateur and leisure activities and at the same time avoiding public money being used to support local sectarian organisations. The state contribution was set to one third of the costs based on an equal

47 Equalling approx. 9 990 £ in 1951 according to historic foreign exchange quotations from the Norges Bank – the National Bank of Norway

48 From 1950 to 1970 the annual governmental capital funds increased from NKr 200 000 = £ 9,990 to NKr 890 000 = approx. £ 51,955, in 1978 it was NKr 9 650 000 = approx. £ 957,340 and in 1986 NKr 16 800 000 = approx. £ 1, 550,000 all according to the previously mentioned historical exchange rates

partial endowment from local authorities (municipality or county). local organisations and civil society. The programme triggered a variety of local interest groups to join in their communities' ambition to erect halls that could meet the governmental requirements and gain financial support.

The National Touring Theatre[49] came to play a vital role in meeting these requirements and hence in the formation of the Norwegian concept of an arts centre. After the establishment of this touring organisation there was a need for a basic national theatre infrastructure and parts of the capital funds for community hall projects were coupled with the National Touring Theatre's need for adequate performances spaces. No hall and stage was funded unless it met the technical standards set by the theatre and the approval of plans was counselled and supervised by the theatre's technical staff. Vestheim and Roshauw observe that by this practical approach the community halls became multifunctional venues where high and low cultural activities met and made common ground. Venues that by symbol and practice were an early expression of the extended and all-inclusive cultural policy concept, as I discussed in Chapter 1[50], came to dominate the Norwegian cultural policies of the 1970s and early 1980s (Vestheim, 1995, pp.159-160; Roshauw, 1980, pp.8-9).

2.2.2.3 Cultural democracy in Norway turned the concept of community hall into arts centre

In Chapter 1[51] I mentioned the establishment of the Norwegian Cultural Fund and the Norwegian Council for Cultural Affairs and that one of the arguments for creating a cultural fund was that artistic and cultural production and distribution to a great extent

49 Established in 1948

50 Section 1.5.2

51 Section 1.5.2

depended on adequate facilities. The Storting therefore decided to dedicate 30% of the fund[52] in support of building projects – especially adaptations and moderations of old, and erection of new, buildings designated for artistic and cultural activities. In a Norwegian context this was a substantial amount of money, which during the decade from 1965 to 1975 triggered an unprecedented building activity with extensive geographical dispersion. A variety of art galleries, museums, concert halls, theatres and arts centres were funded, most of them in co-operation with local authorities (Stokland, 1985, p.95). As far as arts centres were concerned this effort did not lead to any basic change in the concept itself. The facilities funded by the cultural fund were mostly either located in one-industry towns or in communities where the indigenous Sámi people[53] constituted the majority or a large minority of the population and where the conditions for forming co-operative societies to build community halls were not the best.

In this context it is important to reiterate that what happened in Norway was by no means unique. As commented on in Chapter 1[54], conferences and reports organised and published by the Council of Europe and UNESCO[55], that documented results of research and debate in the cultural policy field through the 1960s, became important external inspirations for the development of the Norwegian version of a cultural policy based on geographical, social and political decentralisation in which governmental funding for cultural buildings and facilities were seen as a backbone.

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52 5,000,000 NKr

53 http://www.sametinget.no/artikkel.aspx?AId=894&back=1&MId1=271

54 Section 1.5

55 For instance the UNESCO-report 'Cultural development experiences and policies' written by Augustin Girard, the then highly influential director of the research department in the French Ministry of Culture, in collaboration with Genevieve Gentil GIRARD, A & GENTIL, G (1983) Cultural development experiences and policies Paris Unesco Direct references to this are made in the introductory passage in the Norwegian Government's White Paper on cultural policy from 1973 KUD (1973-74a) St meld nr 8 /193-74) Om organisering og finansiering av kulturarbeid Oslo, Kyrkje- og undervisningsdepartementet/The Ministry for Church and Education.

During the parliamentary sessions between August 1973 and October 1974 two different governments presented two White Papers on cultural policy – the first (KUD, 1973-74a) by a minority government formed by parties in the centre of the Norwegian political spectrum[56]; the second (KUD, 1973-74b) also a minority government formed solely by the Labour party[57]. The former was the first ever general government White Paper on cultural policy. It had been in the course of ministerial preparation for some years under shifting governments, but since it was presented to the Storting by a centre government, the following Labour government felt it needed to supplement it with an add-on document when it took over office some seven months later. Although the two documents differ in party and political rhetoric, they do not in practical terms, which is why the subsequent recommendations from the relevant parliamentary committee (KUK, 1974-75) showed a remarkable accord in cultural policy objectives and means for the years to come.

As far as buildings and facilities for cultural activities is concerned the resulting perspective, proposals and political directions were as follows (KUD, 1973-74a; KUD, 1973-74b; KUK, 1974-75):

- Since 1950 425 community halls had been funded with altogether 31 million NKr[58]. From its inception until 1972 the council for cultural affairs had allocated 45[59] million NKr of the Norwegian Cultural Fund for renovation, maintenance and construction of new facilities.
- The government budget of 1972 saw the first ever specified dedication set aside to fund the construction and building maintenance of arts facilities of national importance. When handling the aforementioned White Papers the Storting

56 The government was formed by the Centre party, the Christian Democratic party and the Liberal party and premiered by Lars Korvald

57 Prime minister was Trygve Bratteli - http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trygve_Bratteli

58 Equalling approx. 1,9 million £ according to historic foreign exchange quotations from the Norges Bank – the National Bank of Norway

59 Equalling approx. 2,7 million £ according to historic foreign exchange quotations from the Norges Bank – the National Bank of Norway

subsequently acknowledged its obligations in the future to take full responsibility for the full funding of facilities of national importance.

- Both governments and the Storting acknowledged a widespread need for cultural facilities. A general plan for the construction and expansion of national, regional and local facilities was proposed as well as a system of advisory service made available for potential facility developers.
- The top limit of government funding for each community hall project was lifted from 200 000 NKr to 300 000 NKr[60].
- Referring to positive experiences from community hall projects and from other countries particularly France, both governments and the Storting strongly argued for developing best practice examples where facilities for the arts, film, library, education, sports and other public and even private services were housed in the same building. It was especially called on to test this out in sparsely populated areas and combinations of cultural facilities and schools were particularly mentioned.

In Chapter 1[61] I briefly outlined the shifts in Norwegian cultural policy throughout the 1970s that followed the 1975 parliamentary handling of the two White Papers. The shifts towards more local, regional and national governmental involvement in the arts did also have an effect on such cultural policy instruments as cultural facilities. Where co-operative societies had been the preferred local organisational framework of the period of democratisation of culture, local and regional authorities now became more reliable instruments for the new national policy of cultural democracy. The joint venturing scheme of state, local authorities, local organisations and civil society used to secure funds and support for community halls was generally abandoned in favour of diverse governmental funding.

60 Equalling approx 18 200 £ according to historic foreign exchange quotations from the Norges Bank – the National Bank of Norway

61 Section 1.5.2

In 1977 the Ministry for Church and Education followed up on the recommendations given by the Storting and appointed by Order of the Government a committee of specialists to assess the situation and advise on new initiatives for the development of cultural infrastructure in terms of buildings and facilities. The committee's recommendations which were published in the summer of 1980 (NOU-57, 1980) were discussed in a government White Paper presented to the Storting in September 1981 (KUD, 1981-82) and then again in a supplement White Paper in November 1983 (KVD, 1983-84) presented by the centre-right government that followed the Labour Party government which lost the election in 1981 – the same procedure as 10 years earlier. By this time the process I mentioned in Chapter 1[62] of general reforms of the division of responsibilities between different levels of government – local, regional and national – had started and the White Papers' proposals reflected this. Local public authorities were given the responsibility for cultural facilities in their area, the regional public authorities for regional buildings and facilities and so on. The national Government's responsibility for local and regional facilities was limited. National funding for these kind of local and regional projects was only provided after applications had been subjected to mandatory handling and scrutiny. The Labour party was eager to emphasise the role of local and regional buildings and facilities in the creation of a sound cultural infrastructure and accentuated the public authorities' responsibility for providing funds to keep the infrastructural costs down and thereby securing both satisfactory distribution of facilities and low thresholds for access. It also advocated, as in the 1970s, the construction of buildings that could combine different especially local public services (KUD, 1981-82, Chapter 7). The centre-right government concurred but underlined that financial resources were limited. This government was more preoccupied with facilities of national importance and pointed

62 Section 1.6.2

to the long list of national projects that needed funding in the near future (KVD. 1983-84, Section 5.2.2).

The Government committee of specialists proposed to divide cultural facilities in two groups according to their functions, reflecting the different needs of the community they would serve (NOU-57. 1980, p.8) – one group for buildings which met universal demands for technical equipment and solutions and which had the necessary setup to meet demands in smaller communities; another group for more demanding operations like theatre, concerts, movies and the like, set up to meet the needs of larger communities and more challenging combinations of users. This proposal was rejected by the Government because the division was seen as too difficult to handle in practice (KUD, 1981-82, p.8). The issue of different needs in different communities – small and larger – was, however, not discussed further. What is more, the White Paper did not discuss any further the committee's call to attention of the need to man cultural buildings with qualified technical staff (NOU-57. 1980. p.14). This indicates that the Labour Party saw no need to abandon the broad all-inclusive cultural policy platform of the 1970s, nor any need to professionalise the running of arts facilities.

The centre-right government's focus on strengthening national institutions and professional quality, and as mentioned in Chapter 1[63] the emphasising of the need to increase earned income through sponsoring and market oriented activities, did, however, also gradually change the Labour Party's priorities as far as cultural buildings and facilities were concerned. During the 1970s and 1980s the Norwegian Cultural Fund and the relevant Governmental Ministries had, for different reasons,

63 Section 1.6.2

funded arts centres in some major regional towns[64]. When the Labour Party, as mentioned in Chapter 1[65] in 1989 introduced the concept of regional arts centres the goal was to establish a network of professionalised regional centres – of presenters of performing arts of national and international quality. This emphasis on national and regional cultural institutions and artistic quality became a shared policy of Left and Right and gradually reshaped the old concept of community hall into a multifunctional arts centre (Vaagland, Andersen & Eide, 2002, p.20).

2.2.2.4 The Norwegian Concept of an arts centre today – institutionalised professional arts providers

In 1995 Eirik Kvam[66] completed a survey of Norwegian arts centres. He collected information from 45 centres around the country in addition to making use of experience, facts and figures from the centre he himself managed. His objective was to search out a set of criteria that could secure an arts centre's success.

He observed that building and operating arts centres in Norway was regarded as an expensive and precarious investment mainly because decision-making authorities, cultural activists and arts aficionados did not seem to agree about what the community would gain from having an arts centre – what achievements one might expect with regards to participation in cultural activities, arts experiences and production (Kvam, 1995, p.4). Surprisingly, this lack of unified local consent did not reduce the

64 For instance Førde, Risør, Skien, Stord KUD (1981-82) St. meld. 23 1981-82 Kulturpolitikk for 1980-åra Oslo, Kyrkje- og undervisningsdepartementet/The Ministry of Church and Education Affairs and Tromsø KUD (1981-82) St. meld 23 1981-82 Kulturpolitikk for 1980-åra Oslo, Kyrkje- og undervisningsdepartementet/The Ministry of Church and Education Affairs, KVD (1983-84) St meld nr 27 Nye oppgåver i kulturpolitikken Oslo Kultur- og vitskapsdepartementet/The Ministry of Culture and Science Affairs.

65 Section 1.6.2.

66 General manager at Inderøy arts centre, Norway from 1990-1994 See http //www inderoy-kulturhus no/www/ikh nsf

willingness to invest. Kvam was able to locate 113 arts centres and of the 45 he surveyed the majority of them had opened later than 1980.

The communal uneasiness is not difficult to understand considering the fact that most Norwegian Arts Centres are owned and operated by local governments. In 1995 the average centre-owning local authority had approximately 13.500 inhabitants and had invested on average around 48 million NKr[67] in arts centres (Kvam, 1995, p.5). Obviously, investments of this size will influence and possibly restrict the allocation of resources to other cultural activities not to say other public services, for at least some time. Nevertheless, one of Kvam's conclusions was that the bigger, more professionally operated and varied (in the mix of non-professional activities and professional performances) an arts centre was, the more successful the centre was regarded as by its owners and operators (Kvam, 1995, p.21). According to his findings a wide range of amateur and leisure oriented music and theatre activities combined with professional performances and film screenings was most appreciated. He also found arts centres that included exhibition spaces and were located in or even combined with a library and other leisure activity facilities, and indications that such arrangements seem to encourage people to attend arts centre events (Kvam, 1995, p.7).

The increasing amount of resources available for funding arts and cultural facilities, led the national authorities from 1991 to require any arts centre development to be anchored in local authority plans, and in 1995 the Ministry for Cultural Affairs fulfilled earlier promises of increased advisory support and service by completing a manual for advanced handling and approval of applications for capital funding for local and

67 Equalling approx 4.2 mill £ according to historic foreign exchange quotations from the Norges Bank – the National Bank of Norway

regional cultural facilities as mentioned above[68]. This manual (KD, 2001) set the following national minimum standards for an arts centre (Vaagland, Andersen & Eide, 2002, pp.26-28):

- All arts centres must be open to all legal cultural and organisational activity. No one can be denied access on religious, social or political grounds.
- The Authorities must approve a pre-project plan founded on local/regional cultural, artistic and organisational needs, before a valid application can be submitted. The venue must be equipped to meet the acoustic and technical requirements of professional musical and theatre performances. It is the main purpose of regional arts centres to serve these requirements as well as regional film screening needs.
- An arts centre is expected to be a social meeting place; if feasible, co-located with a library, a gallery, sports facilities and educational institutions, although the programme does not fund these last functions.
- Art centres funded by public money are obliged to meet certain aesthetical and architectural qualities and the planning process must be organised to ensure this.
- An arts centre can be owned by any organisational entity public or private with a democratic structure and bye-laws. The owner of the facility may give priority to activities that fit its statutes and other acting legal obligations. Disputes about such regulations are to be settled by the relevant local authority council. Public funding may be reclaimed if the facility is used in breach of the grounds on which funding is granted.

The Norwegian Ministry of Culture commissioned in 2001 an evaluation of the effects of this national capital-funding programme. In their report Vaagland, Andersen and Eide highlighted that the programme's application, handling and approval routine had been very time-consuming and grants given were relatively small. The reporters also found that the recommendations to consult local/regional cultural, artistic and

68 Section 2.2.3

organisational needs were omitted either because the authorities claimed they already had the full insight they needed or because they feared the planning process would be delayed and unattainable expectations would be voiced (Vaagland, Andersen & Eide, 2002, p.93). Kvam's observations were hence confirmed. He found that attention was directed to financial, architectural and technical issues and not on analysing local needs and negotiating how they were to be accommodated as well as exploring the challenges to establish a foundation for long-term professional operation (Kvam, 1995, p.23). The official governmental idea of an arts centre had hence moved both a long way from its predecessor the community hall and also a long way from the all-inclusive cultural policy ideas of the 1970s. Professionalism was on the rise and the bureaucratic logic of governmental planning had little room for the inclusion of civil society.

Vaagland, Andersen and Eide also uncovered a need for the programme to be more directed towards technologically updating old arts centres and preparing them as well as new arts centres for presentation and production of a variety of art forms. This also reflects the demands for professionally-operated arts venues which Kvam observed and the challenges arts centres experience in trying to meet the changing needs of its audience as well as local amateurs and (semi-)professional artists. Increasingly borders between professional and amateur arts, fine and commercial arts are being blurred as a result of developments in the cultural industries and technology. An arts centre's relationship to its audience and community will be affected by its ability to present attractive programmes and adequate technical support to its customers. As an example, potential audiences are prepared to travel longer and expect higher quality

performances; and amateurs and semi-professionals expect professional technical assistance. equipment and surroundings when they put on their performances.

The reporters found that many arts centres were purposely designed to house a variety of culture and sports related public services like libraries, youth clubs and cafés. Some were also centrally sited. In contradiction to Kvam, Vaagland. Andersen and Eide found no indications that these deliberate arrangements for the movement and mingling of people spun over into increased arts attendances. Instead. purpose built multifunctional buildings were often rather static and inflexible when confronted with changes in artistic expression.

Even if all arts centres as a part of a national policy were supposed to attract young audiences and participators, this inflexibility made it hard to adjust to the needs of this audience segment. Very few arts centres had a developed a strategy for attracting young audiences. Most centres seemed to equate their ability to attract an increasing attendance with optimisation of their technical facilities – i.e. light. sound and stage equipment.

Another of Vaagland, Andersen and Eide's conclusions was that the existing capital-funding programme had saturated 'the market' for smaller centres and community halls. These venues did not seem to meet future needs directed towards larger. multifunctional more professionalised arts centres whether local or regional. They recommended annulling the distinction between local and regional arts centres as far as the capital-funding programme was concerned.

The Ministry of Culture dedicated a chapter to the funding of arts facilities in its August 2003 White Paper on Norwegian Cultural Policy toward 2014 (KKD, 2002-03, Chapter 17). Its conclusions were that

- the programme had been and still is essential for safeguarding a national cultural infrastructure and triggers substantial capital from other sources;
- the programme is vital for enhancing local and regional cultural activities and important arenas for both provision and production of artistic offerings;
- the need for refurbishing and technical updating of existing facilities is more immediate than building new arenas; and
- there is a need to make amendments by dividing the programme into three subdivisions:
  1. A new programme for arts facilities with devolved authority to grant support to regional (county) level. A programme with few restrictions and national standards to adhere to except the 'access for all' and the need to 'professionalise arts presentations'.
  2. A new centrally-administered programme for regional arts facilities and cultural arenas designed to accommodate a variety of projects that the Ministry itself regards as of regional importance.
  3. A programme for arts facilities of national importance.

These conclusions were endorsed by the Storting in March 2004. Both the Ministry and the parliamentary majority consequently made it national policy to further the professionalizing of arts centres without taking note of the organisational and operational challenges linked to this by Vaagland, Andersen & Eide. The parliamentary minority from the left expressed some concerns about the emphasis the government made on the need for local and regional arts facilities to be run more professionally and efficiently, but made no efforts to convert concerns into policy. This policy has not changed since the coalition of the Labour Party, the Socialist Left Party,

and the Centre Party, took over government in October 2005 after the 2005 general election.

2.3 ARTS CENTRES – A CONCEPTUALISATION

The narratives of the evolution of the British and Norwegian arts centre concept indicates that working out a definition of what an arts centre is, could be an ambitious task. A defining statement means that one aims to be able to convey an entity's fundamental character, to process a precise meaning and make a clear and distinct description. But even to conceptualise, which might be regarded as a somewhat less precise task, is also challenging when the purpose is to find a concept that works for a comparison of arts centres in the UK and Norway.

A much-used approach would be to try and differentiate arts centres from other cultural facilities by specific traits. The multi-functional character of an arts centre as opposed to other arts facilities would perhaps be one distinct trait, but then – especially in Britain – local authority-owned theatres tend to have a very varied programme as well as outreach activities very similar to arts centres.

An alternative approach – the one I will apply in this thesis – would be to simply choose those organisations which those who work in them and use them, as well as those who observe them from the outside, regard and describe as arts centres. This would lead us to trace the concept of an arts centre in the network of relations it has established.

2.3.1 Conceptualising the British arts centre

When the Policy Studies Institute in 1987 presented Hutchison and Forrester's major study of arts centres in the UK, '*the genus arts centre*' was characterised as '*peculiarly amorphous*', and explicit reservations were made as to whether it was possible to arrive at a satisfactory definition of an arts centre, partly because the context in which they operate changes rapidly. Nevertheless, Hutchison and Forrester did find it helpful to mould a working definition. It was summed up in their 1996 report to the Arts Council of England. They define a British arts centre as being an art organisation in which there is:

- a programme and policy in more than one arts form;
- more than one space is used for arts activities;
- some professional input;
- substantial usage which is not part of formal (or adult) education provision; and
- is not primarily subsidised as a theatre (Hutchison and Forrester, 1996, p.2)

When in 1996 they presented their new report on factors important for successful arts centres, they used this working definition as criteria for singling out their research objects. It seems, however, that the circumstances under which arts centres operated in the mid-90s made it even more difficult to crystallise an arts centre genus. The authors noted that during the ten year period since 1987 "*(t)he values associated with arts centres such as education, participation and experimentation have been harder to pursue as funding squeezes have put the spotlight on box office receipts and more commercial ventures*" (Hutchison and Forrester, 1996, p.1); and that "*(t)he effectiveness of arts centres in achieving their overall aims is currently being inhibited by inadequate boards, buildings and staffing resources*" (Ibid., p.53). Hence Hutchison and Forrester found identifying an arts centre's context and role a more adequate approach. They argued that the common denominator for all arts centres

seemed to be the drive to vitalise cultural life and make the arts both more available and accessible (Hutchison and Forrester, 1987, 24) – to contribute to the flourishing of arts in the community they serve. They pointed out that a successful contribution may only happen when a balance is found that *"(d)raws the best from the following contextual factors"* (Hutchison and Forrester, 1996, 22):

- The arts centre building itself and its immediate and geographic location.
- The characteristics and wishes of the community.
- The perspective and overall strategy of local funders.
- Other types of arts provision in the area.
- The vision, preferences and skills of those leading the centre – both staff and governing body.

The authors argued that many arts centres seemed to be established on an assumption of how these factors or circumstances played together.

The research team behind the September 2006 report to the Arts Centre of England on arts centres found that there was a need for yet another attempt to define what an arts centre is because Hutchison and Forrester's definitions needed *"(u)pdating to reflect arts centres' current practice and aspirations"* (P. Shaw et al., 2006, p. 9). However, the team concurred with Hutchison and Forrester in that an arts centre's history and location, its architecture and facilities, the style and effectiveness of its governance and management; and the opportunities it decides to offer artist and its audiences, constitutes its character. In defining their terms the research team stated that *"(m)ost arts centres reflect on one of two models: a non-metropolitan, multi-artform model, or a metropolitan, often specialist, model"* (Ibid., p.2). The non-metropolitan model, often a multi-space venue, has overt commitments to its smaller city or town community; it creates opportunities for the public to engage as audience, participant,

and volunteer in a range of activities, but is also likely to attract audiences from further afield, either because of programme qualities or lack of competitive arts providers.

> The metropolitan model is typically found in larger, more densely populated, cities where there is more competition for artists and audiences. It may therefore specialise in one or more art form. It may have a strong relationship with its local community, but relationship with artists and with audiences for its more specialist and often high-profile programme (wherever they live) is important, if not more so (Ibid., p.2)

Still, the team proposed a common new definition *"(b)ased on three interdependent and equally balanced criteria"*: An arts centre:

- *"(c)reates different entry points for the public to different art forms and genres"* – meaning

  (i)t is a place where the public can expect to find, on a regular basis, a variety of opportunities, in different arts forms. (...) The multi-faceted provision to which most arts centres aspire reflects their dual artistic and social role, in which they are simultaneously catering to demanding audiences and working to attract and involve people whose access to a wide range of high quality art has been limited.

- *"(h)as creative relationships with artists"* – meaning that many arts centres

  (a)re providing artists with office space (...), resources (making or rehearsal space, technology, information, advice mentoring), and the opportunity to test out new work. Arts centre directors describe a palpable shift in the role of arts centres. While not turning their backs on their communities, the support of artists and, as a result, of artform development, have become more important components of arts centres' work than ever before.

- *"(h)as a social dimension and at least one space dedicated to social interaction"* – meaning that what *"(d)istinguishes arts centres from many single artform venue is the sense that it the building is open and animated throughout the day"*. That the availability of accessible spaces to socialise *"(i)ncreases the likelihood of social interaction between everyone in the building (staff, the public, visiting artists and companies) and is likely to increase the people's sense of connection with, and trust in, the venue"* (All citations: Ibid., p.9-10).

The researchers argue that understanding the inter-dependence of these criteria is paramount both for the arts centres themselves and their funders.

2.3.2 Conceptualising the Norwegian arts centre

Kvam also aimed for a definition of a Norwegian arts centre in his report from 1995. He concluded his attempts as follows:

- An arts centre must meet the characteristics and wishes of its community.
- An arts centre is an arena not only for artistic self-fulfilment but cultural activity and participation as well as experiences.
- An arts centre is architecturally and technically outfitted and equipped to meet the needs of all its users from the mere amateur to the highly professional.
- An arts centre must be organised and operated cost-effectively in order to be socially beneficial.(Kvam, 1995, p.11)

Kvam's definitional attempt did not, however, include the governmental requirements of anti-discriminatory use and organisational structure as detailed in Section 2.2.4 above, that links back to the regulations governing capital funding of post-war community halls. In addition it also did not refer back to the idea of an arts centre as an architectural and aesthetical landmark celebrating a community's cultural vitality, which, as discussed above[69], was one of the inspirational ideas behind the assembly halls erected by the large Norwegian popular counter movements of the late 19th and early 20th century.

It covers the prerequisite founded in the policies of cultural democracy from the 1970s that an arts centre is supposed to serve both amateur and professional arts as well as other types of voluntary activity according to local needs. But according to Rune Håndlykken who has been observing cultural policy in this field for many years, this idea is increasingly harder to trace in current cultural policies as far as arts centres are concerned. He argues that there has been a shift towards an emphasis on professional

69 Section 2.2.2.1

arts provision since the mid-1990s. Investments in the auditoriums (stage, seating arrangements and acoustics), vestibule and audience facilities are considered fundable by the programme. Rehearsal spaces, workshops, conference rooms, facilities for educational purposes, however, are not although they are acknowledged as necessary to meet local needs (Håndlykken, Sept. 2003). This shift was, as mentioned earlier, made official policy by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs in the 2003 parliamentary White Paper and endorsed by the Storting a year later when the importance of professionally operated arts centres for arts provision in the country was underlined (KKD, 2002-03, Chapter 17).

As state funding is decisive for carrying out any arts centre project of some size in Norway, it is consequently viable to add the following component to the description of the prevailing official concept of a Norwegian arts centre:

> *An arts centre is a professionally operated organisation for the production and provision of cultural/artistic products including space for other cultural activities according to local/regional needs.*

2.3.3 Similarities and discrepancies between the British and Norwegian arts centre concept

Since there are very few specialised arts centre of the metropolitan type in Norway, the comparison made in this section is primarily between Norwegian and non-metropolitan British arts centres (P. Shaw et al., 2006).

One feature that seems to differentiate Norwegian from British arts centres is their relationships with local, regional and national governmental authorities and agencies.

Hutchison and Forrester discovered in their survey of British arts centres that most arts centres were independent operations. Local authorities ran only a quarter of them (1996, p.16) even though as much as 58% of arts centre buildings were leased from or owned by the same authorities (1996, p.50). Although there are no exact accounts on Norwegian ownership, Arnestad (2000 a and b) suggests that arts centres owned and operated by private organisations counts for only a few per cent of arts centres in Norway. Since the 1980s almost all Norwegian centres have in some way or another been owned and run by local authorities. Kvam confirms this observation.

There are two main implications that stem from these differences. The first is the fundamental one that an organisation is as a rule set up to fulfil the owner's mission and objectives. The scope of a privately owned organisation would normally reflect a narrower set of objectives than a public one. Private organisations and funds are closely tied to the pursuing of specific philanthropic ideas where individuals and trusts do not have to take alternative use of funds into consideration to the extent that governmental authorities have to.

But there is a second, more important implication that follows from the links between ownership and funding opportunities. While an arts centre in Norway after the reform of the distribution of public income (see p. 34[70]) would have no other source of governmental funding than its local council, its English counterpart would have access to various sources be it local, regional or national. This reliance, in the Norwegian case, on a sole governmental funder, would make its funding more vulnerable to changes in political priorities. Public funds normally originate from general taxes or rates and the use of these financial means are the result of negotiations among

[70] Section 1.6.2.

politicians where different interests are represented and alternative use is always a relevant argument.

Following the adaptation of the principles of New Public Management and marketisation discussed in Chapter 1[71], one would expect British arts centres to be more subjected to target-led instrumentality. To which extent and whether or not this is so will be further detailed in Chapter 3[72] and Chapter 4.

Another aspect that marks a difference between arts centres in the two countries is the extent to which arts centres are involved in educational activities. The importance given to the *"transforming power of the arts in relation to young people"* to quote the Arts Council of England's ambitions (ACE, 2003a), is increasing and plays a key role in validating the relevance of the arts itself as well as of arts organisations at all levels in both countries (DCMS, 2000b; KKD, 2002-03).

According to Hutchison and Forrester (1996, p.35) 83% of arts centres in Britain organise educational/participatory workshops, 70% organise daytime performances for schools, more than a half receive pupils and students for organised visits and over one third run education programmes for schools. In comparison many factors indicate that Norwegian arts centres play a less important role in arts education than their British counterparts. This is so because education in arts and other aesthetic subjects in Norway is a part of the national curriculum and education and schools are first and foremost regarded as a public service. Approximately 98%[73] of children at primary

71 Section 1.6

72 Section 3.2

73 Statistics Norway. Fakta om utdanning 2006 – nøkkeltall, p.7. Oslo 2006 Facts about Education – key figures - http://www.ssb.no/emner/04/02/fakta

and lower secondary levels and 95%[74] of upper secondary school pupils attended schools run by the local authorities in 2004. Private schools have to be authorised by the Government and are regarded primarily as a supplement to local authority schools. They are mostly run by religious denominations or secular organisations with alternative educational approaches.

In addition the educational act of 1998 obliges all municipalities to establish and operate an arts school either alone or in cooperation with neighbouring communities or cultural organisations. The predominant organisational form is to establish an arts school as a separate branch of a local authority's education department. Classes and instruction are offered as a supplement to daytime schools in existing school buildings or in purpose-built or rented facilities. When performances are put on, art schools cooperate with arts centres if existing and suitable for the actual event, and if funding is obtained because arts schools sometimes have to hire the arts centres' venues.

The relatively insignificant part Norwegian arts centres play in arts education compared to its British counterparts is furthermore illustrated by the way school children are introduced to professional music performances. The Norwegian Concert Institute[75] has for 40 years been responsible for organising the Norwegian school time concert scheme in co-operation with regional authorities. In 2005 they put on over 9.250 (Rikskonsertene, 2006) concerts by professional musicians for children and young people in kindergartens, primary and lower secondary levels. In 2002 84% of all municipalities and 66% of all students received an invitation to attend school time concerts. All in all more than 270 productions were offered in all genres. All concerts

74 Statistics Norway http www ssb no/emner/04/02/30 utvgs tab-2005-02-17-03 html

75 The national touring organisation for music - http www rikskonsertene no rammer f_13 htm

were held in schools (Rikskonsertene. 2002). By 2006 all municipalities in Norway have been offered to be included in the scheme.

There is not much indicating that arts centres in Norway will play a more vital role in arts education in the future. Few arts centres have hitherto been involved in a relatively new national governmental project called *'Den kulturelle skolesekken'*[76]. This project, which grew out of different local authority-based pilots, started as a national one in 2001 and has, after an amendment of the National Lottery Act in 2002, gathered immense national clout. In the scholastic year 2006/2007 161 million NKr[77] is allocated to the scheme from the Lottery surplus to a variety of projects presenting professional arts to pupils in primary and lower secondary schools. The objectives are

- to help ensure that pupils in primary and lower secondary schools are offered a professional arts and culture programme;
- to help pupils to become familiar with all kinds of artistic and cultural expressions, to develop a positive attitude to art and culture and experience encounters with artists; and
- to incorporate artistic and cultural expressions in the fulfilment of the schools' learning objectives[78].

'Den kulturelle skolesekken' is developing into a permanent element of compulsory education in Norway for the primary and lower secondary school (age group 6-16). The actual lay-out is devolved to regional and local authorities and so far arts centres seem to have been little involved because their programming of mainly one-night stands does not fit well into educational processes.

76 The Cultural Rucksack - http://www.denkulturelleskolesekken.no/oversettelser/english.htm

77 See http://odin.dep.no/kkd/norsk/aktuelt/nyheter/043031-070477/dok-bn.html (13.5 mill. £ 21.12.06)

78 http://www.denkulturelleskolesekken.no/oversettelser/english.htm

Organising adult and vocational education on the basis of voluntary participation was, as commented on earlier in this chapter, one of the major contributions the large counter movements of the last century made to the development of Norwegian society (Vestheim, 1995, p.173). A wide variety of subjects, ranging from recreational workshops to vocational and higher educational courses were and are still offered. Courses and workshops in music and theatre as well as handicraft have been very popular and are to some extent located in arts centres but most often in the organisations' own premises or whatever suitable venue that may exist.

The implication of all this is that, although Norwegian arts centres have evolved from community halls and have attracted major financial support as a result of the politics of cultural democracy, in general they seem to be less integrated into arts education than British arts centres.

Yet another factor that distinguishes arts centres in Britain from those in Norway is the important function Norwegian arts centres play as venues for subsidised theatre performances. Capital funding for community halls and arts centres has, since 1950, been linked to submission to national technical standards set by The National Touring Theatre, and the establishment of some arts centres has been closely linked to the founding of public regional theatre companies[79]. In Britain there is no explicit link between capital funding requirements and equipping venues for theatre performances; and according to Hutchison and Forrester an arts centre is defined primarily by not being a subsidised theatre – i.e. a producing theatre company (Hutchison and Forrester, 1996, p.2).

79 Agder teater in Kristansand came into being only by accepting a role as the city's arts centre KulturHuset in Tromso The Tromso Arts Centre got its state funding because it was able to combine its role as an arts centre with hosting Hålogaland teater A similar situation is established in Førdehuset where Sogn og Fjordane teater is located Nord-Trøndelag teater is housed by the Stiklestad National Arts Centre at one of the most famous historical sites in Norway

Last but not least, there is one factor that differentiates British and Norwegian arts centres: the importance among British arts centres of income from bars. cafes. restaurants, catering and the like; and following this the importance put on accessible spaces for social interaction open throughout the day (P. Shaw et al.. 2006. p.10).

Serving alcohol has traditionally been strictly regulated in Norway and subjected to local government discretionary serving policies. Since arts centre events most often are open to people of all ages, serving alcohol inside venues or in close proximity to where arts-events are happening will normally be heavily restricted and means the exclusion of audience members under the age of 18.

The recently introduced restrictions on serving alcohol in Britain – including the rules for serving the under 18s - mean that there has to be someone associated with the building (i.e. the arts centre) and not just the person who holds the licence, to make the serving of alcohol legal.

As opposed to Norway where few arts centres managers or senior staff members have any experience from or knowledge of running bars, cafes. and the like. the strong motivations for earned income, public access to the arts centre building and creating spaces for social interaction among their British counterparts, seem to arouse little opposition in them against acquiring appropriate licensing. Not so in Norway. the consequence being that the emphasis put on accessible spaces for social interaction throughout the day are far less among Norwegian than British arts centres.

2.4 THE WORLD OF ARTS CENTRES

To establish an arts centre is as I have demonstrated above a result of a deliberate action – of a political decision purposely wanting to support the cultural life and the production and provision of arts in a specific community. Such a move can be taken either by private parties or public organisations. The founding process celebrates a multifaceted course of actions where needs for participating in and experiencing a variety of art forms is coupled with funding opportunities and indicates that the strategies and techniques an arts centre must apply to sustain its community support may be many and complex. A way to approach the issue of sustaining support and consequently getting a firmer grasp on the arts centre concept is to focus on an arts centre's main objective – i.e. to provide its community with works of art to participate in, experience and enjoy[80].

Forasmuch as there are manifold reasons for establishing art centres in Britain and Norway, also their legal status, organisational affiliations and their funding vary. What does not appear to differ is how arts centres are staffed, their day to day technical and operational constraints as well as the scope of their activities (Hutchison and Forrester. 1996; Arnestad, 2000a; Arnestad, 2000b). This is so because whatever an arts centre is it is not solely an instrument of cultural policy. Once established, it follows from the conditions under which it operates. that an arts centre wherever it is located will function according to specificities of its organisational type.

According to Howard S. Becker (1982) all art works involve the cooperation of everyone whose activity has anything to do with the end result. This approach acknowledges that artists are individuals of – most often exceptional and certainly

80 For a more detailed discussion of the importance of 'community' to arts centres, see p 95)

particular – human creativity whose activities may result in the creation of artistic objects or products, which display the superior ability that is attained by study and practice and observation. However, it states that art works get their value from *art worlds* – the web of collective activities and shared conventions that constitute the actual surroundings artists need to successfully conceive, execute and produce art: the need for support, for maintenance of the rationale that art is necessary for communal prosperity, for provision and appreciation (Becker, 1982, pp.4-5). An art world, to be more precise, consists of networks of cooperative activity involving all the people who contribute to the work of art coming off as it finally does, using the conventional understandings they share (Ibid., p.35). That includes the people who make materials, instruments, and tools of diverse kinds; the people who create the administrative, financial and organisational arrangements that make the work possible; the people who see to distributing the works that are made; the people who produced the tradition of forms, genres, and styles the artist works with and against; and the audience.

Most arts centres act as nodes in networks of this kind, as pools of support and resources, one might say as art worlds of their own. These elaborate co-operations among specialised partners, where the artist(s) among other parties make(s) gifted and indispensable contributions (Ibid., p.35), establish their specific terms of operation or conventions upon which they conduct business. Conventions – i.e. customary agreements – regulate the relationships between the members specifying rights and obligations. Each member of a network will negotiate its membership's obligations according to its own operational conditions and characteristics.

Depending on the variety of art forms an arts centre programmes, it will find itself as a member in – more often than not – different networks of partners cooperating to produce, provide and present a large variety of formats of artistic works. Just by picking out presentation of professional art works as one form of activity an arts centre performs, and bearing in mind the eclectic nature of art centres' programmes, Nobuko Kawashima (1998) documents how arts centre programmers in Britain make use of networks even on a person-to-person scale to seek out professional opinions on products and to reduce both artistic and financial uncertainty (Kawashima, 1998, pp.vi-vii). The ACE September 2006 arts centre report underlines the future importance of the same (P. Shaw et al., 2006, pp.5-6 and 12).

External options and restraints belonging to an arts centre's networks of artistic production, provision and presentation may cause changes in the arts centre's ability to present attractive programmes and consequently alter the dynamics of the relationship to its audience. Additionally, internal organisational processes that gradually shape the organisation from within will play a crucial part in this.

Furthermore, the composition or social structure of the community's population might diversify due to, for instance, changes in economic infrastructure and local earning power. Such alterations might have an impact on the wishes and needs for arts provision in the community. Potential audience segments may increase or diminish. Such changes might also lead to adjustments in the overall political strategy of local funders – especially if they are public authorities. Changes in local political strategies might also occur as a result of shifts in political ideologies, whether caused by local elections or by political decisions at regional and/or national level.

In addition, the overall backdrop for arts centres, as well as other arts organisations at the beginning of the 21st century, is that they operate in a period of time when technical, financial and attitudinal shifts influenced by the development of the cultural industries affects their ability to meet the community's needs for technical support and artistic offerings. Local amateurs and semi-professionals basically demand the same technical support and resources as professionals. New art forms or inventive presentations of existing forms demand either unprecedented use of existing venues or even use of centre-external sites. External options and restraints belonging to networks of artistic production, provision and presentation affect the arts centre's ability to present attractive programmes and consequently alter the dynamics of the relationship to its audience.

Arts centres conduct their business in an era of what Jeremy Rifkin (Rifkin, 2001b) labels cultural capitalism – an era where experience itself is commercialised. He argues that the global productive forces of today are making a long-term shift from industrial to cultural production, that commerce in the future will involve the marketing of a vast array of cultural experiences rather than of traditional industrial-based goods and services.

> The metamorphosis from industrial production to cultural capitalism is being accompanied by an equally significant shift from the work ethic to the play ethic. The Age of Access is about the commodification of play – namely the marketing of cultural resources including rituals, the arts, festivals, social movements, spiritual and fraternal activity, and more.(Rifkin, 2001a)

The implications of this is that there is an ongoing transition into what economists have coined the 'experience economy' – a world in which each person's own life becomes, in effect, a commercial market, more and more commodified, and communications, communion and commerce are becoming indistinguishable.

Traditionally the providers of experiences have been found in the arts, culture, sports and leisure time activities; but since World War II the offering of experiences has extended to theme parks, with Disney World as the initiator. Here some of the workers are called *actors* because they form the workforce of grand parades down the imaginary city's Main Street, and in spectacles featuring live performances of Disney films and cartoons. The customer is called *visitor* or more often *guest*[81]. Lately, for instance, pizza restaurants have joined the game, offering more than a meal: they offer to host your child's birthday party, complete with a candle-lit cake or sparkling ice creams, organising activities and the waiters are joining the congratulators by climbing on chairs and chanting songs of congratulation.

This adaptation of staging, props and acting, deriving from the realm of opera, theatre and movie making, is increasingly introduced into service businesses because the supply of mere service goods no longer earns the profits they are supposed to do and the customers want '*experiences*'. In their book *'The Experience Economy'* Pine and Gilmore (Pine II and Gilmore, 1999 a) make the case for experiences as the fourth type of economic offering, as distinct from services as services are from goods, but one that until recently has gone largely unrecognised. They argue that when individuals buy a service, they purchase a set of intangible activities carried out on their behalf. But when they buy an experience, they pay to spend time enjoying a series of memorable events.

What the service business has done in the last decade or so and will continue to do on a larger scale is to capitalise on the heritage and knowledge of the arts and entertainment sector, making crossovers and employing members of the workforce in these sectors on much higher wages to establish long-lasting connections with their customers. These

81 Other examples are Las Vegas' Forum Shops at Caesar's Palace, and Universal Studio's City Walk in Universal City, California

trends coincide with the expansion of creative industries, where we also can witness the multinational conglomerates expanding business both horizontally and vertically and gaining control of every part of the production and distribution chain as well as "*(m)ining local cultural resources in every part of the world and repackaging them as cultural commodities and entertainment*" (Rifkin, 2001a).

The reshaping of customers into visitors and guests is in fact making them *participants* in the creation of business opportunities – in the same way that an audience attending an artistic event participates in the interaction with an artist or an art work and is the basis for an arts organisation's business opportunities as well. The essentialities of selling an experience are to provide a memorable offering that will remain with the consumer/guest for a long while and reveal itself over time. The deeper the positive experience, the higher the inclination to increase future participation and to encourage others to participate – or attend – or buy. Again a striking resemblance with what an arts organisation is working to achieve.

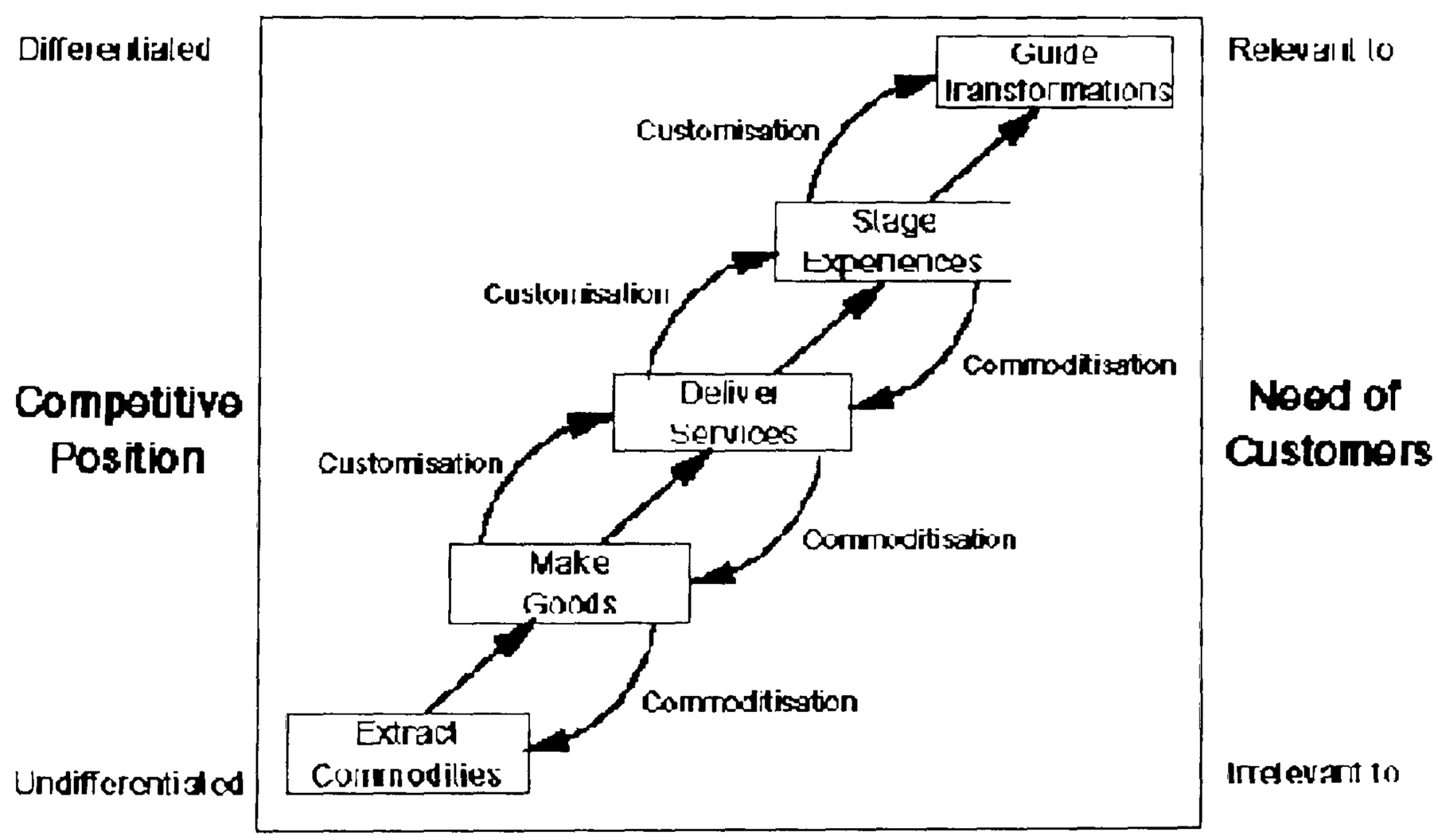
Furthermore, Pine and Gilmore argue that the *'Experience Economy'* is not the last stage in this development. They posit a new phase coming – the *'transformation economy'*. The reasoning is that in the experience economy you regard the customer as guest and through the intentional making of the buying environment the whole exchange situation is turned into an event. the customer is immersed in sensations and prompted to participate by buying – the experience is staged.

When the event is even more customised in this way – i.e. providing the individual with an option to deeper involvement – "*(t)he company's economic offering isn't the materials*

it uses, nor the physical things it makes. It's not the processes it executes, nor the encounters it orchestrates. When a company guides transformations, the offering is the individual" (Pine II and Gilmore, 1999 b). Jim McGuigan describes this, referring to Rifkin, as a process of making it a business objective to obtain a *"(s)hare of the customer, mapping individuals' lifetime wants and serving them from cradle to grave"*(McGuigan, 2005) – a signing up for life to pay the rent.

The figure below shows the progressive change in the types of economic offerings as perceived by Pine and Gilmore.

Figure 2.1 The Progression of Economic Value (Pine II and Gilmore, 1999 a, p.72)



Consequently the concept of an arts centre needs to be put in a context wider than the ones provided earlier in this chapter. Indirectly I have already indicated this wider context by frequently making use of the term community in relation to arts centres and related activities. Terms like '*community halls*' and '*community centres*' to describe the arts centres' predecessors have been used. I have directed attention to '*community*

artists' and '*community-based arts activists*': the '*arts community*', '*the wishes of an arts centre's audience*' and '*the community arts centres serve*' to characterise the relationship between arts centres and their surroundings. This varying employment of the word community captures two aspects of how it may be defined and illustrates the way the term is used in this thesis.

Generally I use '*community*' to describe a smaller entity within a larger society, whether geographical, organisational or cultural, that is somehow nested in mutual conventions and obligations – with an interest to stay connected without necessarily trying to achieve a common goal – ref. Ferdinand Tönnies and his dichotomy '*Gemeinschaft*' and '*Gesellschaft*'[82].

Within this definition I include two types of communities in the context of this thesis – groups of human beings (audiences, artists, arts activists etc.) and groups of organisations (arts centres and arts organisations, governmental agents at different levels, business partners and competitors in various fields, etc.).

Community relevance, which is another context in which I have employed the term, expresses in this thesis the interpretation of an arts centre's ability to meet needs, to support problem-solving and to ease goal-achievements of individuals, organisations and groups – i.e. communities.

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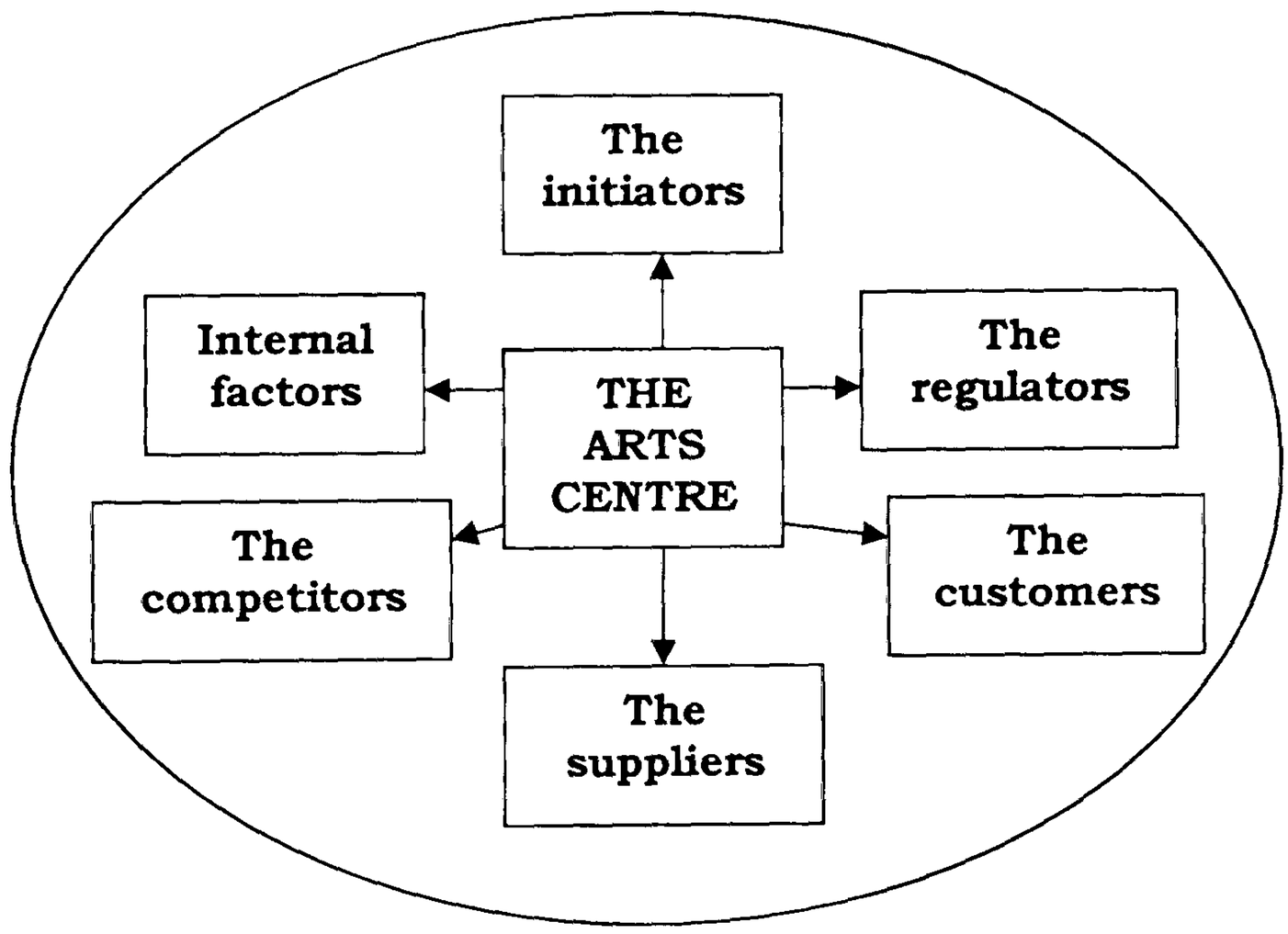
82 http://www.cf.ac.uk/socsi/undergraduate/introsoc/gemein.html with references from Marcello Truzzi, Sociology: The Classic Statements. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971, pp 145-154

It follows from this that the term community does not express any exact meaning of size. There are communities of different sizes and there might be communities within other communities. In this thesis this is expressed by the term arts worlds, and communities are also, in the context of this thesis, labelled networks.

As pointed to above, an arts centre is marked by its affiliations with and dependencies on a multitude of networks, which determine its operational abilities as shown in the following figure.

Figure 2.2 An arts centre's network connections



'**The initiators**' refers, as discussed in Section 2.1 above, to a complex list of sub-networks ranging from local arts activists in voluntary societies, semi or full arts professionals, charities and organisations of arts audiences and organisers, private and public local funders as well as governmental organisations and institutions. These networks have a vested interest in the arts centre's operations and would presumably

be willing to try to influence the operational conditions either directly or indirectly through activating or withdrawing support

'The regulators' are public authorities in different fields and at different levels that might change the legal infrastructure, setting new frameworks for running an arts centre. Some of them – especially public authorities – could alter the physical environment surrounding an arts centre and severely influence its operations. introduce changes in standards of business operating modes, as well as cancel or refocus funding programmes. The implications of this, is what is described in the preceding parts of this thesis.

'The customers' refers both to the different segments of art attenders and non-attenders, but also to regular and occasional users or renters or non-users/renters who both might be part of the local and regional environment of arts organisations that depend on the arts centres for their operations, but also organisations and businesses in the community at large which occasionally need the arts centre's services.

'The suppliers' is another mixture of public authorities and different networks, which may be divided into artistic and non-artistic networks. Public authorities, as far as funding is concerned, are regarded as suppliers of financial resources. Artistic networks like public touring agencies and companies, booking agents, programming networks, private professional arts companies, artists and 'production personnel' like directors, set designers and the like at different geographical levels and in different art forms and genres as well as local amateur groups in different shapes and forms are suppliers of artistic services of diverse kinds. In addition, an arts centre will deal with

suppliers in a large. strictly-speaking non-artistic. field which includes providers of technical equipment for artistic purposes like sound and lighting. communication facilities like box office equipment and programmes, providers of marketing skills. software, consultancy and the like, general provision of equipment and techniques for keeping an updated administration and building maintenance.

'The competitors' are networks at different levels, from local arts providers in the same product sphere via a diversity of entertainment providers from local TV and radio stations to national and international corporations.

'Internal factors' encompass the different staff groups, formal and collaborative units or informal networks an organisation consists of. According to each and every staff member's duties and each and every department's tasks, internal and external relationships are developed and maintained.

All these networks operate according to their own set of conventions, which an arts centre to some extent will have to act in accordance with, taking into account the changing demands of the diversity of social and economic variables that once worked in favour of the decision to found the centre – that is its relevance as arts provider in its community.

2.5 SUMMARY AND NOTES ON CONTINUATION

The objective of this chapter has first and foremost been to explore whether it would be possible to form an idea of what an arts centre is that would transcend national borders

and would work as a base for a cross national study of the extent to which cultural policies in Britain and Norway have impacted on the role arts centres have as cultural policy instruments.

In spite of different original arts provision traditions in the two countries, and irrespective of the discrepancies in public ownership and to some extent instrumentalism of governmental cultural policies, the last decades of the 20th century have seen a multitude of arts centres opening in urban and rural communities all over Britain and Norway. In many cases they were the result of years of local struggle and heavy lobbying from arts enthusiasts advocating the need for a venue where the arts could be properly presented to the people.

Influenced by the research and debate about a new cultural policy concept that emerged in Europe during the late 1960s and early 1970s, arts centres both in Britain and Norway were seen as a perfect tool for a policy that combined national dissemination of artistic products of high standards with local involvement and commitment, and, not least, provided friendly meeting grounds where entertainment, amateur arts and fine arts could join in breaking down old barriers between artists and audiences.

Because of tradition and the restricted powers of local authorities for discretionary expenditure, arts centres in Britain came into being primarily as a result of private efforts. In 1978 John Lane argued that the basic model of a British arts centre already had evolved – a base for both participatory arts activities as well as presentation of mainly performing arts, and a junction for the arts of the past as well as the arts and cultural

activities of today, closely tied in with characteristics of the community the arts centre served.

When Hutchison and Forrester published their second report on arts centres in the United Kingdom in 1996 they could basically confirm Lane's conclusion. although they had observed that art centres in Britain had become more commercialised and professionalised; and hence that the future of arts centres would rely on even better qualified boards, directors, staffing resources and adequate buildings.

In Norway amendments in the Local Government Act in the 1970s empowered local authorities to form political ambitions and allocate administrative resources to cultural affairs, entrusted them with financial means to take action and reconfigured as well as increased the state capital-funding programme. This formed the basis for a considerable growth in local and regional arts centres. However, when in 1995 Eirik Kvam finished a survey of Norwegian arts centres he observed that to invest in, build and operate arts centres in Norway was considered expensive and precarious because decision-making authorities, cultural activists and arts aficionados did not seem to agree about the benefits of having an arts centre. One of his conclusions was that an arts centre must be organised and operated cost-effectively in order to be socially beneficial.

The effects of the long-standing national capital-funding programme for arts facilities were evaluated in 2002. Vaagland, Andersen and Eide reported needs for the programme to be shifted towards refurbishing old arts centres and equipping them as well as new arts centres for the presentation and production of a variety of art forms. This, as well as the importance of professionally operated arts centres for arts provision in the country, was

made official policy when in 2004 the Storting endorsed the conclusions in the 2003 parliamentary White Paper presented by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs.

What stands out when comparing the development of the arts centre concept in Britain and Norway is the gradual change in both countries towards emphasising arts presentation rather than providing rehearsal spaces and workshop areas for local amateur and semi-professional cultural activity and participation. An explanation for this might be found in the demand for imperative relevance an arts centre is constantly exposed to. Arts centres act both as a pool of support and resources for local cultural life and as partners in local, regional, national and even international networks of arts providers, touring companies, agents and others. In both spheres conditions for an arts centre's existence and operations have changed during the last couple of decades. Arts centres operate under circumstances that in principle expose them to changeability, as the following aspects show:

- First, the fundamental relationship between a work of art and its audience – that is, how to form a mode of operation that offers the best circumstances for a work of art to be conceived, executed, produced, presented and appreciated under shifting conditions.
- Second, the people who cooperate in making a work of art do that by using mutually understood conventions. All sorts of aspects of art works are governed by conventional understandings as to how they can be done. The mechanisms or practice of the arts world itself will impose its expectations and obligations on the shaping of an arts centre's profile, role and operations.
- Third, as an explicit presupposed action of cultural policies an arts centre must sustain its communal relevance. But once an arts centre is established contextual factors will gradually change and the centre, like any other organisation, starts to shape its own reality by the way it relates to its specific surrounding environment of norms, values, expectations and other business parameters.

In this chapter we have seen how arts centres and cultural services in general are increasingly regarded as effective tools of a modernised public policy exposed to the reflexive adaptations in public service principles towards marketisation and private business inspired managerialism. Public funders at different levels confront arts organisations at large with explicit demands for accountability, professional management, and accommodation to general policy commitments through evidence-based policymaking.

As markets are making way for networks and access is steadily replacing ownership; as private companies are reconfiguring attitudes and relationships with their customers, gradually shifting in service for experience and transformation, and are made role models for public service providers; as access and participation, which have been at the core of public cultural policy since the Second World War, are now made even more topical by the convergence of private and public managerial ideologies, it seems vital to explore how arts organisations like arts centres are trying to recognise, accommodate and adapt their strategies and techniques for widening audience access and developing new audiences. This is the empirical focus of this thesis and the subject for Chapter 4. But before that it is necessary to take a closer look at how audience relationships are managed in the arts.

CHAPTER 3
MANAGING AUDIENCE RELATIONSHIP IN THE ARTS.
Arts marketing and audience development in Britain and Norway.

3. 1. INTRODUCTION

As public policies in most areas underwent re-formulation and fundamental changes in the 1980s with a conservative political shift towards emphasis on economics. efficiency and effectiveness, arts organisations in both Britain and Norway were – as I have described in earlier chapters – forced to introduce a more customer-oriented focus. in response partly to direct cuts in public funding and partly to overall public debate which contested their public benefit. Marketing terminology was adopted and organisations and funding bodies developed an interest in understanding the characteristics of markets for cultural products. Clive Gray observes this change as a process of commodification of public goods and services (Gray. 1995, Chap. 1. Gray. 2000), and Jim McGuigan, correspondingly, as marketisation (McGuigan, 2005) or market orientation as Pandanyi and Gainer (2004) denote it.

Governmental policy rationales were consequently. during the 1980s, shifting from what I have earlier described as *democratisation of culture* and *cultural democracy* and what Raymond Williams described as "*(s)tate patronage of the fine arts: pump priming: an intervention in the market: an expanding and changing popular culture*" (Williams. 1989. quoted in Caust. 2003. p.51). to what Lee calls "*a* state-*driven* cultural *change in the arts sector* (where[83]) *Government promoted new sets of rationale for arts subsidy. management orientation and practice in both coercive and normative ways*" (Lee. 2005a. p.153) or what I labelled in Chapter 1. cultural governance and managerialization.

83 Author's addition

In Britain a new turn in the state-driven arts sector change was introduced when New Labour came to power after the general election in 1997. On the one hand the New Labour Government rejected parts of the radical conservative ideology of the Thatcherites which contested the idea of arts as a public good and policies based on social welfare principles. On the other hand the New Labour Cabinet under the premiership of Tony Blair did not return to old Labour ideas. To the mere commodification that Gray (1995, 2000) points to – the replacement of the arts use-value for exchanges-value (Gray, 2000, p.6) – was added another layer more in line with the traditional Labour approach to politics – social and economic inclusion and regeneration – even international exchanges and collaboration (Blair, 2007, March 6). As a consequence, this new approach became influential on how to cope with the perpetual issue of recruiting audiences to the arts (Hayes and Slater, 2002; Kawashima, 2000: Lee, 2005a) and the term Audience Development as an aspect of arts organisations' operation surfaced. The New Labour Government embraced this concept and connected it closely to their primary goals of tackling social and cultural exclusion (Belfiore, 2002; Kawashima, 2006; Roberts and Maitland, 2002), regenerating urban communities and enhancing the productive forces of British cultural industries.

Although – as I have tried to show in the previous chapters – Norwegian policies experienced to some degree a similar swing in the 1980s and 1990s towards deregulation, the market orientation within arts organisations in Norway has until recently not moved beyond the product-orientation that characterised the arts sector in Britain in the 1970s and 1980s (Bakke, 2001a). Audience development has only started to become a household concept in a very few quarters[84]. This is so even if the extent to which mass-produced

84 Some Norwegian NGOs in the cultural field have picked it up and included it in their strategic and action plans and are conducting internal educational programmes for their members in audience development – for instance The DSV network (http://du-store-verden.no/index.php?topic=09). Norsk

cultural products proliferate and have a bearing on cultural consumption and the competition for consumers' attention that arts organisations are facing does not seem to differ significantly from Britain to Norway.

This increased exposure of arts and culture to instrumentality, commodification, managerialism and marketisation is a through line in the preceding parts of this thesis. There is a passionate debate among scholars (Caust, 2003 as one example), arts professionals (Tusa, 2000 as an example), and politicians (Jowell, 2004 as an example); and in the media (Hytner, 2003 as an example) about whether this is for the good or for the bad. This discussion seems often to be without historical reference and Belfiore and Bennett argue that this is an a-historical discussion:

> For instrumentalism is, as a matter of fact, 2,500 years old, rather than a degeneration brought about by New Labour. The arts have been a tool to enforce and express power in social relations for as long as the arts themselves have been around. We would argue, that, in fact, the first lucid, cogent and systematic theorization of instrumental cultural policy can be found in Plato's *Republic* (Belfiore and Bennett, 2006a, p.182)

However, a-historical or recent this debate is, new aspects of it occur and new ways of implementing instrumentality arise which need to be understood and dealt with. In this chapter I will take the lead from the previous discussions in Chapters 1 and 2 and start by

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Rockforbund (the Norwegian Rock Organisation (http://www.norock.no), Nasjonal Jazzscene (The National Jazz Venue - http://www.nasjonaljazzscene.no) - a network of governmentally subsidised performance and production venues run by the NGO Norsk Jazzforum.

The Association of Norwegian Theatres and Orchestras for employers within the field of professional music and theatre has organised internal seminars on the subject.

The new national Dance House Norway has designated a member of staff to audience development partly inspired by previous initiatives taken by the NGO Danse- og Teatersentrum (The National Centre for Dance and Theatre http://www.scenekunst.no). Some film festivals have put it on the agenda, but seem to be focusing on events management. At least one football club is registered to show an interest in audience development.

The Tromso University College has since 2002 offered a certificate programme in arts presentation, which includes a module on audience development (http://www.hitos.no/studiehandbok/AFK/Videreutdanninger/kunst%20og%20kunstformidling.html)

The Oslo University College has since 2004 offered a certificate programme in museum mediation where presentation and mediation to target groups is one module, but the syllabus does neither cover arts marketing nor audience development as such (http://www.hio.no/enheter/avdeling_for_journalistikk_bibliotek_og_informasjonsfag/for_studenter_jbi/museumsformidling)

The Norwegian School of Management has since 2005 offered a BA-programme in Culture and Leadership where subjects like marketing management, customer relations and arts marketing are taught (http://www.bi.no/templates/studium_new____20535.aspx)

taking a quick look at commodification and managerialism or governance in the form of new public management and their impacts on how arts organisations are expected to relate to their audiences.

From there I will take the discussion on to one of the central issues in current cultural politics in both Britain and Norway – i.e. how to widen audience access to, and develop new audiences for, artistic products. Hence the main part of this chapter concentrates on the relevance of the marketing concept to the arts; how the arts have adapted the marketing concept; and how an engagement with marketing in the arts has led to the development of the concept of audience development which seems to be specific to this industry.

However, as previous discussions and the upcoming one will show, the issues of market, consumer, and audience orientation are issues of concern for non-profit cultural enterprises because they touch on the complexity of these organisations (Padanyi and Gainer, 2004, p.43). Their 'raw materials' – the artists and artistic products – are, as opposed to most other industries, not only dependent on a highly innovative and creative initial production process, but are in many cases – as in the performing arts – reinvented again and again by performers and are – as I pointed out in Chapter 2[85] – given added artistic value by a multitude of support personnel like set, lightning and sound designers as well agents and presenters.

When artistic products are presented to the audience cultural enterprises play a vital role in creating a communicative situation and atmosphere that supports the process of matching the benefit offered by the work of art to the benefit sought by each and every

85 Section 4

member of the audience. This function is to some extent equal to a distributor of non-artistic products but the role of cultural enterprises in all societies shows that it is also a distinctive one. This distinctiveness is attributed to the way cultural organisations reflect cultural identity and the current cultural climate of any society through the different values, issues and formats of the works they offer, the technology used, the intensity of their presence and the type of consumption involved (Colbert, 2007, p.7). And since creative products and artistic works are deliberately designed and produced to strike deeply into how people feel about the world (Morris, 2000a, p.47) and possess the properties of real innovations[86], their products will be contested; and the way arts organisations operate, are funded and embraced by their audiences, the general public and governmental authorities will consequently be exposed to public debate and have political impacts – as observed in the two previous chapters.

3.2 COMMODIFICATION AND NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT – TWO ASPECTS OF PREVAILING GOVERNMENT POLICIES

3.2.1 The commodification of the arts

Since the start of industrial capitalism we have increasingly had to change our views as to what can be turned into a subject of mass consumption by supply and demand. The modern state, especially the welfare state, has developed many mechanisms to relieve this development. Over decades from the Second World War on we have learned to appreciate that certain services and goods – education, social services, national health care, roads and cultural offerings – are rendered to us by national,

86 Innovation as *'an idea, practice, or object that is perceived as new by an individual or other unit of adoption'* Rogers, E. M. (2003) Diffusion of Inovation (5 ed.) New York: Free Press

regional and local governmental bodies more or less 'free of charge' – that the costs of producing and providing them are paid for by public money derived from taxation and distributed by public service agents. We have learned to expect them as being *incompletely* commodified goods – i.e. neither fully integrated nor fully removed from the market – they have some kind of pricing attached to them because they are either totally or fully subsidised or regulated in some way or another.

During the political reforms put in place by conservative governments in the West in the late 1980s and early 1990s – especially the Margaret Thatcher cabinets from 1988/1989 – this balance of incomplete commodification shifted and what followed had profound effects on management of public services, politicians and popular opinion. What was introduced into the provision of welfare goods was what Le Grand calls '*quasi-markets*' (Le Grand, 1991, p.1257), which meant that the state no longer should both *fund and provide* services, but reduce its obligation to funding and purchase services from a variety of non-profit, private and public providers through either a bidding process or by equipping the public service client or customer with a voucher upon which the provider could be chosen at the client's own discretion. Here the '*market*'element exists because monopolistic state providers are replaced by agents competing for the option to provide services. The '*quasi*'element is there because

> (t)hese welfare quasi-markets differ from conventional markets in one or more of three ways: not-for-profit organisations competing for public contracts, sometimes in competition with for-profit organisations: consumer purchasing power in the form of vouchers rather than cash; the consumer represented in the market by agents instead of operating by themselves (Le Grand, 1991, p.1260).

This change in the mode of obtainability or market-transferability for welfare state 'rights', means that the degree of commodification has increased. In the field of welfare

state subsidised non-profit arts, increased commodified artistic products turn every person enjoying the goods of this industry into a commodity-trader and, once the good is acquired, into a commodity-holder.

By the same token those non-profit arts organisations that produce and present artistic products have become more and more subjected to the same developments, not necessarily only by the expectations derived from the changes in cultural policies, but also by being exposed to the competition in the markets for culture industry products, leisure products and the sheer scale of the consumer society. The acknowledgement of the need to develop marketing strategies and tools to address this challenge verifies this because marketing is, on the one hand, about '*(d)ecommoditizing a company's offer*' (Doyle, 1998, p.165) or as David Carson has defined it: *"The marketing function is the organisation's interface between its internal systems and its customers; it is the bridge between the organisation perspective and the market and customer perspective"*(Carson et al., 1995, quoted in Maitland, H. (2003).

On the other hand, what marketing strategies and techniques are set up to do is to translate the features of a specific product into a set of codes that enables the potential consumer to discover the relevance this product has to her or him, and makes the individual able to attach certain subjective wants to the process of accessing, acquiring and possessing the specific product. This process involves setting a value or price on the product that both signals its market value and its subjective value – i.e. the *complex* price the buyer has to pay, which for arts events often consists of a mix of factors of which the admission price is only one and the cost of using the time otherwise – going to the cinema, to another performing arts event, transport, babysitting and so on – is another one, taking into

account what the artistic product is actually worth. The pricing strategy, however, is not important in this context. What is important, is that the more the total price has an effect on the decision to offer and to purchase, the more the product is being commodified. The more commodified the less attractive the event becomes. As the process of deciding to attend an arts event becomes increasingly entangled with aspects of arranging opportunities and reorganising factors which impede it, and as at least some of the solutions have to be purchased in the market, this increases both the personal and financial costs and intertwines the whole experience more and more into the realms of consumption or commodification. It may consequently well be argued – to use Le Grand's conceptual context – that arts centres, as non-profit arts organisations, are in these respects *'quasi-markets agents'* and that arts marketing and audience development which I will discuss later may be labelled *'quasi-market strategies and techniques'*.

Le Grand points to the fact that advocates of quasi-market reforms and increased commodification, are not confined only to conservative political echelons, but are also found in the public sector. The reasons seem to be both changes in technology and *"a world-wide disenchantment with the perceived inefficiency and dehumanising character of large organisations, public or private. Industrial relations may also play a role; it may be easier to reduce the power of trade unions if suppliers are fragmented"* (Ibid, p.1262)

The demand for, and introduction of, quasi-market reforms in welfare politics surfaced parallel to another influential set of governance managerialism – New Public Management – also motivated by the perception of real problems in the welfare system, such as: wasting resources on excessive administration; systematic unresponsiveness to

the need of those it was primarily set up to help – the poor and disadvantaged; and inefficient resource exploitation.

3.2.2. ARTS ORGANISATIONS AND NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

Following on from what is said earlier in this thesis, the instrumentalism of cultural policy is the rule not the deviation. Many authors operate with a typology of four alternative roles for 'patron state' when describing instrumentalism or state intervention in the arts. Among them Cummings and Katz observe that governments can play the role of

1) *patron* – by giving direct funding,
2) *market manipulator* – by providing subsidies,
3) *regulator* – by steering actions and
4) *impresario*, or manager – by organising performances (Cummings and Katz, 1987, Ch. 1).

Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey have conceived a similar categorisation naming the roles of the state as

1) *facilitator* – funding the arts through forgone taxes – i.e. private donations are tax deductible,
2) *patron* – funding through an arm's length arts council – i.e. governmental determination of aggregate support leaving actual distribution to trustees,
3) *architect* – funding through a governmental ministerial or departmental body – i.e. administrative execution of political decisions normally based on social welfare objectives and
4) *engineer* – funding through governmentally-owned arts organisations meeting political standards of excellence (Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey, 1989).

Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey point to the UK as the best known example of the *patron* state with an arm's length Arts Council's funding role evolving out of the

earlier traditional English patronage. The Netherlands are mentioned as a typical *architect* state because governments fund a vast variety of arts organisations as regular budget items. Vestheim (Vestheim, 1995, p.49) finds many of the characteristics of the *architect model* represented in Norwegian cultural politics, but whether one applies Cummings and Katz's or Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey's typologies, they themselves as well as other authors (Bakke, 2001b; Vestheim, 1995) underline that

> (...) the State can have two different objectives – to support the process of creativity or to support production of specific types of art such as socialist realism. Roles and objectives are not mutually exclusive, that is, a single government may play more than one role and may seek to achieve more than one objective (...) (Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey, 1989)

The brief introduction to British and Norwegian cultural policies presented in both previous chapters describes the evolution of multifaceted roles for British and Norwegian governments at all levels. This coincides with, or better is a product of, the fact that since the end of the 1970s until today political movements have surfaced, grown stronger and proclaimed that the welfare state would not be able to sustain progress and that it has developed institutions that restrict rather than empower the potentialities of its citizens – see the Thatcherite ideas of the enterprise culture (Hewison, 1995, Ch. VII). The ideal of a *'supermarket state'* has surfaced as an alternative to *'the sovereign rationality-bounded state'* that was predominant as a heritage of the Weberian bureaucratic state. Christensen and Laegreid characterise the latter as *"a centralised state with a large public sector in which standardisation and equality are prominent features"* (Christensen and Laegreid, 2001, p.14) and the former as a model where *"(g)overnments and the state in general have a service-providing role with an emphasis on efficiency and good quality, and views the people as consumers, users or clients"* (Ibid., p.15). A shift from attributes of *'the sovereign rationality-bounded state'* to the ones of a *'supermarket state'* could resemble a

shift from the *patron* or *architect* models to the *market manipulator* and *facilitator* models of the above mentioned typologies.

In general terms, 'New Public Management' (NPM) has become a way to characterise this development. It is not a theory, rather a label for a global reform movement – mainly among the members of OECD[87] since the beginning of the 1980s (Christensen and Laegreid, 2001, p.1) (Pollitt, 2000). Its main features are the emphasis on economic norms and values and a focus on increased efficiency characterised by market orientation, devolution, managerialism and contracting. In the name of NPM during the last couple of decades the public services in many OECD-countries have undergone huge reforms and transformations.

"For a reform to be labelled NPM it must constitute an intentional effort by central political-administrative actors to change the structure, processes or personnel of the public sector and it must contain some of the elements outlined above" (Christensen and Laegreid, 2001, p.18). Christensen and Laegreid argue that the NPM concept is not a stringent reform programme but more like a '*shopping basket*' (Ibid., p.19) into which the political and administrative reformers can and do put combinations of 'families' of NPM-related strings of reforms – devolution, contracts, privatisation and market-consumer-orientation (Ibid., pp.301-302) – applicable to each country's national environmental, political, and historical institutional context (Ibid., p.25). This means that Christensen and Laegreid hold that the diffusion of NPM reforms appears differently from country to country depending on the consistency between the values that are underlying the reforms and the values on which the existing national political and administrative system is based. *"Within the constraints spelled out political leaders have varying amounts of leeway to*

[87] Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development - http://www.oecd.org/

launch and implement NPM reforms via administrative design and an active administration policy" (Ibid., p.3). Consequently the main NPM reform ideas, solutions and methods of implementation that circulate in global communities like the OECD will take different and '*local*' shapes when they encounter different political, administrative, institutional and historical-cultural contexts. This might explain the differences in co-optation of marketing and audience development in cultural policy governance in the UK and the rest of Europe, for example Norway.

Furthermore, even if NPM is based on the idea that goals for governmental policies should be unambiguous, advocating clear-cut economic efficiency and the primacy of quality for the customer, there is a built-in inconsistency, in that it claims to both empower customers and allow managers discretionary powers to run operations as well as strengthen political control at the same time. Political leaders are designated the role of strategists defining long-term goals, assessing results and reconfirming or redirecting policies. Public service organisations are expected – as we have seen earlier in this thesis is the case for non-profit arts organisations and in particular arts centres – to respond more directly than before to the demands of the market – i.e. the electorate, public, clients, users, customers – and not to (detailed) political decisions. Administrative officials or managers of such service organisations are, as we shall see in this thesis's next chapter, given considerable discretion to provide public services/run their operations, and are ideally supposed to adjust operations based on the feed-back from their markets and not from elected representatives. This shifts *"(a)ccountability from the political to the managerial spheres and from input and processes to output and outcomes"* (Ibid., p.308) and undermines political control which then is attempted to be restored through target-driven objectives, auditing and accountability systems.

In the *patron* or *architect* models but less in the *market manipulator* and *facilitator* models of cultural policies the interface between arts organisations and government is touchy. The ideal is circling around '*the arm's length principle*' defined by Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey as "*a public policy principle applied in law, politics and economics in most Western societies. The principle is implicit in the constitutional separation of powers between the judiciary, executive and legislative branches of government*" (Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey, 1989). According to this principle there exists conflict-of-interest-guidelines in many countries which regulate to what extent elected and employed officials can influence the direct handling of arm's length bodies. These rules of conduct have, since the Second World War, been especially sensitive in the arts where governmental intervention has been tempered by the connotations of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and the Soviet Union (Minihan, 1977, pp.244-245), creating ideals of artistic and programming freedom. But with the introduction of NPM reform programmes and ideals of the '*supermarket state*' this has changed. By establishing funding agreements and clearly defined goals and targets (The UK – Belfiore, 2003), contracts (Denmark – Greve, 2002), and target-led funding proposals and instructions (Norway – Røyseng, 2003) between levels of governmental bodies and arts organisations, public authorities now expect to be able to monitor the effects and measure results of public spending in the arts, as the Arts Council of England clearly states in the 2002 manifesto: "*(w)e will exercise the right to withdraw our investment from those who repeatedly mismanage or fail to deliver*" (ACE, 2003a). Royseng (2003) describes the matching mechanisms in place in the budget and accountability system that the Norwegian Ministry of Culture, as mentioned in Chapter 1[88], has applied to governmental funding of arts institutions in Norway since 1996. As opposed to British arts organisations Norwegian arts organisations have yet to be

88 Section 1.6

promised withdrawal of funding if they do not deliver. The goals and targets they are exposed to have not yet reached the level of sophistication to allow such severe consequences.

Christensen and Laegreid argue that it is questionable whether radical and aggressive NPM reforms will have the intended effects – greater efficiency, effectiveness and good government – because they, on the one hand, imply to a certain extent the abdication of traditional direct political control by elected officials over the administrative apparatus and, on the other, create a cross-pressure situation for public service organisation managers between politicians and customers (Christensen and Laegreid, 2001, p.309). To level these incompatibilities there is a need to enforce systems of accountability to reconstruct political control. Since the mid-1970s organisational research has made contributions to the analysis of organisational change, which enable us to understand if it is possible to effectively reach policy objectives through accountability-driven, target-led rationale choice concepts like New Public Management. Røyseng (2003) gives a brief summary of major contributions. One of these is the perspective of 'logic of appropriateness' (March and Olsen, 2004), which contrasts rational choice theory and implies that decisions are made according to what is 'appropriate' to a certain situation. Appropriateness is determined by rules and routines that have been historically institutionalised. These rules and routines have both an informal and formal component to them, resting on officially defined procedures and roles, but also the beliefs, culture, and knowledge that surrounds them. For organisations to legitimate their existence and survive in society, they must balance out their striving for efficiency with institutional constraints and rules of this society, often resulting in effects on organizational structure (Meyer and Rowan, 1991 referred to by Røyseng, 2003). Through 'myths' and

'ceremonies' they match and reflect the socially-constructed reality. Organizations that incorporate socially legitimated rationalised elements in their formal structures maximize their legitimacy and increase their resources and survival capabilities.

The process of organisational correspondence and similarity in form and relations – or 'isomorphism'[89] – is yet another prominent organisational theory presented by two of the most central exponents of what has been called 'The New Institutionalism': DiMaggio and Powell (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983 referred to by Røyseng, 2003).

According to Røyseng their ambition is to explain why there are so many similarities in the way organisations develop and operate. DiMaggio and Powell identify three different mechanisms that drive isomorphic change in organisations:

1. *'Coercive isomorphism'* that stems from political influence and the problem of legitimacy and implies that if for instance an organisation is relying upon state funding, it is likely to develop operational structures according to rules instituted and legitimised by the state.
2. *'Mimetic isomorphism'* resulting from standard responses to uncertainty and implying that organisations will choose to conform to predominant organisational forms that emerge as legitimate and successful; and

3. *'Normative isomorphism'* associated with professionalisation and the implication that as organisations grow and recruit personnel with specific qualifications to carry out tasks these organisations have not carried out before and are expected to execute by either internal or external demands, members of this new professional workforce may develop stronger work identity and loyalty to their occupational group than their workplace. While various kinds of professionals within an organisation may differ from one another, they, therefore. exhibit much similarity to their counterparts in other organisations.

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89 In sociology, isomorphism is the process by which organisations are incorporating institutional rules within their own structures and become more homogeneous, more similar in structure, over time (http //www stanford edu/~jchong/articles/quals/NewInstitutionalism-I doc)

3.2.3 Exemplifying the impacts of new public management on the practice of arts organisations

By taking stock of some of the existing changes in public management and by introducing some key concepts in recent organisational analysis I have attempted to convey an understanding of the institutional demands and constraints that have an impact on the way arts organisations conduct their business operations at the beginning of the 21st century.

As for *coercive isomorphism*, Belfiore (2003) observes that from the beginning of the 1990s there has been put a growing emphasis on proving the results of public spending in Britain and she even suggests that the arts sector might be more exposed to evidence managing than other sectors because it seems that *"(t)he arts have found justifying practices of audit and performance measurement a precious form of official validation"* (Ibid., p.14). The Arts Council of England's guidelines for artists and arts organisations explicitly ask applicants when describing the activity they are applying for grants for, to clarify the benefits the activity will bring the applicant or others; detail the others the activity will reach, for example, the audiences, or people taking part or attending; how they will be reached, including marketing activity; and any evidence of demand for the activity. The applicants have to list which of the Council's aims[90] they will meet. and if they are funded they are later asked to evaluate if the benefits announced have been delivered (ACE, 2003a).

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90 The Arts Council's aims for the grants given:

'We invest in the arts across England by making grants available under five aims

- To change people's lives through the opportunity to take part in or experience high-quality arts activities
- To increase opportunities for cultural diversity in the arts
- To support excellence, new ideas and activity to help build long-term stability in arts organisations
- To invest in the creative talent of artists and individuals.
- To increase resources for the arts

By 'cultural diversity', we mean the full range and variety of the culture of this country, but with a particular focus on race and ethnic background '

As for *mimetic and normative isomorphism* the budget- and accountability system, which regulates the interaction and evaluation system between state subsidised arts organisations and the government in Norway, is aimed at increasing the opportunity to take part in or experience high-quality arts activities, supporting excellence, developing new talent and artistic ideas, and cost effectiveness. Cost effectiveness is combined with an expectancy of growth in box office income. There is, according to Røyseng (2003), however, no evidence that this management system has resulted in any significant change in funding to any arts organisation. Year on year the targets set are the same and year on year the reports given are subjected to the same summary handling. The most prominent consequences seem to be two. First, that the arts organisations have been subjected to a detailed accounting and reporting regime, resulting in a highly bureaucratic structured interplay between authorities and organisations and the need for more specialised administrative personnel in the organisations. Secondly, it seems that the arts organisations are producing more blockbuster events to cater for the demand to increase earned income.

This might illustrate Christensen and Laegreid's point that NPM reforms are diffused differently in different countries – in the UK and Norway in my case. While in Britain there is an explicit demand for the funded organisations to detail the benefits expected for the audiences that are supposed to be the target for artistic activity, this is not, as we have seen, the case in Norway. Christensen and Laegreid's analysis is based on case research from Australia, New Zealand, Norway and Sweden. New Zealand is regarded as a zealous implementer of radical NPM reforms "*(s)coring high on devolution, contractualism and competition*" while "*(N)orway has been a moderate and reluctant*

reformer scoring low on contractualism and competition and moderately on devolution" (Christensen and Laegreid, 2001, p.21). Australia and New Zealand are described as imitators of reforms carried out in Britain and the United States.

The concept of New Public Management is as we have seen based upon the principle that every public service has to prove its relevance to the public otherwise the funding is not likely to be sustained. The citizens are regarded as users or customers, who are not likely to expect standardised services but want to be treated individually upon their own discretion (Greve, 2002). Audience-focused management practices or market orientation are consequently regarded as a vital part of any public service organisation's operation and equally of any arts organisation's operations. The conclusion from the preceding discussion is that governmental cultural policy agencies in the two countries in focus in this thesis – Britain and Norway – emphasise the following basic opinion of what market orientation is in their relationships with these organisations: Arts organisations are expected to bring in more income from box office sales and private donors. To achieve this arts organisations should allocate financial means and staff to plan and effectuate marketing activities to communicate offerings and first and foremost bring in more people. In Britain this aim has during New Labour been supplemented by the goal of incorporating arts organisations into the policy of social and cultural inclusion. The extent to which these policies fit with prevailing defintions of marketing and audience development is the focus of the next section.

3.3 MANAGING AUDIENCE RELATIONSHIPS IN THE ARTS

3.3.1 The evolution of the concept of arts marketing

Since the Second World War trade and private consumption have been closely linked to the improvement of the material well-being of citizens in the industrialised world that followed the expansion of the welfare state and with it the rise of the cultural industries. As a consequence the focus in business operations, from the 1950s, shifted from product and sales to marketing (Colbert, 2007, p.6), and competition from an increasing amount of mass-produced cultural products originating in the record, media and film industries, came to challenge the financial and public foundations of the arts institutions of the earlier mentioned era of the *'civilising mission'* (Bennett, 1995). The idea surfaced that *"(i)f art and culture were to fulfil this mission, then the question had to be asked whether or not the market was a suitable vehicle for it"* (Ibid., p.210). At the same time the 1960s saw developments in the arts, science and society as a whole, which allowed for the acknowledgment that the world consisted of a plurality of different nations and cultures and permitted the questioning of traditional and accepted definitions of culture and Western sovereignty. Lately we have come to know this as a vital aspect of post-modernity – what Craig Owens has defined *"(a)s a crisis of cultural authority, specifically of the authority vested in Western European culture and its institutions"* (Owens, 1988, p.57).

Although the *'correcting of the market-efforts'* runs as a through-line in both British (Bennett, 1995) and Norwegian (Bakke, 2001a; Bakke, 2003) cultural policies, up until recently both private and public actors and policy makers tried to find new ways of reaching out to their audiences in order to meet the above-mentioned challenges. As Jeremy Ahearne observes, France and the USA are frequently taken as representing

opposite ends of the cultural policy spectrum as far as interventions and modifications of the market forces in the supply and distribution of cultural goods are concerned (Ahearne, 2002, p.1). It is consequently interesting to notice that it was in these two countries that new ideas on audience development and market communication first evolved and had an impact on the arts.

When the first French minister of Cultural Affairs, André Malraux, in the beginning of the 1960s started to carve out new cultural policies one of the inspirations was found with Jean Vilar, the director of the National Popular Theatre[91] in Paris since 1951. His main objective was to open the theatre to the *'popular public'* – to present to it the great classical and modern works of drama. To reach this goal Jean Vilar not only adjusted ticket prices and timetables to make theatre performances more accessible, he raised an omnipresent issue of audience relations which he regarded as the crux of the matter:

> What is true is that the popular public does not come to the theatre, or at least not willingly, less because of its resistance to the theatre than because of the theatre's resistance to it. The theatre in France is still something that is heavily ceremonial and difficult to attend. (...) (w)e have done everything to get rid of those characteristics. For a sports stadium where workers go much more willingly, provides a venue for a ceremony that does not scare them away. Hence the problem is perhaps not so much to do with eliminating rituals as with changing them.
>
> (...) We must show it *(the popular public[92])* that the barrier that has been erected between these works *(the great classical and modern works of drama[93])* and it by decades of civilization, (...), is artificial and insubstantial. (Vilar, 2002, p.43)

Jean Vilar and the André Malraux camp did not talk the new business-speak that was under way at the beginning of the 1960s – the language of marketing. As Boorsma points out *"(t)he classical concept of marketing – (...) – states that in order to maximise*

91 Théâtre National Populaire - http://www.tnp-villeurbanne.com

92 Author's addition

93 Ibid

business performance, producers should create products aimed at fulfilling the needs and wishes of consumers. (...)(which[94]) *conflicts fundamentally with the notion of artistic autonomy*" (Boorsma, 2002, p.66). The Vilars and the Malreauxs in the French. and moreover European, arts organisations in the 1960s and 1970s regarded it as impossible to combine such consumer orientation with their ideas of artistic creation and mediation.

Consequently it was from the home of business enterprise and marketing. from the USA and more specifically according to François Colbert, from Philip Kotler[95]. the question of marketing cultural products was raised for the first time in 1967. The reason was that arts organisations were facing increasing competition for consumers' attention and their own share of national resources (Colbert, 2007, p.10). The basic marketing concept held that "*(m)arketing is a relevant discipline for all organizations insofar as all organizations can be said to have customers and product*"(Kotler and Levy. 1969 quoted in Kotler. 1972). Over some years Kotler and fellow academics in the field developed the marketing concept further. In his seminal article *'A Generic Concept of Marketing'* Kotler argues "*(t)hat marketing is a relevant subject for all organisations in their relations with all their publics, not only customers*" (Kotler. 1972, p.47) and that the marketing transaction is about the exchange of values between two parties. "*The things-of-values need not be limited to goods, services and money; they include other resources such as time. energy. and feelings*" (Ibid.. p.48). He furthermore conceives that such "*(t)ransactions not only occur between buyers and sellers. and organisations and clients, but also between any two parties*" (Ibid.. p.48) meaning that an organisation is surrounded by different types of publics or target markets and must direct its marketing activity towards all of them – i.e. towards input publics (supporters. employers. suppliers). output publics (agents.

94 Ibid

95 Kotler, P. (1967) Marketing Management Analysis, Planning and Control Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey Prentice Hall

consumers), and sanctioning publics (government, competitors, special publics and general public) (Ibid., p.51). As far as arts and cultural activities are concerned he defines cultural organisations as a particular type of marketer – i.e. a particular type of organisation that is carrying out marketing management.

These developments of the marketing concept opened up arguments for arts marketing as a specific type of marketing activity. Keith Diggle, claims to be"*the first person in the world to put the words arts and marketing into juxtaposition*" [96]. In 1976[97] he defined arts marketing as follows : *"The aim of arts marketing is to bring an appropriate number of people into an appropriate form of contact with the artist and in so doing to arrive at the best financial outcome that is compatible with the achievement of that aim.* (Keith Diggle, 1986, quoted by Colbert, 2007, p.11).

The next step was achieved when Hirschman (1983) asked the question Kotler did not ask – namely if a cultural organisation, arts organisation or more specifically an artist is producing the same kind of products as commercial organisations? And if not, if their products and consequently transactions with their consumers could be understood the same way?

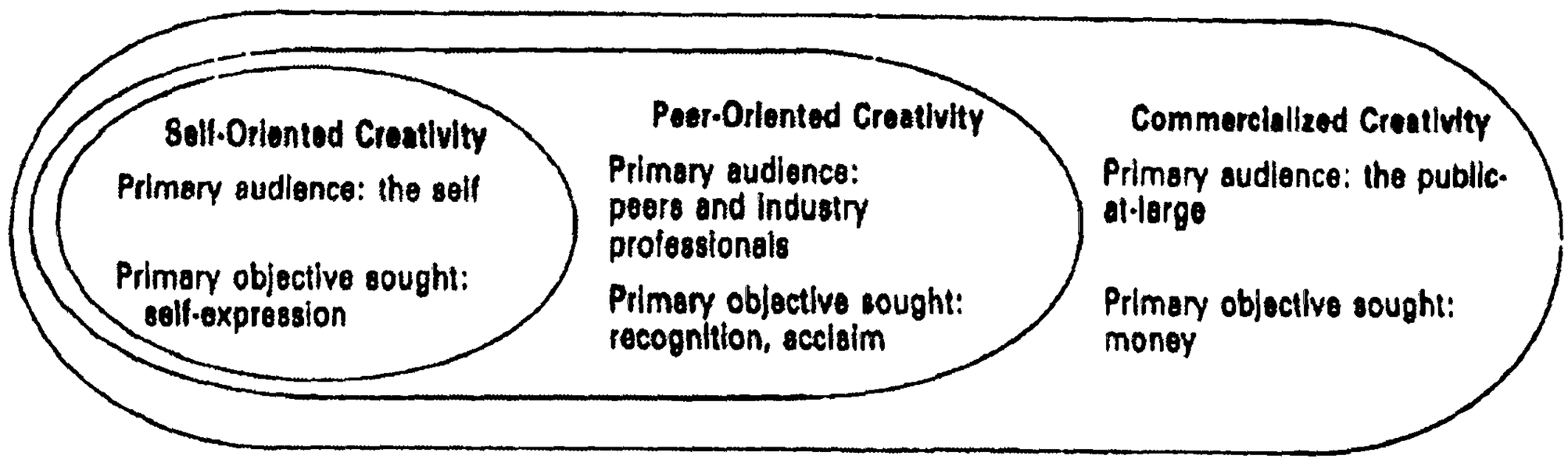
Hirschman concluded that they could not because artists do not bring forth products according to a marketing concept that holds that products should be created in response to latent or expressed needs of their potential consumers. Such a concept would not grasp the intricacies of an artistic product. The reason for this is that the creators of artistic products first of all are consumers of their own products. "*(a)nd if they find them*

96 http www audience-development net/who htm

97 Diggle, K (1976) Marketing the Arts. An introduction and practical guide, City University, London,

acceptable to internal emotional and cognitive 'truth tests', are then willing to make them available for consumption by peers and the public" (Hirschman, 1986, p.49). Hirschman consequently proposed that arts consumption has three levels of marketing exchanges illustrated in Figure 3.1 below.

Figure 3.1 Hirschman's arts marketing exchange levels (Hirschman, 1986, p.49)



The first level or the outer circle depicts the original conventional marketing exchange where transactions are conducted between producers and the mass market or different mass segments and the values are measured in sales and profits in exchange for goods and services.

The second level, which includes both the first and the second circle, is Kotler's generic concept of marketing exchanges where in addition market transactions can occur between any two parties and not only financial means express the value of exchange and the outcome of it.

When it comes to the third level, which includes the inner of all three circles, Hirschman argues that

> (t)he audience whose approval is first sought, whose wants are initially salient, whose needs must be a priori satisfied is the self. The self-oriented marketer (read: the artist[98]) creates a product out of the need for personal expression and, in return, receives a sense of personal satisfaction and fulfilment. Thus, the

98 Author's remark

exchange cycle may first occur within one individual before it is extended to others (Hirschman. 1986, p.50).

Hirschman continues to argue that the reason for this is that art works in themselves cannot be meaningfully decomposed into a set of attributes; that they contain abstract features; are experienced subjectively; are non-utilitarian in that they can be consumed and enjoyed for no other than intrinsic reason; and are unique or at least assumed to be so.

It is interesting to notice that Hirschman does not seem to acknowledge Kotler's introduction of the concept of societal marketing in the 1976 third edition of his standard marketing management text book (Kotler. 1976). Kotler here "*(h)olds that the organization's task is to determine the needs, wants, and interests of target markets and to deliver the desired satisfactions more effectively and efficiently than competitors in a way that preserves or enhances the consumer's and society's well-being*" (Philip Kotler, 1976, quoted in Colbert, 2001, p.11).

Building among others on the insights of Diggle and Hirschman, Colbert (2007[99]) approaches the task of defining what he labels cultural marketing by drawing a distinction between those cultural enterprises which are product-centred, focused on cultural products as their raison d'être (Colbert, 2007, p.8), presenting unique artistic works preferably designed not to be reproduced; and those companies which are market-centred, focused on their markets and handle mass produced cultural products originating from unique artistic products (Ibid.). He argues that this last category is best managed through a traditional market-led marketing management approach while the first needs a product-led approach which he labels cultural marketing and defines as follows:

[99] This is the third edition since 1993 of his seminal book on marketing culture and the arts.

> The art of making contact with market segments that are likely to be interested in the product by adapting the marketing variables – price, distribution and promotion – in order to put the product in contact with a sufficient number of consumers, thereby achieving the objectives that were set based on the company's mission (Colbert, 2007, p.12).

Colbert takes a wider perspective than Hirchman and includes in addition to the end customer, partners (distribution intermediaries and partners, co-producers and media) and governmental and private funders of various kind in his understanding of the markets a cultural enterprise must target (Colbert, 2007, Section 3.1). He argues that *"(e)ach of these markets is driven by different motivations and expects different benefits"* and that cultural enterprises must develop *"(m)arketing strategies designed specifically for that market"* (Ibid., p.60). In his description of the market relations between a cultural enterprise and its multiple markets, he focuses on transactions which enables an arts organisation to secure its financial basis and attract *"a sufficient number of consumers, thereby achieving the objectives that were set based on the company's mission"* (Colbert, 2007, p.12).

Like Hirschman not even Colbert (2007) seems to fully incorporate Kotler's introduction of the concept of societal marketing (Kotler, 1976). Such an approach will as we shall see later in this thesis[100] mean that an arts organisation should recognise that its network of partners or multiple markets have extensive inter-affiliations which might influence the organisation's ability to achieve its mission and goals and succeed in its operations.

The extension of the standard marketing concept for for-profit businesses discussed above, opens up two new perspectives which expand Kotler's different types of publics or target markets, mentioned earlier. The first is the importance of understanding and taking

[100] See for example Section 3.4.

into consideration that there exists a relationship between a business organisation's activities and the surrounding society and that those activities have an impact on this society. The second is that focusing on a society's well-being indicates that, for instance, an arts organisation's products – arts experiences – are complex products which involve many more aspects than the art work itself.

Leading textbooks like Kotler and Scheff (1997) and Colbert (2001 and 2007) provide a supplement which offers a systematic and practical approach to how current marketing knowledge can be applied to the arts. The important thing in the context of this thesis is how these authors apply the standard marketing concept of core product and product surround to the arts.

Kotler and Scheff propose that in arts marketing one has to extend the product definition beyond the *core product* (Kotler and Scheff, 1997, p.192) – i.e. the actual play presented, music piece performed, painting displayed etc. They posit that the customer is not only buying the core product, but also an overall experience. They call it the *expected product* (Ibid., p.192) because the customer normally also includes expectations concerning box office and other manned services, a well-prepared venue and adjacent facilities as well as good views and acoustics etc. connected to the purchase of tickets and the consumption of the product. But Kotler and Scheff continue arguing for yet another aspect: the *augmented product* (Ibid., p.193). This they define as the *"(f)eatures and benefits beyond what the target audience normally expects"* that *"(s)erve to enhance the experience of current patrons, thereby building satisfaction and commitment"* (Ibid., p.193).

Colbert acknowledges this approach, but finds it more illuminating to define artistic products by using three dimensions: the referential, technical and circumstantial (Colbert, 2007, p 33-35). The *referential* dimension is the consumers' own frame of reference which enables them to situate the actual product through comparison in the context with what else (discipline, genre, type, historical context) they have experienced and in the particular market and/or actual distribution system they normally find themselves. The *technical* dimension includes all the technical and material components – the artwork itself, the vehicular technical support that brings the work across to the audience or parts of the artistic product as such – the artistic components of the performance. The core issue here is that in any performance the technical vehicle will influence the quality of the work as it is received by the attender. Colbert's last dimension is the *circumstantial* – the transient context that surrounds the perception of the artistic product. This dimension sets its mark on the situation in which the audience member receives, perceives and appreciates the art work.

Kotler and Scheff's and Colbert's product dimensions are partly overlapping and were thus summed up by myself in an article in 1998:

Figure 3.2 Dimensions and characteristics of the cultural offering (Maelen, 1998, p.9)

The dimensions of the offering	Characteristics
The core product and the referential dimension	• The discipline and type of event (e.g., theatre play, rock consert) • The genre (e.g., tragedy, farce, heavy metal, punk) • The program/content (e.g., type of play, old music, album release)
The referential dimension and the dimension of expentancy	• The artist or performer • The consumer by means of knowledge and experience • The substitute product already in possession by customer • The competitors' products to which the customer is attracted
The dimension of expentancy	• The way to get tickets • The quality: price and performance (e.g., how will the performer do today?) • The technical dimension of the product, the production process and the venue • Convenience
The augmented product and the circumstantial dimension	• Added features which might influence the consumer of attending the event • Influence the consumer by means of mood, physical state or level of comfort

Brenda Gainer (1995) brings in another aspect which adds insight to the significance of Kotler and Scheff's augmented and Colbert's circumstantial dimensions. Gainer directs the following attention to the independent contribution by audience members to experiencing arts works: *"(a) company may be evaluated not only in terms of the ability of its stage performance to "satisfy", but in terms of its ability to provide a venue for the enactment of consumers' own performances"* (Gainer, 1995, p.253).

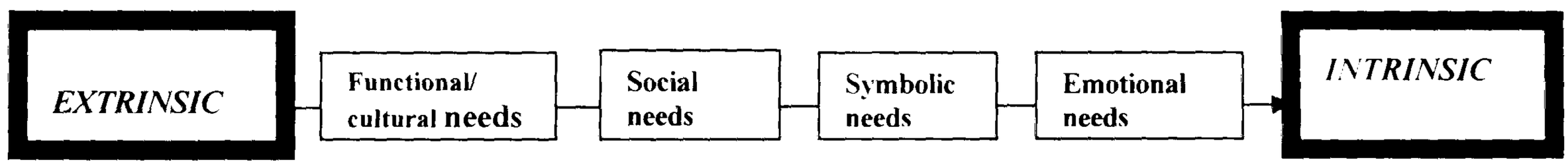
Simona Botti (2000) sums up Gainer's, Hirschman's, Kotler and Scheff's, Colbert's and others' work and confirms the conventional outlook that arts marketing like any marketing approach must start with defining the benefits sought by customers when art works are consumed. Her approach is to analyse the motivations that drive arts consumption in order to define the benefits sought or the needs that an arts consumer is striving to satisfy. According to Botti artistic products have four benefits:

1. *Functional (cultural) benefits* – linked to a thirst for cultural knowledge/ education.

2. *Symbolic benefits* – linked to the meaning arts consumption has at the personal and social level in terms of defining who you are.
3. *Social benefits* – linked to the meaning arts consumption has in building and maintaining social relationships.
4. *Emotional benefits* – linked to the *'(d)esire for an experience that is compelling, stimulating and fun'* (Botti, 2000, 18).

Botti positions these benefits *"(o)n a continuum from extrinsic (utilitarian) to intrinsic (emotional) rewards"* (Ibid., p.18) thus illustrating that even if *one specific* type of need met through an actual art consumption activity has a more distinct effect than others, an art experience may result in more than one benefit at the same time.

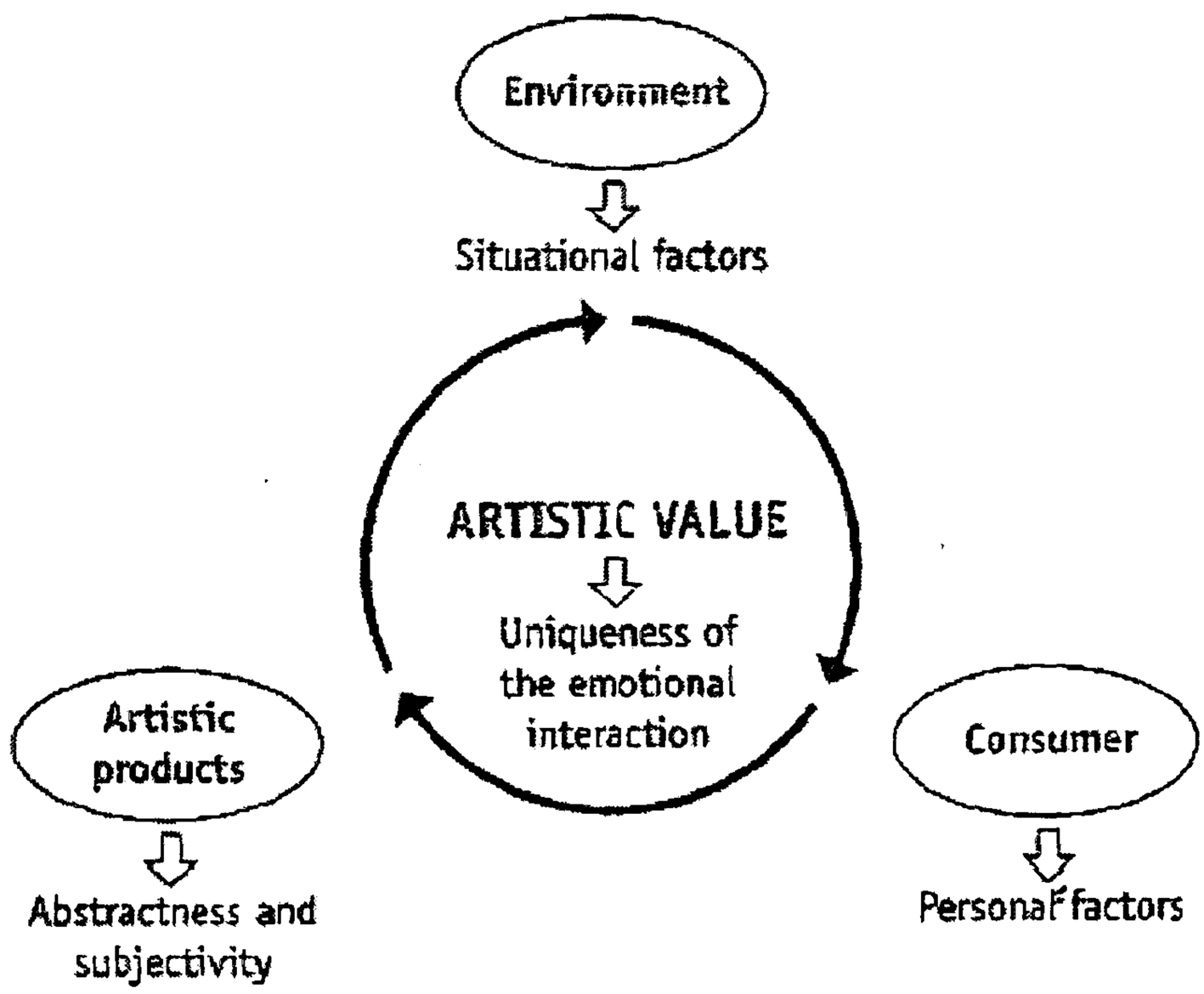
Figure 3.3 Needs satisfied through arts consumption (Botti, 2000, p.18)



Adhering to the conventions of marketing management, Botti's project is to carve out a concept of artistic value since facilitating the exchange of values between the parties involved is the core object of marketing management. Following the categorisation of the needs satisfied through arts consumption Botti posits that artistic value is created when an arts consumer obtains unique emotional benefits from an arts experience, whether the arts work experienced is unique or replicated in one form or another. The important thing is that the consumer has a unique experience and the uniqueness can be produced in many different ways – through unique art works, unique and different presentations, surroundings, personal moods and situations etc. Consequently Botti concurs with Kotler and Scheff, Colbert and Gainer in pointing out that emotional reactions to works of arts depend not only on the core product itself, but also on personal factors, and the

circumstances under which the experience takes place, as illustrated in the following figure.

Figure 3.4 The determinants of artistic value (Botti, 2000, p.20)



Botti continues by stating that the artistic value is thus created when *"(t)he flow potential*[101] *that artists design into their products (...) is drawn out by means of the relationship established between themselves and their consumers (public or audience)"* (Ibid., p.21) and that consequently

> (m)arketing's primary function in the arts is to ensure that the artistic potential of the product is suitably managed and transferred from the artist to different publics. This requires a determination of (1) how the artistic potential can be diffused, and (2) the attributes of the artwork that will enhance the interaction between the work and the target audience in order for its artistic potential to be acknowledged. (Ibid., p.21)

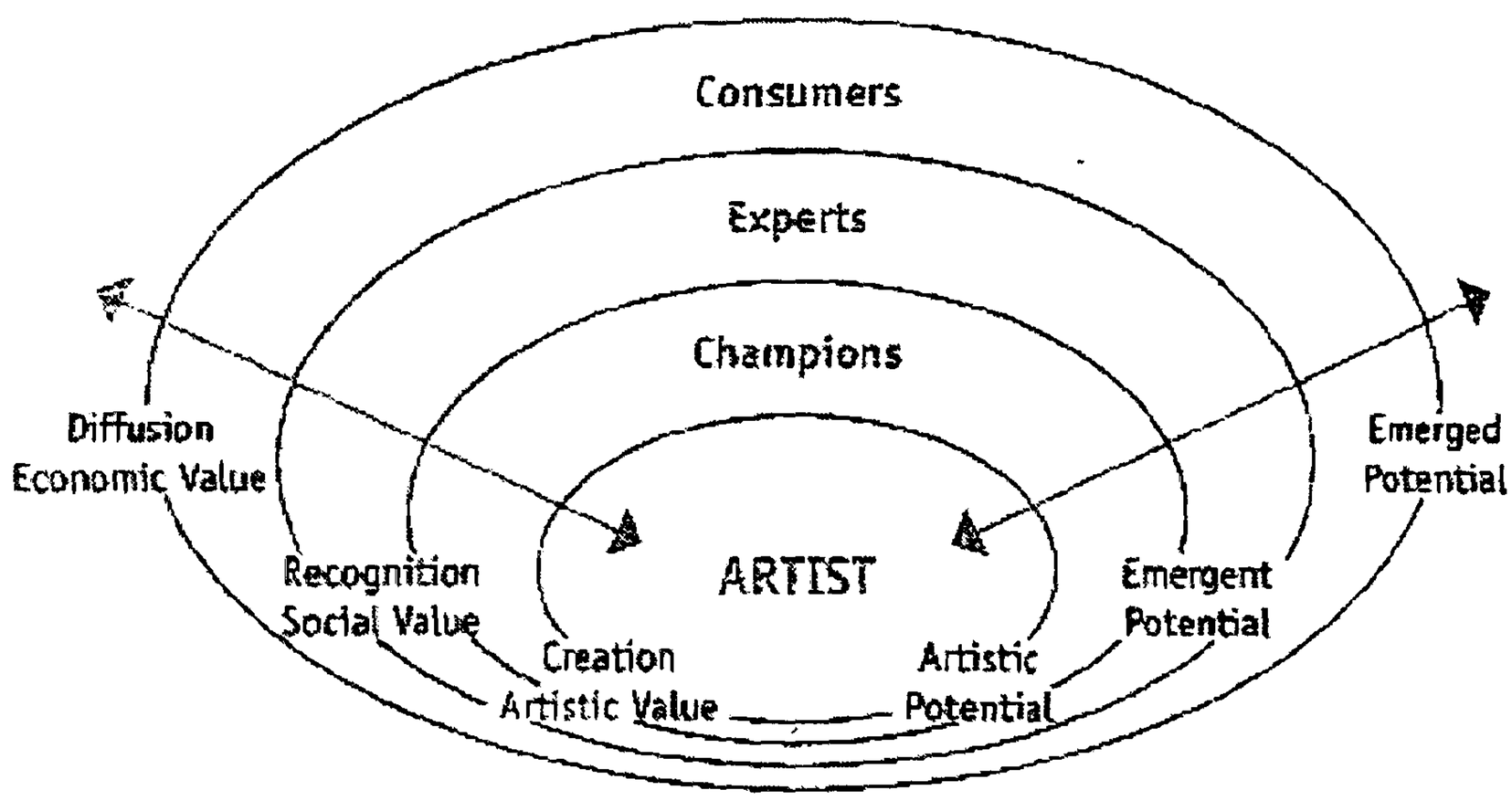
And she goes on:

101 The characteristics of flow are the deep and concentrated involvement in risky or difficult tasks that challenge and extend the person's capacity, an element of novelty and discovery, and the enjoyment of the activity for its own sake BOORSMA, M (2006) A strategic logic for Arts Marketing Integrating customer value and artistic objectives International Journal of Cultural Policy, Vol 12

> The object of marketing in the arts thus relates to the ways in which either the emergent artistic potential might be increased or the emerged artistic potential might be enhanced. This is not up to the artist but up to the subjects who manage those services that will facilitate the diffusion of the artistic value to the society. Marketing in the arts is marketing of artistic services. (Ibid., p.21)

Botti's argument seems to correspond with Howard Becker's (Becker. 1982) arts world concept and my own application of this in Chapter 2[102] – as she designs a division of obligations and responsibilities in the process of designing, creating and diffusing artistic value and attributes these obligations and responsibilities to different players, as shown in the figure below.

Figure 3.5 The process of artistic value creation and diffusion (Botti, 2000, p.22)



Although Botti places the artist at the core of her model she does not seem to attribute the artist the same function and status Hirschman assigns her *self-oriented marketer* –

> (s)elf-oriented creators create to communicate a personal vision or satisfy an inner need for self-expression. Rather than seeking creative guidance from peers or the public, they follow their own inclinations and then present their creation to others – desiring to receive approval from peers and/or the public. (...) (t)hey believe that by creating something that vividly expresses their values and emotions, the audience will be moved to accept their perspective (Hirschman, 1986, p.48).

102 Section 4

Botti argues that the (artistic) value an artist embeds in an art work is brought out by or created only when diffusion starts, and that is when the *champions* and the *experts* who are individuals, groups or organisations, and who are in the front line of gaining artistic value and possess the competence and skills, translate and transfer artistic value from the artist to the experts (champions) and from the experts to the consumers at large (experts). Their target for diffusion is the distinction between *champions* and *experts*. As the potential shifts from artistic through emergent to emerged on the one side the value simultaneously shifts from artistic through social to economic value on the other, as the artistic products are enhanced by personal, social and community attributes.

Botti's main contribution to the development of the arts marketing concept in relation to this thesis is her emphasis on how those who manage marketing and diffusion of artistic products add value to the role the arts play for its consumers and in the society as well as pointing out the relative importance of an arts work's uniqeness to its patrons. Botti does not however seem to take Gainer's contribution into full account. Gainer shows that arts consumption involves an aspect of transference and creation of interpersonal symbolic meaning in addition to Botti's focus on the connection between the consumption and experience of the core art product itself. Gainer argues that

> in addition to choosing the product an arts company produces, consumers choose a company that provides an opportunity both to produce and consume the performances central to an interaction ritual of social reproduction. Thus, the paradoxical situation arises in which a company can be successful even if the staged product does not particular satisfy many of its customers (Gainer, 1995, p.253).

A managerial implication of this is that arts organisations might want both to provide and arrange physical and social meeting places as well as market them as a part of their complete product and by this change of the core product attract customers that want to share consumption experiences with family, friends and acqaintances in addition to

experiencing arts. On this point it is interesting to note the connections back to the Arts Council of Englands emphasis on the need for *'happy and stimulating surroundings'* to promote *'successful pratice and enjoyment of the arts'* in its booklet 'Plan for an Arts Centre' (ACGB,1945) – see page 54 above.

Miranda Boorsma (2006), however, is concerned that the champions of arts marketing are too much focused on the consumers' needs and wants. *"They assume that the customer-value approach, which has proved to be successful in commercial business, is also the best approach for marketing the arts as long as it is applied within the constraints of the artistic mission"* (Boorsma, 2006, p.74). Inspired by Jo Caust (2003), Boorsma warns about what she calls the '*(a)rts marketing pitfall*' (Boorsma, Ibid., p.74) – an unintended effect of this uncritical focus. Caust argues that the consequences for the arts sector of an indiscriminate adaptation of market driven ideology, language, strategies and techniques, might well lead on the one hand to *"(t)he production of safe, consumer-oriented arts product which, in the end, may not be what the audience either wants or needs"* (Caust, 2003, p.58) and on the other to damaging the *"(u)nique value of art as a tool for interpreting the world in which we live and as means for providing transformational experiences"* (Ibid., p.64).

Boorsma pinpoints that the conventional arts marketing approach is

> '(b)ased upon the (implicit) assumption of a romantic conception of art as an autonomous phenomenon. With the assumption of autonomy, artistic creation and arts marketing can be defined as independent tasks, each maintaining its own logic and responsibilities. This ultimately presupposes that the arts marketing task of finding and building audiences can be undertaken without affecting or changing the artistic results' (Boorsma, 2006, p.75).

Based on a review of studies of contemporary philosophers of aesthetics and marketing scholars, Boorsma concludes that

- Arts and cultural products to day are regarded as socially embedded phenomena, products of social interaction – *"(t)he relationship between art-making and reception can no longer be ignored or considered extrinsic to the core of art as art"* (Ibid., p.75). Consequently an arts consumer is no longer a passive beneficiary but an active *"(c)o-creator in the total art process, but not a co-designer of the product in terms of its form"* (Ibid., p.85).
- Arts organisations are as a consequence of this, not purely engaged in *"(m)arket exchange relationships with their customers, but are also engaged in artistic exchange relationships"* (Ibid., p.77). Accordingly *"(a)rts marketing should aim to support and facilitate the artistic experience as the core customer value"* (Ibid., p.85). Important here is to secure an artistic programme that spurs artistic experience by challenging dominant conventions, that establishes an organisation's trustworthy reputation for such quality arts experiences, that creates supporting services and optimal circumstances for arts experiencing by, for example, making available opportunities for the audience to enhance its skills in order to facilitate the role the audience has as co-creator.
- *"The selection of art consumers should be driven by artistic objectives"* (Ibid., p.86) and *"(p)erformance measurement should focus on the contribution to the artistic objectives"* (Ibid., p.87).

On both these last two aspects Boorsma becomes vague because as she says there is limited research available to base conclusions on and adequate and appropriate new research is needed. As far as *'the selection of arts consumers'* is concerned, she argues for nourishing long-term relationships with existing customers both with reference to the conventional understanding of them as being the most valuable customers (Peter, J. Paul and Donnelly jr. J.H. 1997, p.176), and secondly because they are already equipped with skills to complete or co-create works of art. On the other hand, she argues for the obligation she finds arts organisations have to bring in new, occasional and non-qualified

customers because of the specific function she argues the arts fulfil within society – *"(t)hey provide a critical perspective on established cultural patterns and give access to new options and meanings. New artistic metaphors have to reach a sufficient number of people to make significant impact on established worldviews"* (Boorsma. 2006. p.86). She argues for a *'word of mouth approach'*. but warns at the same time of the specialist jargon that champions and experts or those who normally are the best spreaders of information by word-of-mouth, often use.

As far as performance measurements go, Boorsma says this is very much an unexplored area although she makes references to general research about service satisfaction and relationship management.

To use Boorsma's words as she comments on Botti's taxonomy of arts consumption benefits: *"This taxonomy demonstrates where arts marketing thinking about the motives for arts consumption now stands"* (Ibid., p.81). She herself adds to this classification *"(a)rtistic benefits linked to the experience to complete a work of art"* (Ibid., p.81). but falls short of pointing out a direction for new arts marketing strategies and techniques to meet these benefits. Boorsma's distinction between co-creation and co-design seems to be another way of describing the relationship Hirschman's *self-oriented creator and marketer* has or is striving to have with her/his peers and public. One could also add with reference to Kotler and Scheff's product extensions and Colbert's dimensions that Boorsma's distinction between co-creation and co-design extends into them and takes a firm stand for a product-oriented approach to arts marketing as opposed to a market-centred position which would be the conventional market managing position to take.

Boorsma's contribution to the development of the arts marketing concept by introducing the post-modern aspect of audience benefit linked to co-creation of works of art is however not taking her own point of departure regarding arts and culture as products of social interaction to its conclusion. According to Gainer (1995) what characterises arts attendance in a dislocated and impersonalised post-industrial world is that individuals want to use the opprtunities arts attendance allow to establish and maintain bonds to a particular social group – a post-industrial ritual of reproduction of social ties as well as attend art events (Gainer, 1995, p. 254).

Linking back to my presentation of Howard S. Becker's notion of the arts world concept (Becker, 1982) and my application of it in Chapter 2[103], as well as the insights Pine and Gilmore (1999 a, 1999 b) contribute in their *experience and transformation economy* concepts presented in the same section, I find it essential for the upcoming discussion of audience development to build on the discussion of the development of arts marketing above and to make the role of the audience more visible and picture a process whereby from an attendee's – a consumer's or patron's – point of view value is added to an artwork as it is pushed and pulled through a process from creation to diffusion – i.e. an artistic value adding chain.

In mapping out such an artistic value adding chain, the following principles will apply:

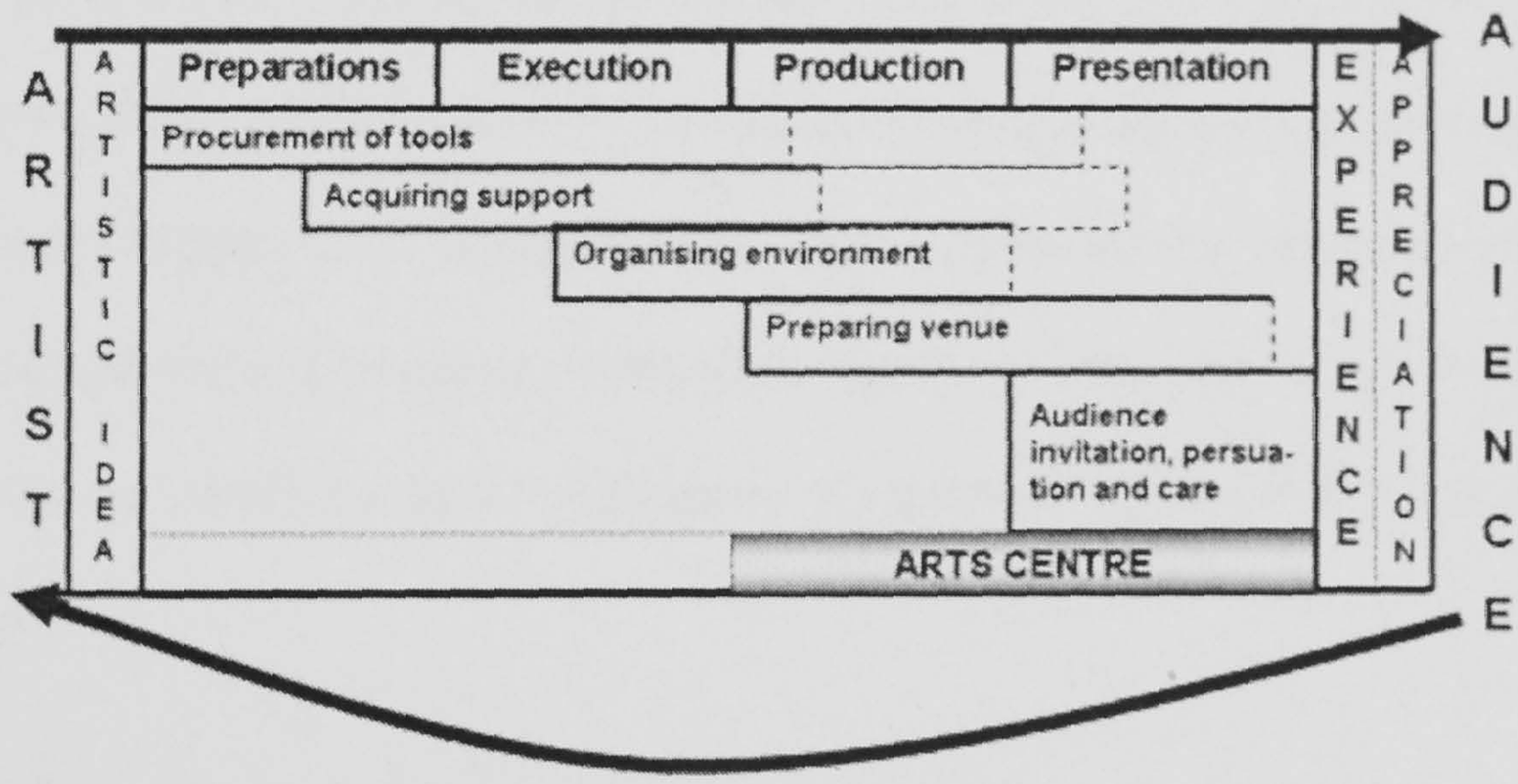
- A work of art is defined as the collective product of artists and their support personnel – see Becker (1982) and Boorsma (2006).
- The value for the customers is constantly increasing as the product is pushed and pulled through the chain – see Kotler and Scheff (1997), Pine and Gilmore (1999 a/b), Botti (2000) and Colbert (2007).

103 Section 4

- The contribution the different parties make to the value added varies from one part of the chain to the other – see Kotler and Scheff (1997) and Colbert (2007).
- The audience reception and reaction to the work of art represents a completion of the chain and feeds back to the artist and makes her/him the self-oriented marketer – see Hirschman (1986) and Boorsma (2006).

The relevance to this thesis is demonstrated by the insertion of *'the arts centre'* to illustrate where in the value chain I think this type of organisation fits – as illustrated in the following figure.

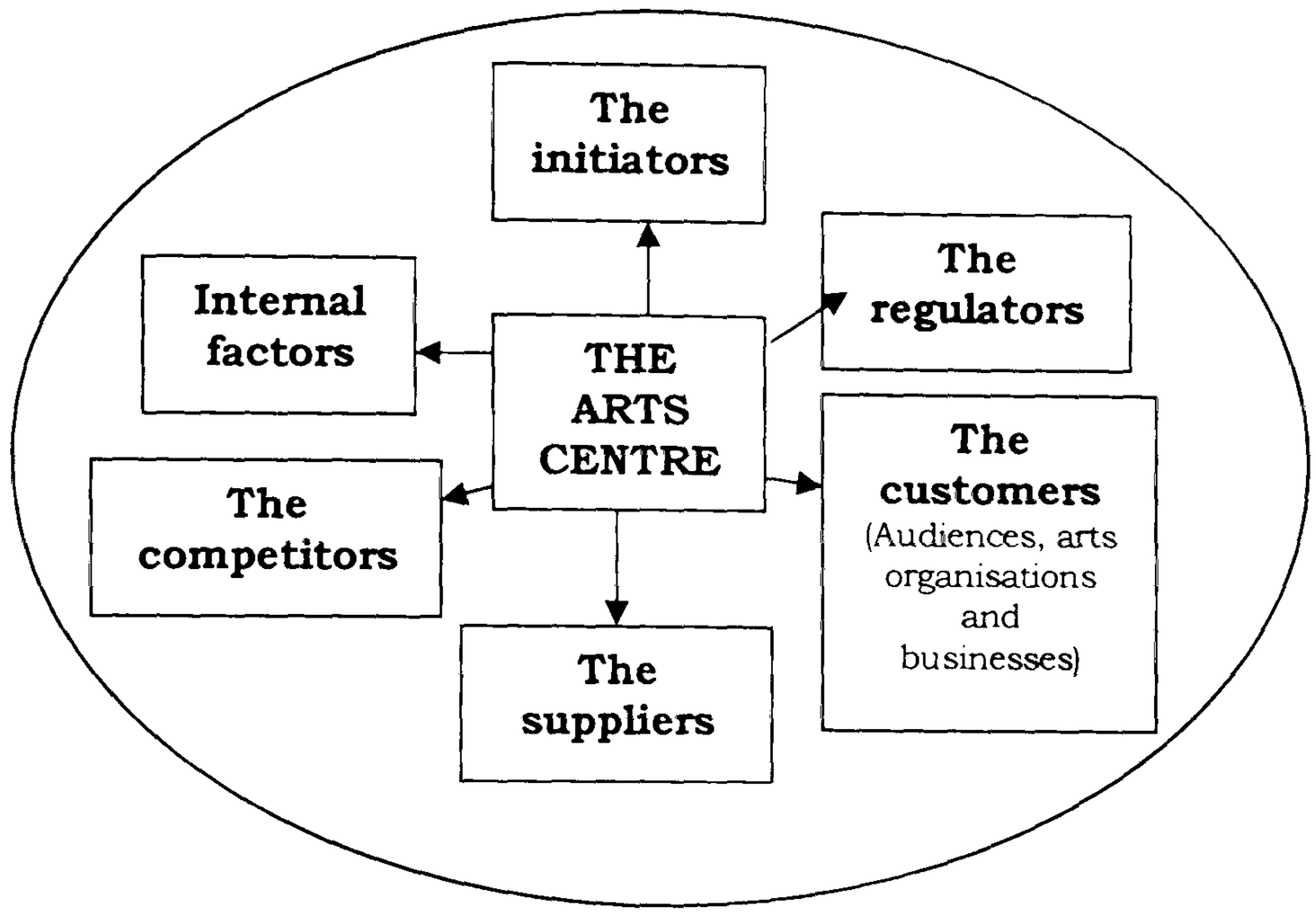
Figure 3.6 An arts work's value chain



Likewise Colbert's and Kotler's different types of target markets or publics as well as Kotler's emphasis on the existence of a relationship between any business organisation's activities and society are a clear link to my description in Chapter 2[104] of arts centres as nodes in networks of partners or stakeholders of various importance and affiliation as the below figure copied from Chapter 2 shows.

104 Section 4

Figure 2.1/3.7 An arts centre's network connections



The customers' box is in this version detailed to make an explicit link to this chapter showing the three main categories of customers detailed in the previous presentation of the model in Chapter 2[105] – audiences, arts organisations renting venues for rehearsals and performances and businesses with other relations to the arts centre. I will return later to Gainer's findings on the importance of rituals of reproduction of interpersonal relations.

3.3.2 The concept of audience development

The previous chapters and sections of this thesis have laid out some of the factors that will influence arts organisations' short- and long-term business activities – the instrumentalism of cultural policy: the increasing competition from the culture industry and commodification of artistic products; and the pressure publicly funded and subsidised arts organisations are under to perform and deliver against expectations and targets set by public funding bodies. These factors should be borne in mind when taking a closer look at some of the current approaches and definitions of audience development.

105 Section 2.4

We have also seen that government policy reflects an understanding of market orientation which is based on the elementary principles of customer sovereignty, increased atteandance measured in box office income, private sponsorships, in Britain social and cultural inclusion and in both countries operational efficiency and transparency; all introduced under the liberal conservative regimes in both Britain and Norway and to some extent continued under New Public Management. As such this orientation is within the limits of the dominant definitions of arts marketing presented by Diggle and Colbert (2007) even though the subsequent discussion of the concept has shown systematic improvements of important aspects of it. The aim of arts marketing, however refined a concept, seems to be to increase attendance and consumption of artistic products in order to achieve the arts organisation's mission whether it is purely and artistic objective or mixed with financial and other objectives.

Following the New Labour embracing of the desirability of recruiting new audiences in the introduction to this chapter, the Arts Council of England carried out the New Audiences Programme between 1998 and 2003 (ACE, 2003b). This programme became the primary vehicle for getting the arts sector acquainted with audience development. The objective of the programme was "*(t)o encourage as many people as possible to participate in and benefit from the arts in England*" (Johnson et al., 2003, p.1). By funding specific projects in a range of art forms organised by a variety of arts organisations aiming for a broad spectrum of audiences, the New Audience Programme aimed to bring about a huge database of stories, intending to document what type of audience development worked and what did not, and also research aiming to find out the reason behind success and failure. What is striking though is that from the beginning to the end there seems to have been little effort put into defining what audience development

really is[106]. Johnson et. al. conclude that "*(a)udience development is a holistic process and organisations must examine their whole ethos and approach*" and "*(t)hat organisations must model internally what they wish to achieve externally to be truly inclusive and attract broader audiences*"(Ibid., p.15).

Attempts to define the concept have been made though, and the purpose of this section is to look more closely at some of the current definitions of the term, to put the concept of audience development in context and try to find out what it means and how it is supposed to affect the operations of arts organisations. My exploration is based on and linked to the preceding discussion of the development of cultural policies and the evolution of arts centres in the two countries I study as well as my account of the evolution of the arts marketing concept.

3.3.2.1 Why bother with defining the Audience Development concept?

An attempt to define the concept of audience development is a quest that some will find useless, futile and even unhelpful because such an effort would be to divert energy and attention from what may be regarded as more important – getting arts organisations to focus on their audience development practices to support their objectives. Others may find it even harmful because it could result in an idea that there exists one 'right definition' leading, for instance, funding bodies to put up specific benchmarks for assessments and financial support. I will argue that a comparative study of how arts centres in Britain and Norway are recognising and accommodating the cultural policy goal of widening audience access and developing new audiences – which is what this

106 The aims of the programme were to

- tackle barriers which stop people engaging with the arts
- increase the range and number of people participating
- create opportunities for people to become involved in the arts in different spaces and places
- allow learning and sharing of experiences between organisations to improve audience developmen
- allow learning and sharing of experiences between organisations to improve audience development

thesis researches – will not be possible to conduct unless the concept of audience development as such is scrutinised and defined.

Even if the use of the term *audience development* nowadays is wide spread among arts organisations and policy bodies in the United Kingdom it is not well known or – more correctly – may not often be used in most other parts of the world except for North America and English-speaking Australasia. As a group of UK-based arts marketing agencies concluded in 2001 after exploring what the situation was in the field of audience development in the rest of Europe, this is probably so because the word 'marketing' is not widely used across Europe (Cochrane and Hargreaves, 2002). Moreover, as Cochrane and Hargreaves also point out, even audience is not a clear cut and commonly used term across the arts community in Europe and Gillard uses the term 'visitor' (Gillard, 2000, p.126) in her definition of audience development. In fact, the same group of individuals we label 'an audience' could under the same and other circumstances be referred to as markets, segments, readers, respondents, attenders, publics, consumers and so on. Indeed Brian Hand argues that *"(t)he primacy of the concept of audience can be seen as a recent adaptation"* (Hand, 2000, p.25). In his brief narrative of the development of terminology used by the Arts Council of Ireland he concludes that as late as in the end of the 1980s, development of audiences for the arts was not a key policy objective in the Republic of Ireland.

Since Cochrane and Hargreaves did their research a network – the Audiences Europe Network – of arts professionals has been established to share knowledge and experience in the field across Europe. A challenge confronting building a pan-European network has been that while British professionals are engulfed in *"(t)he UK's*

emphasis on social inclusion, and the priority this takes within arts organisations and the funding structure (...) most of our partners are interested in using the arts as a social tool for the 'democratisation of the arts" (Cochrane and Hargreaves, 2002).

In Norway for instance the 2003 Governmental White Paper on cultural policies (KKD, 2002-03) does not discuss audience development or arts marketing as such. Marketing is never mentioned and audience development is only mentioned once in connection with dance and the need to bring in new audiences for this art form. Market and consumer related terminology is not yet an acknowledged and recognised part of official generic cultural policy-speak, but there are examples that political institutions at local levels have started to debate audience development practices.

Heather Maitland, however, argues that in the UK *"(a)lthough the term is being widely used within the arts community there is no shared idea of what it actually means"* (Maitland, 2003, p.2). In an article in ArtsProfessional she explains this lack of shared conceptualisation by pointing to the fact that the different groups of professionals in the arts – artists, educational workers and marketers – have different ideas about audience development stemming from their different operational priorities. She questions, however, whether this is a problem when what *"(m)atters more is that an organisation's audience development focuses on its objectives, whether artistic, financial, social or a combination off all three"* (Maitland, 2002), but illustrates the reason for conceptual frustration if not confusion when she points to the fact that some audience development projects fail because there is no congruency between objectives – *"(b)ecause their outward objectives are social but their real objectives are financial"* (Ibid.).

Yet, in a later article Maitland takes a closer look into the audience development research that has been done since the mid-1990s with among other things the aim of defining the concept (Maitland, 2005). Now Maitland concludes as she did in 2002 that some of the authors she has reviewed avoid clarifying the term and others only list some characteristics of audience development. She acknowledges, however, that the audience development concept needs to be liberated from the above-mentioned wooliness and confusion enveloping it, both for the sake of practitioners as well as researchers. As it now stands practitioners resort to techniques and tactics, not taking enough time to reflect on why and how they should engage in audience development at all.

3.3.2.2 Current attempts to define audience development

After extensive research commissioned by the Arts Council of England, Heather Maitland provided the definition that "*(a)udience development is a planned process which involves building a relationship between an individual and the arts*" underlining that audience development "*(p)rojects 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 organisation*" (Maitland, 2000, p.6) [107].

This falls in line with the earlier-mentioned conclusions from the New Audience Programme. Maitland records the reasons for developing audiences as being specific for each arts organisation and closely linked to its objectives, whether being artistic, financial, social or any combination of them (Ibid., p.7). The way audience development helps in achieving these objectives is through "*(b)reaking down the physical, psychological and social barriers which stop people participating in or attending the arts*" (Ibid., p.9).

107 An updated edition of an edition from 1997

Maitland identifies four examples of types of barriers – physical, psychological, social and lack of information – which an arts organisation through audience development projects may address when trying to increase attendance and participation with both old and new audiences, as well as improving understanding, knowledge and appreciation of particular art forms.

Following Maitland (1997/2000) Rick Rogers (1998) emphasised that "*(t)he successful running of arts organisations requires the effective use of a variety of functions – in addition to that of artistic programming. Two key areas are education and marketing*' and he continues:

> 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. Education can work without audience development, but it is hard to imagine real audience development without education – and access for a wide range of groups and individuals can only be achieved if education and marketing join forces more effectively. (Rogers, 1998, p.3)

Through identifying common objectives for educational and marketing activities in an arts organisation Rogers sets out to design guidelines for overcoming obstacles to collaboration.

In their study *A New Framework for Building Participation in the Arts* McCarthy and Jinnett (2001) argue that the term audience development may not be adequate to understand what developing audiences is about. They argue that it would be better to use the term audience participation; mainly because experiencing the arts is to engage in interaction with objects of art, which ties well in with Hirschman's (1986) and Boorsma's (2006) arguments above and with my lay out of the artistic value adding chain – see figure 3.6 above. McCarthy and Jinnett argue that the term audience development as such has, more often than participation, directed the attention to increasing audience size (McCarthy and Jinnett, 2001, pp.5-6). As a consequence they use the concept, whether

audience development or audience participation, *"(t)o mean enhancing arts participation in the broadest sense"* (Ibid., p.6).

McCarthy's and Jinnett's model for audience development emphasises that the crucial point for arts organisations is to focus on influencing the individual decision making process – or behaviour – if increased attendance and participation is going to be achieved. Their model is

> (...) predicated on the assumption that to influence behavior, one must understand how the decisionmaking process actually works. Indeed, a behavioral model must not simply identify factors correlated with a certain behavior, it must specify how those factors operate. Our model attempts to capture the complexity of the decisionmaking process by recognizing that an individual's decision to participate in the arts is really a set of decisions and involves a complex mix of attitudes, intentions, constraints, and behaviors, as well as feedback between that mix and past experience (McCarthy and Jinnett, 2001, p.xii).

Defined this way there is *always* an aspect of participation building going on in the interaction between the arts organisation and the individual attender whether s/he is a recurrent customer, one that is approached with an offer to try out an unfamiliar art form or one that has never attended an arts event earlier. McCarthy and Jinnett seem to make no distinction between maintaining a current audience and developing a new one in this respect.

The model starts with the observation that an individual's *attitudes* towards the arts play a critical role in influencing his or her behaviour. These attitudes are formed on a basis of background factors including

1) *socio-demographic factors*, such as education, income, and occupation; and demographic characteristics, such as age, life-cycle stage, and racial/ethnic background;
2) *personality characteristics* that are unique to the individual;

3) *an individual's prior experiences*: and
4) *an individual's identification with a specific community* – i.e. those individual perceptions are a product of personal beliefs as well as the attitudes of social groups.

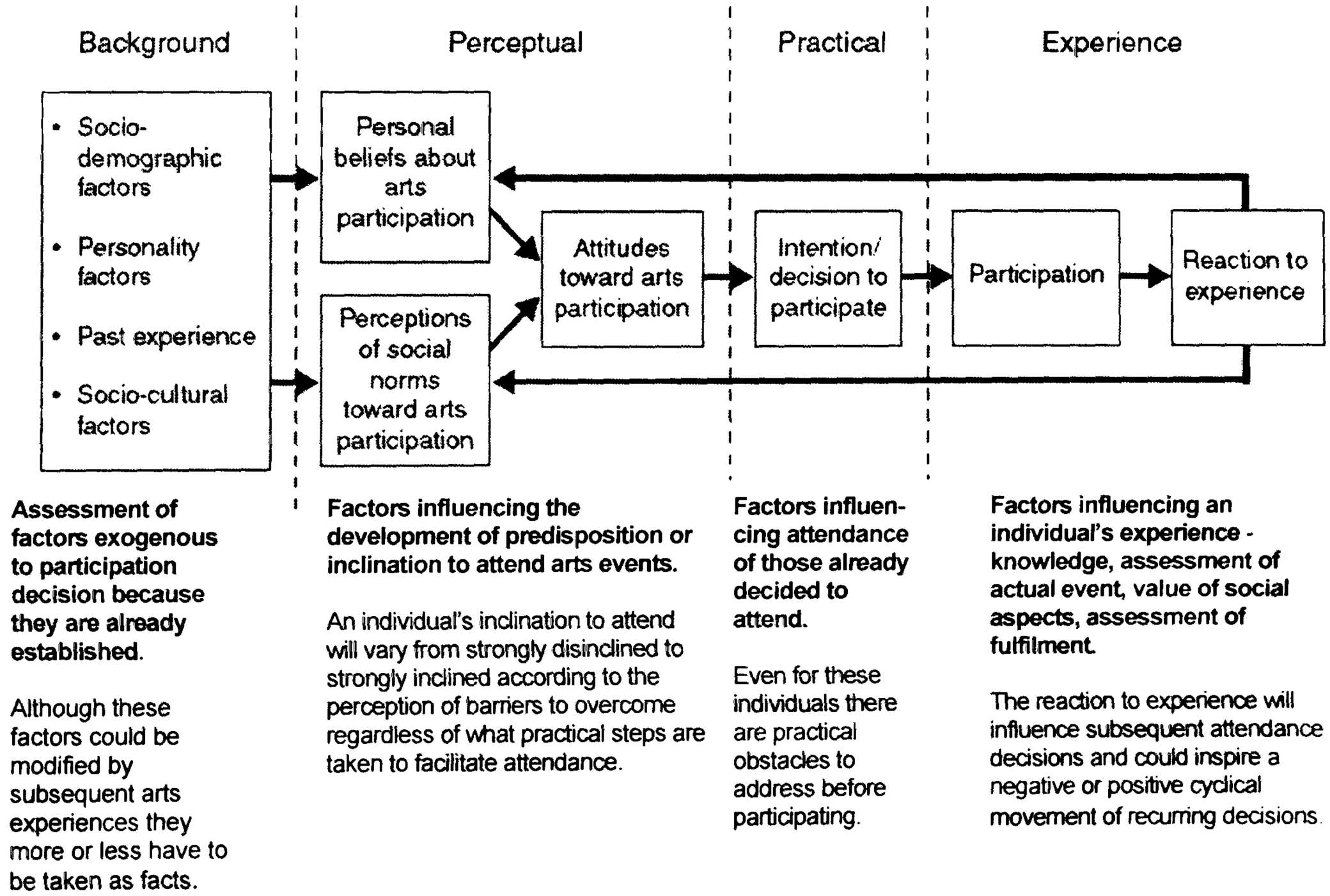
Taken together, these forces help shape a person's perceptions about the arts.

McCarthy and Jinnett's model then assumes that some individuals, because of their backgrounds and attitudes, are disinclined to participate in the arts. Convincing them to change their minds is very difficult without first changing their perceptions of the benefits of the arts. Even people who are favourably predisposed to the arts may be unlikely or unable to participate because of practical obstacles, such as lack of information about upcoming events, time pressures, high cost, or other factors that make it inconvenient. How willing someone is to overcome such practical obstacles depends on individual circumstances and degree of interest in participating in a particular event.

The point they make is that once an individual decides to participate or attend there are several options available and the choice an individual makes about how to participate will again depend upon individual characteristics and circumstances. The model presupposes that when people choose to participate in the arts, the nature of that experience can play a critical role in influencing their beliefs and perceptions, and thus the likelihood and manner in which they will participate in the future. As people become more predisposed towards the arts, they are more likely to participate in diverse ways and with increasing frequency. They are also more likely to participate in multiple art forms.

Deriving from an examination of both empirical and theoretical participation literature McCarthy and Jinnett make it their central argument that, rather than emphasising socio-demographic, socio-cultural and personality factors – although they are important to each and every existing or potential attender – an arts organisation should concentrate on influencing the 'inclination point' in the decision making process and divide the audience into different 'inclination groups'. The following is a summary of their Participation model linking the stages to background factors, attitudes, intentions, past, present and future behaviour:

Figure 3.8 Participation Model (McCarthy and Jinnett, 2001, p.24)



What this model recognises is that focusing on socio-demographic factors when trying to target audiences is to oversimplify the decision making process. Traditional marketing models – conceived on such a basis *"(g)ive too little attention to behavioral differences in*

participation, which in many ways seem to be the key to understanding participation decisions" (McCarthy and Jinnett, 2001, p.21). McCarthy and Jinnet argue that audience development efforts based on these traditional models will only lead to concentration on factors which arts institutions cannot influence or modify and this diverts their ability to construct effective development projects. Contextual factors – e.g. how institutions advertise their message, types of programming they offer, and the tactics they employ to increase participation – which institutions can modify, would, according to these authors, serve the purpose far better.

McCarthy and Jinnett do not, however, suggest that one should expect each and every individual to move through the same whole decision making process each time they are confronted with making a decision to attend an arts event or not.

> By recognizing that individuals can be grouped in according to their stage within the participation decisionmaking process – and that different types of obstacles to participation are associated with each stage – the model can help institutions identify the tactics that will address the obstacles most relevant to their target group. Each stage of the decisionmaking process provides guidance for developing effective institutional strategies (Ibid., p.29).

The model is then designed to provide a way to align goals, target populations and tactics and is set out on the assumption that every arts organisation has the goal to increase attendance for the mere objective of survival, and that there are basically three ways to increase attendance

- to diversify – i.e. to attract different kinds of people at any given point in time than already are attracted;
- to broaden – i.e. attracting more people to the same kind of programme; and
- to deepen – i.e. increasing the current attenders' involvement with the organisation.

Each of these participation goals matches a target population (disinclined. inclined and current participant) as well as relevant influencing factors (perceptual. practical. experiential); and by aligning them in a table as in the one below. McCarthy and Jinnett open up for developing a refined approach to participation-building strategies and tactics.

Table 3.1 Alignment among participation goal, target population, and relevant factors (McCarthy and Jinnett, 2001, p.32)

Participation goal	Diversify	Broaden	Deepen
Target population	Disinclined	Inclined	Current participants
Relevant factors	Perceptual	Practical	Experience

To increase attendance among the disinclined an arts organisation would have to develop strategies to diversify its audience. To make this group overcome its barriers the greatest challenge would be to change attitudes towards art forms or the arts organisation itself. One would have to make them see the arts as accessible and more closely related to their everyday lives and to recognise that, for instance, attending live performances could be an improving extension of the enjoyment they already have with familiar entertainment forms.

To get the already inclined to participate there is a need to apply strategies for broadening the audience base. Then the key question will be how to ease practical barriers like lack of information, inconvenience factors, price and communication.

The strategy to increase current attenders' involvement with an arts organisation is all about deepening their participation, which can be achieved by making the arts experiences themselves more rewarding – meaning fulfilling their wants by providing

possibilities to increase knowledge and to enhance the sense of belonging to a community of aficionados.

McCarthy and Jinnett's model is as Wiggins (2004) sums up *"(a)n improvement on earlier models of audience development in that it provides a method for (...) understanding the factors that influence an individual's likelihood of participating and the process by which he/she progresses to the point of becoming a participant"* (Wiggins, 2004, p.22). Wiggins is, however, critical as to whether the model will function in practice for two reasons. First, because the model is linear. It postulates that perception of barriers must be overcome before practical barriers are addressed and experiences are held. *"It does not allow for the possibility that multiple factors can interact to influence the inclination of a potential arts participant"* (Ibid., p.22).

Furthermore it does not take into account that the same or different sets of barriers will influence the same participants' inclinations to participate in experiencing different types of artistic products. Or to connect back to Hirschman, Botti and Boorsma: it does not allow for the possibility that audiences seek different benefits from different arts experiences – that a consumer of artistic products under different circumstances seeks emotional benefits that are unique for her/him whether the art work is in itself unique or not. Consequently the same barriers will have different effects in diverse arts experience situations.

The model also leaves open to question how one can influence personal decision making variables when the model simultaneously regards personality and socio-cultural factors and past experience as background factors out of an arts organisation's reach of influence.

As Colbert states: *"(c)onsumers typically base their decisions on perceptions"* and even if they might be false they will nonetheless base them *"(o)n a reality they perceive as true"* (Colbert, 2007, p. 5). He additionally points out that *"(f)our factors are known to influence an indivdual's penchant for complex cultural products: family values that encourage or discourage high art, the educational milieu and the value it places on high art, the fact of having attended performances or vitied museums as a child, and amateur art practice"* (Colbert, 2007, pp.62-63). Following this understanding and in line with the acknowledgement of the place arts organisations have in the community, both as influence agents on the society's well-being and as agents of political missionaries whether governments or interest groups, Brenda Gainer (1997) argues for the need for arts organisations to include advocacy for a greater role for arts education in the schools in the repertoire of marketing activities because *"(t)he development of 'arts literacy' early in life is an important part of the process of developing adult supporters and patrons of the arts (...). This is certainly the belief that lies behind the efforts of arts organisations themselves to develop children's programming and educational programs (...)* (Gainer, 1997, p.253).

Thirdly, there is another aspect that lies within the socio-cultural and socio-demographic frames of reference McCarthy and Jinnet also seem to be willing to exclude from the audience development and participation focus, that is the influence of gender on arts participation. Gainer (1993, 1995) quotes studies which evidence that *"(f)ar more women than men attend the performing arts* (in North-America[108]), *and they attend more often* (Gainer, 1993, p.240). Arild Danielsen (2006) confirms that performing arts attendancy in Norway also is gendered although not as significantly as it seems to be in Canada and the USA. Gainer concludes her own study with the suggestion

[108] Author's addition.

(t)hat different position strategies with the respect to the product features of both the core arts product and the more general attendance experience may be appropriate for male and female target markets.

She suggests that

(i)t is appropriate to position performing arts attendance to female consumers as an expressive, emotional, and social experience

and that

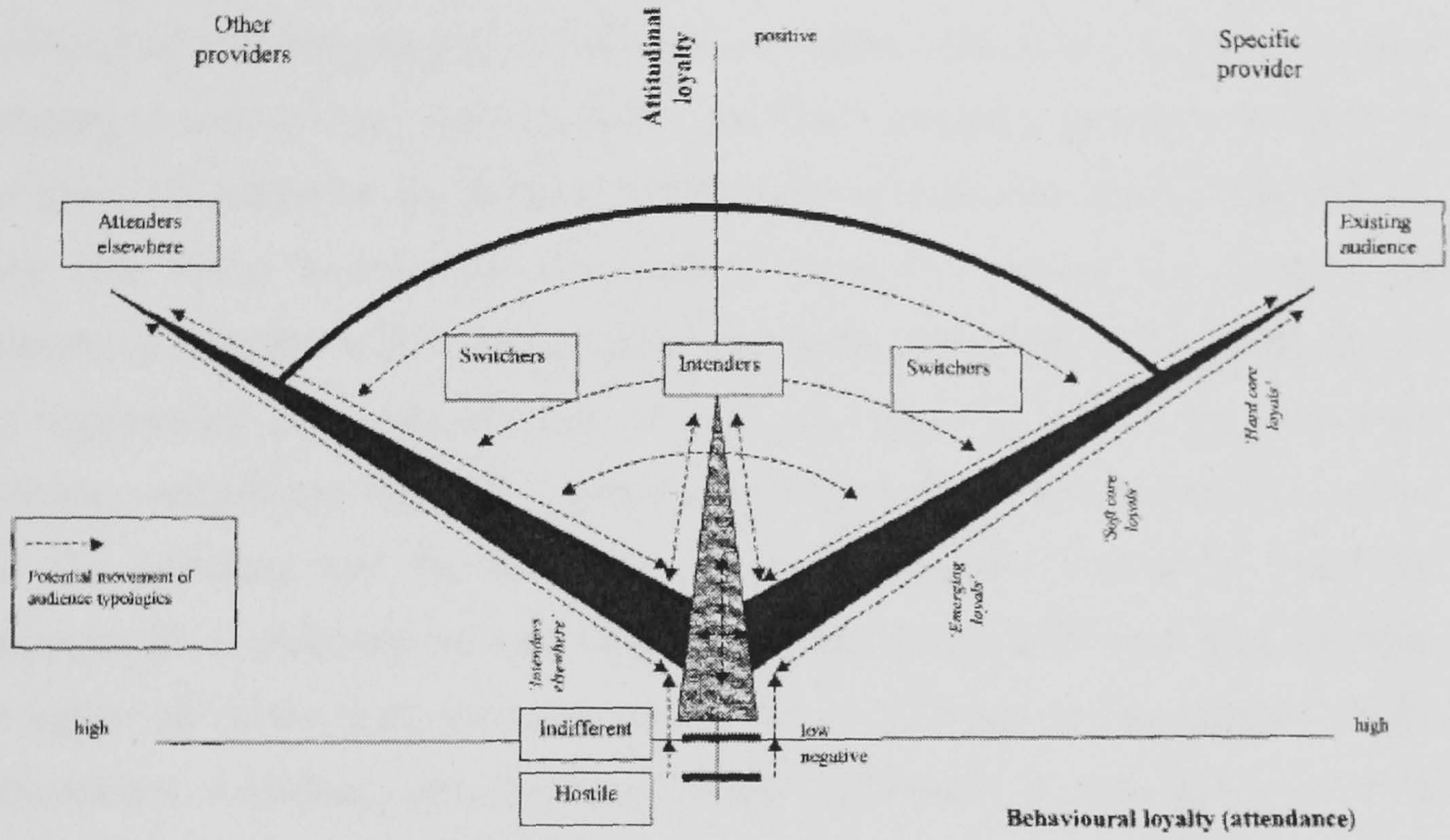
(e)mphasizing characteristics of the arts (...) (c)losely tied to masculine gender identity would be likely to appeal to male consumers (...) – (t)he individuality that can be expressed through the arts attendance or the cerebral nature of a performing arts experience (Gainer, 1993, p.250).

Lastly, Wiggins argues that McCarthy and Jinnett's model is not sophisticated enough when it comes to its recommended marketing strategies. The argument is that an arts organisation *"(c)annot completely control who will be exposed to their marketing efforts. (...) (i)ndividuals at all three stages of the model, including current audience members, will likely be exposed to the same marketing efforts and will likely have very different reactions, depending on the stage they are at"* (Wiggins, 2004, pp.26-27). Wiggins elaborates McCarthy and Jinnett's model further, based on Michael L. Rothschild's Motivation/Ability/Opportunity model (Rothschild, 1999 referred to by Wiggins, 2004) where existing and potential arts audiences are segmented according to their motivation (desire to attend), ability (absence of individual barriers to attendance) and opportunity (absences of situational barriers to attendance). Her subsequent detailed elaboration lies beyond the purpose of this discussion, but illustrates the main point here that both her and McCarthy and Jinnett's model approaches to audience development are situated within the frames of arts marketing as it is discussed earlier.

Hayes and Slater (2002) aim to lay out a strategy for strengthening and developing the contract with existing arts audiences based on Rogers' integrated approach mentioned above. With reference to research done by arts marketing scholars, best

practice studies and their own empirical research, they present an approach illustrated as a letter balance model to illustrate their strategy – see Figure 3.9 below.

Figure 3.9 Hayes and Slater's map of audience development potential (Hayes and Slater, 2002, p.8)



Hayes and Slater's model is primarily concerned with *all* existing arts audiences whether they are loyal to a specific arts organisation (the right side of the balance) or serviced by other arts organisations (the left side of the balance). The main purpose of the model is to focus on how to increase the loyalty of an organisation's existing audience so that it does not switch to other arts organisations to satisfy its needs for arts experiences and at the same time how to persuade prospective arts audiences attending other organisations to switch from them, by this illustrating that *"(a)n organization's audience development strategies do not occur in isolation and that the relative difficulty of the task will be dependent on a group's relationship with other arts providers"* (Hayes and Slater, 2002, p.8) – i.e. competitive forces. In-between the *existing audience* and *attenders elsewhere* Hayes and Slater have positioned the *intenders* (in the middle – on the balance) defined as those who are positive to the arts and think having arts experiences are a valuable pastime but never seem to get around to experience any themselves due to problems of jumping one or more barriers. At the bottom of the model one finds the *indifferent* and the *hostile* who

respectively do not have any specific inclination to seek out arts experiences or have consciously adopted a negative position to the arts as a whole.

The model explicitly suggests considerable room for movement among existing audiences from '*emerging loyals*' via '*soft core loyals*' to '*hard core loyals*' and also expresses a clear implication between the types of loyal audiences and their likelihood of switching loyalty to other arts providers – the more you move up from emerging to soft core to hard core Hayes and Slater assume a probable switch to be less likely illustrated by the distance between the right and left hand of the balance. They thus direct attention to the need to focus on, nurture and develop the relationship with the different types of existing audiences based on the knowledge an arts organisation either already has, or is in a position to acquire, about its own audience – attendance frequency, taste and consumer skills. The model also implies that the *switchers* and the *attenders elsewhere* represent potentially important reservoirs for recruitment because they already are committed to the arts, although the higher up on the scale the more investment of resources are necessary to make them switch. Switching arts organisation and preferences is more likely to occur among emerging loyals than higher up.

Hayes and Slater argue that the *intenders* are more difficult to persuade than the *switchers* and the *attenders elsewhere*:

> 'Intenders' are a fragmented group exhibiting a range of inertia characteristics, which in the short term prevent their engaging with arts events. To a large extent arts organisations will not have the resources to influence these. They are difficult to actively reach because of the nature of the structural barriers that exist. Yet if their interest can be reactivated they offer significant potential, particularly if the organisation has had a previous relationship with them (Ibid., p.11).

Hayes and Slater have deliberately chosen in their article to focus on what they label *mainstream* audience development and to shun the more '*myopic approach*' represented by the '*missionary*' politically-inspired concept of social inclusion. "*What is being proposed is that a strategic approach is taken to balance 'missionary' and 'mainstream' activities in order to provide a sustainable audience for the future*" (Ibid., p.15).

Hayes and Slater's attempt to clarify the concept of audience development is merely a reshaping of elements known from the earlier deliberations over the concept of art marketing – maybe not even that since they do not

- take into account Kotler and Scheff's and Colbert's pinpointing of the complexity of an artistic product – a complexity that could influence an organisation's ability to provoke switching and cause intenders to reactivate their interest;
- discuss the complexity of the factors influencing each and every potential attender's decision making process and the possible countermoves competing organisations will bring into action to prevent losing their audiences; or
- acknowledge the place arts organisations have in the community both as influence agents on the society's well-being and as agents of political missionaries whether governments or interest groups.

Stephen Cashman (2002) approaches, as Maitland and Rogers, a definition of audience development from a practical point of view and describes it as a "*(p)ractice which can have a range of uses and intentions that when applied appropriately, can play a part in helping an organisation achieve its particular objectives*" (Cashman, 2002). He proposes that an audience development practice focused on purpose, process, priorities and payoffs can deliver five 'flavours' of audience development activities, as Cashman likes to call them, intended to

- retend and cultivate – "Develop an audience's usage of an organisation together with that (same) audience's pattern of consumption";
- broaden – "Develop an audience's social, demographic and geographical breadth";
- *improve programming* – "Develop the range and quality of the experience offered to an audience";
- *innovate* – "Develop both the audience's breadth and scope of its experience by expanding the range of provision to attract new and different types of audiences members"; *and*

- increase audience knowledge – *"Develop the range of knowledge an organisation has about its audience"* (Cashman, 2002).

Notwithstanding how refined Cashman's model is, it does not basically bring in new elements to the conceptualisation of audience development. It does, however, underpin Maitland's argument that audience development is an integrative approach, which has to be closely linked to the purpose it is going to serve.

In her paper *Beyond the Division of Attenders vs. Non-Attenders. A Study into Audience development in Policy and Practice* Nobuko Kawashima (2000) takes a step back from the more practical approach of Maitland (1997/2000), Rogers (1998), McCarthy and Jinnett (2001), Cashman (2002) and Hayes and Slater (2002) to examine the concept of audience development and then through a case study, the practice of it. Kawashima identifies four types of audience development:

- *Cultural Inclusion.* Audience development by undertaking outreach projects that target the group of people who for economic and social reasons are the least likely to attend arts events.
- *Extended marketing.* Audience development by arousing latent interest in potential audiences, persuading them to attend performances whilst improving aspects of the arts which deter their attendance.
- *Taste Cultivation* refers to efforts to cultivate the taste of the existing audiences by introducing different art genres and forms to attenders of specific art forms.
- *Audience Education* is similar to Taste Cultivation in the sense that it mainly targets the existing audience, but tries to enhance the understanding and enjoyment of the arts which existing attenders currently consume.

Kawashima's approach is one of seeing audience development as a response to instrumental cultural policy with goals of education and access as she states that

"(a)udience development comes not only from within the field of cultural policy but also from the wider context of public social policy, often called Social Exclusion or Social Inclusion" (Kawashima, 2000, p.17). As she sees it, audience development is simply a kit of tools to continue to promote the idea of the *civilising mission* of the arts and a way to meet financial objectives – an *'ideological orientation'* based upon the concept of *'culture for all'*. However,

> (...) at the margin of audience development in theory and in practice, (...), there exists a target-driven approach (...) *(that*[109]*)* (...) acknowledges that people have different amounts of consumption skills often correlated to social-economic backgrounds. In this perspective it is known that the barrier removal alone would not be effective but different products must be packaged or devised – possibly involving core product change in addition to product surround change – to appeal to the different segments. (Kawashima, 2000, pp.26-27).

In so stating Kawashima concurs with Colbert's, Kotler and Scheff's and Gainer's understandings that arts organisations must base their marketing and and audience development strategies on arts products being perceived as something more than what is normally considered the core product – ie. the art work itself. Following this Kawashima conceives arts marketing as a part of the audience development toolkit and notes that arts marketing

> (h)as made two particular contributions to the rise of audience development. Firstly, the sophistication of arts marketing and business management in the arts in general has sharpened the feeling of competition in the wider leisure market. (...) Coupled with pessimism about the future of public funding of the arts, the danger of relying on existing customers and only paying occasional attention to access has become an acute problem for arts professionals. Audience development has been conceived as an immediate measure for confronting this problem.
>
> Secondly, arts marketing has facilitated the rise of audience development by statistically proving that audience composition is not representative of the whole population and also by throwing light upon the psychological barrier to attendance which had not really been noticed in the previous debate over access (Ibid., p.18).

109 Author's addition

The distinction that Kawashima makes is that *"(w)hilst arts marketing tends to concentrate on existing audiences, audience development is seen to be different in that it targets not easily available audiences"* (Ibid., pp.8-9). Furthermore she argues that the most widespread approach among British arts organisations to audience development is 'product-led'.

> If 'product-led' marketing is about how best to communicate with the market, 'product-led' audience development is about barrier removal. In 'product-led' marketing and audience development, changes may be well made in product surround but rarely in core product. In such audience development it is understood that individuals possess different degrees of cultural competence but it is assumed that they have the same potential for cultural consumption and that cultural products offered will be relevant to most people (Ibid., p.26).

Based on several years of ongoing discussion among British practitioners and scholars Anne Roberts and Heather Maitland in 2002 summed up their understanding of audience development thus:

> Audience development projects aim to change the perceptions and behaviour of people who already have some experience of the arts; bring people into contact with the arts for the first time and/or improve both existing attenders' and non-attenders' understanding, knowledge and appreciation of the arts. However, the term audience development can be extremely difficult to pin down because the definition varies from one group to another:
>
> - education workers often focus on developing the individual and usually involve people in participation;
> - artists focus on improving audience understanding of their work;
> - marketers look for results that directly benefit the organisation.(Roberts and Maitland, 2002).

As opposed to Kawashima, Maitland argues that there seem to be few vital differences between arts marketing and audience development. *"Like marketing, the purpose of audience development is to fulfil the organisation's objectives, whether they are artistic, financial or social* (read: targets not easily available audiences, to use Kawashima's words[110]) *or a combination of one or more"* (Maitland, 2003, p.2). This also counts for

110 Author's addition

the rest of the audience development approaches examined in this section except for the important fact – as Maitland recognises – that Kawashima's illustrates that the most prevalent approach to audience development in British arts organisations, is that they work hard to appeal to new audience groups with their existing artistic products. To design products to match the needs of a new group of attenders is very often perceived as highly costly (Hayes and Slater, 2002) and compromising artistic quality. An aspect which becomes even more critical as Kawashima argues it is implicit in audience development that it connects tightly to the realm of cultural politics and to democratisation of culture and cultural democracy. This connection as illustrated by the previous quoted purpose of the New Audience Programme; *"(t)o encourage as many as possible to participate in and benefit from the arts in England"* (Johnson et al., 2003, p.1) and the focus of 'Not for the Likes of You'-project[111] *"on how a cultural organisation can become accessible to a broad general audience by changing its overall positioning and message"* (Morton Smyth LTD, 2004, p.3).

To get a better grasp of the arguments presented above I have structured and compared Maitland's characteristics of arts marketing and audience development as she presents them in the following table.

Table 3.2 Comparison of characteristics of arts marketing and audience development practices (Maitland, 2003)

Organisational characteristics	Marketing as defined and characterised by H. Maitland	Successful audience development practices as defined by H. Maitland
Staff competence	- Programming - Marketing	- Artistic - Marketing and education
Overall planning	- Planned process - Business and marketing plan	- Audience development projects are part of a long-term plan
Internal planning process	- Market plan included in business plan and planning process involving staff	- Staff are clear how the audience development activity contributes to overall objectives

111 One of the largest audience development projects ever jointly commissioned by the Arts Council England, the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council, the Heritage Lottery Fund and English Heritage

	- Marketing activity focused on achieving pre-set objectives and measurable targets in advance	- Audience development activities are developed through dialogue between relevant personnel across the organisation - Clear aims and measurable targets set in advance
External action	- Address a distinct target audience or audiences - Aimed at sustaining existing and developing new audiences - Reciprocity between programming and marketing - Marketing staff collect, analyse and use relevant information about existing audience	- Address distinct target group or groups and match their needs and interest with benefits of current offerings - Consult target group or groups - Sustain relationship with target groups - Marketing mix tailored to suit audience needs, product surround and core product - All involved collect, analyse and use information about target group
Evaluation	Marketing activity is evaluated	Activity is evaluated.

Based on this summary of marketing and audience development properties the difference between them is found in the audience one attempts to reach out to and the artistic product chosen to mediate this. When an arts organisation chooses to concentrate on attracting bigger and broader audiences for already existing artistic products – a product-led approach in cultural policy terms denoted as cultural democratisation is chosen – one aims for more of the same audience and therefore – according to Maitland – basically applies best (arts) marketing practices.

When an arts organisation, however, aims to enhance or broaden specific individuals' experiences of the arts – i.e. either to engage current audiences in new art forms or engage new audiences in first time arts experiences – it is then we can use the term audience development. this involves identifying *"(t)he section of the community you want to work with first (target group). then create or choose the arts event which is most likely to interest them and to achieve your objectives"* (Maitland, 2003, p.12).

To me it seems that the differences between Maitland and Kawashima's definitions are more about semantics and coming from different traditions than of basic

disagreements. even if Maitland (2005) refers to several attempts to establish these distinctions where arts marketing is described as concentrating on consolidating and retaining existing attenders or markets as well as bringing in more audiences of the same and new segments to attend the same product; and audience development is described as both long term strategies to attract and build new and strong relationships with new and existing audiences through change in product surroundings and core-product, it does not seem to bring the discussion closer to the issue of an audience member as art consumer adding value to an art product through co-creation discussed in section 3.3.1 above.

3.3.2.3 Communication of benefits and diffusion of innovations

Gerri Morris (2000) agrees with McCarthy and Jinnett in that behaviour is a useful gateway to understanding audiences and that socio-demographics only *describe* behaviour and give little insight as to what *explains* and *determines* it. Morris in fact argues that all variants of demographics are *"(i)rrelevant in grouping people by needs in relation to the arts"* (Morris, 2000a, p.47). The focus should be on the audience's needs *"(i)n relation to the product and therefore the different benefits sought. An understanding of benefits sought is the best predictor of consumer behaviour"* (Ibid., p.4).

Morris therefore announces that the option of being 'product-led' is no longer open to arts organisations because she defines art products as discretionary products (Morris, 2000b, p.2), which means that from the outset they are products with limited mass appeal – i.e. only taken up by some consumers and not by others. If suppliers of discretionary products – like arts organisations – are to be successful they need to understand *why* people purchase artistic products and not only *who* made purchases and *how* they are done. In

her MBA dissertation (Morris, 2000a) and also in a later paper (Morris. 2000b) she qualifies this to *"(u)nderstanding the values that drive beliefs, motivations and behaviour in relation to arts attendance"* (Morris, 2000a, p.5). All these are values inherent to each and every person. The beliefs and aspirations connected to the process of acquiring a specific product are manifested in the benefits an individual believes s/he can obtain from the acquisition. The values that drive motivations and behaviour are connected to the will to take risks.

> 'Research has identified that many potential arts attenders don't perceive the arts to meet their needs and that the offers we communicate therefore represent too great a risk. Changing the attitudes of individuals towards arts attendance and reducing the element of risk is crucial if we want people to perceive that we can meet their unmet needs. (Ibid., p.5)

Linking back, Morris, Botti and Boorsma seem to agree that in arts marketing[112] the issue is to try to match the artistic *"(c)reative output with people receptive to that creativity"* (Ibid., p.47). What is on the audience development or arts marketing agenda according to Morris is to educate and motivate arts organisations to leave simplistic, intuitive and tokenistic practices in favour of an approach that matches the creative output of artists and the versatility of arts organisations' programmes with individuals receptive to these properties. *"To a large extent this depends upon their own levels of creativity, open-mindedness, openness to innovation"* (Ibid., p.47).

The implication of Morris's arguments is that arts audiences are not homogeneous, meaning that segmentation typologies referred to earlier in this section – i.e. attenders and non-attenders; frequent and in-frequent attenders; intenders, indifferents, hostiles, young people, families, old age pensioners, inclined or disinclined and the like – based on existing behaviour patterns, do not serve the purpose – *"(w)e have to address their* (read:

112 Morris does not seem to make any attempt to distinguish between arts marketing and audience development As far as she is concerned they are both concerned with expanding audiences for the arts whatever their objectives are

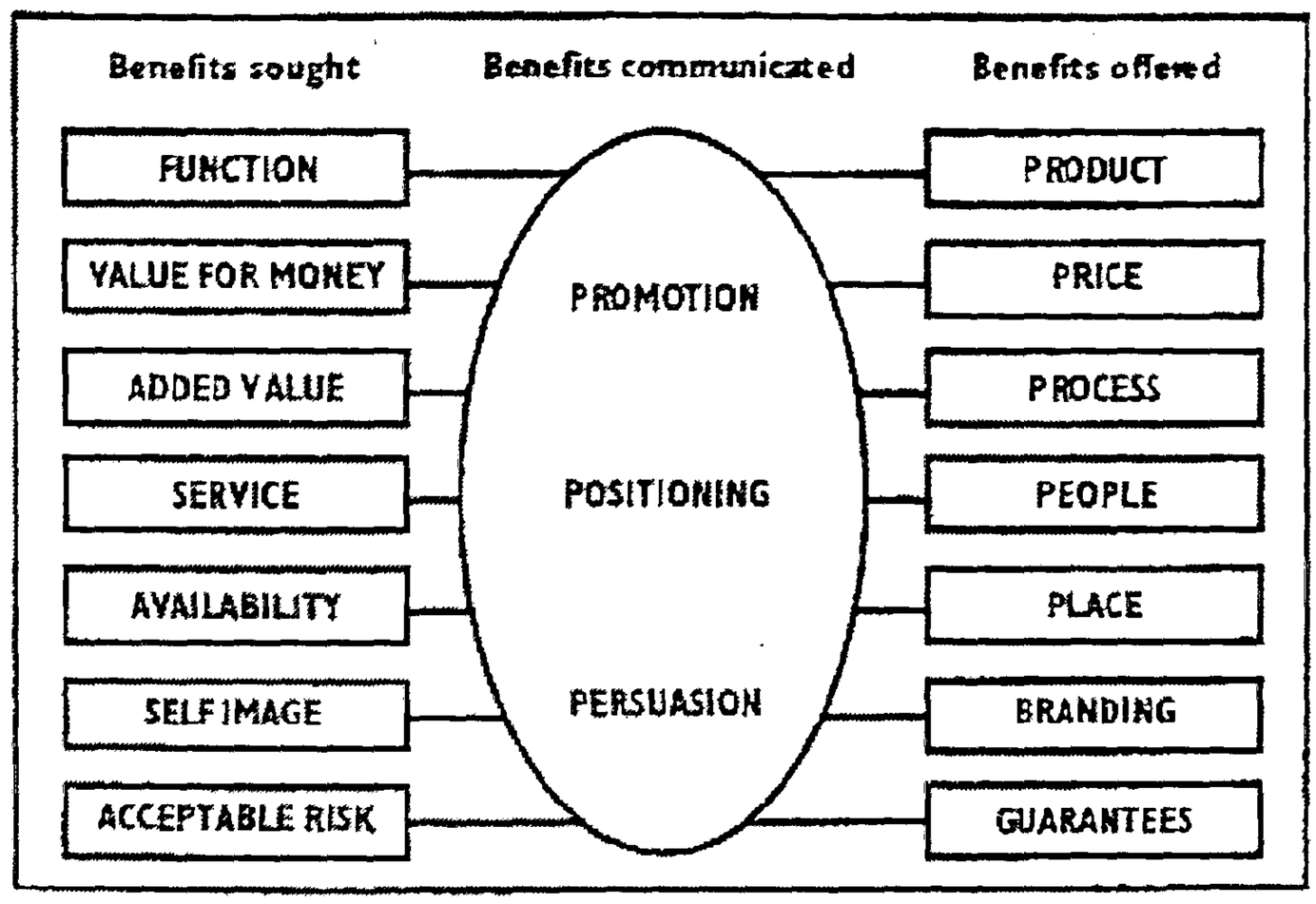
people's[113]) *own mind-sets and values since the art strikes deeply into how people feel about the world"* (Ibid.. p.47).

In opposition to McCarthy and Jinnet. who argue that the more people become predisposed towards the arts, the more they are likely to participate in diverse ways and with increasing frequency, and the more they are likely to participate in multiple art forms, Morris contends that arts organisations should understand that some people will be more open to some artistic products than others even in the same socio-demographic group. Some arts forms will appeal to conventional values and traditions and/or individuals' needs for social recognition and affirmation among members of a socio-demographic homogenous group, whilst the same products will strike other members of the same group as rebellious and interesting. Morris states that *"(r)esearch has shown that individuals might exhibit different adoption behaviour for different ideas and products"* (Ibid., p.30) which enhances Kawashima's statement cited earlier that even if *"(i)ndividuals possess different degrees of cultural competence (...) it is assumed that they have the same potential for cultural consumption and that cultural products offered will be relevant to most people"* (Kawashima, 2000, p.26).

Cova would comment that this is so because a prominent characteristic of today's consumer is that s/he searches for. uses and transforms the meanings of the products that are offered to them (Cova. 1996. p.20). The quality of the link between the benefits sought and the benefits offered – i.e. the ability to communicate the benefits – is consequently crucial as the following figure shows.

113 Author's addition

Figure 3.10 The principle of benefit communication (Morris, 2000b, p.4)



Morris and her colleagues[114] have over years accumulated extensive experience and knowledge about different methods in audience development and have so far concluded that psychographic profiling is the most relevant and effective approach for arts marketers to communicate the benefits artistic products offer. The study of psychographics developed as a result of the same concerns as noted above – the desire to understand *why* people purchased goods and not just *who* made the purchase (Morris, 2000a, p.6). "*Psychographics seeks to describe the human characteristics of consumers that may have bearing on their response to products, packaging, advertising and public relations efforts*" (Ibid., p.8). The potentially most important aspect of psychographic methods is to identify "*(t)hat individuals' values regarding the way they spend their money; their attitudes towards risk; their openness or resistance to it; their need for endorsement; concern for peer group approval; their conservatism in certain areas and adventurousness in others etc. affect their purchasing behaviour in relation to a particular product*" (Ibid., pp.30-31).

114 Cfr www.lateralthinkers.com - Joanna Hargreaves, Andrew McIntyre and Medwen Roberts

What here is described is not only the complexity and inconsistency of values, behaviour and identity between the members of a socio-demographic group, but also that each and every consumer *"(o)ften subscribe*(s[115]) *to multiple and often highly contradictory value systems, lifestyles, etc., concurrently without feeling inconsistent and improper"* (Fuat Firat, Dholakia & Venkatesh, 1995, p.44) – that the customer's self-conceptualisation is a determining factor in purchase decisions – whether they conceive a product is 'for them' or not.

Morris argues that even if there is no reference in the development of psychographics to the studies of Everett M. Rogers and his seminal book *Diffusion of Innovations* (Rogers, 2003) he seems unintentionally to have contributed to it, as Morris puts it:

> He describes how human beings differ in the way in which they respond to new ideas and innovations and therefore in their willingness to adopt new ideas or products and thus their speed of response. He illustrates how the take up of a new product, its rise in popularity, maturity and decline conform to the normal statistical distribution curve, and as such reflects a product life-cycle (Colbert, 2001)[116], but describes how this is dependent upon different types of consumers adopting the product at each progressive stage of its lifecycle. (Ibid., p.29)

Rogers defines innovation as *"(a)n idea, practice, or object that is perceived as new by an individual or other unit of adoption"* (Rogers, 2003, p.12). The point here being that it is not whether the idea is *objectively* new, but whether it *seems new* to the individual or social system exposed to adoption. This definition strikes similar chords with Botti as she argues, see page 139 above, that a consumer's emotional benefits from an artistic experience is not dependent on its uniqueness in itself but whether it is experienced as new by the consumer.

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115 Author's addition

116 Author's addition

According to Rogers the newness of the ideas means that there is some degree of uncertainty as to whether and how fast a new idea will diffuse through a population. a social system. This implies that there is a need for information and structure to make the diffusion happen and that there must exist a reservoir of technology and techniques to make it happen. Innovations that are perceived by individuals as more relevant, advantageous, compatible, triable, less complex and easily observable as to their results, will be adopted more rapidly than other innovations. Rogers operates with a continuum of ability to adopt, which he divides into five adopter categories *(innovators, early adopters, early majority, late majority, and laggards)* on the basis of how long it takes for an individual to pass from *"(f)irst knowledge of an innovation, to the formation of an attitude toward the innovation, to a decision to adopt or reject, to implementation and use of the new idea, and to confirmation of this decision"* (Ibid., p.20). The model consequently works on the principle that some people are open to innovations and that the rest need an increasing amount of endorsement.

Again there are clear similarities with Botti's arguments and her model for the process of diffusion and artistic value. see page 141 (Figure 3.5) above.

Rogers argues that the important implication, relevant to the discussion of arts marketing and audience development, is that arts organisations should use different approaches with each adopter category – or audience segment. This juxtaposition indicates that adopter categorisation is equal to audience segmentation and that each and every social system can be divided into these categories or segments whether individuals elsewhere are categorised as existing arts attenders, attenders elsewhere, switchers, intenders,

indifferents, hostiles, loyals, or culturally and socially excluded groups. Such homogenous labelling will hide from view the fact that in every social system there exist members with the individual propensity to adopt or reject new ideas – for instance new artistic products – at different speeds.

Another vital implication seems to be that it is the innovation, the new idea, the new artistic product that moves through the categories over time and not the individuals that necessarily move up the ladder from laggards to innovators. Lievrouw and Pope indirectly comment on this when they describe how the observability of an art work gathers audiences as it moves from art openings in niche galleries through acquisition and private collections to media featuring to contemporary art museums (Lievrouw and Pope, 1994, p.387).

Rogers' influential model identifies that the main group of customers that are open to persuasion is the early adopters. Individuals in this group are – in addition to innovators – risk takers and cautious gamblers and have the ability to work as agents and aides bridging the gap, so that respectively the early and late majority and eventually the laggards may choose to take up the product. This is because most individuals seem to evaluate for instance a new artistic product, not on the basis of expert or innovators' advice, but through the subjective evaluations of near-peers who have adopted the product. These near-peers thus serve as role models and opinion leaders and provide safety credibility – that is the degree to which the message that the product '*is something for me*' is perceived as trustworthy and worth taking the risk to try.

Based on Everett Rogers' categories of overarching segments in the 'innovation of diffusion model' and their own research Morris and her colleagues have exemplified how

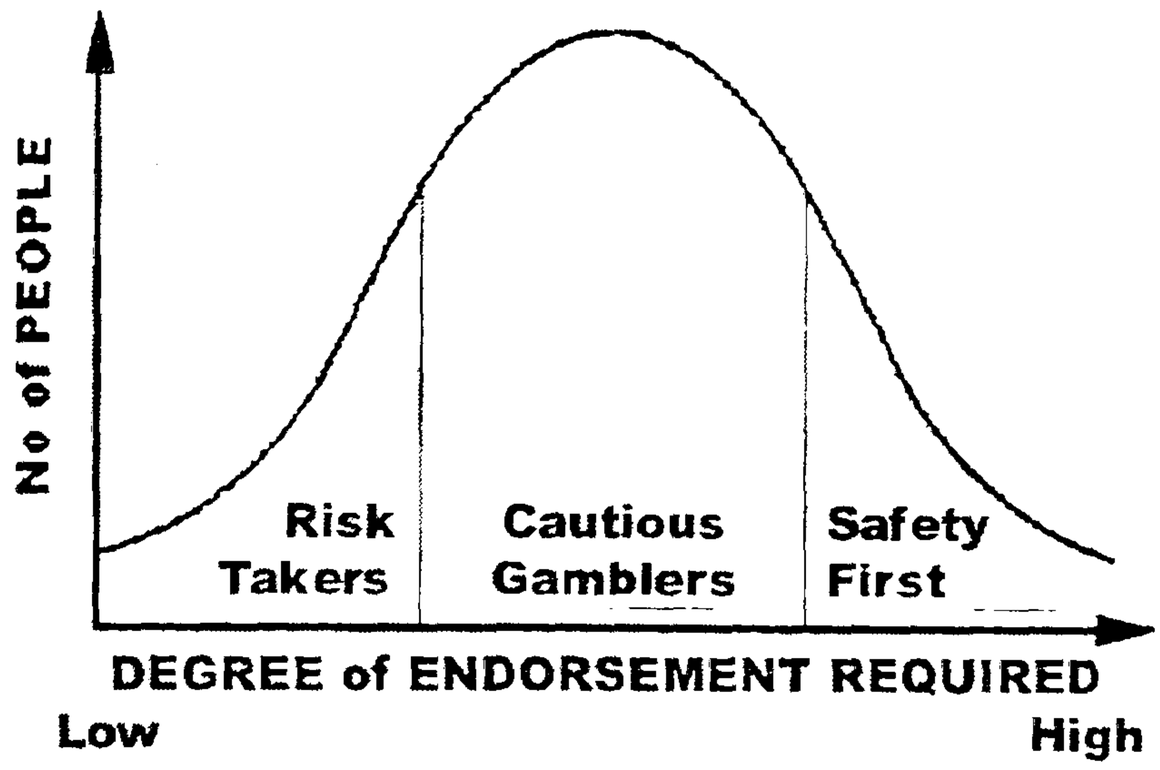
one can develop the segmentation of arts audiences, bearing in mind that the benefits sought by individual arts attenders are uniquely linked to each product and service (Morris, 2000b, p.5). Using psychographics in an audience development context implies, according to Morris, that the best framework for an effective marketing plan for any arts organization is to profile their audience and then compare this with that of its catchment area.

Table 3.3 Psychographic segmentation of audience 1 (Morris, 1999)

SEGMENTING THE AUDIENCE		
Within each category, we can identify particular psychographic segments These are just selections of segments we have identified	INNOVATORS	• Vocationals • Avids • Confident selectors
	EARLY ADOPTERS	• Conscious image builders • Cognoscienti
	EARLY MAJORITY	• Cautious gamblers • Seekers of the truth • Open minded incidentals • Mainstream selectors
	LATE MAJORITY	• Once a year treaters • Mainstream regulars • Creature of habit
	LAGGARDS	• Defensive purists

Based on the diffusion of innovation research presented by Rogers and their own research, Morris and her colleagues have chosen to broadly segment arts markets into three groups – Risk Takers, Cautious Gamblers and Safety First – according to the degree of endorsement required to become an arts attenders as demonstrated in Figure 3.12 below.

Figure 3.11 Psychographic segmentation 1 (Morris, 2000b, p.7)



Deviating from Rogers, Morris et. al. suggest that one should regard Innovators as proper audience members and place them in the Risk Takers segment together with the Early Adopters, regarding them as open to persuasion from arts organisations. Arguments for this are found with Lievrouw and Pope who argue that even if Rogers finds that complexity is negatively related to the rate of adoption (Rogers, 2003, p.257) "*(c)omplexity of aesthetic innovations, unlike other innovations, may actually encourage their adoption instead of inhibiting it: artworks that are difficult to understand often find an enthusiastic following in the contemporary world*" (Lievrouw and Pope, 1994, p.388). Since crossovers from being an artist to an innovator are often seen, especially in contemporary arts. Morris's argument resonates well with Hirschman's perspective on artists as self-oriented marketers – see page 133 above.

Morris defines each segment's motivations, perceptions, attitudes, needs and wants as the examples shown below in the following table for innovators/early adopters and the early majority.

Table 3.4 Psychographic segmentation of audience 2 (Morris, 1999)

SEGMENTING THE AUDIENCE	
INNOVATORS/EARLY ADOPTERS	**EARLY MAJORITY**
- Ready to seek new and innovative things. - Confident of their own tastes. - Will influence other people's tastes and activities. - Eclectic tastes. - Knowledgeable. - Often impatient with mainstream product and traditional venues. - Loyal to intimate venues.	- Open minded and accepting of wide range of products from fringe to mainstream. - Open minded on wide range of venues. - Need some reassurance that events are worth the gamble. - Will often be persuaded to attend by friends. - Want to be reassured of quality. - Looking for price to reflect the gamble. - Not necessarily well informed.

She then goes on to identify their orientation to media, obstacles to attendance and need for interpretation of art works as shown in the next table.

Table 3.5 Psychographic segmentation of audience 3 (Morris, 1999):

SEGMENTING THE AUDIENCE	
INNOVATORS/EARLY ADOPTERS	**EARLY MAJORITY**
- Orientation: proactive. - Obstacles to attendance: lack of information and lack of advance warning. - Challenge: inform early. - Media: listings by direct mail, Internet, E-mail directing to web site. - Interpretation: not needed, likely to be rejected as too populist.	- Orientation: reactive or passive. - Obstacles to attendance: lack of information and lack of advanced information, inadequate information, inappropriately designed information. - Challenge: inform fully, instil 'safe to try' thinking. - Media: brochures and letters by direct mail, Internet, E-mail directing to web site, telephone sales. - Interpretation: create cultural evenings with food, drink, music etc which wrap-around the performance with a complete cultural experience.

Linking back to Table 3.3, innovators may be characterised thus:

Table 3.6 Suggested characteristics of innovators (The Audience Pyramid, 1998)

INNOVATORS	- **Vocationals** F. ex: Singers, musicians, teachers, students - knowledgeable, opinionated with academic and technical interest, heavy consumers. - **Avids** F. ex: 'Junkies' who cannot seem to get enough – knowledgeable but not necessarily discriminating. - **Confident selectors** Discerning mature attenders who seek out opportunities to extend their knowledge and the range of work they've seen.

The insight this approach establishes about existing audiences provides the arts organisation in question with guidelines on how to assume – Morris would even say

predict – the response from existing and potential attenders to particular artistic events. It will guide how to organise and mix the best suitable strategy and techniques to convey to them what the benefits of the actual artistic product are – what the hooks in are. It informs the communication so that every single attender may have enough specific information to be able to judge for her or himself whether the artwork presented is worth taking the risk to attend.

All this and additional research and experience has led Morris and colleagues to propose the following definition of audience development:

> Audience development is a continual, actively managed process in which an organisation encourages each attender and potential attender to develop confidence, knowledge, experience and engagement across the full breadth of the artform to meet his or her social, intellectual, emotional and spiritual needs and achieve his or her full potential whilst meeting the organisation's own artistic, social and financial objectives (Morris, 2004).

A definition which, as opposed to the previous definitions discussed in this section, draws attention to the dialectic relationship between a provider of artistic products and its customer, much in line with the value adding chain I presented above – see page 146-147[117].

3.3.2.4 A commentary on the definitions

The audience development definitions outlined in the previous sections circle around four main issues. Firstly, the general issue of the extent to which audience development is the same as arts marketing or expands it. Secondly, the balance between the artistic product and the audience, that is whether or not it is a problem for arts organisations that they are more focused on their product or their audience.

117 Section 3.3.1

Thirdly, the assumption that there are barriers to be removed and when they are removed the qualities of arts experiences will be seen as inherently good. Fourthly, the importance of integrating audience development in long-term business plans to work jointly with other activities to achieve the organisation's goals.

With regards to the first issue only McCarthy and Jinnet argue that the term audience development as such often has been limited to directing the attention to increasing audience size – see page 154 above. All agree that audience development includes activities directed at increasing participation in the arts. I have compared the different approaches in the following table.

Table 3.7 Comparison of the eight different audience development definitions

Definition	Focus orientation	Barrier orientation	Business integration
Maitland's first	More audience than product focused [118]	Strong	Advocated
Rogers	Audience focused[119]	Strong	Advocated
McCarthy/Jinnett	Audience focused	Strong	Advocated
Hayes/Slater	Audience focused	Limited	Implicitly advocated
Cashman	Depending on objectives	Strong	Integrated
Kawashima	Product focused[120]	Strong	Integrated
Maitland's second	Depending on objectives	Non – individual needs	Advocated
Morris	Artistic led and audience focused	Non – individual self-conception	Integrated

The approach that sticks out most is Morris's. Maitland seems over the years to have moved closer to it. As the set of tools in the audience development kit becomes more sophisticated and enables the disclosure of what benefits are sought when attending arts events and how they match with the attenders' self-conception, the question of an arts organisation's focus orientation becomes less relevant. One of Morris's consultancy

118 'Ideally, identify the section of the community you want to work with first (the target group). Then create or choose the arts event ( ) You may be in a situation where the arts event has already been chosen. Find a target group whose interests closely match the benefits the arts event has to offer' (Maitland 2000, p.13)'

119 'The confident and forward looking art organisation devises, structures and programmes its work in ways that invite people to be involved actively and critically rather than passively (Rogers 1998, p.10)

120 Although she does not provide her own definition, her focus is on the challenges 'product-led' arts organisations have

colleagues Andrew McIntyre (2000) argues that there is a need for 'reality checks' in the arts and cultural sector and that each arts organisation must find and develop the audience that is willing to take the risk to try out the artistic and cultural product on offer and stop believing that it is intrinsically desirable. He continues:

> The question is: what minimum level of engagement with the audience is required to continue with artistic autonomy? What do we have to do to inspire more people with our artistic vision? We're not talking about being 'audience-led'. We all want to have artistic integrity. But artistic vision is not about a passion – 'loving the arts'. It's a vision that leads to an ability to inspire people about the arts. Only those without the ability to inspire feel threatened by this. Let's not suggest abandoning the arts to market forces, nor the survival of the fittest, but the survival of the able – those who have a vision to offer (McIntyre, 2000).

McIntyre underlines that successful audience development strategies must be sustained by a wholly audience focused organisation.

Most of the audience development definitions we have discussed struggle to find the match between arts organisations' objectives and applicable strategies. According to Maitland (2002) the main definable challenge rests with those organisations that are founded on artistic objectives and for some reasons – maybe mainly financial – compromise them by claiming that their artistic activity can meet social, cultural inclusion objectives as well. What McIntyre and Morris are bringing across, however, is that the vital question is not about compromising artistic objectives or not, but about how you understand the factors and mechanisms that make up the background of any attender's decision to expose themselves to an arts experience. In opposition to McCarthy and Jinnett who also have the same starting point for constructing their participation model, Morris et al. do not regard socio-demographic factors, personality factors, past experience and socio-cultural factors as 'untouchables' – i.e. out of reach of audience development strategies and techniques, quite the opposite. There resides the information to understand

and exploit. Consequently they refuse to acknowledge that there exist barriers to be removed. The issue is to establish a set of tools that enables every existing and potential attender to determine how well an art event matches the benefits s/he is searching for. Gainer agrees with Morris et. al.'s challenges on a too limited audience development concept stating as mentioned above – see pages 138, 142 above – that a wholly audience focused arts organisation provides its audience members with opportunities to socialilise and create interpersonal relationships in addition to experiencing the arts. She warns however about only basing audience development strategies on the core product – on what McIntyre describes as the *'ability to inspire people about the arts'*. As cited above Gainer have found that the paradoxical situation may arise "*(i)n which a* (a wholly audience focused[121]) *company can be successful even if the staged product does not particular satisfy many of its customers* (Gainer, 1995. p.253).

All definitions underline the importance of having audience development activities integrated with the rest of an organisation's activities. The whole process of audience development should therefore be closely linked to the ultimate purpose of the organisation itself and *"(b)efore selecting participation goals and the tactics to use to achieve them, organizations should re-examine their purpose and mission, consider what priority to assign to their different institutional goals, and determine how participation building aligns with their ultimate organizational purpose"* (McCarthy and Jinnett, 2001, p.41). Accordingly Maitland as well as McCarthy and Jinnett emphasise the necessity to assess if an organisation has the necessary resources – i.e. staffing, professional ability, and operative organisation including commitment, equipment and funding – to carry through the chosen strategy. Maitland agrees with Rick Rogers as he takes this further and accentuates that *"(e)ffective audience development involves uniting the artistic,*

[121] Author's addition

educational and marketing elements of the arts organisation to achieve a series of short-, medium- and long-term objectives which increase, broaden and enrich targeted groups' (Rogers. 1998, p.16). However important internal co-operation and administrative processes are regarded, none of the definitions discussed elaborate this further and attempt to outline how this is supposed to be done.

In marketing literature it is the research and writings in 'relationship marketing' that present answers to these questions. Grönroos defines the objectives of relationship marketing to be to *"(e)stablish, maintain, and enhance (...) relationships with customers and other partners, at a profit, so that the objectives of the parties involved are met. This is achieved by a mutual exchange and fulfilment of promises"* (Grönroos, 1994, p.355). The basics of the relationship marketing concept is

1) to maximise the life time value of a customer,
2) to focus marketing action on multiple markets – i.e. suppliers. influencers, distributors and alliance partners (read: stakeholders[122]) – because these markets are recognised to have, directly or indirectly, effects on a business's ability to win new and retain profitable customers; and
3) to introduce organisational change and subsequently nurture internal processes that foster cross-functional co-operation and develop internal customer service oriented mindsets (Christopher, Payne & Ballantyne, 2002, pp.5-6).

Although the customers – or in the arts sector the audiences – in relationship marketing terms only form a part of an organisation's bouquet of stakeholders. it is regarded as the vital one – the one that every part of the organisation is focused on. To this extent relationship marketing does not separate itself much from the other approaches discussed earlier. 'Profit' in its terms, is not a restricted notion but a substitute for increasing values by repeated exchange. Customer retention and loyalty building is consequently seen as

122 Author's addition

extremely important, first of all because the cost of acquiring new customers is substantially more expensive, but also because established customers tend to be willing to take more risks, cost less to serve, buy more and act as reference persons for other customers (Ibid., p.8), as early adopters and opinion leaders are – see the earlier discussion of diffusion of innovation. To retain customers there is a need for the organisation to monitor the customers' needs, preferences, attitudes and concerns to increase satisfaction and commitment on their part. The more the customer learns about the organisation's needs and plans, the more s/he is able to identify the organisation's needs and contribute to its development. Again this fits in well with Morris's arguments and findings discussed above: and Ruth Rentschler and colleagues (Rentschler et al., 2002) have developed a simple mathematical model aimed to make arts managers and marketers understand how relationship marketing can help arts organisations develop and accelerate the customer or audience value adding process and retain audiences.

The customer's value to the organisation is the outcome of providing and delivering superior value to the customer. Value is provided and delivered at all points of contact between customer and organisation at a one-to-one level. As a first level of this aspect Tara Werner shows the impact relationship marketing has for entrepreneurial managers or change agents who *"(u)se their social networks fully and are willing to take risks and stretch the boundaries of their artistic product by supporting innovative programming"* (Werner, 2003, p.31) But as every customer's attitude is formed by their set of experiences with all that the organisation stands for, every member of staff's attitude towards the customers must be formed by this knowledge. Conversely there is a strong argument that satisfied employees make for satisfied customers. Internal marketing is consequently an important part of relationship marketing and can be defined as *"(t)he*

creation of, development and maintenance of an internal service culture and orientation that will help the organisation achieve its goals. The internal service culture directly affects just how service and customers-oriented employees are" (Christopher, Payne & Ballantyne, 2002, p.12).

Furthermore, none of the definitions of audience development discussed seem to reference Kotlers concept of societal marketing – see pages 134 above, in particular the value that relationship marketing places on multiple markets or on building and maintaining relationships to stakeholders. Neither do they embrace the idea of arts centres as nodes in networks of both internal and external partners or stakeholders in Chapter 2[123].

The organisational elements that Maitland as well as McCarthy and Jinnett are focusing on are mainly of an internal character, however. They are primarily focused on shaping and directing internal resources with the aim of getting the entire organisational resources to support the organisation's objectives and audience development strategies and thereby create a coherent organisational identity in customer relationships.

However, as we have discussed earlier, public authorities at different levels (often subsumed under the notion of 'state') play a dominant role in the cultural sector in most Western countries including in Britain and Norway. Simultaneously they act as regulator, grant giver, partner and owner of various institutions and even as consumer; and arts organisations are heavily dependent on shifting priorities in public policies both directly and indirectly linked to the arts sector itself. I have also introduced different mechanisms that drive what I have referred to as isomorphic change in organisations – that is,

123 Section 4

appropriating internal priorities, administrative practices and composition of work force to the perception of external demands. I have especially argued that publicly subsidised arts organisations show examples of such appropriations. For many publicly funded arts organisations the assessment of internal and external resources that can be committed to building participation, would include taking a wider perspective in trying to determine whether there is a need to establish strategic alliances with other individuals, institutions, organisations, public funding bodies and authorities in the community as a way both to expand available resources and to position and differentiate themselves from competitors. For the same or for others it would be equally important to ensure that the planned direction of the organisation has a wider community support.

Padanyi and Gainer (2004) agree and point out that so far researchers on how nonprofit organisations – among which you find most arts organisations – have adopted market orientation, "*(h)ave not fully taken into consideration the differencies between profit and nonprofit sectors with regard to the multiplicity of market constituencies they must regularly deal with*" (Padanyi and Gainer, 2004, p.43). In their study they try to find evidence for a multiple constituency theory "*(w)hich posits that* (nonprofit[124]) *organizations have multiple monetary and non-monetary exchange relationships with many groups and that these are different from the main dyadic exchange relationship characteristic of marketing in the for-profit sector (...)*" (Ibid., pp.44-45).

In fact if one takes the for-profit marketing concept to its logic conclusion, then, acknowledging that most non-profit arts organisations are at least as if not more dependent on public funders and in some milieus private donors than on market clients and customers, their marketing and audience development strategies towards these

[124] Author's addition

funders should be given priority. In the background runs the following implication, linking back to Everett M. Rogers and the discussion on the diffusion of innovation, that, as Lievrouw and Pope point out, arts organisations may well be understood as change agencies (Lievrouw and Pope, 1994, p.390) by political authorities and other private sponsors and, as such, the relationship between arts organisations and their principals, whether owners or funders as well as stakeholders, is crucial to understand and nurture – or as Colbert puts it: "*The notion of the state as grant giver and as market implies that a cultural enterprise must define its own strategy to convince decision-makers to become partners in its activities*" (Colbert, 2007, p.65).

Since public budgets by pure logic are not sufficient to meet all the needs of the entire cultural sector the arrival of new arts organisations demanding their share, the need for capital investments and maintenance of buildings, public concern with the level of standards in other public sectors, mean that arts organisations will face competition and the efforts of each organisation to obtain more support from their principals, funders and sponsors – or even to keep the support from declining. These are essentially efforts to capture a larger share of a specific market (Ibid., p.53).

I am not insinuating that any of the authors behind the definitions we have discussed are denouncing this argument, but it is interesting to note that not even Colbert or Kawashima take this point to its logical conclusion – that is to ask what implications it has for the composition of the marketing or audience development toolkit.

The relationship between arts organisations and the 'state' – i.e. different governmental bodies – is better interpreted as a business relationship where the 'state' is seen as the

supplier of several production factors – financial resources, sometimes performances through touring agencies, and not least legitimacy. That is the reason for my inclusion of governmental authorities in the supplier arts centre network group in Chapter 2[125], and the above recognition of arts organisations as change agencies. Arts organisations provide or deliver on their part outcomes to suit the providers' expectations. The parties have an exchange relationship where values are created. Arts organisations are expected to meet the needs of governmental bodies at different levels listed, as far as one can in a political context deduce needs, in the form of explicit goals and targets set – as for instance for the Arts Council of England's aims for grants given. The specific quality of this relationship, however, that it involves politics – i.e. the making of the overall framework of the sector as well as the crucial reliance upon the provision of financial resources. This in turn seems to be one of the reasons arts organisation abstain from including governmental bodies among its stakeholders in a marketing sense of this term. As Belfiore suggests (2003, p.14), arts organisations adapt to the actual situation; concede to new rules, routines, expectations and goals – and sometimes move ahead of anticipated changes, to legitimate existence and survive. Pandanyi and Gainer add that "*(s)ince social values* (one might add cultural in this case[126]) *are more central than financial values to NPOs*[127]*, they tend to subordinate their financial goals to achievement of their mission and to view their clients or customers as their most important constituents*" Pandanyi and Gainer, 2004, p.45).

The arguments for entering into qualitatively other relationships with political bodies and to include such relationships in best audience development practices is also found across strategic management literature and advocated within public relations, but in the field of

125 Section 4

126 Author's addition

127 NPO = nonprofit organisation

relationship marketing it is developed further. One way of approaching the stakeholder management in this context is to have in mind that your customer might be not only *your* customer but also your *competitors'* customer. In addition the same person is a potential referee and ally in acquiring new customers. but s/he is definitely also a voter and even a politician, a manager of a supplier of goods and services and holds influential positions in community organisations and so on, which indicates that an organisation is linked to a variety of relationships in the community through all its customers. This same equation exists with regards to all other business partners, or as Christopher. Payne and Ballantyne put it:

> Two key concepts underpin the use of relationship marketing in this context. First, you can only optimise relationships with customers if you understand and manage relationships with other stakeholders. (...) Second, the tools and techniques used in marketing to customers, such as marketing planning and market segmentation, can also be used effectively to manage non-customer relationships (Christopher, Payne & Ballantyne, 2002, p.78).

Governmental bodies are among the external stakeholders that most arts organisations have. According to Christopher, Payne and Ballantyne and as I have discussed earlier their decisions affect their operations in a variety of ways including their competitive positions in the prime markets of audiences. In most art organisations the top managers play a crucial role in managing governmental relations as the organisation's prime change agent, but at the same time day to day relations with handlers in branches of governmental bodies is established and maintained through lower level staff (secondary change agents) in different departments in an arts organisation. But indirectly all departments are important contributors in managing the relationship to this kind of non-customer stakeholder. as well as others. Consequently marketing is seen as an orchestrator of pan-company value-exchange processes (Christopher. Payne & Ballantyne. 2002. p.xiii).

3.4 SUMMARY AND NOTES ON CONTINUATION

The aim of this chapter was to put the concept of Audience Development under scrutiny. I started by linking back to my earlier discussion of the development of cultural politics in Britain and Norway in general and the arts centre concept in particular, by taking stock of some of the existing changes in public management. By discussing some key concepts – commodification, governance and new public management – in recent organisational analysis I attempted to convey an understanding of the institutional demands and constraints and their impacts on how arts organisations are expected to relate to their audiences.

From there I took the discussion on to one of the issues central in cultural politics in both Britain and Norway since the Second World War – that is, to widen audience access – but now in the shape of current policies – to develop new audiences for artistic products. I concluded that governmental cultural policy agiences on all levels in both countries expect arts organisations to be market oriented and to bring in more income from box office sales and private donors. I presented the evolution of arts marketing, and went on to scrutinise the audience development concept. Hence the main part of this chapter concentrates on the relevance of the marketing concept to the arts, how the arts have adapted the marketing concept, and how an engagement with marketing in the arts has led to the development of the concept of audience development which seems to be specific to this industry.

In my examination of the evolution of the concept of arts marketing I showed that it started out with the aim of bringing an appropriate number of people into an appropriate form of contact with the artist or artistic product, to match the artist's creations and interpretations with an appropriate audience, and subsequently secure the financial

survival of the arts organisation in question. The evolution continued by first acknowledging that artistic products are not of the same kind as other products – they imply value exchange and creation between two parties – the producer (read: artist) and the consumer (read: attender) – *as* the consumption happens because an arts consumer obtains unique emotional benefits from an arts experience whether the arts work experienced is unique or replicated in one form or another. This uniqueness can be produced in many different ways – through unique art works – the core product itself, unique and different presentations, the circumstances under which the experience takes place, but also through personal factors in so far as the quality of the artistic product may become of less important than the construction and maintenance of personal relationships. Thus the arts marketing concept evolved to acknowledge that facilitation of the way the artistic and experiential potential is diffused and the way both can be increased and enhanced, is central and that this is the responsibility and result – as I argued in Chapter 2[128], of how a set of support personnel actually add value to an artwork as it is pushed and pulled through a process from creation to diffusion – i.e. an artistic value adding chain.

As the ideas of New Public Management, governance and audience-focused practices started to spread and came to be regarded as a vital part of any public service organisation's operation, the audience development concept surfaced and became a household term in many Anglo-American arts organisations.

Taking a closer look at this concept I discovered that in Britain there seems to be no agreement over what it really means; and that the concept has hardly yet started to influence discussion over audience relations in Norway, where market orientation within arts organisations until recently does not seem to have moved beyond the

128 Section 4

product-orientation that characterised the arts sector in Britain in the 1970s and 1980s.

I examined eight different approaches to or definitions of audience development and found that they all circled around four issues:

- the extent to which the audience development concept expands the arts marketing concept;
- whether or not it is a problem for arts organisations that they are more focused on their product or their audience;
- the assumption that there are barriers to be removed and when removed the qualities of arts experiences will be seen as inherently good; and
- the importance of integrating audience development in long-term business plans to work jointly with other activities to achieve the organisation's goals.

Based on the preceding discussion of arts marketing and audience development one may argue that audience development simply is

- arts marketing upgraded: that the contributions to arts marketing from research in audience development best practices can be limited to
  - need product led targeted activities developed through dialogue between relevant personnel across the whole organisation; and
  - segmentation of target groups based on matching needs and interests with benefits of current offerings and that removing 'inclination barriers' will lead to increased attendance and participation for the very same artistic product.
- a term concocted to serve political objectives – i.e. 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 democratisation of cultural policies and cultural democracy.

One of the approaches, the one attributed to Gerri Morris et al., did however, as I see it, distinguish itself from the others by integrating the work of Everett M. Rogers on the

diffusion of innovation with their own and others' research on psychographics. Here artistic products are regarded as innovations, whether they are objectively new, or experienced as new; and audiences are segmented according to the degree of endorsement they need to risk taking up such new ideas (read: new artistic products) – risk takers (innovators and early adopters), cautious gamblers (the early majority and late majority) and finally safety first (laggards)[129].

The implication is that arts marketing, or audience development for that matter, is about facilitating how the new idea, the new artistic product is going to move through these categories over time and not how individuals shall move up the ladder from laggards to innovators or from indifferents to arts aficionados. Focusing arts marketing and audience development activities based on psychographic segmentation and strategies on the risk takers or early adopters, who Rogers defines as opinion leaders, will according to his position and documentation cause the eventual discovery, appreciation or rejection of artistic products first by the early majority, then by the late majority and eventually the laggards.

What neither Morris et al. nor the preceding scholars or researchers seem to take into full account is what follows from Le Grand's conceptual context – see section 3.2.1 above – that arts centres, as non-profit arts organisations, are *'quasi-markets agents'* and that arts marketing and audience development may be labelled *'quasi-market strategies and techniques'*. Nor do they encompass Rogers's findings that innovations and new ideas spread because diffusion of them is wanted by change agencies and change agents. Changes and their consequences are powered by the vision and passion change agencies and change agents have for making people change. The other aspect is that for diffusion

[129] Everett M. Rogers segmentation in parenthesis.

to take on speed there is a need for the change agents to activate their networks of opinion leaders.

It follows from the instrumental role of widening audience access and developing new audiences, attributed especially non-profit arts organisations in cultural policies, that arts organisations, as mentioned in Section 3.3.2.4 above, may be regarded as such change agencies, their personnel as change agents and the personal contacts they have within their network partners as potential opinion leaders.

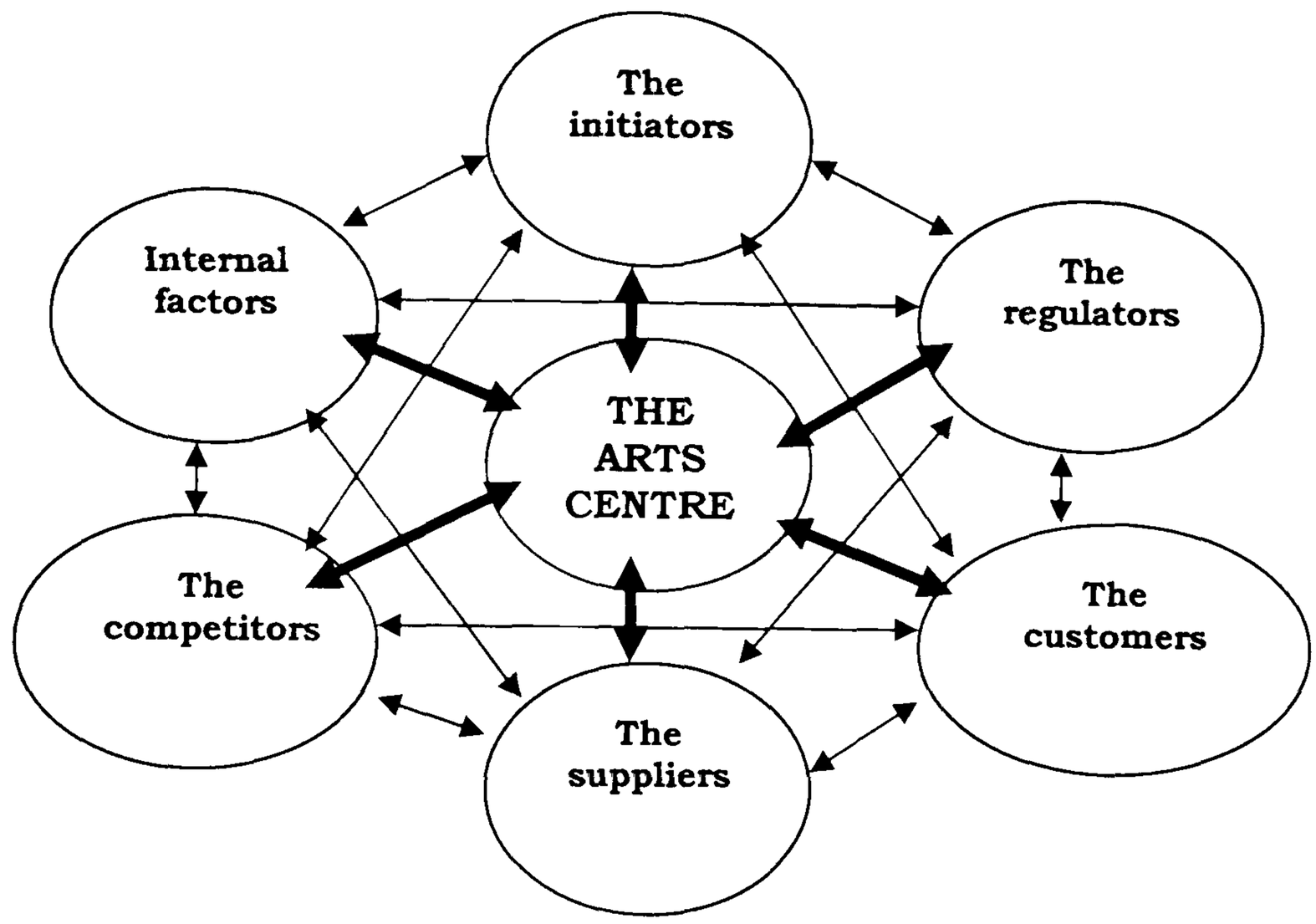
As far as networks go the arts marketing and audience development definitions discussed (see summary in Table 3.7 on page 182 above) all seem to concentrate at the managerial levels of an organisation and limit the importance of networks to those with relevance to artistic production and programming. In addition to this I have argued for a need to expand these definitions because they do not meet the ambitions they promise to meet when they argue for an integration of arts marketing and audience development in overall business practices. They do not propose how this is supposed to be done.

Supported by Gainer's works on arts marketing and arts education, gender and the importance of providing opportunities for constructing and maintaining personal relationships as well as Padanyi and Gainer's work on market orientation including multiple constituences, I pointed to what has been labelled relationship marketing and its concept of customer service and the internal marketing tool kit. The approaches to audience development discussed seem to completely leave out non-customer relationships. They have not been able to integrate the full implication of Kotler's generic marketing definition from the early 1970s – as discussed in Section 3.3.1 above.

Following Kotler in both strategic management and relationship marketing literature many important non-customers are regarded as stakeholders and markets. Stakeholders are regarded as customers too, and the basic argument is that you will not be able to optimise relationships with your customers if you do not understand and manage relationships with other stakeholders. Governmental bodies, with which arts organisations have so many and often complex relationships – for instance when acting as change agencies – are among such external stakeholders that need to be managed, and marketing strategies and techniques may well be applied.

The preceding discussion suggests that the concept of audience development – whether being arts marketing upgraded or a concept coined to cater for a politically correct working directive – needs to be expanded and to recognise that multiple market domains can directly or indirectly affect an arts organisation's ability to survive and prosper. These domains include, in addition to the audience, a range of stakeholders like employees and board, artists, providers of art works, suppliers of other goods and services and a variety of influence and alliance partners – including public authorities and governmental bodies – like the following expansion of the network map for arts centres I outlined in Chapter 2 – see Figure 3.13 below.

Figure 3.12 An expanded version of an arts centre's network map



This expanded network map illustrates the insight that an arts centre must actively recognise its network partners' extensive inter-affiliations and that the contacts and interchanges they have will influence the arts centre's ability to achieve its mission and goals and succeed in its operations. Furthermore it illustrates through the arrows and lines that connect the different network partners to each other, the sophistication of an arts centre's integrated network. As opposed to the official policy understandings of what market orientation is and in opposition to current arts marketing and audience development definitions discussed in this chapter, this approach accentuates that if an arts centre does not regard all relationships with its network of partners' as being open to management in the same way as its relationships with its audiences are – i.e. applicable to a comprehensive audience relationship management strategy – it might end up as a bystander to its own future, left to the contingencies of its network partner's opinions and strategies. In the following parts of this thesis I will label this expanded concept Audience Relations Management.

In the next chapter I will explore what this conceptual framework brings to the understanding of how two arts centres – one in Britain and the other in Norway – actually develop and perform their strategies and techniques to maintain and develop their community and audience relationships.

CHAPTER 4
TWO CASE STUDIES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the introduction to this dissertation I said that this thesis examines whether such cultural policy instruments as arts centres in Britain and Norway are recognising and accommodating the cultural policy goal of widening audience access and developing new audiences.

To investigate the extent to which this is so, I have also in the course of the preceding chapters indicated that I wanted to take a closer look at how two specific arts centres in Britain and Norway are actually delivering on these expectations. Previous chapters have attempted to show how changes in cultural policies from welfare state instrumentalism via neo-liberalistic laissez-faire to what might be called cultural governance and managerialization, in both countries, over decades have radically altered the way arts organisations in general are expected to operate. I have documented that arts centres in Britain and Norway are expected to emphasise arts presentation rather than attending to the needs of local amateurs and semi-professionals and that various governmental agencies of which they are largely dependent for funding, confront them with demands for accountability and professional management. Although the general concept of what an arts centre is to day does not differ significantly between Britain and Norway, there seems, however, to be a far more elaborate and unyielding disposition among British governmental agencies to demand accommodation to policy commitments than with their Norwegian counterparts.

For arts centres which grow out of multifaceted processes in local communities, these altered expectations are of particular importance. It has consequently been necessary to scrutinise, qualify and expand the concepts of arts centre – see Chapter 2, and arts marketing and audience development – see Chapter 3. I will now explore what this expanded conceptual framework illustrated in Figure 3.12 page 192 brings to the understanding of how two arts centres – one in Britain and the other in Norway – actually develop and perform their strategies and techniques to maintain and develop their community and audience relationships.

In the comparative study of the two arts centres in Britain and Norway the questions I ask are:

- How does the leadership of the two arts centres perceive the factors influencing their relations with their communities and network partners?
- How do they understand and maintain their centre's relevance to its communities?
- How do they recognise, manage and sustain their networks of partners? and
- Are there similarities and differences in perceptions of these issues between the two arts centres and their partners and stakeholders within the communities they serve?

To phrase it in more general terms: I want to map how the leadership of the chosen arts centres stage actual strategies and techniques to maintain and develop their audience relationships – as broadly defined in Chapter 3 – as well as perceiving and analysing the factors that influence them, and hence situate the two arts centres in the tension between governmental instrumentality and customer demand.

Choosing only two cases does of course raise theoretical and methodological issues – which will be dealt with later – but as far as case study design goes Andersen maintains

that there are no principal differences if a case study contains one, two or a handful of cases. More than one case is rather an advantage (Andersen, 2003, pp.94-95). Tellis (Tellis, 1997b, p.3) also refers among others to R. K. Yin who argues that it is not the number of cases that is important. What is important is the goal of the study and the methodological qualities of it. Furthermore, compared with a single case study a comparative case study research will accentuate the commonalities between the cases and hence emphasise less the uniqueness of each case but draw attention to what they have in common.

This last feature is important in this study since the relations art centres have with their network partners are complex and many faceted as discussed in Chapter 2[130] and shown on the Figures 2.2 and 3.12 page 96 and 192 respectively. Each centre is to some extent unique and must be examined in its real-life context; and because it is difficult to define absolute boundaries between a network organisation like an arts centre and its surroundings, a case study approach seems the best research strategy. Yet, each arts centre operates within a context where regional, national and global events influence its daily operations through its network partners. The uniqueness therefore becomes less palpable. Hence within the ambition of this thesis a study of two cases – one arts centre in Britain and one in Norway – will meet the methodological requirements.

To increase the level of precision: the case study research will consist of the following elements:

1. An analysis of samples of the arts centres' archival records, project documents, funding applications etc.
2. On-site direct observation.

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130 Section 2.4

3. A questionnaire survey of internal and external key informants.
4. Comparing survey results with the analysis of records samples and observation results for each arts centre.
5. A write-up and comparison between the case studies.

The analysis of relevant documents from the arts centres' archives will aim to understand the way the leaderships have chosen to construct the organisation's mission, vision and the role they want or anticipate it should play in the context of national, regional and local political ambitions as well as its place within the network of partners, stakeholders and audiences.

The issues that are identified by this analysis will guide the observations and surveys that follow. Observations will take place on site by directly observing how the leadership acts out its organisation's objectives as well as engages in interchange and interaction. The surveys will aim to provide a feedback perspective into whether the arts centres operate in congruence with their own objectives and with their communities' – defined as network partners' – understanding of the same. I will compare the attitudes and opinions on the arts centres' performance as they are held by the top leadership and staff, as well as a range of the arts centres' network and community partners.

4.2 OUTLINE OF THE METHODOLOGICAL FRAME OF REFERENCE

The approach outlined above raises some methodological design issues which I will take a closer look at in this section.

4.2.1 Comments on what a case study is

Several authors – among them Andersen (2003), Eckstein (1975) and Ragin (1992) – refer to the fact that case studies are frequently used in different scientific disciplines without there being any exact and common understanding as to what a case study approach implies. Robert K. Yin argues that *"(t)he need to use case studies arises whenever:*

- *an empirical inquiry must examine a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context, especially when*
- *the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident"* (Yin, 1981, p.97). Yin, 1994, p.13).

In the introduction to his seminal book on case study research Yin (1994) states that case studies are the preferred research methodology when research questions beginning with 'how' and 'why' are asked, when the researcher has little control over the events investigated and when the research focuses on a phenomenon played out in real-time and real-life context. These are all characteristics of the research objects in focus in this study.

In addition the propositions developed in the previous chapters in this thesis, based on literature reviews and combinations of insights – have guided the formulation of research questions and data collection methods. Comparing results to theoretical propositions is advised by Yin (1994) as the preferred strategy for case study analysis.

Following Andersen's case study typology (2003, 127) my ambition is to situate the case studies in this thesis inside a conceptual universe developing from being an interpretive study to a theory building one. It could thus be argued that I aim to make general claims. Ragin (1992, pp.219-220) cautions case study researchers not to have such aspirations

and argues that it leads to limiting the uniqueness and specificity of the empirical world, restraining detail and diversity, and results in manipulating cases to fit theoretical ideas. *"At best"*, Ragin writes, *"theory provides an initial image, a vague starting point for looking at empirical evidence"* (Ragin, 1992, p.218); and he argues *"(t)hat we should recognize there are practical limits on the degree to which verbal theory can be a precise guide to empirical research"* (Ibid., p.220). His position therefore is that theory provides a starting point, but that cases must be found through the research, they cannot be specified beforehand, but when a case is found or made it should be *"(m)atched to the appropriate theory or its theoretical properties must be specified so that it can be located theoretically, often generating new ideas in its wake"* (Ibid., p.221).

Thus advised I turn to Eckstein who argues extensively on the value of case studies for theory building (Eckstein, 1975, pp.92-96). It seems that Ragin and Eckstein represent two opposite positions. The concern here is, however, that on the one hand each case is unique – at least historically speaking, but that on the other hand it is plausible to assume every case holds some common properties which might be observed in other cases. Andersen sums this argument up by assuring that one should not avoid models or theories, but be conscious of the presuppositions that are built into them, that they simplify reality and that alternative perspectives might provide other insights (Andersen, 2003, p.22).

Thus it is the objective of the thesis to develop a theoretical/conceptual framework that helps to focus and organise the case study data. For the moment I note that the empirical observations a researcher carries out, emerge in all their details when they are examined in the context of one or more frameworks that offer analytical solutions. Andersen (2003)

holds that *"(t)heory fits best to interpretive case studies when it actively organises the main part of the empirical variations a case contains. Meaning that concepts and theory should not be more general than what organising empirical variations really warrant"* (Andersen, 2003, p.70)[131] .

4.2.2 Issues of strategy and design

After examining a multitude of case studies Bennett and George (1997) conclude that identifying a *research problem* and clarifying a well focused statement of it that serves to guide the investigation, is crucial – i.e. the consequences of a study

- Aspiring to elucidate a process when it is carried out within a short period of time; and
- Including two cases in two different countries.

as well as:

- What is the research problem or 'puzzle';
- Making the case;
- Data collection methods; and
- Data analysis and validation.

(Bennett and George, 1997; Ragin, 1992; Tellis, 1997a; Tellis, 1997b; Yin, 1994)

4.2.2.1 The research problem – units of investigation, casing and process

The first step in a case study is to establish a firm focus for the study. The problem to be investigated needs to be so adequately formulated that it can work as a guide in the 'casing' – i.e. the process by which the units of investigation and analysis are chosen and the crucial issue or phenomenon that is the focus of explanation is singled out.

[131] Author's translation

To reiterate: My research is about whether such cultural policy instruments as arts centres in Britain and Norway are recognising and accommodating the cultural policy goal of widening audience access and developing new audiences. To demonstrate the the extent to which this is so I have taken a closer look at two specific arts centres in Britain and Norway. Consequently

- The *units of investigation* are to be two arts centres – one in Britain and one in Norway.

- The *unit of analysis* is the *process* by which these two arts centres
  - Understand their community relevance, taking into account the political environment of cultural governance and managerialization.
  - Recognise, manage and sustain their networks; and
  - Analyse and perceive the factors influencing their relationships with their network partners and communities.

- The phenomenon, focus or problem of my investigation is how the leaderships of the two arts centres are designing and acting out strategies and techniques to maintain and develop the relationships with their audiences.

The study's research problem is formulated to serve as a trigger for a string of logic that shall guide the design of the research so that it finally ends up with a contribution of some kind to the state of knowledge. An important step in this triggered string of logic is the process of *'casing'*.

Ragin describes the *making of a case* or 'casing' as a process of washing empirical units of their specificity and leaving them manipulable – i.e. making only certain features relevant for study and allowing them to be scrutinised in partial ways (Ragin, 1992, p.220). Casing involves filtering the data, probing for the real issue to be explained (the dependent variable). As Ragin illustrates in his article (1992, pp.221-224) probing is

necessary and serves to be described in the study because it both elucidates the process by which the case is found and recognises that the thing to be explained has evolved through a series of steps over time. Making the case then is to choose the *unit of analysis*. By the help of generalised concepts, models and theories the researcher establishes an *analytical simplification* of real life; by sifting and searching through the case's or unit's richness of information – the systematic simplification – the researcher arrives at the research problem; and through this process it is possible to cast a sharper light on the case and to confirm or modify concepts, models and theories.

In addition to defining the research problem and making the case, it is necessary to comment that it need not be a problem to study a process when the actual case studies are carried out within a short period of time. This is so if one regards a process as a series of steps leading up to the present situation and that the depicted situation is not randomly produced but a result of steps or events or happenings that would else not have occurred unless they depended on each other. Howard Becker argues – inspired by another American sociologist Everett C. Hughes – that one should regard "*(t)hese dependencies of one event on another as 'contingencies'*" (1998, p.32).

> So the pathway that leads to any other event can be seen as a succession of events that are contingent on each other in this way. You might envision it as a tree diagram in which, instead of the probability of getting to a particular end point getting smaller the farther away you get from the starting point, the probability of reaching point X increases the nearer you get to it. (...) (Becker, 1998, p.33).

The argument is that coincidences are not accidental circumstances with regards to the effect they have on later events. And the chain of events that leads up to the situation that for instance is the focus of my study is not incidental. The people involved in making the steps might have many options on their way, but not infinite options; and the one preferred is contingent on the repertoire of alternatives the persons implicated hold, the

relationship amongst them and their personal story. The *"(f)inal result is therefore dependent, or contingent, on everything that came before – the unerasable and determining signature of history"* (Stephen Jay Gould, 1989, quoted by Becker, 1998, p.33).

4.2.2.2 Undertaking cross-national comparative research

This dissertation is based on the assumption that there is more to learn from undertaking a cross-national comparative case study than confining such a study within national borders. The reason is that it will enable me to get a clearer picture of both similarities and discrepancies in the way arts centres manage the relationship with their audiences.

Comparative cross-national case studies are a well known part of the stock of research found in most scientific disciplines, among them international relations and politics (Andersen, 2003. Eckstein, 1975), sociology, jurisprudence, economics and medicine to name some – see Hantrais (1999, pp.101-102) for a compiled interdisciplinary checklist. Although Hantrais argues that *"(a)n in-depth understanding of the socio-cultural, economic and political contexts in which social phenomena develop is a precondition for successful cross-national comparative research"* (Hantrais, 1999, p.94), she asks if *an in-depth understanding* is possible to establish. Such features as the researcher's own cultural context, the use of concepts and that the cases under study are bound by cultural patterns in its social environment, are issues of concern.

The literature studies of Chapters 1-3 are designed to let the reader follow the evolution of the arguments of this thesis and thus be able to check the influence of this researcher's own cultural context and the use of concepts. The third element – that the

cases under study, which in our investigation are arts organisations, are bound by cultural patterns in their social environment – is what is under scrutiny in this chapter.

4.2.2.3 Data collection methods, data analysis and validation

The complexity of information a researcher has to sift and search through in the process of *data collection* is mediated through a variety of information channels. Yin (1981, 104) characterises it as the most challenging aspect of case studies because of the variety of relevant data sources. This variety is closely connected to what Tellis (1997a) labels the *'quintessential characteristic of case studies'*, that such studies are occupied with cultural systems of action where the phenomenon under study is influenced by a constant interrelation between actors and activities in a social setting. As a result of this Yin (1981, 104) underlines the importance of using multiple sources of evidence to increase the reliability and validity of the data. Case studies are likely to be much more convincing and accurate if they are based on several different sources of information, following a corroborating or triangulated mode. Tellis (1997a) refers to Yin and other authors when he identifies the following types of sources of data:

- Documents and archival records;
- Interviews with informants;
- Direct and participant observation;
- Illustrative materials (artefacts, publications etc.)

Documents and archival records could be annual reports, strategic plans, committee papers, memoranda, letters, organisational records, minutes; and other written manuscripts relevant to the investigation.

Interviews could be open-ended, focused because of limited time available for doing the interview or structured, which is similar to a survey where questions are

developed in advance. Tellis (1997a) states that interviews are the most important sources of information in a case study. Proponents of mixing qualitative and quantitative methods (Caracelli and Greene, 1997: Miles and Huberman, 1994, pp.40-49) argue that orthodoxy in the field of data collection and evaluation has been replaced by more ecumenical perspectives allowing mixing of methods. This is also Yin's perspective (1994, p.14). When mixing methods the important thing is not whether two sets of methods can be linked, but if and how, and for what purpose it should be done.

There are many ways of collecting quantitative data. In focus here is the alternative to interviews – e.g. a survey based on questionnaires. Structured interviews are as stated earlier already similar. Caracelli and Greene point to the fact that "*(s)urveys generally begin with some qualitative base to ensure context-relevant interpretation of questions and may include open-ended responses, resulting in an instrument of mixed-method characteristics* "(1997, p.20).

Direct and participant observation. Direct observation occurs whenever a researcher visits the object of study during the research period – whether casual data is collected or formal protocols are used to record observations. Participant observation takes place when the researcher enters into active partaking in events being studied.

Illustrative materials (artefacts, publications etc.) are any form of physical objects collected during study, primarily as a part of a field visit.

This diversity of sources of information requires a sorting mechanism that converts information to data. Yin (1981) recommends composing a protocol that specifies "a

minimum amount of data collection in operational terms – e.g. the types of people that must be interviewed, documents that must be analyzed, or observations that must be made – to help assure that similar procedures are carried out from one case to another" (Yin, 1981, p.105).

Tellis writes that analysing case study evidence is the least developed part of case study methodology. Hence he argues that an analytic strategy must be developed that assures conclusions. He then refers to Yin who has *"(p)resented two strategies for general use: One is to rely on theoretical propositions of the study, and then to analyze the evidence based on those propositions. The other technique is to develop a case description, which would be a framework for organizing the case study"* (Tellis, 1997b, p.8). Tellis continues suggesting pattern-matching as another analytic strategy. Here a detected empirical pattern is compared with a predicted one.

In a general comment Susan Soy writes:

> The researcher examines raw data using many interpretations in order to find linkages between the research object and the outcomes with reference to the original research questions. Throughout the evaluation and analysis process, the researcher remains open to new opportunities and insights. The case study method, with its use of multiple data collection methods and analysis techniques, provides researchers with opportunities to triangulate data in order to strengthen the research findings and conclusions. (Soy, 1998, p.4)

Accordingly the investigator is continuously doing analysis during the data collection process; which makes it more correct to label it *data generating*, not data collection, or as Andersen vividly maintains: *"Data emerge in the interplay between focusing on particular variables and the contexts they belong to. A successful data generating process depends on the researchers' ability to observe, their knowledge about the*

system under study and their ability to catch the conjunctions between observations and their systemic preconditions" (Andersen, 2003, p.24) [132].

Furthermore, and also tightly linked to this process of data generating and analysis, the validation takes place. Whether the conclusions in a study are reliable and regarded as valid is essential. The types of case studies I am dealing with here, however, all present the same problem – they cannot explain partial conjunctions. They are not designed to make such conjunctions in the first place. Reliability and validity are based on the researcher's ability to tie her/his observations to a theoretical framework.

Yet, there are measures which can improve a case study's validity within its own frame of reference such as:

- An accommodated management of the study especially applied to collecting data, staffing and time planning; and agreements with persons and organisations involved in the study (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p.43).
- Using a variety of data sources – as mentioned above – also labelled 'triangulation'.
- Have the factual parts of the studies reviewed by the major informants. Yin refers to this as *"a minimal procedure for validating the data collection process"* (Yin, 1981, p.106) and prior to composing the final draft of the report, consult with colleagues in order to establish validity through pooled judgment.

In addition according to Tellis (1997a, p.9) Yin has in a later work (Yin 1994) presented four principles that should attract the researcher's attention when analysing and validating the research:

[132] Author's translation

- Show that the analysis relies on all the relevant evidence;
- Include all major rival interpretations in the analysis;
- Address the most significant aspect of the case study; and
- Use the researcher's prior, expert knowledge to further the analysis.

4.3 THE TWO CASE STUDIES

4.3.1 Introduction

The two case studies in this section are designed to test out the conclusions laid out in previous chapters. This is done by first making explicit the links between cultural policy rationales and processes by which these rationales are brought about (mechanisms) as discussed in Chapter 1 – and the results, as I pointed to in Chapter 2, they are expected to deliver by local, regional and national cultural policy agencies. A detailed list of the similarities and differences between Britain and Norway in policy instrumentalities and their performance implications is found in Appendix 1. These are as I see them summarised as follows bearing in mind the argument from Chapter 1 that the rationales of cultural policies run parallel even if they occurred in different periods of time during the last decades:

1. According to the rationale of *democratisation of culture* (from 1945 onwards) public authorities on all levels as well as civil society expected arts organisations in both countries to
   - Provide their communities with local as well as visiting professional arts and accommodate the needs of local amateurs.
   - In Britain policy makers expected facilities and surroundings organised and operated to stimulate *'successful practice and enjoyment of the arts'*.
   - In Norway facilities were expected to be owned by co-operative societies equipped to meet the National Touring Theatre's minimum technical requirements as well as act as local centres of sports, recreational and cultural activities.

2. According to the rationale of *cultural democracy* (from the late 1960s and early 1970s onwards) public authorities on national and regional levels and the civil society now in Britain qualified mainly to community arts groups. expected arts organisations to continue as before and in addition:
   - In Britain for local authorities to increase investment in arts facilities and for arts organisations to focus on earned income and marketing – personnel, price differentiation, easy access to buying, product augmentation.
   - In Norway the substantial growth in national, regional and local authority investments where expected to result in the blending of culture and arts activities rooted in local and regional traditions, and the establishing of arts centres and regional arts institutions where professional artists and amateurs should co-operate and by so doing invigorate local and regional identities and development.

3. According to the rationale of *cultural governance and managerialization* (from the early 1980s onwards) public authorities on all levels as well as arts organisations in general and arts centres in particular seems to have converged to have similar understanding of – in addition to continue as before – also to expect operations to:
   - Be run in accordance with the wishes of the community served, the perspective and the overall strategy of its funders.
   - Be professionally management with a clear vision of cost-effectiveness.
   - Have a programme policy in more than one arts form: and to be multi-functional and centrally located arenas for arts experiences and participation.

While Norwegian authorities on national and increasingly on regional levels express rather general and vague performance expectations in their award letters (see page. 48 above). British national, regional and local governmental agencies promote their expectations in a far clearer way demanding:

- A heavy focus on market/customer orientation – arts marketing/audience development – to ensure that the artistic potential of the product is suitably managed and transferred from the artist to different audiences. To address distinct target group(s) and match needs and interest with benefits of current

offerings. To create, retain, enhance, cultivate relationships with existing audiences. To undertake outreach projects that target groups of people who for economic and social reasons are the least likely to attend arts events. To involve all staff in collecting and analysing information about attendance and the reciprocity between programming and audience development activities. To establish, nurture, negotiate, and maintain relationships with the community served and build confidence about the arts in general within the community. To encourage individuals to become artists.

- Arts organisatios to align purpose, mission and operation in a long-term plan and set clear aims and measurable targets. To secure full and integrated information and involvement among staff members about mission, aims and objectives encouraging internal and external networking capacities including authorities and government agencies, suppliers, influencers, distributors and alliance partners (read: stakeholders) and necessitate resources, improve programming, instigate co-operation and dialogue between artistic, educational and marketing management about audience development activities, and analyse/profile existing attendance groups according to risk abilities = benefits sought.

(For more detail see Appendix 1.)

The second phase of the set up for the testing out of the conclusions so far, is to take the performance propositions or delivery expectations one step further and lists the actual patterns of behaviour which, I will argue, local, regional and national cultural policy agencies would like to see put into practice by arts organisations. Again a detailed summary of the expected patterns of behaviour is found in Appendix 2. The patterns are as I seem them:

1. According to the rationale of *democratisation of culture* (from 1945 onwards) arts organisations in both countries were expected practice the following:
   - To programme according to an artistic or community inspired vision – in Norway emphasising the effects on the community as a whole.
   - To organise/hire local semi-professional and amateur arts events.

- To receive national professional touring arts organisations/artists – in Britain this was an optional choice.
- To organise/hire other non-arts-related activities like local events, meetings and functions – in Britain this was an optional choice.
- In Britain to emphasise facilities for the social aspect of enjoying arts.
- In Norway accommodate national touring organisations' performance-related technical requirements

2. According to the rationale of *cultural democracy* (from the late 1960s and early 1970s onwards) arts organisations were expected to continue their practice as before – in Norway in return for increased local, regional and national governmental funding. In Britain there were no direct connections to public funding. British arts organisations were however expected to increase income by focusing on customer orientation through box office management, public relations and selling, increased focus on bar income.

3. According to the rationale of *cultural governance and managerialization* (from the early 1980s onwards) arts organisations in both countries are expected to continue as before and
   - To have technically updated facilities – building and equipment – in order to organise all relevant arts activities.
   - When it comes to funding Norwegian arts organisation will receive governmental funding if not contested after overall cuts in budgets, while their British counterparts will have to apply for and receive governmental funding when funders' aims are met. In both countries they are expected to increase private funding through sponsorships – funds, barter, in kind and risk diversifying/collaboration/partnerships/out-sourcing.
   - To file annual budgets, accounts and reports as well as long-term strategic plans including revision of purpose and mission, prioritizing different institutional goals.
   - To have industry experienced managing director, specialised personnel in finance and marketing to allocate financial means and staff to plan and

effectuate marketing activities to communicate offerings and meet income targets.

Following the far more specified performance propositions expressed by governmental agencies mentioned above, British arts organisations are expected to have

- Long-term strategic plans that handles the following issues:
  - Strategic revisions of purpose and mission, prioritizing of institutional goals, and clear aims and measurable targets.
  - Procedures to secure full awareness and integrated information among staff members about mission, aims and objectives as well as arts marketing and audience development activities and to necessitate resources – i.e. staffing, professional capability, equipment and funding.
  - Procedures to secure co-operation and dialogue between artistic, educational and marketing management about audience development/ marketing activities, to build support for innovation and risk within the organisation, and to develop internal customer service oriented mindsets – turning every staff member to a marketer.
  - Procedures to analyse/profile existing attendance groups according to risk abilities against benefits sought, to sustain or establish an appropriate marketing mix tailored to suit audience needs, product surround and core product. This includes to undertake outreach projects that target groups of people who for economical and social reasons are the least likely to attend arts events.
  - Procedures that involve relevant staff in collecting and analysing information about target groups' attendance and the reciprocity between programming and audience development activities.
  - Activities directed towards establishing, nurturing, negotiating, and maintaining network relationships with the community served.

(For more details see Appendix 2.)

The purpose of listing these expectation and propositions of performance behaviour is to subsequently trace the connections between the instrumentality of cultural policies and

how the two cases studied are defining and handling their relationship with their audiences while current cultural policies are expecting them to increase, widen and deepen access – i.e. to develop their audiences.

The case studies will also be based on the assumption that

1. It is analytically helpful and feasible to describe an arts centre as a node in a network; as a pool of support and resources for local cultural life: as a partner in local, regional, national and even international networks of arts providers, touring companies, agents; as a holder and broker of important relationships to private and public funders as well as governmental organisations and institutions at all levels; as a business partner; and a competitor.

2. The current approaches to arts marketing and audience development seem to put little emphasis on non-customer relationships. In both strategic management and relationship marketing literature many important non-customers are regarded as stakeholders and markets, the basic argument being that you will not be able to optimise relationships with your customers if you do not understand and manage relationships with other stakeholders. Consequently the concept of audience relationship management in the arts should recognise that multiple market domains can directly or indirectly affect an arts organisation's ability to survive and prosper. These domains include, in addition to the audience, a range of stakeholders like employees and board, artists and arts organisations, providers of art works, suppliers of other goods and services and a variety of influence and alliance partners – including advocates for the arts, politicians, public authorities and governmental bodies.

Redefining the audience perspective will at the same time help specify what community relevance means for an arts centre; that the community it serves recognises the arts centre as an organisation that matters to its inhabitants, as an essential asset adding value to the community as such – e.g. that

- the general public,
- the operational partners,
- the users

- the customers

= the audiences, endorse, favour and support the arts centre.

4.3.2 Application of methodology

Following the discussion on issues of research design in Section 4.2 above this section will explain the applied research management.

Yin (1994) states that a research protocol is especially important in multiple case studies. The reason is that a protocol forces the researcher to think through and plan all necessary aspects of the investigation from the outset and that a protocol ensures that the same procedure is used for all cases under study. Miles and Huberman (1994) underline the same aspects but label it 'accommodated management of the study'. These less strict recommendations have helped this researcher to design the actual research procedure for:

1. Selection of cases.
2. Preparation of data gathering and data gathering techniques.
3. Evaluation, validation and analysis of data.

4.3.2.1 The selection of cases

Following Ragin's recommendations (1992) to delimit study objects making the features that are the focus for research appear in the clearest possible way; and in order to pull together elements from the thesis so far, I start at a general level stating that my study is about organisations, hastening on to specify this as arts organisations. However, I am not interested in arts organisations in general but those non-profit arts organisations I defined and described in Chapter 2 as arts centres framed in as they are by governmental cultural policies in that they receive public funding and thus are included in a government's policy tool.

Among the 242 arts centres Hutchinson and Forrester (1987) counted in Britain in the middle of the 1980s and the 92 (2005) members of the Norwegian Network of Arts Centres[133] I chose two which fulfilled the following set of criteria:

- Multifunctional – i.e. having one or several halls and arenas equipped for various kinds of performing as well as visual arts;
- Programme according to this multi-functionality – i.e. offering a variety of music, theatre, musical drama, dance and visual arts;
- Staffed with personnel who cover administrative, artistic, marketing, education and box office competencies;
- Have well developed audience service facilities such as in-house box office, lounge, bar, café and or restaurant.
- Have a controlling body (committee of councillors, board or the like) mirroring the arts centres' complex community relationships;
- Have been in operation for a minimum of 8-10 years and preferably with the same leadership in charge for a good part of the period in order to have had the necessary time to settle a mode of operation; and
- Situated in a community/town/close knit region of a scale that hosts several competitors like other arts providers (cinema and venues for concerts, plays, cabarets either publicly or privately owned) and/or leisure centres.

Among the final British candidates I singled out Colchester Arts Centre in Colchester, Essex because it had been included in both of two major studies of arts centres in the UK in 1987 and 1996 (Hutchison and Forrester, 1987; Hutchison and Forrester, 1996)[134] and because the director had been with the arts centre for more than 10 years.

133 http://www.kulturhus.no/

134 These studies are central literature references in my description of the evolution of the arts centre concept in Britain – see Chapter 2. Colchester Arts Centre also participated in the September 2006 ACE arts centre research (P. Shaw et al., 2006)

Table 4.1 Information on Colchester Arts Centre

Colchester Arts Centre Church Street, Colchester Essex CO1 1NF Opened 1980 (1) **Personnel:** - Exe. director - Administrative and financial management (2) - Marketing manager and assistant (2) - Front of house/operations management (2) + part timers - Technical manager + part timers and hired personnel - Box office served by several members of administrative staff	Tel.: +441206 500900 Fax: +441206 500187 E-mail: info@colchesterartscentre.com WWW: http://www.colchesterartscentre.com/ **Main performance space** – Cap. 350 seats. Used for all types of performances; concerts (blues, jazz, folk, gigs, world music), dance, theatre, live art, poetry, talks, comedy, film, club nights, kids events and farmers market . Two **bars** in main space. **Small visual arts space** in church tower. Main space is multifunctional and flexible. Size is approx. 195 m2 when all is in use as during concerts, comedy and club night **About Colchester:** A District/Unitary Authority (2) in the county of Essex, in England. 155,800 inhabitants by 01.01.01. Important commercial activities: Private and public services, transport, and local and regional administration, manufacturing and construction. Arts and Culture: Castles, castle museum and other museums, galleries, public library, theatres, cinema, private concert organisers, professional artists and a vibrant community of amateur arts and sports activities.

(1) An independent trust since 1980 operating as a multifunctional venue in a listed church building out of parochial use.

(2) In 1974 England and Wales were divided into Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Counties and London Boroughs for the purposes of local government. These Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Counties were in turn divided into Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan districts. The 1990s local government reorganisation introduced Unitary and Non-Unitary Authorities in England and Wales while Scotland was divided into 32 Council areas.
Unitary Authorities are responsible for all aspects of Local Government. There are some irregularities; if the council of a Unitary Authority coincides with an ancient county, city or borough it is referred to as a 'county council', 'city council' or 'borough council' respectively. Also Greater London does not have a county council but a Greater London Authority that co-ordinates the 32 London Borough councils. (Source: http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/types/type_page.jsp?unit_type=MOD_DIST)

I chose Ibsenhuset in the town of Skien in Telemark County to the west of Oslo, as the one most suitable Norwegian case because it is the longest running purpose-built arts centre in Norway, because the director at the time of the research had been with Ibsenhuset for 15 years and because it was situated in a community with many of the same characteristics as Colchester.

Table 4.2 Information on Ibsenhuset

Ibsenhuset P.O.Box 608, N-3701 SKIEN NORWAY	Tel.: +4735581377 Fax: +47 35581375 E-mail: ibsenhuset@ibsenhuset.no WWW: http://www.ibsenhuset.no/index2.html
Opened Sept. 7 1973 (1)	**Dovregubben hall** (w/orchestra pit) – Cap. 804 seats. Used for all types of concerts, theatre, opera, musicals, ballet and dance.
Personnel: - Exe. director - Financial and office manager - Marketing manager - Conference manager - Box office personnel (2) - Technical manager - Technical staff (4), janitors and cleaning personnel (8)	**Peer Gynt hall/ Terje Vigen hall** – Total 800 m^2. Used for concerts, theatre, dance, conferences/meetings. **Hedda, Hedvig, Helmer and Eyolf spaces** – Cap. 15-40 seats. Used for conferences/ meetings, rehearsals. **Foyer** – also used for concerts. **Restaurant** **About Skien:** Administrative centre of Telemark county in Southern Norway. 50,507 inhabitants by 01.01.04. Important commercial activities: Trade, industry, private and public (esp. health) services, transport, and local and regional administration. Arts and Culture: Museums, galleries, public library and cinema, theatre, private concerts organisers, professional artists and a vibrant community of amateur activities
(1) Ibsenhuset was established as a limited company in 1971 with the aim of building and running an arts centre. The arts centre building was declared open to the public in 1973 and has since been in operation.	

4.3.2.2 Preparation of data gathering and data gathering techniques

Before approaching my cases I acknowledged that preparation also included choosing a pilot case and generally speaking employing all the data gathering techniques to determine whether tools, survey questions and timeline were appropriate and effective. Based on the results of the pilot, the researcher makes necessary adjustments.

Examining the data gathering elements I decided to give priority to piloting the sampling of archival records with emphasis on annual reports, short and long term plans and budgets, memos made in conjunction with these and conducting a few interviews with key informants. I approached and was given access to the records of the Tromso Arts Centre, in my home town Tromso, Norway. Writing up the findings from this examination revealed that albeit interesting an equivalent exploration of the archival records of my two selected cases would leave me with far more detailed information than

was needed. As contact was made and cooperation was gained from my cases[135,136] I first approached Ibsenhuset then later Colchester Arts Centre, for initial meetings with the directors and retrieval of documents. The records I was allowed access to by Ibsenhuset were plenty, but in the case of Colchester Arts Centre they were more sparse, which made me decide to restrict myself to the equivalent documents provided me by Ibsenhuset and depart from them when meeting with and observing the directors.

While studying the retrieved documents I met with the directors to list individuals and organisations they recognised as belonging to their centre's network of stakeholders. The list was discussed, supplied and eventually finalised and the individuals listed were subsequently selected to participate in the survey. This sampling method was chosen because networks are not randomly chosen or established. They grow out of existing or into new social networks. The importance of such networks as sources for business activities support is well documented and especially important for small business managers such as arts managers (BarNir and Smith, 2002; Werner, 2003).

The next stage was to prepare the assessment of the external network partners' evaluation of the two arts centres. The aim was to solicit the partners' opinion on the arts centres'

- Reputation for the cultural programme and business operation.
- Contribution to the cultural identity of the town and region.
- Market communication.
- Operational efficacy, efficiency, empathy and credibility.

A questionnaire was prepared and altered after having been tested out among individuals in arts organisations, academia and others in both Norway and England. It was made out

135 First contact by E-mail with director Anthony Roberts, Colchester Arts Centre, Colchester, UK was done May 4, 2005

136 First contact by E-mail with director Helge Siljan, Ibsenhuset, Skien Norway was done February 21, 2005

in both English and Norwegian.

During this process I discovered the need to put in some supplementary questions and some on background knowledge about the arts centres as well in order to have a possibility to check if needed whether opinions stated were pure guesswork or based on some insight (see Appendix 5).

I also decided that I would use the same approach and the same questions in a staff survey. This way I would be able to check out similarities and differences in assessments of how the two arts centres operate along the same set of variables. The staff questionnaire also included the same and some new supplementary questions directed to check out arts centre internal matters (see Appendix 6). The directors also got their questionnaires with the same questions as the staff, but with some directed to checking out their networking arenas (see Appendix 7).

The final questionnaires with introductory letters were mailed out to external interviewees (see Appendix 8) in October 2005 and handed out to staff and directors during my observation weeks in each arts centre respectively.

While waiting for the questionnaires to be completed and returned I carried out two observation weeks at Colchester Arts Centre[137] and Ibsenhuset[138] in that order. The manner in which the observations were conducted was as follows: For five days in a row I took an observation post in the directors' offices and shadowed them in nearly all of their internal and external conferences, meetings and encounters. I took notes in the

137 Nov 7-11, 2005

138 Nov 21-25, 2005

process. These were, as soon as time allowed, processed in accordance with an observation guide that followed the same structure as the questionnaires.

4.3.2.3 Questionnaires response rates

The survey in this thesis was a part of a mixed method approach, hence the reliability of the findings in this study are not solely dependent on one of the data gathering methods. The response rate must, however, be acceptable enough to make the survey results credible for its purpose.

Before starting the survey a response rate over 50% was regarded as acceptable, meaning that half of the people approached completed and returned the survey. This rate was also used for the completion rate – see below.

After four rounds of reminders by mail and Email, 17 external Colchester-questionnaires out of 33 had been returned – i.e. a response rate of 51.2%. After one round of reminders by mail and Email the result for Ibsenhuset was 53 returned questionnaires out of the total of 83 – i.e. a response rate of 63.9%. The response rates for the internal survey (staff and directors) were un-disputably better – 75%[139] for Colchester Arts Centre and 77.8%[140] for Ibsenhuset.

There is, however, another aspect which also has to be taken into account: Response rates are often calculated simply by dividing the number of completed questionnaires by the survey's target population. But this method might be too simplistic because it hides that questionnaires can be returned not fully completed.

[139] 6 out of 8 questionnaires returned.
[140] 14 out of 18 questionnaires returned.

The similarity-discrepancy-analysis of the survey results that makes out the base of the results, concentrates on the first 13 questions in all questionnaires. It is my assessment that every answer to a question will be of value because it is important and fully valuable to study similarities and discrepancies along each dimension. Furthermore the questionnaires are not formatted for the analysis to be dependent on full completion. The completion rate for the first 13 questions is. however. of interest. 14 out of 53 external Ibsenhuset-questionnaires were not fully completed – i.e. a completion rate of 74.6%. The equivalent for Colchester Arts Centre was 94%. Of the 14 not fully completed Ibsenhuset-questionnaires only three returned questionnaires had a completion rate below 80%. Two of them had 54.5% and one 40.1%. The only external Colchester-questionnaire in question was 63.6% completed.

All Colchester staff/director questionnaires were 100% completed. Only two (14.3%) corresponding Ibsenhuset-questionnaires were not fully completed. Their completion rate was 63.6% and 50%.

4.3.2.4 Case-internal evaluation and validation

As R.K Yin states (Yin. 1981. p.106) a minimal procedure for validating the data collection process is to consult with the people surveyed prior to composing the final draft of the report.

According to this the actual results from documents analysis. surveys and observation week for each case and a preliminary analysis were presented and discussed with the

directors of Colchester Arts Centre and Ibsenhuset in April 2006 to impose and ensure accuracy of the findings. Some minor amendments were done, yet both directors expressed approval with the way the results presented their arts centres – fair, accurate, thorough and interesting were the words they used.

4.4 PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE CASE STUDY FINDINGS

This section summarises and analyses the research findings. The analysis aims to identify the unique pattern within the data for each single case, to be a cross-case analysis where the patterns identified in the within-case analysis are compared; and to make similarities and differences stand out as they evolve.

4.4.1 The case study findings

In the following Table 4.5 I have summarised the case study findings. The table follows the categorisations derived from the theoretical propositions – i.e. results from expected arts organisational delivery and expected arts organisational practice – previously presented in Tables 4.1 and 4.2, Section 4.4.1 above. The purpose of the table is to enable the tracing of connections between the instrumentality of cultural policies and how the two cases are defining and handling their relationship with their audiences while current cultural policies are demanding art organisations to increase, widen and deepen access – e.g. to develop their audiences.

The results of the first 13 questions of the survey are found in the attached Appendices 1 and 2 for the Colchester Arts Centre and the Ibsenhuset respectively. The results from the

separate survey questions related to the staffs and the directors are not displayed in the appendices as is also the case for the processed notes from the onsite observations.

To sum up the table it is followed by a textual account of the results for each case – see Section 4.4.2.1 below for Colchester Arts Centre and Section 4.4.2.2 below for Ibsenhuset and then succeeded by a set of attempted comparative conclusions in Section 4.4.3 below.

Table 4.3 Links from expected practice to observed patterns of behaviour

How local, regional and national cultural policy agencies would like to see these expectations put into practice – summary.	Observed patterns of behaviour in two specific arts centres – i.e. the potential answers to the case study research question put forward in the beginning of this chapter • How does the leadership of the two arts centres perceive the factors influencing their relations with their communities and network partners? • How do they understand and maintain their centres' relevance to its communities? • How do they recognise, manage and sustain their networks of partners?	
	Colchester Arts Centre (CAC), Colchester, England, UK	**Ibsenhuset (IBH), Skien, Norway**
• Programming – both:	Artistically-led programming focused on *'finding, developing and producing new works that are original, contemporary and challenging'*. Multifunctional art venue.	Community-led programming focused on *'multiuse profile and cultural offerings directed towards all age groups and the rich variety in arts forms'*. Multifunctional art and conference venue.
• Should organise/hire local semi-professional and amateur arts events.	• To some extent.	• Yes.
• Should organise/receive/hire local, regional, national professional touring arts organisations/artists.	• Yes.	• Yes.
• Might organise/receive/hire international professional touring arts organisations/artists.	• Yes.	• Yes.
• Might organise/hire other non arts related activities like local events, meetings and functions.	• Yes, but somewhat limited.	• Yes.
• Might organise/hire regional and national meetings and conferences.	• No indications observed.	• Yes.
• Facilities – both:		
• Should have technically updated facilities – building and equipment – to organise all relevant arts activities.	• Equipment yes. Building no – listed church.	• Yes, both.
• Funding		
Britain:		
▪ Should apply for and receive local, regional and national governmental funding when meeting funders' aims.	• Yes, local, regional and national through Arts Council of England East.	

Table 4.3 Links from expected practice to observed patterns of behaviour

How local, regional and national cultural policy agencies would like to see these expectations put into practice – summary.	Observed patterns of behaviour in two specific arts centres – i.e. the potential answers to the case study research question put forward in the beginning of this chapter • How does the leadership of the two arts centres perceive the factors influencing their relations with their communities and network partners? • How do they understand and maintain their centres' relevance to its communities? • How do they recognise, manage and sustain their networks of partners?	
	Colchester Arts Centre (CAC), Colchester, England, UK	**Ibsenhuset (IBH), Skien, Norway**
Norway: ▪ Will receive local, regional and national governmental funding if not contested after overall cuts in budgets.		• Yes – local and regional, and national for building and equipment improvements.
Both: ▪ Have to increase private funding through sponsorships – funds, barter, in kind and risk diversifying/ collaboration/partnerships/out-sourcing.	• Sponsorships – some barter and in kind, no sponsored funding observed. • Yes – risk diversifying/collaboration/ partnerships observed in programming and in carrying out artistic events – both visual and performance. Out-sourcing observed in sound engineering and lighting and stage technologies.	• Sponsorships – funds, some barter and in kind. • Yes – risk diversifying/collaboration/ partnerships observed in programming and in carrying out performances – especially semi-professional and amateur events. The in-house autonomous Skien Visual Arts Society is responsible for visual arts events. Restaurant and bar services are out-sourced to a private business.
• Planning – both: ▪ Must have and file annual budgets, accounts and reports. ▪ Must have and file long-term strategic plans including revision of purpose and mission, prioritizing different institutional goals.	• Yes – adequately executed. • Long-term strategic plan exists (2004-2009) and is regularly revised. Includes revision of purpose and mission, prioritizing different institutional goals	• Yes – carefully executed. • Long-term strategic plan exists (2006-2009) and is regularly revised. Includes revision of purpose and mission, prioritizing different institutional goals.
• Leadership and staffing ▪ Leadership: • Board recruitment: • Britain: Should have arts industry related recruitment.	• Yes – recruited from the arts centre network and based on skills and passion for the arts centre's operations.	

Table 4.3 Links from expected practice to observed patterns of behaviour

How local, regional and national cultural policy agencies would like to see these expectations put into practice – summary.	Observed patterns of behaviour in two specific arts centres – i.e. the potential answers to the case study research question put forward in the beginning of this chapter • How does the leadership of the two arts centres perceive the factors influencing their relations with their communities and network partners? • How do they understand and maintain their centres' relevance to its communities? • How do they recognise, manage and sustain their networks of partners?	
	Colchester Arts Centre (CAC), Colchester, England, UK	**Ibsenhuset (IBH), Skien, Norway**
• Norway: Will have local political recruitment, but increasing recruitment from local business life.		• External – e.g. all but one member representing the arts centre's staff, are partisan politicians chosen by the Skien town council in proportion to party representation in the council.
• Both: Should have industry experienced managing director.	• Yes – been in office more than 10 years at the time of the research, but no strong formal industry management background.	• Yes – been in office more than 15 years at the time of the research, but no strong formal industry management background.
▪ Staff – both:		
• Will have strong element of industry-/autodidact personnel.	• Yes – especially technical operations.	• Yes – especially technical operations.
• Should have specialised personnel in finance and marketing.	• Yes – in finance, but no strong marketing management background.	• Yes – in finance and to some degree in sales and promotion, but no strong marketing management background.
• Will have strong element of part time/free-lance/volunteer staff.	• Yes – especially in front-of house and bar.	• Yes – especially in stage management and building maintenance.
▪ Audience relationship (and marketing) management:		
Both:		
• Should allocate financial means and staff to plan and effectuate marketing activities to communicate offerings and meet income targets.	• Budgets show funds chiefly allocated to staffing, box office, web site, graphic design, prints and advertising.	• Budgets show funds chiefly allocated to staffing, box office, web site, graphic design, prints and advertising.
Britain:		
• Long-term strategic plans must include focus on audience relationship issues.	• Current business plan includes a chapter on marketing which advocates a strategy built on indulging the	

Table 4.3 Links from expected practice to observed patterns of behaviour

How local, regional and national cultural policy agencies would like to see these expectations put into practice – summary.	Observed patterns of behaviour in two specific arts centres – i.e. the potential answers to the case study research question put forward in the beginning of this chapter • How does the leadership of the two arts centres perceive the factors influencing their relations with their communities and network partners? • How do they understand and maintain their centres' relevance to its communities? • How do they recognise, manage and sustain their networks of partners?	
	Colchester Arts Centre (CAC), Colchester, England, UK	**Ibsenhuset (IBH), Skien, Norway**
• Does plan exist that includes strategic revisions of purpose and mission, prioritizing of institutional goals, and clear aims and measurable targets?	audiences' sense of discovery, taste and judgment for the attraction of an artist/event rather than selling a product and *'simple effective marketing tools'* – i.e. easy and convenient access to information (web site, mail, print) and point of sale, capturing contact details at point of sale, easy and updated communication with media, nurturing marketing culture within the organisation. The plan comments, however, on the need for audience and marketing research, but concludes with no available resources to follow through.	• No.
• Are there procedures in place to secure full and integrated information among staff members about mission, aims and objectives?	• Observed is a weekly meeting with all staff on full or part time contract. Issues discussed are events and operations related.	• Observed is: o A monthly meeting with all staff on full or part time contract employment. A forum for information on company issues and programming. o A weekly meeting for management staff where all important management issues are discussed. o A weekly meeting for relevant management staff on events related production and organising related issues.
• Are there procedures/plans/decisions in place to necessitate resources – i.e. staffing, professional ability, organisational operation including commitment, equipment and funding?	• None observed, probably only as a part of the ordinary budgeting process. Issues are raised in the strategic plan.	• No specific process observed, probably only as a part of the ordinary budgeting process. The need for increased professional programming and marketing staff is explicitly raised in the strategic plan.

Table 4.3 Links from expected practice to observed patterns of behaviour

How local, regional and national cultural policy agencies would like to see these expectations put into practice – summary.	Observed patterns of behaviour in two specific arts centres – i.e. the potential answers to the case study research question put forward in the beginning of this chapter • How does the leadership of the two arts centres perceive the factors influencing their relations with their communities and network partners? • How do they understand and maintain their centres' relevance to its communities? • How do they recognise, manage and sustain their networks of partners?	
	Colchester Arts Centre (CAC), Colchester, England, UK	**Ibsenhuset (IBH), Skien, Norway**
• Are there procedures in place to secure co-operation and dialogue between artistic, educational and marketing management about audience development/marketing activities?	• None observed.	• None specifically observed, but both weekly meetings for relevant management staff are forums for issues of this kind.
• Are there procedures in place/activities and processes running aiming to ▪ Raise awareness among staff of how arts marketing and audience development activities contribute to overall objectives,	• No specific process observed.	• No specific process observed.
▪ Build support for innovation and risk within the organisation,	• No specific process observed.	• No specific process observed.
▪ Develop internal customer service oriented mindsets and turning every staff member to a marketer?	• No specific process observed.	• No specific process observed.
• Are there procedures in place to analyse/profile existing attendance groups according to risk abilities = benefits sought?	• No specific process observed.	• No specific process observed.
• Are there procedures in place to address distinct target group/groups and match needs and interest with benefits of current offerings by ▪ Sustaining, enhancing, cultivating, and innovating existing audiences,	• Membership subscription scheme and weekly bulletins to all ticket buyers who have left Email addresses. Special mail outs are periodically sent out to specific	• A Membership scheme does not exist but as a part of the sponsor contract each sponsor receives a number of discount cards (1500 in total for all sponsors) which they

Table 4.3 Links from expected practice to observed patterns of behaviour

How local, regional and national cultural policy agencies would like to see these expectations put into practice – summary.	Observed patterns of behaviour in two specific arts centres – i.e. the potential answers to the case study research question put forward in the beginning of this chapter • How does the leadership of the two arts centres perceive the factors influencing their relations with their communities and network partners? • How do they understand and maintain their centres' relevance to its communities? • How do they recognise, manage and sustain their networks of partners?	
	Colchester Arts Centre (CAC), Colchester, England, UK	**Ibsenhuset (IBH), Skien, Norway**
	target groups relevant to the particular events.	are free to distribute among their employees and business contacts. The card entitles its user to discount tickets on specific events. Special mail outs are regularly sent out to specific target groups relevant to the particular events.
▪ Arousing latent interest in and persuading potential audiences (of same kind) to attend performances,	• Annual promoting activities directed towards students at University of Essex.	• Ongoing cooperation with the performance arts branch of study at next door sixth form school.
▪ Sustaining or establishing an appropriate marketing mix tailored to suit audience needs, product surround and core product, and/or	• Profiled front-of house service which includes the running of fully licensed bar with two points of sale.	• No direct front-of house service except for during free concerts on Saturdays during season. The operation of customer amenities is out-sourced.
▪ Undertaking outreach projects that target groups of people who for economic and social reasons are the least likely to attend arts events?	• Not observed.	• Not observed.
• Are there appropriate and consciously designed market communication procedures with		
▪ season programme,	• Yes – four times a year.	• Yes – two times a year.
▪ usage of general or targeted/placed communication channels,	• Currently up-dated web site. Weekly bulletins and periodical mail outs to retain existing customers. Flyers and posters are systematically distributed to fixed places. Fairly easy access to newspaper mentioning. Occasionally advertising of standard programme.	• Currently up-dated web site. Mail outs are regularly sent out to retain existing customers. Flyers and posters are systematically distributed to fixed places. Very easy access to news-paper mentioning. Meticulous advertising scheme for every event.
▪ price differentiation,	• Yes – to a limited extent, but prices differ according to genre and targeted audience.	• Yes – always differentiated between standard, student, senior-rated and group-rated tickets.

Table 4.3 Links from expected practice to observed patterns of behaviour

How local, regional and national cultural policy agencies would like to see these expectations put into practice – summary.	Observed patterns of behaviour in two specific arts centres – i.e. the potential answers to the case study research question put forward in the beginning of this chapter • How does the leadership of the two arts centres perceive the factors influencing their relations with their communities and network partners? • How do they understand and maintain their centres' relevance to its communities? • How do they recognise, manage and sustain their networks of partners?	
	Colchester Arts Centre (CAC), Colchester, England, UK	**Ibsenhuset (IBH), Skien, Norway**
▪ product augmentation attributes; and	• Strong product augmentation in the form of front of house service and access to pre-, interval, and post event refreshments. Easy transport access.	• Limited product augmentation in the form of front of house service and access to pre-, interval, and post event refreshments. Easy transport access.
▪ organise box office service with easy access to buying?	• Yes – medium to easy access to points of sale through web based self-ticketing, phone, fax, and box office pre- and at the time of show sale.	• Yes - easy access to points of sale through web based self-ticketing, phone, fax, and box office pre- and at the time of show sale.
• Are there control and evaluation procedures in place that involve relevant staff, collect and analyse information about target groups' attendance and the reciprocity between programming and audience development activities?	• Not observed.	• Not observed.
• Are there activities directed towards establishing, nurturing, negotiating, and maintaining relationships with the community served by ▪ Acknowledging and strategically working on network partners. In which case, which partners /stakeholders are acknowledged: • Authorities and government agencies (funders and/or regulators)?	• Yes. • Funders: Arts Council England East, Essex County Council and Colchester borough council. Regulators: Colchester borough council (licensing). The Churches Conservation Trust which cares for Church of England churches no longer needed for parish use. (Renting church buildings).	• Yes. • Funders: Skien town council, Telemark county council. Regulators: Skien town council (budgets, accounts, reports, development plans), Kontorbygg AS (Town council property owner).

Table 4.3 Links from expected practice to observed patterns of behaviour

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	Colchester Arts Centre (CAC), Colchester, England, UK	**Ibsenhuset (IBH), Skien, Norway**
• Customers apart from audiences?	• Two regular hiring local arts organisations.	• Town library, school of fine arts, dept. of education. In-house business tenantry (restaurant, recording studio, fine arts gallery). Wide array of local and regional amateur arts organisations.
• Suppliers, influencers, alliance partners (industrial, non-industrial); and or	• A personalised network of agents, impresarios and artists; and local, regional and national organisations/networks. A partly institutionalised network of media contacts, local and regional suppliers of technical services for events.	• An institutionalised network of partner arts organisations, national and international public and private touring arts organisations, agents and impresarios as well as conference business partners. A partly personalised network of local and regional authority politicians and officers as well as private sponsors and local/regionalG37 • A partly institutionalised network of media contacts, local and regional suppliers of technical services for events.
• Competitors?	• On cooperative terms with local folk and jazz clubs as well as with film and media and visual arts centres.	• Dominant position in the market does not call for need to seek cooperation with competitors. Cooperation from IBH are sought by others.
• Building perception of the arts centre as an organisation which people want to be associated with.	• Yes – especially among local, regional, national and international arts organisation (funders and suppliers) and artists.	• Yes – especially among local and regional authority politicians and officers as well as private sponsors and local/regional business networks. But also among national and international partner and touring arts organisations as well as agents and impresarios.
• Internalising and making strategies based on • the knowledge of your network partners'/stakeholders' network; and	• Yes – probably explicitly when it comes to working the personalised network of agents, impresarios and artists.	• Yes – probably explicitly when it comes to working the partly personalised networks of local and regional

Table 4.3 Links from expected practice to observed patterns of behaviour

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	Colchester Arts Centre (CAC), Colchester, England, UK	**Ibsenhuset (IBH), Skien, Norway**
		authority politicians and officers as well as private sponsors and local/regional business networks.
• that every one-to-one contact between partner/stakeholder and staff member is 'a moment of truth'.	• No strategies observed.	• No strategies observed.

4.4.2 Analysis of the case study findings

4.4.2.1 Colchester Arts Centre – the British case

4.4.2.1.1 How does the leadership of Colchester Arts Centre perceive the factors influencing its relations with its community and network partners?

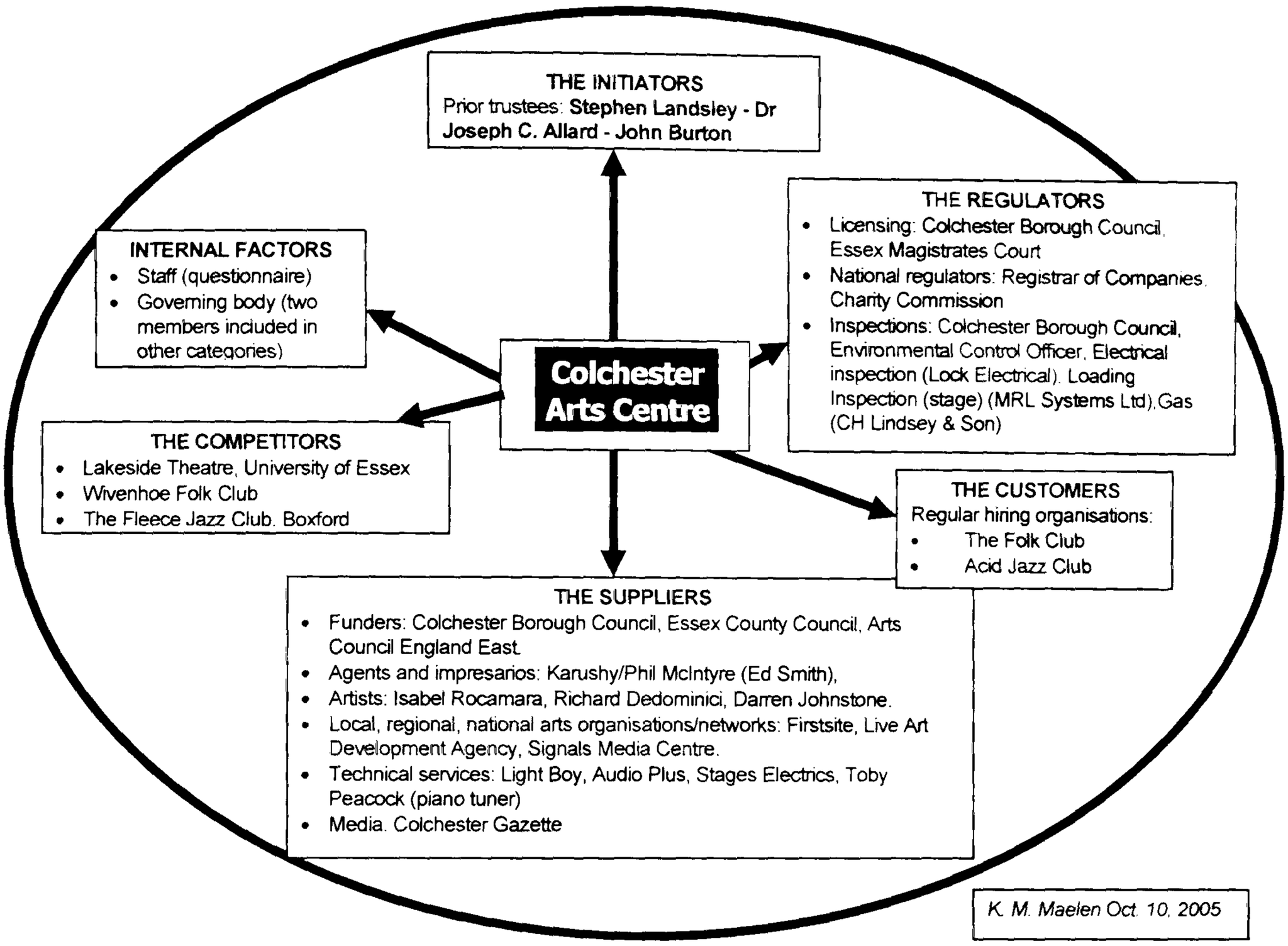
The leadership is in this context – as previously mentioned – the director of the arts centre. In my early contact with him and in my analysis of documents the first thing to do was to identify both the *network partners* and the *influential factors*.

The Colchester Arts Centre Network

A list of individuals and organisations the Colchester Arts Centre (CAC) director recognised as belonging to the centre's network of stakeholders and partners was put together and formed the basis for drawing up a network map and for sorting out the individuals to approach as participants in the survey. The network map – see below – was modelled on the model map presented in Chapter 2[141] and implied that the director had to list relevant arts centre network partners in each category – initiators, regulators, customers apart from ticket buying audiences, suppliers and competitors.

141 Section 4

Figure 4.1 Colchester Arts Centre network map



Influential factors

Colchester Arts Centre — describes itself in its current business plan (CAC, n.d) as an arts organisation that wants *"(t)o provide, stimulate and nurture a diverse and dynamic series of arts events and activities of the highest quality"* responding to the needs of *"(s)pecific groups within the community"* (Ibid., p.3). These groups are not explicitly singled out in the business plan but follow from its basic programming policy which describes CAC as *"a product led organisation that places the work (the arts) at the heart of and as a defining focus of its operation"* (Ibid., p.14). Declaring itself as an *"(a)rtistically led venue"* (Ibid., p.12), CAC defines this as *"(f)inding, developing and producing new works that are original, contemporary and challenging"* (Ibid., p.3) by creating conducive conditions for both national and international artists to produce and perform. Within its profile as a high quality contemporary arts organisation of national and international renown, CAC strives to provide a wide range of art forms – blues, jazz,

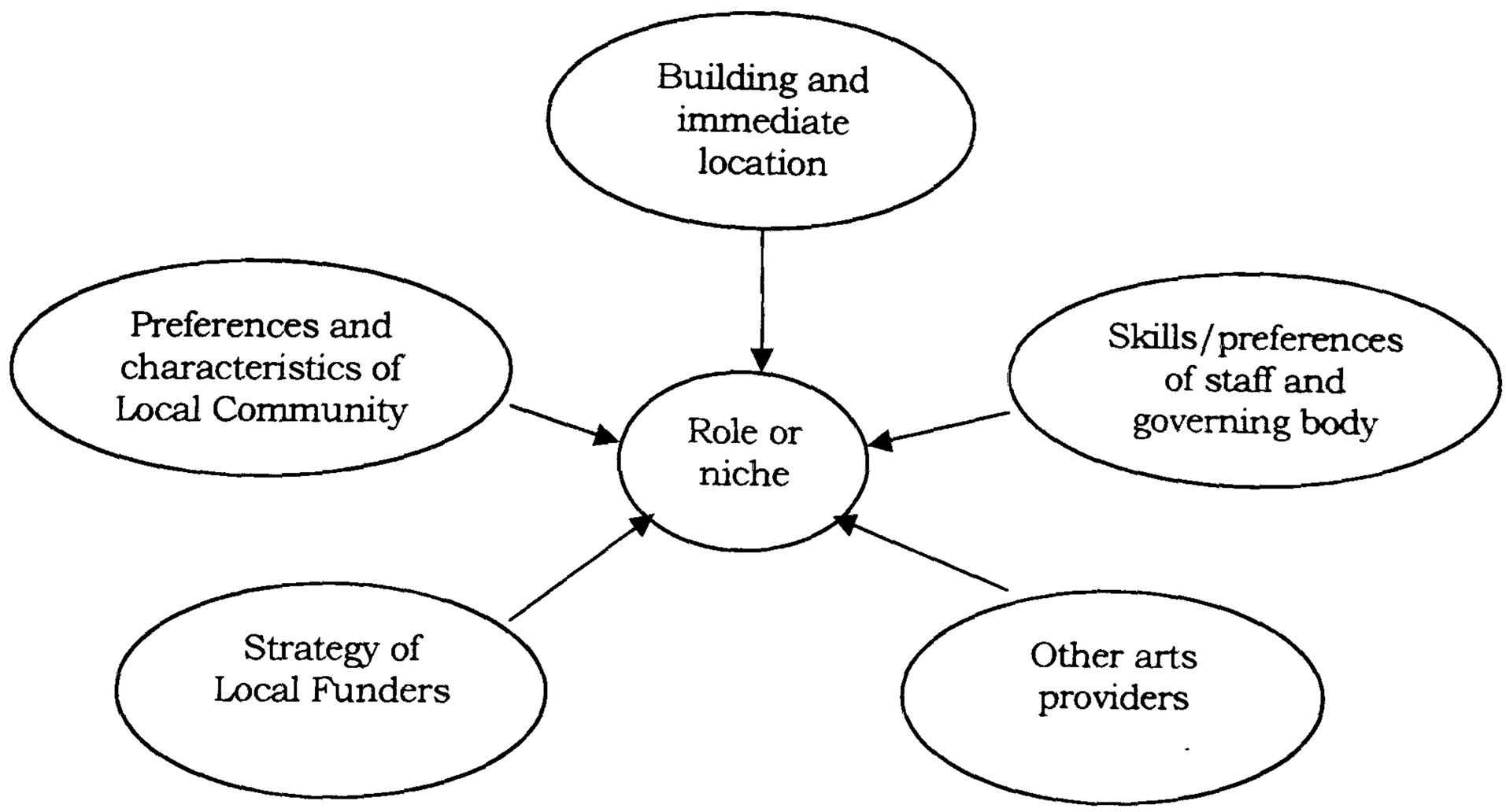
folk, gigs, western classical and world music concerts: dance, theatre, live art, poetry, talks, comedy and film. In addition the arts centre has weekly club nights, and regularly hosts kids' events and farmers markets.

It follows from this profile and also from comments in other parts of the business plan that CAC wants to accommodate the needs they anticipate diverse audience groups have to indulge in the discovery of contemporary quality artists and events (Ibid., pp.14-15). The business plan characterises this programming policy developed over years where *"(c)ommerce serves to provide the arts"*, as unique. *"Neither locally nor regionally is there an organisation that provides quite the same shows and opportunities as Colchester Arts Centre"* (Ibid., p.6). This uniqueness is, however, not only the result of in-house skilled programming. The business plan expresses this unique role or niche as a result of the sum of factors the arts centre operates under thus:

> It comprises the arts centre building itself and its immediate geographic location. It includes the characteristics and wishes of the local community, the perspective and overall strategy of local funders and other types of arts provision that exist in the area. It also includes the vision, preferences and skills of those leading the centre (both staff and board).
>
> In creating a distinctive role or niche for an arts centre, all these different factors must be taken into account. Success for an arts centre occurs when a formula is found which suits and draws on the best from all these factors (Ibid., p.5).

And illustrates the argument with the following diagram (Ibid., p.5):

Figure 4.2 Illustrating the context in which the Colchester Arts Centre operates (CAC, n.d, p.5)



These initial findings show that the arts centre perceives its artistic profile to be the essential factor influencing both its relationship with the community, network partners and audiences and the diagram in Figure 4.2 is demonstrating that CAC has a similar approach to understanding their relationship with their community as the model I have chosen to generate and implement in this study.

4.4.2.1.2 How does the leadership of Colchester Arts Centre understand and maintain its centre's relevance to its community?

During my observation week the director used a great bulk of his time on a special Arts Council of England project he is involved in[142], talking to artists about future projects apart from programming next season, meeting with events and arts organisers wanting to have him and the arts centre involved in their projects. He was also asked by the Arts

142 The Arts Council of England East has engaged him to co-coordinate an initiative aimed at finding, supporting and investing in new artists. One element of this larger scheme is 'East to Edinburgh'– since 2002 – a project aimed support performing artists and companies wanting to take work up to the Edinburgh fringe festival. Year on year the scheme changes form and focus on which it is my impression that the Colchester Arts Centre director has vital influence. This engagement brings credits to both the director and the centre, puts him in a role where he is solicited for advice both from the arts council, arts organisations and artists, and has a spill over effect on funding

Council England, East together with a dozen other handpicked central arts administrators and artists to contribute with views on future challenges for the arts in the East at a special conference dinner. He also gave his support to another Colchester arts organisation which had attracted a lot of negative attention and opposition to the localisation of a new building project on a disputed site, causing an extraordinary city council meeting to convene and vote.

Some of this use of time was extraordinary, but it demonstrated that the arts centre understands the importance of continuously maintaining community relevance in three ways:

- By supporting and cooperating with fellow arts organisations in Colchester and surroundings creating artistic projects together, involving them in the programming of shows at the arts centre and keeping dialogue open. A working method that is highlighted in the business plan and appreciated especially by the supplier side of the network.
- By calling on various arenas where contemporary arts are exposed and being an active voice and partner in bringing new work to audiences both in Colchester and beyond. A working method that is noticed regionally, nationally and internationally and which the network and especially the supplier side seem to want to be associated with.
- By fulfilling all report obligations to funders and legal controlling authorities like Colchester Borough Council, the Arts Council England, licensing, charity commission, registrar of companies and so on, the arts centre is keeping itself held in esteem – see Tables 1 and 6 and in Appendix 3. Keeping the books in order, increasing turnovers and avoiding deficits, creates a situation where the arts centre is free to pursue its artistic vision. My observation of the Arts Council of England, artists and others seeking advice, cooperation and wanting to tap into the arts centre's (mainly the director's) know-how and aptitude in contemporary arts, confirms this.

4.4.2.1.3 How does the leadership of Colchester Arts Centre recognise, manage and sustain its networks of partners?

The management of the network partners that follows from inclusion in the arts centre's programming and mutual involvement in organising artistic work described above is one way of recognising the importance of the network. As the survey answers show – see Tables 10-12 in Appendix 3 – the way this is actually done pays back: 82% of the network feels that the arts centre through action has shown that they understand what their organisation needs from them, 71% observe that the arts centre is always clear about what it needs from them and 94% answer that the arts centre is an organisation they like doing business with.

Sustaining this positive cooperation and conviviality is another issue. One answer to this is to continue with business as usual, providing the current financial, material conditions prevail. But what is really business as usual for leadership and management in this case? From what I observed it could be described as 'management by walking around and talking about', a style which the director did not seem to link to any explicit management philosophy. The indication is, however, that what the CAC director is actually practising is a management style that was advocated in the early 1980s by the two management consultants Thomas J. Peters and Robert H. Waterman Jr. in their book *In Search of Excellence: Lessons from America's Best-Run Companies*[143]. As members of the McKinsey management consulting group they headed a project looking at organisational efficiency in 43 of Fortune 500's top performing companies focusing on how crucial *people* are to business success. The book hit the US market in a period with high unemployment.

143 Warner Boks, New York 1982

interest rates and inflation combined with a booming Japanese economy. It became a bestseller selling millions of copies all over the world and made Tom Peters one of the top management gurus (Handy, n.d.)[144]. Peters and Waterman's findings were categorised in eight themes corresponding to book chapters[145] and may be summarised thus:

1. *A bias for action,* active decision making – *'get out there and try something out' – 'you don't learn anything in business without trying'.*
2. *Close to the customer* – learning from the people served by the business.
3. *Autonomy and entrepreneurship* – fostering innovation and nurturing 'champions' by organising small, relatively independent units held together by common goals and cultural norms.
4. *Productivity through people* – treating rank and file employees as a source of quality – let them get 'the family feeling'.
5. *Hands-on, value-driven* – management by showing commitment to the company's mission and objectives should guide everyday practice.
6. *Stick to the knitting* – stay with the business that you know.
7. *Simple form, lean staff* – install a simple and workable organisational structure, keep staff to a minimum, outsource or use time-limited project-oriented task forces.
8. *Simultaneous loose-tight properties* – combine autonomy in shop-floor activities with centralised strategic priorities and values.

As many of the companies Peters and Waterman praised for excellence over the years went out of business or had great difficulties, the authors were criticised for oversimplifying real life. In an article Tom Peters (Peters, 2001) comments on this criticism by confessing that the big fault with the book's message was that they tried to do away with *"(t)he one best way mentality"* of Taylorism that dominated business management at the time, replacing it by another – *"a patent-medicine*

144 See http://www.onepine.info/phand.htm and http://www.businessballs.com/charleshandy.htm

145 See http://www.leadershipnow.com/leadershop/0060548789excerpt.html

prescription for excellence – in perpetuity". Still Peters argues that the eight principles have proved right, but not as permanent guarantees for success but as eight management principles not to be ignored. This seems to be a common concord between management scholars (Handy, n.d.)

The actual leadership performance of 'management by walking around' I observed at the Colchester Arts Centre also carries traits of what some authors call *'dialogue management'* (Slotte, Hannukainen & Kilpi, 2005), a dialogical atmosphere that exists in different ways in many organisations already but which it would be favourable to implement in several more.

According to Slotte, Hannukainen and Kilpi *"(d)ialogue management is an attempt to provide insight into how work in organisations can be managed by reference to the philosophy and practice of dialogue. It involves organizing both material and immaterial conditions for work according to principles of dialogue"* (Ibid., p.2). Although it is a questionable result of the physical constraints of the church building where Colchester Arts Centre is located, one might say that the actual material conditions – meaning small and cramped spaces – could promote dialogue management. But this is not what I want to direct attention to. What I have in mind is what Slotte, Hannukainen and Kilpi call *"(t)he relational, interactional, social, ethical and communicative aspects of management"* that I could observe being played out at the arts centre and which is also the essence of Peters and Waterman's arguments and principles.

I attended and observed two staff meetings, several programming meetings with director, staff and board member; and a week's interactions between staff and director. In addition I asked the staff (five out of seven + the director answered) to state whether they could

agree or not to the following statements which touch upon these aspects of management albeit not phrased to test the principles of dialogue management or Peters and Waterman's principles from the outset:

- The arts centre's programming decisions are made on a well informed basis.
  2 agree, 2 strongly agree and 1 does not know. (The director's answer is neither included here nor below.)
- We work hard to provide optimal conditions for the artists.
  All strongly agree.
- We work hard to provide optimal conditions for the audience.
  All strongly agree.
- I feel respected as a staff member.
  1 neither agrees nor disagrees. 1 agrees and 3 strongly agree.
- My comments, remarks, suggestions and so forth are taken seriously by the director and acted upon when needed.
  1 neither agrees nor disagrees. 1 agrees. 2 strongly agree and 1 does not know.
- I like meeting with outside people and organisations representing the arts centre.
  1 agrees and 4 strongly agree.

What I could observe was that space was given for creative inquiry, co-operative and free interaction – i.e. dialogue. The staff comments on my statements confirm this although there is a bit of uncertainty on a couple of variables which show that there is room for improvement. On the whole there is a strong sense of corps spirit and pride among the staff.

Slotte, Hannukainen and Kilpi claim and also demonstrate via a case study that "*(s)trengthening of dialogical conversations, values, attitudes and unlearning of non-dialogical practices creates not only internal well-being and external credibility but is, when realized fully, a managerial, productional and strategical advantage that enhances long-time competitiveness*" (Ibid., p.4).

From what I observed I would imagine that in Colchester Arts Centre's case this core strength also spills over in the interactions staff have with outsiders. Five out of six staff members (including the director) say that they discuss the arts centre once a week or more with friends and family and network partners. The director also states that he often – but less than once a month or more – participates in between 10 and 20 professional networks and/or organisations where he discusses administrative matters and general business operation concerning the operations of arts organisations as well as programming issues. He regards the significance of meeting colleagues on these occasions as very important.

He also holds memberships in voluntary organisations and/or other societies where he establishes contacts and discusses issues of importance for his job as director of Colchester Arts Centre. He regards the significance of establishing this kind of network connection as important.

4.4.2.1.4 Are there similarities and differences in perceptions of the above treated issues between the Colchester Arts Centre and its partners and stakeholders within the communities it serves?

Taking a closer look at the survey results we note that staff and network partners hold similar views about the arts centre on several issues of importance. When adding together the categories 'good' and 'very good'; and 'agree' and 'strongly agree', 80 to 100% of staff and network partners evaluate the arts centre the same way along the following dimensions:

- The reputation the arts centre in the community is as far as the programme goes strong – see Table 1 in Appendix 3. This corresponds with a strong internal belief

voiced in the current business plan as commented above in Section 4.4.2.1.1 p.239 but not particularly confirmed through observation.

- The contribution to the cultural identity of Colchester and the region is unique and valuable – see Tables 2 and 3 in Appendix 3. This was confirmed during my observation week by visitors to the director representing regional authorities, bodies and project coordinators wanting to ally themselves with CAC to fulfil their own objectives.
- The arts centre delivers what it promises to the audience – see Table 9 in Appendix 3. This survey finding was not particularly represented in other collected data.
- The arts centre is an organisation people appreciate doing business with – see Table 12 in Appendix 3. This was clearly confirmed by observing the director in meetings and phone conversations with a variety of external contacts during observation week.

On the other side there are discrepancies between staff and network partners on important issues:

- Network partners think the arts centre meets the need of a broad range of audiences in Colchester and the region far better than the staff think it does – see Table 4 in Appendix 3. This finding was to some extent supported during my observation week by the fact that CAC was approached by external contacts wanting to have CAC deliver events to them. On the other hand, in observed internal discussion about the coming season's programme, the director expressed that *"(t)he idea is to present the audience with a programme it does not know it wants"*, indicating that the ambition is to invite the audience to a risk-taking experience. The finding which serves as a comment to the discussion on diffusion of innovations in Chapter 3[146], could however, signify that audiences and network partners are more prepared to take risks than the arts centre ascribes to them and that the arts centre's artistic profile has wider acclaim than the actual attendance expresses.

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146 Section 3.3.2.3

- The network partners in total and especially the suppliers consider the arts centre's programme better communicated than the staff evaluate it is – see Table 5 in Appendix 3. This is an interesting finding which puts both the arts centre's actual communication and marketing strategy and the whole ideology and rhetoric around audience development in perspective.

Table 4.5 above displays the links between *how* local, regional and national cultural policy agencies would like to see their expectations put into practice and the actual observed patterns of behaviour in Colchester Arts Centre. Under the heading *Audience relationship (and marketing) management* the table shows the concrete links between advocated practices and what is actually done in this field of operations. It is clearly documented that CAC's current audience development and marketing activities are not especially elaborated. It does not follow the book. This is commented in the 2004-2009 business plan where an audience research project named 'Open Gate' is described. The aim, through *"a series of market research initiatives"*, is to leap out of anecdotal description of the actual audience and to shape tools for further development of the audience base. Two sets of arguments are listed for taking such an initiative:

1. That the arts centre out of financial self interest needs to sustain and increase the stream of self-generated income from both ticket sales and bar.
2. That funding bodies regularly ask for audience figures, budgets, box office breakdowns, and social and cultural inclusion statistics. Documented audience figures on gender, age and ethnicity, social, cultural and geographical diversification will help meet accountability demands.

However, when all the proper issues and arguments are accounted for, the business plan states as follows: *"But the time to properly and accurately address the topics is what we lack. At present we simply do not have the time to conduct such a valuable project without allocating specific funds and resources"* (CAC, n.d. p.16).

During my observations and in the answers to the supplementary questions in my survey, the staff at Colchester Arts Centre express the need to communicate the programme better and to develop new audiences. On the other hand it is my

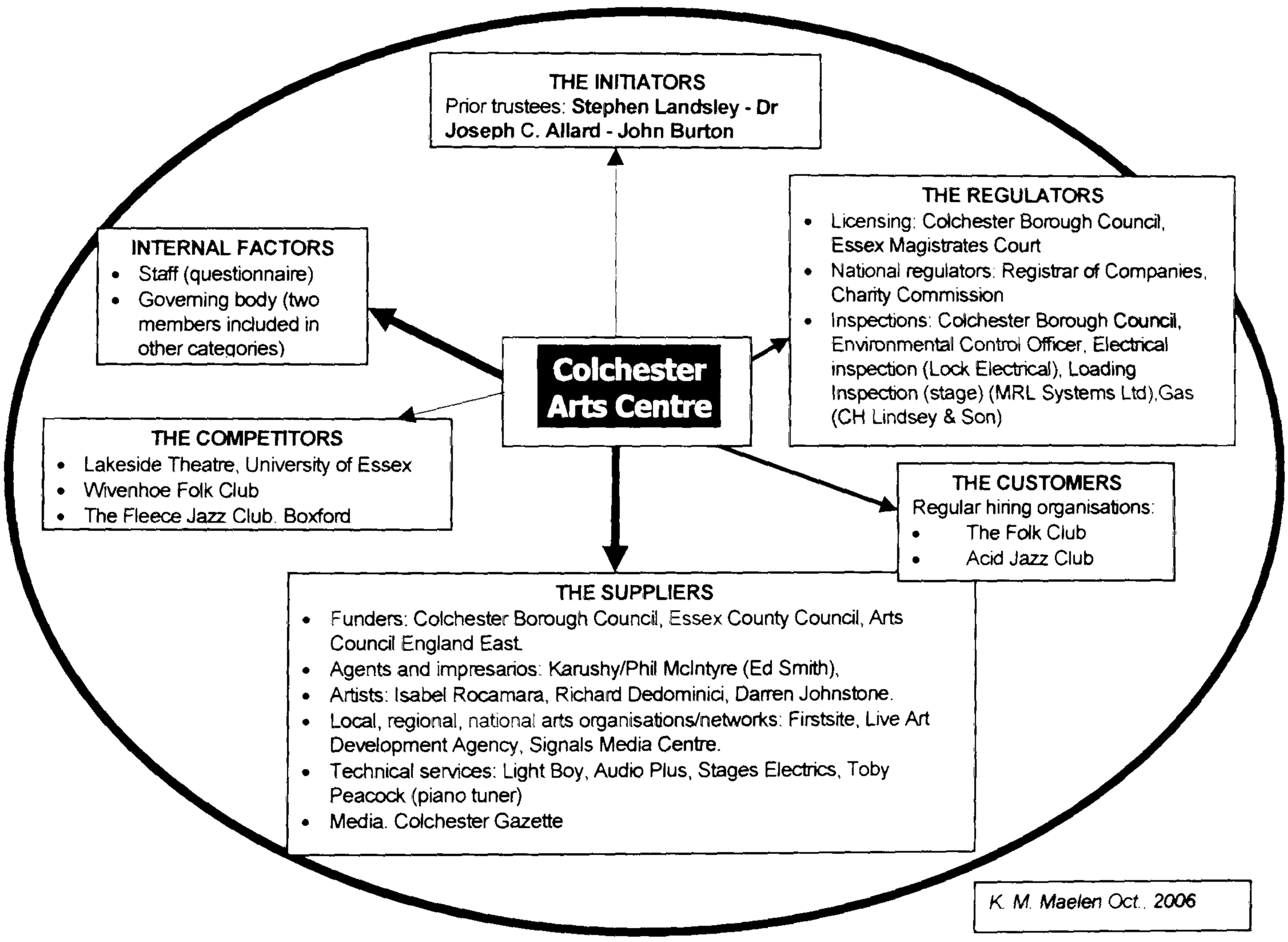
impression that the staff and leadership at the centre feel very confident that a continuation of an artistically and product-led strategy of high quality contemporary art is the medicine that pays off in the end. The findings could indicate that they are correct and that sturdy will to fulfil an artistically led vision, continuous work to establish and nurture relationships and reputation among network partners have a higher pay back than previously acknowledged. This is in fact one of the important findings in the September 2006 ACE arts centre research (P. Shaw et al., 2006, section 4) .

- Furthermore, there are discrepancies as to how the arts centre is regarded as an operating organism; how the staff and the network partners evaluate the centre's efficiency, honesty, trustworthiness; and in the views of the arts centre as a pro-active and problem solving organisation, responding to opportunities. The results show that 100% of the staff agree or strongly agree that the work they do fits all these characteristics while the network partners are more biased, although never less than 50% and more often 70 to 80% of the network partners also hold the same opinions – see Tables 7a-c and 8a-c in Appendix 3.

The difference is not dramatic, but significant enough to mention. It might be seen as an illustration of what Howard S. Becker notes when he comments that specialised support personnel in the arts often develop their own aesthetic, financial and career interest that differs from the artists they serve (Becker, 1982, p.25). As artists' support personnel, the staff of an arts centre are a more or less integral part of bringing an art work into existence as an object of appreciation. This element of *'collective activity'* as Howard S. Becker (1998) calls it and which I have earlier described as a fundamental part of being an arts centre, often attracts certain types of people: people with a heart for the arts, people who get fascinated by the intense work atmosphere of the arts. Arts centre personnel might hence be more occupied with their standing among their internal peers, among artists and their external support personnel, than by their network partners outside the world of arts. The above diagram Figure 4.2 and appurtenant recognition in the business plan of the context in which the Colchester Arts Centre operates, seem to illustrate this.

To sum up the analysis of the Colchester Arts Centre case study I have re-configured the arrows in its network map to illustrate the relative importance the different partner groups play in the centre's relations with its communities and network partners. The artistic suppliers and staff dimensions seem to be the most important followed by the regulators and customers, placing the competitors and initiators as least important.

Figure 4.3 Colchester Arts Centre network map re-configured



4.4.2.2 Ibsenhuset – the Norwegian case

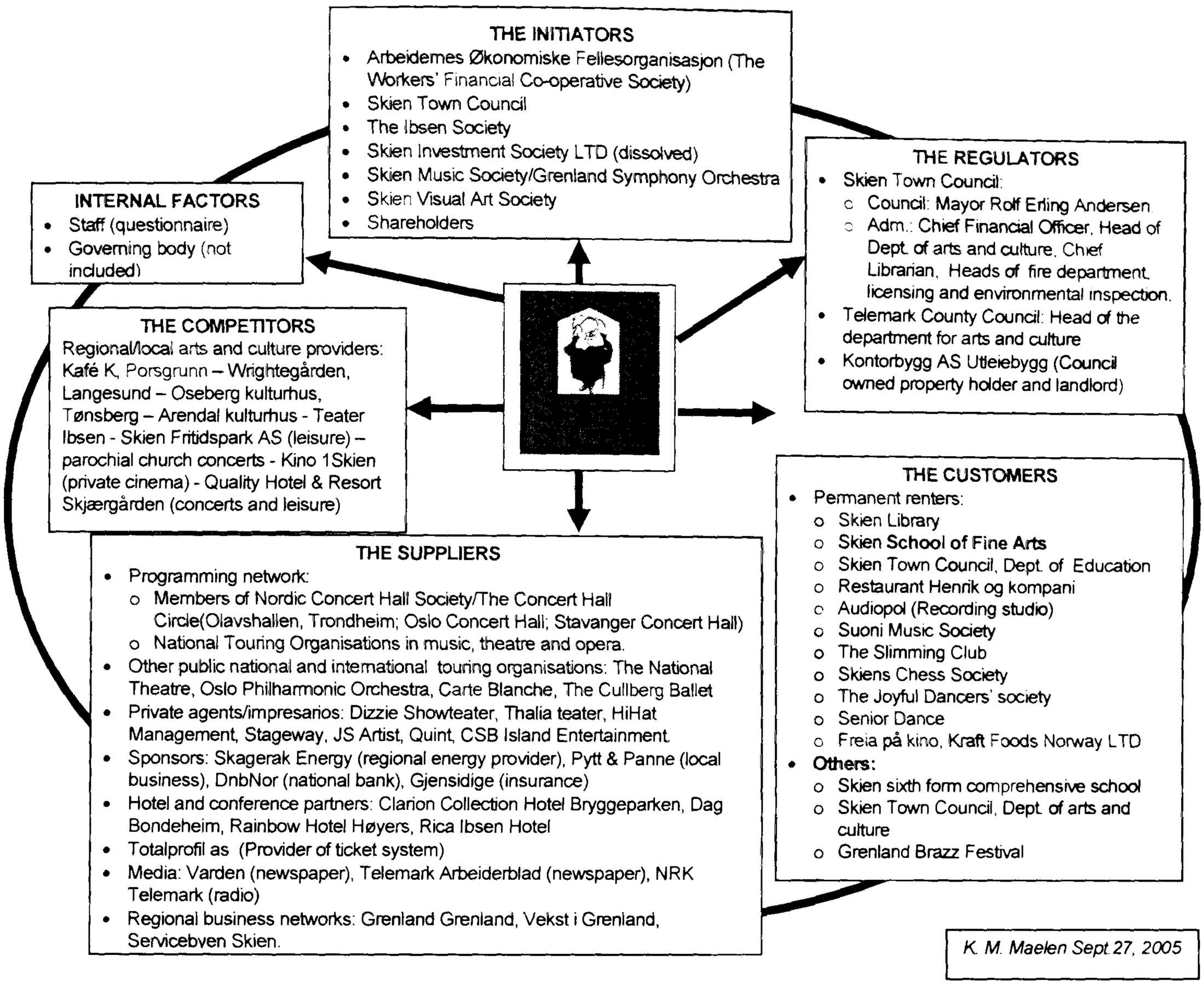
4.4.2.2.1 How does the leadership of Ibsenhuset perceive the factors influencing its relations with its community and network partners?

As for the Colchester Arts Centre case the Ibsenhuset leadership is synonymous with the director of the arts centre. Furthermore, similarly the first thing to do was to identify both the *network partners* and the *influential factors*.

The Ibsenhuset Network

As in the CAC case a list of individuals and organisations the Ibsenhuset director recognised as belonging to the centre's network of stakeholders and partners was put together and a network map was drawn up and used to sort out the individuals to approach as participants in the survey.

Figure 4.4 The Ibsenhuset network map



Influential factors.

From its establishment up to the time of my observation week in November 2005 the vision for Ibsenhuset's role in Skien and the region had remained the same. Its main purpose had been to be a centre for cultural appreciation and well-being for as many people as possible in the town, the region and the county of Telemark. In addition Ibsenhuset aimed to offer proficient and valuable services to professional and voluntary organisers of fairs, exhibitions, conferences, meetings and functions. Hence, the idea was to act as the town's, region's and county's most prominent conference centre and assembly hall as well as an arts centre (Ibsenhuset, 2001).

In the new Strategy plan for the period 2006-2009 (Ibsenhuset. 2006) from March 2006 the vision for Ibsenhuset was updated. Now the aim is

- To remain the nation's leading multifunctional arts centre offering nationally and internationally renowned professional artists the best of performing conditions while at the same time supporting the flourishing of local cultural life.
- To be a central attraction for Henrik-Ibsen-related[147] tourism and activities in the region and the county of Telemark as well as, in cooperation with other local and regional organisations, to attract congresses, conferences and similar kinds of events of national scale to the Ibsenhuset and Skien.

According to the arts centre's leadership, Ibsenhuset has become common property "*(t)he reason for which is to be found in its multiuse profile and cultural offerings directed towards all age groups and the rich variety in arts forms presented*" (Ibsenhuset. 2001. p.9). Ibsenhuset is also proud to be a member of the Nordic Concert Hall Council – a network of the largest concert halls in the Nordic Countries – and to have close relationships with the largest halls in Norway as well as to have been given the status of an arts organisation of significance for the Telemark county. In the new strategy plan (Ibsenhuset. 2006) the reason for this and for the benefit Ibsenhuset has of a large network of suppliers of artistic products, is seen as a result of a total annual attendance of around 100.000 and a reputation for high quality performances. The plan recognises. however, a tendency between professional providers to reduce their willingness to take risks and consequently an increasing burden on in-house skills, capacity and resources to put together an attractive programme.

Compared to the earlier strategy plan. the March 2006 plan has a stronger focus on the further development of the cultural programme in two directions – more events directed

147 Skien is the birthplace of the world famous Norwegian author and playwright Henrik Ibsen

towards young people and an intention to expand outdoors with open air summer concerts in the park facing the Ibsenhuset. The March 2006 plan has also an increased focus on developing the other leg of the Ibsenhuset operations – conferences and congresses.

Ibsenhuset is proud of its highly qualified personnel and expertise in operating an arts and conference centre. In the face of the upcoming challenges described above, the March 2006 strategy plan emphasises, however, the need to improve the staff's competence, safeguard staff continuity as well as improve the work environment and supplement the staff with more managerial resources.

It follows from this description of influential factors that Ibsenhuset's profile would better fit the label of being a *community-led venue* than for instance an *artistically-led* one like the Colchester Arts Centre. This does not mean that Ibsenhuset is less *product-led*, rather that its products and markets are more diverse than for CAC.

These initial findings show that this multifunctional profile is perceived to be crucial in developing relationships with the community, network partners and audiences; in securing organisational success and survival as well as a solid financial base; and as an arts presenter of national and international renown, to be able to arouse pride in the eyes of Skien's population.

4.4.2.2.2 How does the leadership of Ibsenhuset understand and maintain its centre's relevance to its community?

During the week I observed the Ibsenhuset director he was engaged in a wide variety of activities from booking and negotiating artists' and conference contracts, discussing

marketing and season programme issues, chairing internal routine meetings both with the entire staff and with smaller groups, managing a particular building construction issue and securing building permission license from local authorities, meeting with top local governmental officials to present and secure Ibsenhuset's interests, meeting with other network partners and preparing the opening of the new VIP-room which was to take place at the end of my observation week; and presenting and socialising with artists during evening shows.

Some of these activities were extraordinary, but they demonstrate that the arts centre's director regards the maintenance of the centre's community relevance as closely connected to

- Being engaged in a wide variety of activities – principal, over-arching and detailed; both leadership and management at the same time.
- Acting as the central and sometimes only contact between the arts centre and external partners whether government, artist or other customer. When case or contract is settled staff members will take over and run necessary marketing, technical and bureaucratic management routines.
- Being the central arts centre representative in external communications about demands of accountability and transparency and sound financial operations. Local authority funding – which in Ibsenhuset's case accounted for 23.1% in 2004 – is regarded as the funding backbone and an indicator of how well the arts centre operations are appreciated by the town council as the representatives of the general public. Ibsenhuset budgets and annual report are subject to town council debate and handling. A complicating issue in this context is that accounting rules are different for limited companies – as Ibsenhuset is – and local authorities in Norway. Depreciation of capital goods are not regarded as expenditure in local authority annual accounts. An annual deficit in Ibsenhuset's account because of depreciation can turn into a surplus when local authority accounts are settled. If the real deficit is not compensated, Ibsenhuset will break into its equity basis and the bedrock for future operations could be eroded. Keeping the equity basis solid

is of fundamental importance for financing future investments in upgrading of building and technical equipment. These complicated issues need an insider's explanation which even the local authority appointed board members are not familiar with. And since shifting popular vote has swung the town council's majority from right to left quite frequently over the years, this issue more often than not becomes critical and needs to be kept under constant surveillance.

- Making himself accessible to contact from existing and promising network partners as well as calling upon existing partners for advice or updates.

4.4.2.2.3 How does the leadership of Ibsenhuset recognise, manage and sustain its networks of partners?

It follows from what is described in sections 4.4.2.2.1 and 4.4.2.2.2 above that the maintenance of Ibsenhuset's community relevance in the future is increasingly connected to its wider role for the town and region. It is likely that the director's frequent participation in professional and non-professional networks, which he regards as extremely important, will prove helpful[148].

However, the survey findings seem to unveil that the basis for this extended role is not firmly anchored within the staff, the customers and those who initially supported the establishment of the arts centre.

There is some uncertainty and some even disagree that the arts centre is efficient and trustworthy in its business operations – see Tables 7a and 7c in Appendix 4, that it is capable of being pro-active – see Table 8a in Appendix 4, and responds to opportunities

148 The director's survey answers show that one or more times a month he participates in professional networks and/or organisations where he discusses administrative, programming and general business issues concerning the operations of arts organisations, and he even more frequently makes contacts in non-professional settings which he regards important for his directorship

and solves problems – see Table 8b and 8c in Appendix 4. These concerns are mostly expressed by the staff, the initiators and the customers – all of who seem to have a more local perspective on the role of Ibsenhuset. Underlying data show that some criticise Ibsenhuset for not treating local amateurs as proficient as they do professional non-locals and that rent prices and other contractual issues are not as favourable as they should be for locals. There is also some scepticism associated with the extent to which Ibsenhuset manages to deliver what it promises to its audience and its business partners – see Table 9 in Appendix 4.

Coupled with the following survey findings which show

- that parts of the staff seem to be disoriented and discomforted with the way Ibsenhuset is operated. Only 7 out of 13 staff members, the director not included, answer they agree or strongly agree that their comments, remarks, suggestions and so forth are taken seriously by the director and acted upon when needed. Three disagree or strongly disagree.
- 4 out of 13 neither agree nor disagree and disagree that they like meeting outside people on behalf of the arts centre; and
- 8 out of 14 seldom or never discuss Ibsenhuset with outsiders;

one can conclude that it is probably essential to increase management staff (marketing and programming) and thus make way for the director to concentrate more of his time on other tasks where his efforts according to the March 2006 Strategy Plan seem to be more needed – for instance the role of the staff, its competence and knowledge of the Ibsenhuset vision and aims (Ibsenhuset, 2006, p.8).

4.4.2.2.4 Are there similarities and differences in perceptions of the above treated issues between the Ibsenhuset and its partners and stakeholders within the communities it serves?

Taking a closer look at the survey findings we find that there is no clear cut answer to whether the views held between the internal and external parties about Ibsenhuset are clearly similar or different. This might be very understandable taking into account the wide variety of activities and hence stakeholders and partners with whom Ibsenhuset has an on-going relationship. Hence I base the subsequent discussion on the following principles:

1. I will compare the staff findings to the category *'network answers in total'* and comment if some of the more numerous subgroups of network partners deviate substantially from this.
2. I will divide the discussion in four groups
   a. Similar perceptions – the findings deviate with less than 1 percent between the two categories.
   b. Small differences – the findings deviate with between 5 and 10 percent between the two categories.
   c. Notable differences – the findings deviate with between 10 and 25 percent between the two categories.
   d. Substantial differences – the findings deviate with more than 25 percent between the two categories.

<u>*Similar perceptions*</u>

The staff and the network agree and strongly agree that

- Ibsenhuset provides a valuable contribution to cultural identity in Telemark – see Table 3b in Appendix 4. The customers think the contribution is notably higher and the suppliers somewhat less, probably because the customers are providers of events themselves and some of the suppliers are located outside the region and don't know or have not answered.

- Ibsenhuset communicates its programme well – see Table 5 in Appendix 4. Only the suppliers agree less but that is because some of the suppliers are located outside the region and don't know or have not answered.
- Ibsenhuset is honest in its operations – see Table 7b in Appendix 4. A notable number of initiators are uncertain and disagree, maybe because they find that Ibsenhuset has deviated from its original vision. A significant number of suppliers express almost total agreement which indicates that Ibsenhuset is fair in its dealings.
- Ibsenhuset is clear about what it wants from its partners – see Table 11 in Appendix 4. It is notable, however, that more that 20% of the network partners are uncertain or disagree.

Small differences

The staff score higher than the network on the following dimensions:

- Ibsenhuset's uniqueness in providing a contribution to cultural identity in Telemark – see Table 2a in Appendix 4. Again the customers think the contribution is notably higher and the suppliers notably less, probably for the same reasons as mentioned above.
- Ibsenhuset's ability to meet the needs of a broad range of people in Skien and the county as a whole – see Tables 4a-b in Appendix 4. The most notable differences between staff and network partner groups are with the initiators and customers in meeting the needs of the county. This is understandable since both groups are mainly located in Skien.
- Ibsenhuset's efficiency – see Table 7a in Appendix 4. Customers and especially suppliers think that the arts centre efficiency could be better.
- Ibsenhuset's ability to stimulate its partners' relationships with other business partners – see Table 11 in Appendix 4. A notable portion of the staff are uncertain about this or don't know, while this is the case for a lesser part of the network partners. In fact a substantial part of the customers and suppliers agree or strongly agree that doing business with Ibsenhuset stimulates other business relationships they have.

The network scores higher than the staff on the following dimensions:

- Programme reputation – see Table 1 in Appendix 4. Again the customers think the contribution is notably higher and the suppliers notably less, probably for the same reasons as mentioned above.
- Ibsenhuset's ability to show that it understands what its partners want – see Table 10 in Appendix 4. The suppliers are notably more positive than the rest of the network groups.

Notable differences

The staff score higher than the network on the following dimensions:

- Ibsenhuset's valuable contribution to cultural identity in Skien – see Table 3a in Appendix 4. Only the customers have approximately the same opinion, while many of the suppliers as earlier mentioned do not have a local knowledge good enough to be able to answer the question adequately.
- Ibsenhuset's pro-activeness and ability to plan for action – see Tables 8a and d in Appendix 4. The findings show a high degree of uncertainty among both staff and network partners, but most among the staff where there is also disagreement.
- Ibsenhuset's ability to solve problems – see Table 8c in Appendix 4 – is, however, regarded as being better among the staff than the network partners.
- Ibsenhuset's ability to satisfactorily communicate its needs – see Table 8e in Appendix 4. 64% of the staff are uncertain or disagree that the needs are well communicated to external partners while 45 of the network partners think they are.

The network scores higher than the staff on the following dimensions:

- Ibsenhuset's trustworthiness – see Table 7c in Appendix 4. It is the suppliers that brings the score up since all of them agree and strongly agree that Ibsenhuset it trustworthy. Both the initiators and the customers – all mainly local partners – seem to be far more uncertain and even disagree and hence their opinion concords more with the staff.

- Ibsenhuset's responsiveness to opportunities – see Table 8b in Appendix 4 – is regarded far better by the network partners – especially the customers – than by the staff.
- This is also the case for Ibsenhuset's ability to deliver what it promises – see Table 9 in Appendix 4. Again both customers and especially suppliers are strongly positive.
- The same opinions show in Table 12 in Appendix 4 where network partners and especially suppliers highly appreciate doing business with Ibsenhuset.

Substantial differences

The biggest discrepancy in opinions between network partners and the staff is found in the reputation Ibsenhuset has in the community as far as its business operation goes – see Table 6 in Appendix 4. Only 34-36% of both think the reputation is good. 21% of the network partners think the reputation is very good compared to none among the staff while 57% of the staff think it is neither good nor bad compared to 25% of the network partners. It is the locally based customers that are the most critical group among the network partners.

From this and from the answers to the supplementary questions I asked the members of staff it is evident that Ibsenhuset has much to gain from consolidating the inside corps spirit and to find a balance between flexibility and routines that can increase the staff members' feeling of adding value to the service Ibsenhuset provides to its community.

The fact that the Ibsenhuset staff hold their own performance along vital dimensions in lower esteem than the network partners do and that the network, notwithstanding this, overwhelmingly appreciates doing business with Ibsenhuset, shows that there is a potential for developing more and closer relationships between Ibsenhuset and its stakeholders and community provided all members of staff are motivated, trained and led to build and nourish these relationships.

The survey also shows that Ibsenhuset's cultural programme, contribution to the region's cultural identity, and especially market communication is perceived as good if not to say very good by its network partners. This is so although the marketing activities as we have seen in Table 4.5 are not very sophisticated, as the list of advocated practices under the heading *Audience relationship (and marketing) management* show. One might object to comparing Ibsenhuset's audience development and marketing activities to how local, regional and national cultural policy agencies in Britain would like to see their expectations put into practice since – as mentioned in Chapter 3[149] – many Norwegian arts organisations and arts centres are only beginning to develop audience relationship and marketing management strategies and techniques; and these issues are not as high on the agenda in Norway as they are in Britain. The connection here is, however, not to compare Ibsenhuset to British cultural policy standards, but to a British arts centre's practices to see if the reality among arts centres are as far away from each other as cultural policy objectives seems to indicate they should be. What these findings show is that the current Ibsenhuset's audience development and marketing practices are rudimentary and do not distinguish themselves notably from those of Colchester Arts Centre, and that there are other parts of the arts centre's audience relationship practices that need more shaping up than their established audience development and marketing strategies and techniques.

To sum up the analysis of the Ibsenhuset case study I have re-configured the arrows in its network map to illustrate the relative importance the different partner groups play in the centre's relations with their communities and network partners. The artistic suppliers, the regulators and customers seem to have equally top importance. The staff dimensions and

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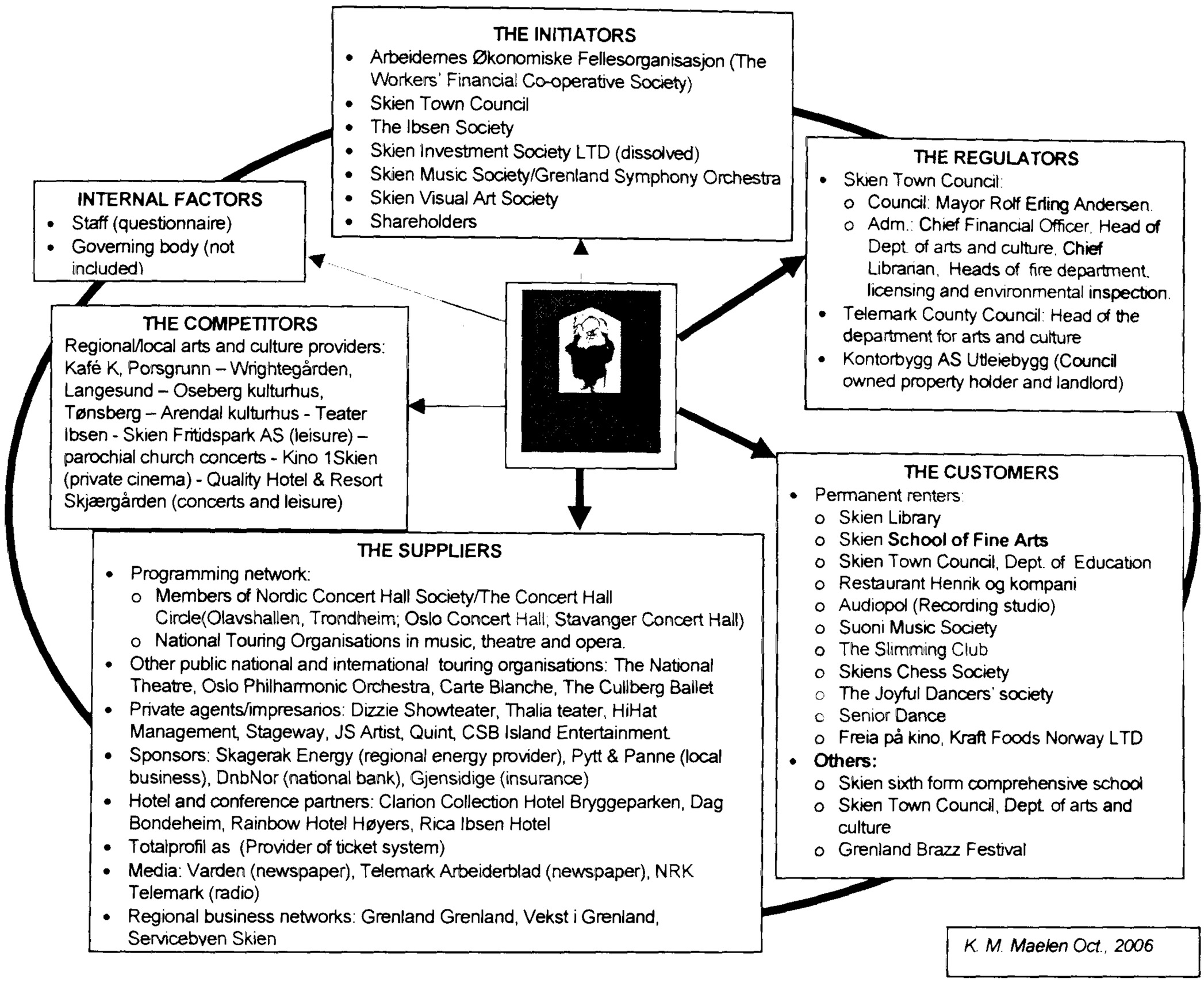
149 Section 3.1

the relationships with the initiators and the competitors seem to have equally least importance.

Figure 4.5 The Ibsenhuset network map re-configured



4.4.3 Comparing the results from the two case studies

The following comparison is based on the presentation in Table 4.5 and the subsequent analysis:

- The two arts centres' different programming motivations – artistic (Colchester Arts Centre – CAC) vs. community (Ibsenhuset – IBH) led programming – have led to different strategies in establishing and maintaining programming networks. CAC's artistically-led programming seems to require a more personalised network approach.
- Having established such networks the maintaining of, communication and transaction with them does not differ between the two cases, nor does the span of

artist origin, although IBH's more community-led programming includes more locally based artists and IBH's second leg as conference venue seems to call for a more representative and business-like approach to networking.

- Both arts centres have optimised and updated their technical equipment and facilities as much as possible and expected of them.
- Both rely heavily on earned income although both are dependent on indispensable public subsidies: IBH on one major source and stronger on sponsorships; CAC seems to be stronger on diversification of risk and collaborative financed income streams (mainly ACE funded projects).
- Both have established adequate appropriation of planning and controlling techniques and routines to meet accountability and transparency requirements. IBH is perhaps more careful because its accountancy system as a limited company differs extensively from its main funder – the town council of Skien, as discussed above.
- Composition of boards reflects that ownership of arts centres is organised differently in the two countries. CAC's recruitment of trustees from its local network has an effect of more board involvement in programming and arts community networking.
- Both managing directors have made their imprint on the way their organisations operate after more than 10 years in office for both.
- Both have adequate professionalism in finance but not in marketing, strong industry-/autodidact competence in technical operations and a strong element of part time/free-lance/volunteer staff. (CAC: Front of house. IBH: Stage management.)
- Both have very rudimentary and only partly conventional arts marketing practices and score low on adaptation of audience development strategies and techniques. CAC: Medium access to points of sale, conventional price differentiation, strong product augmentation in the form of front of house service and access to pre-, interval, and post-event refreshments. Easy transport access. IBH: Easy access to points of sale, conventional price differentiation, limited product augmentation in the form of front of house service and access to pre-interval, and post-event refreshments. Easy transport access.
- Both arts centres acknowledge the importance of establishing and maintaining network relationships. Both focus on nurturing their funders as well as local

partners directly vital for their core operations. CAC's approach seems to be more personalised than IBH's in the sense that it is more directly connected to the artistic mission of the organisation *"(f)inding, developing and producing new works that are original, contemporary and challenging"*. Consequently both are aware of their prime partners' networks and employ strategies based on knowledge of them. CAC focuses primarily on the arts. IBH tends to be biased towards local and regional authorities and business networks. However, there is limited acknowledgment of the importance of working on partners that are not currently recognised as important to mission and funding.

All this said there is one aspect that seems to be of significance to these elements – the role of the staff. Both arts centres are weak on securing full and integrated information among staff members about mission, aims and objectives. There is no *explicit* awareness of the importance of developing internal customer service oriented mindsets. There seems to be increasing emphasis on leadership, but little focus on growing of leadership competence and of capturing, locating, developing and sharing knowledge to make the organisation more robust.

The reason for this might be caused by the lack of understanding of what characterises the type of personnel that inhabits organisations like arts centres. I have earlier in Chapter 2[150] and Chapter 3[151] described people who work in arts organisations as specialised support personnel. This description fits the professionals in Karl-Erik Sveiby's[152] personnel typology (Sveiby, 1994). Sveiby characterises them as follows:

> The Professionals (are sometimes called Knowledge Workers) work directly with the customers. They are intelligent and sometimes arrogant. They love their job and tend to be workaholics. They don't give a damn about the company "bureaucracy" and are loyal to their organisation only if they can feel proud of it. They like to work with other highly competent people. They are both unable and unwilling to manage

150 Section 4

151 Section 3.3.1 and 3.3.2.4

152 Professor at the Swedish School of Economics and Business Administration in Helsinki, Finland

other people; they are interested mainly in the freedom to develop their own professional skills (Sveiby, 1994, Chap. 3).

Sveiby is describing a knowledge organisation – a subtype of a service organisation – the business idea for which is to solve customers' problems. The knowledge organisation's assets are *"(t)heir key people and their customers, how they attract them and how they match their capacity for problem solving with the needs of the customers"* (Sveiby, 1994, Chap. 1).

A typical knowledge organisation is, according to Sveiby (1994, Chap. 7), attractive to a customer when

- the organisation or key people are well-known by the customer before. Customers are loyal to people who have come up with good solutions before;
- the organisation has a sufficient level of unique know-how;
- the level of competence is sufficient; and the quality of
- the corporate image gained from working with other customer projects is positive.

As we can see many of the features of a knowledge organisation match an arts centre, although a vital characteristic of knowledge organisations is that they have few tangible assets and therefore are different from an arts centre which has at least a building with mixed technical equipment fit to serve artistic production.

Another feature which strikes one as similar when comparing knowledge organisations and arts centres, is that they both tend to find it profitable to grow their own professional staff from the junior stage and up (Sveiby, 1994, Chap. 4). The result is that the staff become highly specialised both in type of work and attached to the same locality or employer, which again may result in low turnover. In addition,

as Sveiby puts it: *"A very low turnover is a sign of a stagnant or shrinking organisation or a too complacent personnel"* (Sveiby. 1994. Chap. 16).

The fact that the Colchester Arts Centre staff hold their own performance in higher esteem among the actual business operations attributes compared to how the network partners evaluate it, could be an example of complacency. The fact that the Ibsenhuset staff value their own performance along vital dimensions in lower esteem than the network partners do at the same time as they rate Ibsenhuset's contribution to the region's cultural identity, their ability to meet the needs of a broad range of people, to be efficient, honest and to solve problems. higher than the network partners, could indicate that highly specialised work competence combined with enjoyment of work and colleagues as well as loyalty to employer is important.

In either case, as I noted in Chapter 2 and above[153], network partners are populated with individuals who shape their organisations' mode of operation in a similar way as the personnel in the arts centre shape theirs. They also interact with other individuals in other organisations. Consequently I will characterise the relationships between the arts centre and its partners as an individualised customer or better audience relationship; and, perceiving oneself as an individual customer, the arts centre partner would want to work with a team of professionals with whom there is a mutual understanding. If such an understanding exists Sveiby observes that there is likely to exist flexibility and willingness to accept delays: and possibly also capacity for improving in-house competence levels (Sveiby. 1994. Chap. 7). Matching the arts centre's own perceptions and ambitions to the customers, the individual representatives of the network partners, and the artists is therefore crucial for a

153 Section 2.4 and 4.1 and 4.4.2.1.2

sustainable success. Like a knowledge organisation an arts centre cannot force its customers to adapt to it, it must perforce adapt to them.

A condition then is to have a competent staff – to develop the professional skills required to match the needs of the customers. Christopher, Payne and Ballantyne argue that the value members of staff add to a business's success is closely linked to the way they are selected, trained, motivated and led (Christopher, Payne & Ballantyne, 2002, p.103). In the arts there is a high focus on personal skills and each and every artist's performance, as well as how performers cooperate in groups like bands and orchestras. The negotiation of relationships in such groups is of crucial importance for their artistic success and audiences' appreciation (Murnighan and Conlon, 1991). In Chapter 2[154] I described how an art work is a result of the contribution made by all who are involved in bringing it about. There exists, however, in the arts as in every other line of production, a division of labour where diverse involvement represents diverse stakes in the outcome. Nevertheless an art work or performance relies heavily on any input to be executed with pre-agreed quality at the appropriate time (Becker, 1982, p.13). Every task performed by the staff of an arts centre like Colchester Arts Centre or Ibsenhuset is such a contribution. All members of staff are – as earlier argued – in different ways support personnel to artists and performers and as such essential for the art work or performance to come about or be reproduced and enjoyed by an audience.

Christopher, Payne and Ballantyne refer to research showing that employees who are unclear about the role they are supposed to play "*(b)ecome demotivated, which in turn can lead to customer dissatisfaction and defection*" (Christopher, Payne & Ballantyne, 2002, p.106). I am not claiming that the Ibsenhuset staff is demotivated. The survey

154 Section 2.4

results do not justify such a conclusion although they tell us that parts of the staff seem to be disoriented and discomforted with the way Ibsenhuset is operated[155]. The results show, however, that the staff does not have a *consolidated* view on its efficiency, trustworthiness, pro-activeness, response to opportunities, problem solving, action planning and ability to communicate its needs – see Tables 7, 8 and in Appendix 4, and underlying data show that some are even uncertain or disagree that they like meeting with outside people and organisations representing the arts centre.

Apart from performing their daily tasks and participating in planning of future assignments the management of employees encompasses at least three other aspects. First, that *"(e)very employee and hence every department in an organisation is both an internal customer and/or an internal supplier"*. This means that management must ensure that *"(e)very department and individual provides and retrieves high standards of internal services"* (Ibid., p.106) .

Second, that an organisation's leadership and management must instigate procedures that *"(e)nsure that all staff 'live the brand' by representing the organisation as well as possible, whether face to face, over the phone, by mail or electronically"* (Ibid., p.107).

Thirdly, that to recruit new or for that matter retain existing workforce, an appropriate organisational climate must be created that corresponds with the image the organisation wants to project to its customers. Christopher, Payne and Ballantyne recommend that employees are treated as an internal market. This resembles the role I have assigned to the

155 Only 7 out of 13 staff members, the director not included, answer they agree or strongly agree that their comments, remarks, suggestions and so forth are taken seriously by the director and acted upon when needed. Three disagree or strongly disagree

staff in my model of an arts centre as a node in a network. This perspective goes beyond formal participatory procedures like regular staff meetings.

My findings show that there seems to be a need to step up the understanding of the importance of the employees as an active contributor to Ibsenhuset's goal of becoming a more visible community entrepreneur. According to Varey and Lewis this would first mean to *"(f)ocus on the understanding and acceptance of 'corporate ideology', while planning locally for appropriate activities to operationalise it"* (Varey and Lewis, 1999, p.940), which corresponds well with the Ibsenhuset March 2006 Strategy Plan (Ibsenhuset, 2006,p.8). But, additionally, the role of the director will shift from management to leadership – i.e. from overseeing and controlling to organising and supporting as well as fostering increased internal communication. *"The achievement of goals will be seen as occurring within relationships rather than in discrete transactions of discrete individuals or groups"* (Varey and Lewis, 1999, p.940).

4.5 CONCLUSIONS AND RESEARCH EVALUATION

In this chapter I set out to organise and design the case studies of two particular arts centres in Britain and Norway in order to explore what the expanded conceptual framework I constructed in the conclusion of Chapter 3[156] would bring to the understanding of how these arts centres – one in Britain and the other in Norway – actually develop and perform their strategies and techniques to maintain and develop their community and audience relationships.

156 Section 3.4

The conceptual framework argued that an arts centre must actively recognise its network partners' extensive inter-affiliations and that the contacts and interchanges they have between them will influence the arts centre's ability to achieve its mission and goals and succeed in its operations. Furthermore it argued that an arts centre must regard all its network's partners' relations as open to management the same way as audiences' relations are. If not, it might end up as a bystander to its own future, left to the contingencies of its network partners' opinions and strategies.

The approach I chose was to map how the two chosen arts centres, mainly represented by their directors, formulated and acted out their chosen strategies and techniques to maintain and develop their relationship with their audiences – their community relevance. My ambition was to point out the presuppositions that were built into existing models and concepts of cultural policy instrumentalism and conventions of how arts organisations in general and arts centres in particular should operate, and then discuss my findings by introducing alternative or complementary perspectives.

In this section I will summarise the conclusions as well as present some comments on whether I have conducted the research in a manner that enables me to fulfil these expectations.

My findings and the subsequent analysis of them indicate that the operational reality of my two cases confirms the need to re-conceptualise the understanding of to what extent arts centres are cultural policy instruments and have adopted the mantra of widening audience access and developing new audiences.

I found that both arts centres employ rudimentary and conventional arts marketing activities. Years of debate, discussion, training, research and publishing of best business practices (for example ACE, 2003c – the New Audience Development programme) and manuals (among them Maitland, 2000) in Britain compared to Norway do not seem to have motivated Colchester Arts Centre to dedicate extra financial resources to the employment of advanced marketing and audience development strategies and techniques even if they show they know how, as discussed above[157] (CAC, n.d). This is also in more general terms confirmed by the research team behind the September 2006 ACE report on arts centres when it says that *"(s)ome arts centre personnel find the concept of audience development patronising and would rather the venue and the programme spoke for themselves"* (P. Shaw et al., 2006, p.9).

There are, furthermore, no fundamental differences between the practices CAC and Ibsenhuset are making use of as far as these aspects go. Accordingly there is very little sign that these two arts organisations have accustomed their operations to fit the instrumental cultural policy-speak of establishing detailed and sophisticated plans and strategies for arts marketing and audience development.

I also found that both arts centres sufficiently comply with decrees, rules and systems of planning, budgeting, accounting and transparency. Ibsenhuset seems to be more eager to follow up on these matters than CAC, which seems to be clearly linked to the fact that Ibsenhuset is far more integrated into local governmental budgeting and accounting systems than CAC is. Both organisations dedicate, however, substantial resources to these tasks which, apart from it being essential to any organisation that complying with them is a question of being in business or not, also shows to what extent the two arts centres are

157 See section 4.5.2.1.4

accommodating institutional demands and constraints as to how arts organisations should conduct their business operations imposed upon them under a New Public Management regime, as discussed earlier[158]. But one may also see this as a practical way for the two arts centres to establish, maintain and nurture relationships with governmental bodies – i.e. manage their network relationships with them – that is, audience relations management as defined in this thesis. Viewing it this way the differences in approach from Ibsenhuset to CAC might illustrate their different programming focus – see Table 4.5 – CAC being artistically-led while Ibsenhuset is community-led.

Furthermore I found that both arts centres are reasonably satisfied with the turn-out of audiences and appreciation in the local community and region – CAC[159] more than Ibsenhuset; still Ibsenhuset argues that its high numbers of attenders and its multi-functionality – that is, its widely varied programming according to its mission and community led focus – is what gives it the high score among decision makers in its community. CAC seems to understand the appreciation from the wider arts community including the Arts Council England, East as a sign of successful achievement of meeting its mission as an artistically-led venue. The confidence that grows out of these feedbacks from both arts centres' frequent network partners assures both that their current strategies are working and gives them little incentive to dedicate more resources to advanced marketing and audience development activities. CAC seems to have a surprisingly narrow definition of arts marketing as they in fact indirectly imply that to put more emphasis of arts marketing and audience development will make them divert attention from an explicit goal of inviting audiences to take artistic risks they did not know they

158 See Chapter 3, section 3.2.3 Exemplifying the impacts of new public management on the practice of arts organisations

159 I am here referring to the results of the survey – see Section 4.4.2.4 above and table 1, 2, 3 and 9 in Appendix 3 condensed to the following: The reputation the arts centre has got in the community as far as the current programme goes is strong. The actual contribution to the cultural identity of Colchester and the region is regarded as unique and valuable, the arts centre delivers what it promises to the audience and it is an organisation people appreciate doing business with

were going to take, to covertly play artistically safe. By this both arts centres demonstrate that their dedication to fulfilling their own mission and remaining true to the conventions of how they perceive an arts organisation should prioritise and operate is valued higher than adjusting to changing ambitions within the cultural policy domain.

Additionally, as far as management styles go, my results show that the cases studied demonstrate a substantial difference between CAC and Ibsenhuset. I have no evidence that these styles are deliberately chosen. They might simply be results of personalities and appropriation of bureaucratic regulations, organisational and physical framework that surrounds them, operational scale (number of events, venue, staff) and organisational culture. However, the differences could be denoted otherwise and thus: The CAC leadership practises a 'management-by-walking-around-style' (Peters, 2001) seemingly including the staff in a 'dialogue management-regime' (Slotte, Hannukainen & Kilpi, 2005) which, according to the survey results, seems to allow the staff to see them selves as an integral part of CAC's operations – i.e. being a part of bringing an art work into existence as an object of appreciation – what Howard S. Becker (1998) calls *'collective activity'* and which I have earlier described as a fundamental part of being an arts centre. The more conventional management style applied by the Ibsenhuset leadership seems according to the survey results to have ownership-reducing effects on parts of the staff regarding their arts centre's status and operations and leaving them uncertain about their efficiency and effectiveness as artistic support personnel – i.e. to what extent they add value to the services their arts centre is expected to deliver to its community. The Ibsenhuset leadership seems in practice to put less weight than CAC on the particular characteristics and qualities the type of professionals have that arts centres are likely to employ and nurture as the knowledge organisations they are.

Also. both arts centres directors display a deep appreciation for the community connections they them selves have as members in voluntary organisations and/or other societies where they establish contacts and discuss issues of relevance and significance for their jobs. They also seem to have a sturdy will to continue their connections with them. Still. although they appreciate and nurture their networks, they only to a limited extent seem to encourage the same networking activity within their staff. CAC seems to do this more than Ibsenhuset. CAC seems to draw upon staff networks in programming. stage management and front of house services. Ibsenhuset seems to do so mainly in stage managing and to a certain degree when it comes to conferences and functions. In comparison with CAC, programming seems to be mainly an issue for the director.

Finally, what my case studies show is that both CAC's and Ibsenhuset's networks are too limited and do not include all the partners I have suggested in my network model are recommendable. CAC demonstrates in its strategic plan – see Figure 4.2 above (p. 242) – that the community context is overtly acknowledged as a key factor in developing strategies and plan. Similar assumptions are indirectly expressed in the goals in Ibsenhuset's strategy plan for 2006-2009, but not made explicit as would be necessary in order to be effective as a common knowledge among all management and staff. The way both arts centres actually seem to limit the management of their existing network partners might reduce their ability to succeed in realising their mission and objectives. To fully recognise the staff as entitled to contribute to the arts centre's networking capability is. according to the extended audience relationship management concept presented in Chapter 3. crucial. CAC staff are far more included than the Ibsenhuset staff. but even their potentialities do not seem to be fully exploited. This is also in more general terms recognised as a problem by the ACE September 2006 report on arts centres: "*The research identified this lack* (that all functions of an organisation are not seen as potential

contributors to effective audience development[160]) *of organisational responsibility for audience development, and the consequent lack of investment in appropriately experienced staff, as significant barriers"* (P. Shaw et al., 2006, p.9).

All in all the overall conclusion from the case studies of Colchester Arts Centre and Ibsenhuset as examples of arts centres in the UK and Norway, is that they seem to be more interested in being relevant to their communities and to fulfil the mission they themselves have set, than to act as policy instruments for the widening of audience access and the development of new audiences in line with governmental cultural policy.

Likewise, a major finding seems to be that a management style that limits the involvement of the arts centre staff in networking and managing audience relationships broadly defined, may have a negative effect on the arts centre's ability to reach its goals.

However, there is still a question if there are shortcomings in my research design that would have changed the results had they been corrected.

The issue of generalization has been discussed earlier. The studies I have been able to find on British and Norwegian arts centres are discussed in Chapter 2. As far as research design goes they have little direct implications for this dissertation. The issue whether the set of criteria I developed to help single out the two units of investigation and to increase the comparability between them, excluded other cases from being chosen and by this predestined the results, does not seem to have much bearing since the two cases display

[160] Author's addition

sufficient discrepancies and similarities in spite of differences in operational scale and facilities.

There is an issue connected to the piloting of the research – that is whether a trial analysis on the pilot sample and then testing out the analysis procedures might have resulted in some amendments that could have helped to maximise the completion rate or reduce the 'don't knows' on some questions as for example question 6 (CAC), 10-11 (IBH) and 12-13 (both); but then to answer 'don't know' is a perfectly valid answer and as commented in section 4.3.2.3 above – the completion rate seems to be satisfactory taking the objectives of the research into account.

As for the onsite observations there seems to be a shortcoming worth discussing: It could be argued that the periods for which I observed the organisations were too short and too few to be able to discover factual processes and systems that are in place. Both observers and participants influence what is observed. Participants are free to do what they please. They might behave differently when observed. The mere existence of observers – at least onsite observers – will influence the observation situations whether one likes it or not, even if the observation is well prepared and accustomed. Consequently the fact that there was only one longer observation period for each case raises the issue of meagre information to generate data and to conclude from.

However, as my analysis in Section 4.4.3 above shows, I have managed to collect sufficient data to be able to present relevant information that both distinguishes each arts centre from the other and that singles out where there are noteworthy congruencies to serve the purpose of a comparative study.

One could also object to the conclusive weight I place on staff survey answers to questions on a scale from *'very bad/strongly disagree'* to *'very good/strongly agree'* in my arguments about the differences in management strategies. not having tried to validate this with other forms of data collection. I will. however. argue that two factors contribute to making my conclusions valid. One is the fact that the sum of staff members' survey answers display a wide variety including the extremes on the continuum and not only answers that make the results stand out as an image of loyalty. Another is that the staffs choose to answer this way to an outsider, which could be the result of the fact that I have been able to instil confidence which might be a result of the fact that I have myself a long tenure as managing director of a Norwegian arts centre.

All in all I do believe that I have not drawn stronger conclusions than my material substantiates.

CHAPTER 5
ARTS CENTRES
AS AUDIENCE RELATIONSHIP MANAGERS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

I started out this thesis wanting to examine whether such cultural policy instruments as arts centres in Britain and Norway are recognising and accommodating the cultural policy goal of widening audience access and developing new audiences.

I conclude from my findings that the two arts centres I have studied seem to have only a partial inclination to act as cultural policy instruments. Their operations seem to be more influenced by their proclivity to remain true to the conventions of how they perceive arts organisations should prioritise and operate – e.g. their objectives in supporting the realisation of their own mission, how they can be relevant to their defined communities; seem to be more important to them than falling in line with governmental cultural policy agencies expressed performance propositions for arts organisations.

These findings seem to contradict earlier analysis done by scholars like Belfiore (Belfiore, 2004), Caust (Caust, 2003), Gray (Gray, 1995), Hewison (Hewison, 2004), McGuigan (McGuigan, 2005), Merli (Merli, 2005) and Nielsen (Nielsen, 2006) who have concluded that current arts organisational leadership becomes purely mechanistic, technocratic and business-oriented in running their arts organisations in the face of increasing target-led instrumental cultural policies. My findings seem to fall more in line with what Hutchison and Forrester found in 1996 – see Chapter 2[161] – that arts

161 Section 2.2.1.6

centres try to manage their operational challenges by doing the same with fewer resources, streamlining their operations within the framework of their existing options (Hutchison and Forrester, 1996, p.52).

Yet, what my findings show is that the two arts centres studied as examples of arts centres in Norway and the UK, approach the issue of access in a more complex way. Their primary interests in being relevant to their communities and fulfilling the artistic mission they themselves have set, seem to result in them overlooking the heavy official emphasis on traditional arts marketing and audience development while undertaking networking activities to secure their position as 'value-adders' to diverse interest groups – artists, agents and touring organisations, governtmetal agencies and audiences.

This chapter aims to sum up the major findings from the previous chapters and to round this dissertation up by pointing to some general features that might be important to develop further if arts centres are going to stay successful arts organisations within the framework of what they themselves define as relevant.

5.2 A SUMMARY OF THE MAIN ASPECTS OF CHAPTERS 1-4

5.2.1 Cultural policies in Britain and Norway

The aim of Chapter 1 was to give a brief introduction to some basic features in British and Norwegian cultural policies since the Second World War in order to be able to establish what the cultural policy is that arts centres in Britain and Norway are supposed to deliver against, and by that to create a common frame of reference for the rest of the thesis.

Hence, in the introduction to Chapter 1 I started out by establishing an understanding of cultural policy as the way physical objects and goods as well as the intangible benefits and values of culture and art that have always existed, are gradually absorbed and embraced by public sectors and government and made an object of public policies. I also endorsed a stand that cultural policies are aspects of general public policies, and as such they are best understood against the background of these (Belfiore. 2004. p.187), which is partly what has been demonstrated throughout this thesis.

The brief introduction intended to direct attention to some of the central characteristics of the development of British and Norwegian cultural policies. The many scholars I refer to in Chapter 1 leave the impression that the evolution of cultural policies in Britain and Norway follows a sequential development. I do not think this is a deliberate exposition, but rather a result of the wish to pin down the forces that drive cultural policy rationales in a specific period of time. Accordingly, from the late 1940s and early 1950s up until the late 1970s and 1980s there seems to have been a widespread agreement that two sets of rationales have been dominant:

- *democratisation of culture* with the *civilising mission* or *culture's civilising powers* as the rationale (Bennett, 1995) and the mere dissemination of art works by establishing physical and organisational infrastructure as the vehicle of access, and
- *cultural democracy* for which Bennett (1991) suggests the rationale to be one of *"a human right"* (...) *"(s)tripped of its earlier missionary overtones"* (Bennett. 1991. 297). *"The role of the State, therefore, was to enable the population as a whole to enter into its rightful heritage"* (Ibid., p.297) – the prime point of access being to participate by themselves creating.

In Chapter 1[162] I also chose to label the rationales behind the policy development that we have experienced since the 1980s as *cultural governance* – a sector specific version of the current way of performing public management – i.e. that *"(t)he solution of social problems is no longer considered the exclusive responsibility of government"* but that they also require *"(e)fforts by numerous other agents: quasi-governmental organisations*[163]*, the business community, civic organisations and citizens"* (Denters et al., 2003, p.3). I added, however, the term *managerialism* to describe this rationale's vehicle of access – that audiences are turned into commodity-traders and commodity-holders.

Furthermore, I argued that what seems to stand out is that all three sets of rationales – democratisation of culture, cultural democracy and cultural governance and managerialism run parallel as features of current cultural politics in both countries. I called this the parallelism of cultural policy rationales - see Figure 1.1. on page 51 above – a position which, as Tessa Jowell (Jowell, 2004) so eloquently illustrates, in effect negotiate two agendas – one of legitimising the ideas of culture's civilising powers and one of accommodating the actual principles of political reality – which are currently different applications of the New Public Management agenda. Finding them hard to combine, the latter will in effect be renounced leaving the managers of governmentally owned or funded agencies, as non-profit arts organisations often are, to sort out for them selves the operational challenges of transforming governmental cultural policies into adequate operational conditions, appreciative artistic products and programmes both for the few and the many.

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162 Section 1.6.1

163 Of which nonprofit arts organisations in general and arts centgres in particular are examples.

The mediating capacity that these arts managers thus are made responsible for carrying out – mediation between governmental policies on the one hand and the primacy of customer demand on the other (Gray, 1995; Hesmondhalgh, 2002; Hewison, 1995), means that for instance government policy makers hand over the execution of cultural policies to arts organisation managers and through the legitimised principles of New Public Management (NPM) give them considerable freedom to run their organisations as best they can – see the squeeze managers are put in under NPM between politicians and electorate described in Chapter 3[164] (Christensen and Laegreid, 2001).

5.2.2 The world of arts centres

The objective of Chapter 2 was on the basis of a broad sketch of the history of the concept of arts centres in Britain and Norway, to reflect on how arts centres have developed in the two countries since the Second World War, to explore what arts centres are for and to form an idea of what an arts centre is that would transcend national borders and work as a base for a cross national study of the extent to which cultural policies in Britain and Norway have impacted on the role arts centres have as cultural policy instruments.

I described how arts centres and cultural services in general are increasingly regarded as effective tools of a modernised public policy exposed to reflexive adaptations in public service principles towards marketisation and private business inspired managerialism.

I found that irrespective of differences in arts provision traditions in the two countries, in public ownership and to some degree in ideological foundations, a multitude of arts centres has been established throughout both countries in the last decades of the 20th century. I also found that the establishment of arts centres has been a result of political

164 Section 3.2.2

actions taken either by private parties and/or public organisations and that the founding process celebrates how needs for participating in and experiencing a variety of art forms is coupled with a process that makes funding possible. The result is a manifestation of community relevance and indicates that the strategies and techniques applied by an arts centre to sustain its relevance may be many and complex.

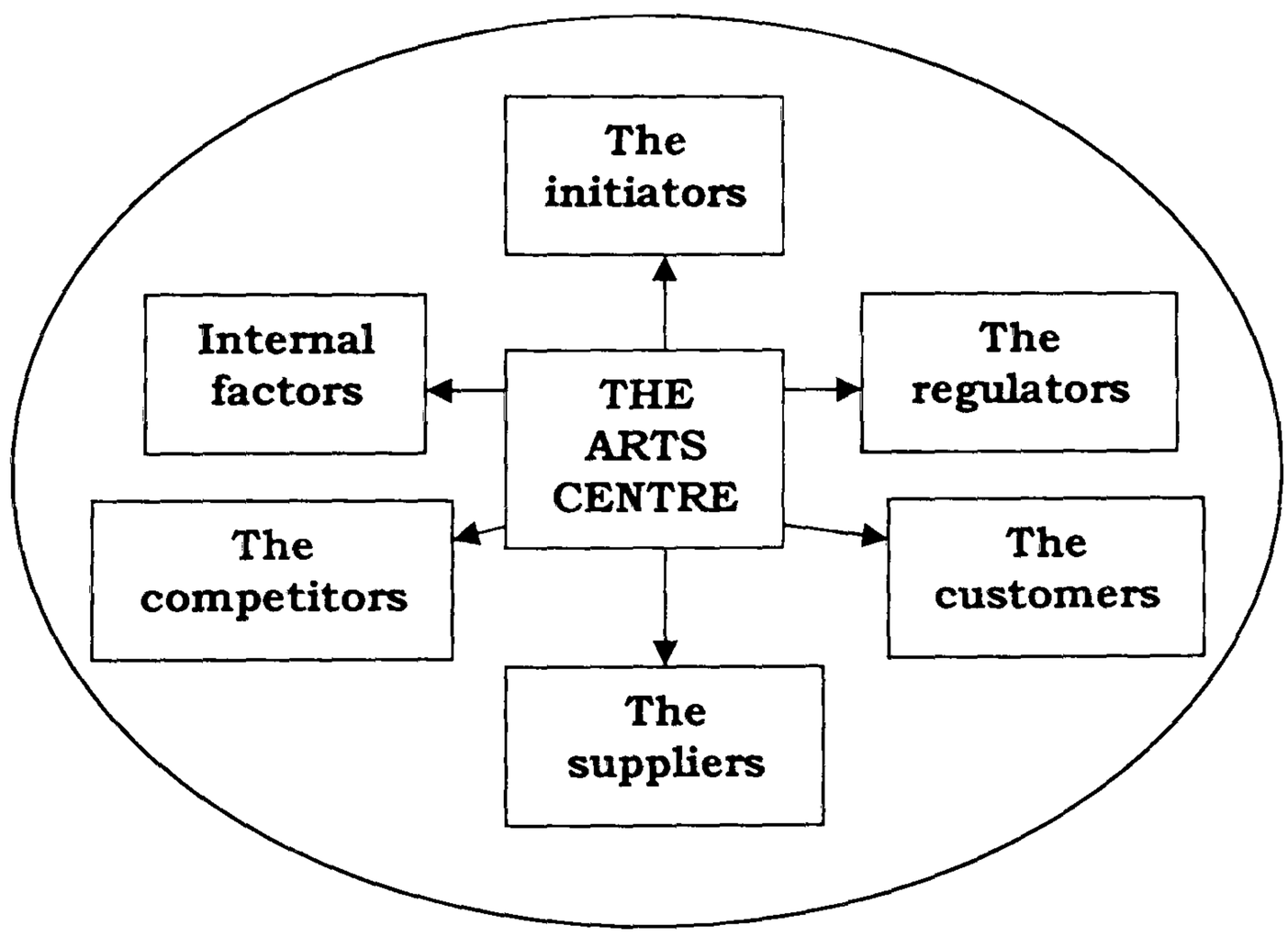
Furthermore, in Chapter 2 I demonstrated that when comparing the development of the arts centre concept in Britain and Norway, what stands out is a gradual change in both countries towards emphasising arts presentation rather than providing rehearsal spaces and workshop areas for local amateur and semi-professional cultural activity and participation. I sought the explanation for this in the demand for imperative relevance an arts centre is constantly exposed to as a pool of support and resources for the local cultural life and as partners in local, regional, national and even international networks of arts providers, touring companies, agents and others. I argued that in both spheres conditions for an art centre's existence and operations have changed during the last couple of decades. This has accentuated the following principal changeability features arts centres operate under:

- First, the fundamental relationship between a work of art and its audience – that is, how to form a mode of operation that offers the best circumstances for a work of art to be conceived, executed, produced, presented and appreciated under shifting conditions.
- Secondly, the people who cooperate in making a work of art do that by using mutually understood conventions. All sorts of aspects of art works are governed by conventional understandings as to how they can be done. The mechanisms or practice of the arts world itself will impose its expectations and obligations on the shaping of an arts centre's profile, role and operations.
- Thirdly, as an explicit presupposed action of cultural policies an arts centre must sustain its communal relevance. But when an arts centre is first established

contextual factors will gradually change and the centre like any other organisation starts to shape its own reality by the way it relates to its specific surrounding environment of norms, values, expectations and other business parameters.

To illustrate this understanding I developed a network model – see Figure 5.2 (earlier presented as Figure 2.2) below – which elucidates the role arts centres have as pools of support and resources for the local cultural life and as partners in local, regional, national and even international networks of arts providers, touring companies, agents and others.

Figure 2.2/5.2 An arts centre's network connections



I ended this chapter by describing how arts centres and cultural services in general are increasingly regarded as effective tools of a modernised public policy exposed to marketisation and private business inspired managerialism: how public funders at different levels confront arts organisations at large with explicit demands for accountability and professional management, and make private companies role models for public service provision, access and participation.

In so doing I had prepared both the need to look more closely into how access and participation today are managed in the arts – Chapter 3 – and to explore how arts organisations like arts centres are trying in reality to recognise, accommodate and adapt their strategies and techniques for widening audience access and developing new audiences – Chapter 4.

5.2.3 Managing audience relationship in the arts

The aim of Chapter 3 was consequently to take a closer look at how audience relationships are managed in the arts. I chose to approach this by linking back to my treatise of the development of cultural politics in Britain and Norway in general in Chapter 1 and the arts centre concept in particular in Chapter 2, and to discus some key concepts – commodification, managerialism or governance in the form of New Public Management – and their impacts on how arts organisations are expected to relate to their audiences under current public management ideas.

From there I took the discussion on to one of the central issues in current cultural politics in both Britain and Norway – i.e. the widening of audience access – and established that in essence what cultural policy agiences on all levels in both countries mean by marketisation or market orientation is that arts organisations should bring in more income from box office sales and private donors. To achieve this arts organisations are expected to allocate financial means and staff to plan and implement marketing activities to communicate offerings primarily to bring in greater numbers of people. I then continued by mapping the relevance of the marketing concept to the arts and how it has evolved and been adapted by this industry; and how an engagement with marketing in the arts has led to the development of the concept of audience development which seems to be specific to this industry especially in Anglo-American cultural policy debate.

Scrutinising the audience development concept I discovered that in Britain there seems to be very little agreement over what it really means; and with respect to Norway, my other country in focus in this dissertation, the concept has hardly yet started to influence discussion over audience relations. In Norway market orientation within arts organisations does not, until recently, seem to have moved beyond the product-orientation that characterised the arts sector in Britain in the 1970's and 1980s.

I examined eight different approaches to or definitions of audience development and found that they all circled around four main issues:

- the extent to which the audience development concept expands the arts marketing concept;
- whether or not it is a problem for arts organisations that they are more focused on their product or their audience;
- the assumption that there are barriers to be removed and when removed the qualities of arts experiences will be seen as inherently good; and
- the importance of integrating audience development in long-term business plans to work jointly with other activities to achieve the organisation's goals.

Based on the preceding discussion of arts marketing and audience development i concluded that audience development is simply

- arts marketing upgraded; that the contributions to arts marketing from research in audience development best practices can be limited to
  - product-led targeted activities developed through dialogue between relevant personnel across the whole organisation; and
  - segmentation of target groups based on matching needs and interests with benefits of current offerings and that removing 'inclination barriers' will lead to increased attendance and participation for the very same artistic product.

- a term concocted to serve political objectives – i.e. 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 democratisation of cultural policies and cultural democracy.

One of the approaches, attributed to Gerri Morris et al., distinguished itself from the others by integrating the researchers' own and others' research on psychographics with the work of Everett M. Rogers on the diffusion of innovation. Here artistic products are regarded as new ideas – ie. innovations – whether they are objectively new, or experienced as new and audiences may be segmented according to their willingness to risk trying out new ideas – or arts experiences. Morris et. al segment arts audiences into three different groups according to the degree of endorsement they need to be receptive to artistic products – risk takers, cautious gamblers and safety firsts.

This implies that arts marketing, or audience development for that matter, is about facilitating how a new idea, a new artistic product, is going to move through these segmentation categories over time and not how individuals in these segments shall move up the ladder from safety firsts to risk takers or from indifferents to arts aficionados, which is what existing models advise (Hayes and Slater, 2002. McCarthy and Jinnet, 2001).

What neither Morris et. al nor the preceding scholars seems to recognose is that arts organisations in general and arts centres in particular may be regarded as *change agents* according to the cultural policy rationales of democratisation of culture and cultural democracy; ad in additon *quasi-market agents* in the speak of New Public Management policy instrumentality. According to Everett M. Rogers, innovations and new ideas – read: artistic products – spread because diffusion of them is wanted by change agencies

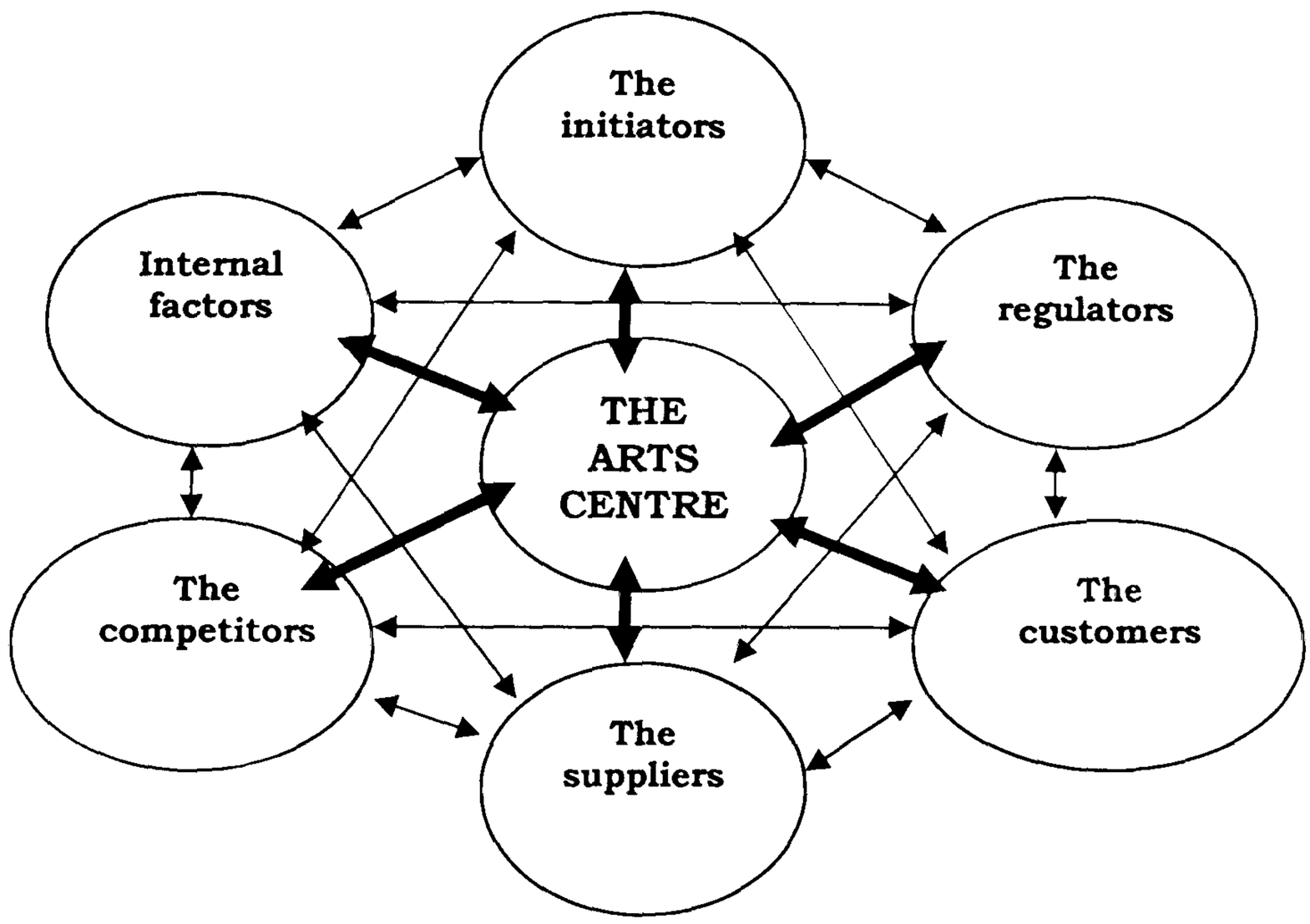
and change agents – read: arts centres and arts centres' management and staff. Changes and their consequences are powered by the visions and passions that change agencies and change agents have of wanting people to change. For diffusion to take on speed there is, a need for the change agents to activate the contacts they have within their networks of partners with whom they already have (personal) relationships and who are likely to be willing to act as opinion leaders. Developing strategies directed towards them, persuading them, would, according to Rogers's position, cause the eventual gradual discovery, appreciation or rejection of artistic products throughout the population of potential arts attenders.

Supported by Gainer's works on arts marketing and arts education, gender and the importance of providing opportunities for constructing and maintaining personal relationships as well as Padanyi and Gainer's work on market orientation including multiple constituencies, I argued for the need to extend the dominating arts marketing and audience development definitions drawing attention at relationship marketing and its emphasis on non-customer relationships: customer service, internal marketing and stakeholder management. Here stakeholders are regarded as customers too, and the basic argument is that you will not be able to optimise relationships with your current customers if you do not understand and manage relationships with other stakeholders, as for instance governmental bodies, which arts organisations have so many and often complex relationships with – for instance when acting as cultural policy change agencies.

I hence concluded Chapter 3 with the need to recognise that these multiple market domains in addition to the audience: a range of stakeholders like employees and board, artists, providers of art works, suppliers of other goods and services and a variety of influence and alliance partners – including public authorities and governmental bodies

need to be included in an expanded concept of Audience Relations Management. I illustrated the need for expansion with a revised network map. see copied Figure 3.13 (now 5.3) below.

Figure 3.12/5.3 An expanded version of an arts centre's network map



This expanded network map was set up to demonstrate that an arts centre must actively recognise its network partners' extensive inter-affiliations and that the contacts and interchanges they have with each other will influence the arts centre's ability to achieve its mission and goals and succeed in its operations as well as being applicable to a comprehensive audience relationship management strategy, or it might end up as a bystander to its own future left to the contingencies of its network partner's opinions and own strategies.

5.2.4 Two case studies

In the introduction to this dissertation I announced that this thesis examines whether such cultural policy instruments as arts centres in Britain and Norway are recognising and accommodating the cultural policy goal of widening audience access and developing new

audiences. To investigate whether this is so I stated that I wanted to take a closer look at how two specific arts centres in Britain and Norway are actually delivering on these expectations, which was the objective of Chapter 4.

In this chapter I set out to organise and design the case studies in order to map how the two chosen arts centres, mainly represented by their directors, formulated and acted out their chosen strategies and techniques to maintain and develop their relationship with their audiences – their community relevance. My ambition was to accentuate the presuppositions presented in the preceding chapters, that were built into existing models and concepts of cultural policy instrumentalism and conventions of how arts organisations in general and arts centres in particular should operate and by introducing alternative or complementary perspectives to deepen or strengthen the concepts, shedding new light on the cases.

In the comparative study of the two arts centres in Britain and Norway – Colchester Arts Centre in Colchester, Essex and Ibsenhuset in Skien, Telemark, respectively – the questions I asked were:

- How does the leadership of the two arts centres perceive the factors influencing their relations with their communities and network partners?
- How do they understand and maintain their centre`s relevance to its communities?
- How do they recognise, manage and sustain their networks of partners? and
- Are there similarities and differences in perceptions of these issues between the two arts centres and their partners and stakeholders within the communities they serve?

To phrase it in more general terms: I wanted to map how the leadership of the chosen arts centres staged actual strategies and techniques to maintain and develop their audience

relationships – as broadly defined in Chapter 3 – as well as perceiving and analysing the factors that influenced them, and hence situate the two arts centres in the tension between governmental instrumentality and customer demand.

The following is a summary of my findings and analysis:

1. There are no fundamental differences between the arts marketing activities Colchester Arts Centre (CAC) and Ibsenhuset are making use of and both arts centres use very rudimentary and conventional practices. Accordingly there is very little sign that these two arts organisations either have adopted the instrumental cultural policy mantra of audience development or have established the detailed and sophisticated plans and strategies for arts marketing that arts councils and consultants have urged them to do.

2. There are also no fundamental differences between CAC and Ibsenhuset as far as complying with governmental decrees, rules and systems of planning, budgeting, accounting and transparency goes. Both organisations dedicate substantial resources to these tasks and by this show to what extent they are accommodating institutional demands and constraints as to how arts organisations should conduct their business operations imposed upon them under New Public Management. This accommodation could also be seen as a practical way for the two arts centres to establish, maintain and nurture relationships with governmental bodies – i.e. manage their network relationships with them – that is, audience relations management as defined in this thesis.

3. Both arts centres are reasonably satisfied with the turn out of audiences and appreciation in the local community and region which they see as a result of being true to their missions. The confidence that this renders them, seems to give them little incentive to dedicate more resources to advanced marketing and audience development activities and demonstrates that their dedication to fulfilling their own mission and remain true to the conventions of how they perceive arts organisation should prioritise and operate, is valued more highly than adjusting to changing ambitions within the cultural policy domain.

At first sight this might seem surprising since those who run non-profit organisations generally are understood as positively interested in furthering public interests. Julian Le Grand (2003) offers an explanation for my findings when he discusses governments' propensity to use non-profit organisations – for instance arts centres – as agents for the accomplishment of political agendas. He argues that it will depend crucially on *who actually manages* non-profit organisations and their *motivational structure*, whether or not they conform to altruistic management: *"(t)here is no guarantee that they will be motivated to serve the public interest – or, if they are, it will be their own conception of the public interest, one which may be very different from that of the purchaser or principal"* (Le Grand, 2003, p.63).

The way Le Grand has phrased his argument, one is left with an impression that it is up to the motivational structure of each manager whether or not s/he will serve public interests or follow her/his own conception of what is best. Christensen and Laegreid, however, argue that it is more likely that it is the increasing distance between political leaders on the one hand, and the actors and organisations – read: agents – on the other that may explain this. Under New Public Management politicians give agents autonomy to execute and establish control routines to check fulfilment. They argue that: *"Commercial aspects of public activities have come to the fore while traditional political considerations have tended to be pushed aside. Administrative leaders both initiate and benefit from reforms, as do directors of state-owned companies and comparable units"* (Christensen and Laegreid, 2001, p.304). As a consequence: *"The new administrative and institutional actors are less loyal than in the traditional system, more instrumental and individually oriented, and less preoccupied with collective interests, public accountability and ethos"* (Ibid., p.304).

This individual instrumentalism in managerial hands that Christensen and Laegreid argue is a consequence of the New Public Management instigated shift in relations between principals and agents, gives the professionals of arts organisations more margin to interpret external (cultural policy) aims, pursue their own objectives, and execute their professional skills – i.e. to act as professionals

in knowledge organisations as discussed above – see page 267-268 above (Sveiby, 1994).

4. The findings demonstrate a substantial difference between CAC and Ibsenhuset as far as management styles go. The CAC leadership practises a 'management-by walking-around-style', seemingly including the staff in a 'dialogue management-regime' which, according to the survey results, seems to allow the staff to see themselves as an integral part of CAC's operations in line with what I have described in this thesis as a fundamental part of being an arts centre. The more conventional management style applied by the Ibsenhuset leadership seems, according to the survey results, to have ownership-reducing effects on parts of the staff regarding their arts centre's status and operations and leaving them uncertain of the extent to which they add value to the services their arts centre is expected to deliver to its community. The Ibsenhuset leadership seems in practice to put less weight than CAC on the particular characteristics and qualities the type of professionals have that arts centres are likely to employ and nurture as the knowledge organisations they are.

5. Both arts centres' directors display a deep appreciation for the network connections they themselves have as members in voluntary organisations and/or other societies where they establish contacts and discuss issues of relevance and significance for their jobs. They also seem to have a sturdy will to continue their connections with them. Still, what my case studies show is that although they appreciate and nurture their networks, they only to some extent seem to encourage the same networking activity within their staff. The CAC leadership seems, however, to do this substantially more than Ibsenhuset, drawing upon staff networks in programming, stage management and front of house services. Ibsenhuset seems to do so mainly in stage managing.

Furthermore, what my case studies show is that both CAC's and Ibsenhuset's active networks are too limited and do not include all the partners I have suggested are recommendable in my network model. The way both arts centres actually seem to limit the management of their existing network partners might reduce their ability to succeed in realising their mission and objectives. And to

fully estimate the staff as entitled to contribute to the arts centre's networking capability is, according to the extended audience relationship management concept presented in this thesis, crucial.

All in all the overall conclusion is that the case studies of Colchester Arts Centre and Ibsenhuset, as examples of arts centres in the UK and Norway, seem to be more interested in being relevant to their communities or networks as they define them and to fulfil the mission they themselves have set, than falling in line with governmental cultural policy agencies expressed performance propositions for arts organisations.

However, having concluded thus it seems likewise to be a major finding that the management style employed is a factor with crucial influence on the arts centres' ability to reach their proprietary objectives. A management style that limits the involvement of the arts centre staff in networking and managing audience relationships broadly defined, may have negative effects on an arts centre's ability to reach its goals. It will in effect also limit the networks managed by the arts centre because more people have more networks.

5.3 ARTS CENTRES AS AUDIENCE RELATIONSHIP MANAGERS

The conclusions from my cases studies seem to highlight in their own way the parallelism of the cultural policy rationales presented in Chapter 1. Since the Second World War establishing arts centres has been an act of *cultural democratisation* in both Britain and Norway. They would not have been set up and funded unless a network of private and public partners had joined forces to do so.

From the start the main objective was by their mere existence to facilitate participation enjoyment of works of art for as many as possible. Following the gradual shifts in perception of how individuals and groups of individuals actually seek to meet their needs for attending and participating in the arts, both arts centres themselves and their private and public partners employed additional policies and strategies. From the late 1960s and early 1970s these were informed by the *cultural democracy rationale* emphasising creative self-expressionist participatory arts activities; and since the 1980s *cultural governance and managerialism* emphasising maket orientation as the rationale for achieving increased access to and participation in the arts.

My case studies show that art centres subject themselves to some degree of cultural policy instrumentality in widening audience access and developing new audiences. This is done by accommodating to various degrees in programmes and venue hire semi-professional and amateur arts activities and outreach, and to a wider extent in management and venue operation their governmental and private network partners demands of professionalism. However, they remain true to their mission adapting it and their operations to fit the shifting operational possibilities they are awarded. Currently this is a consequence of the managerial autonomy politicians allow arts centres managers to have. In opposition to other researchers who argue that current cultural policy instrumentalism turns arts managers into professional policy executioners in the hands of cultural policy decisionmakers, my findings show that this might instead allow for a redefinition of audience development, provided one extends the idea of participation from a the singular relationships between arts provider and the attender, client or customer to the *importance of* managing multiple market domains – i.e. stakeholders of different kinds – and that *the way* they are managed can directly or indirectly affect an arts organisation's ability to survive and prosper.

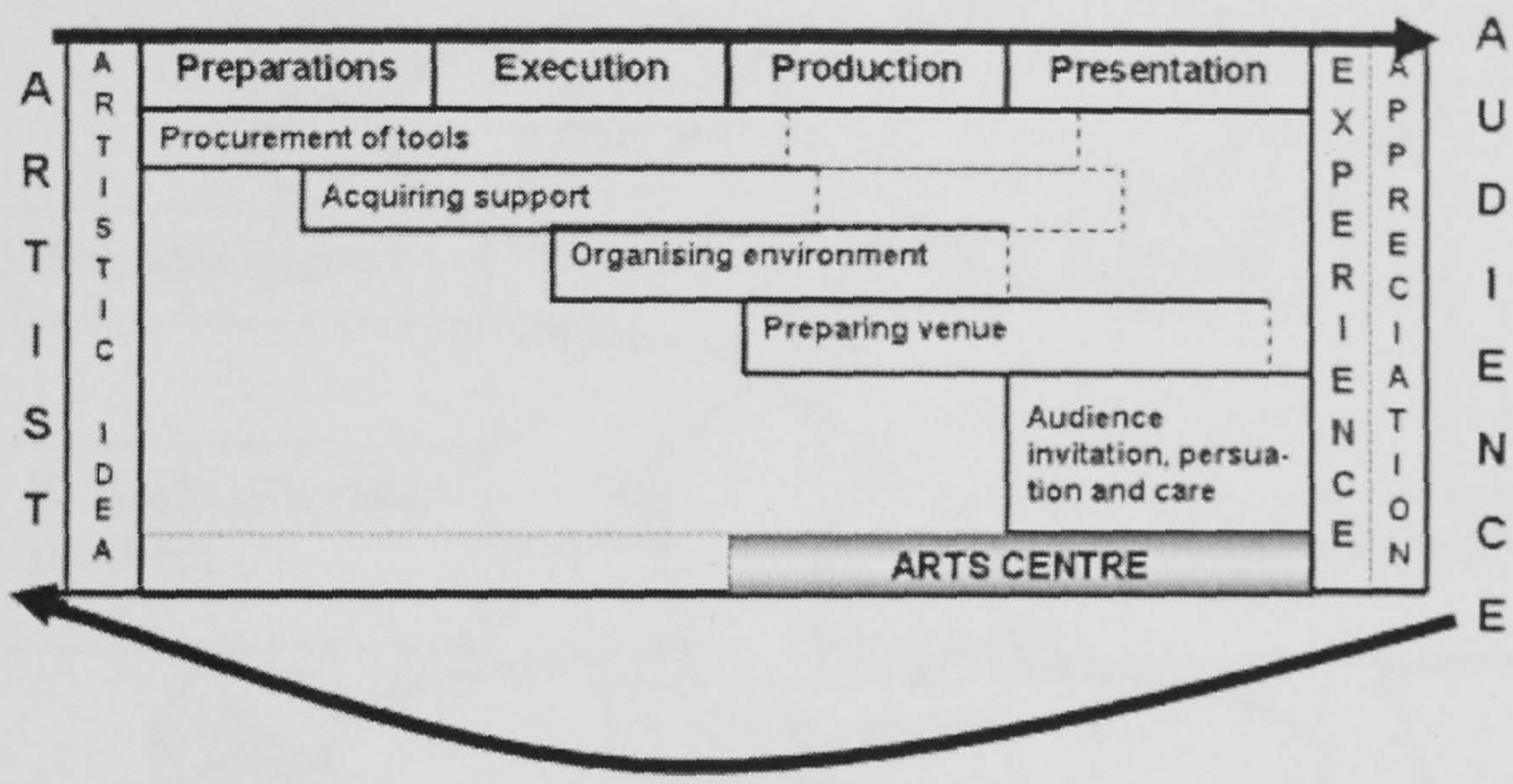
Padanyi and Gainer (2004) also argue for the need to take multiple constituencies into consideration – see page 190 above. Their study as well as mine show that arts organisations display different strategies when approaching clients and consumers than governmental agencies. But whereas they expected to find that direct market communication with government decision makers responsible for assessing request for funds would pay off in a similar way as direct consumer market communication, what they found was *"(t)hat the true value of government-oriented activities and culture is to build an organization's reputation, which influences those in charge of selecting government grant recipients to a greater extent that direct contacts or submissions made by the organization"* (Padanyi and Gainer, 2004, p.52).

To my understanding Padanyi and Gainer's conclusions fit in well with my proposed networked model of audience development. I concluded Chapter 3 with an expanded network map – see Figure 3.12 page 198 above – arguing that an arts centre must actively recognise it network partners' extensive inter-affiliations and that the contacts and exchanges they have will influence the arts centre's ability to achieve its mission and goals and succeed in its operations.

Hence, returning to my research question, although arts centres definitely are instruments of cultural policy, they only to some extent accept the official guidelines of what this is supposed to mean. What my findings show is that in the case of widening audience access and developing new audiences they practice a far wider and more networked approach more in line with the ideas and vision that guided their foundation than in line with New Public Management propositions put forward by governmental policy agencies.

Yet, my findings reveal a need to re-examine the arts work's value added chain I presented in Chapter 3[165] – see Figure 3.6 (now 5.4) below – to discus its relevance to arts centres in order to point out some general features that might be important to observe in future research about how such organisations are going to stay successful arts organisations within the framework of what they themselves define as relevant.

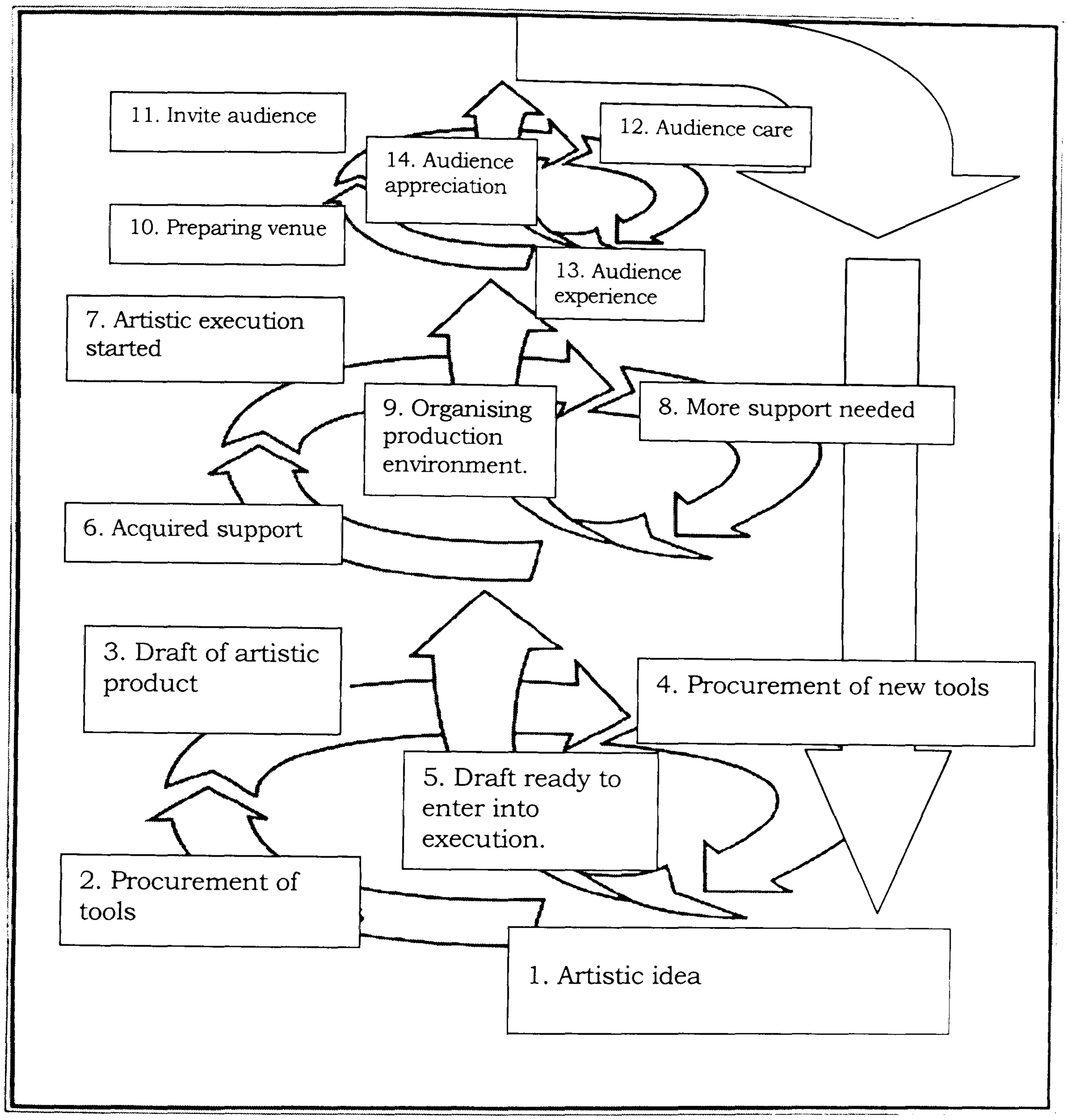
Figure 3.6/5.4 An arts work's value chain



The arts work's value chain indicates, apart from the feed back loop from the audience to the artist, a sequential understanding of how values are created; a seemingly static view which does not recognise the fact that there are feed back loops at every stage, and that an artistic work or product under creation will basically not move to the next stage unless it is primed to do so. When primed the artist and her/his support personnel will call in more tools and support. Sometimes the artistic product will circulate within and back and forth between the stages before it is ready to be moved on from idea to preparation to execution to production and so on: more like a spiral than a chain, as Figure 5.4 below is illustrating.

165 Section 3.3.1

Figure 5.5 Illustration of a value added spiral for arts works



Furthermore, neither a sequential chain nor a spiral takes into consideration the changeability I have attributed to arts works and subsequently to arts centres – see Chapter 2[166] and Section 5.2.2 above, and consequently they do not make good models for closing the loop of this study.

166 Section 2.5

First, they do not recognise the changes constantly going on in conventions and mechanisms of traditions, art forms, genres and styles that will influence both the creation of art works in themselves and also the way art works are regarded and experienced by audiences.

Secondly, they do not recognise how conventions, mechanisms and practices within the arts world itself impose their expectations and obligations on the shaping of an arts organisation's operations, role and profile.

Applying these arguments to the conclusions of this study I have designed the following value added spiral for arts centres. However, in addition to recognising that an arts centre 'is surrounded by influential' internal conventions and practices in the arts world itself and changes in conventions, mechanisms of traditions, art forms, genres and styles that influence both the creation of art works and the audiences; this arts centre value spiral holds that

- A work of art is defined as the collective product of artists and their support personnel. In relation to an arts organisation like an arts centre and following from my findings, this means that the entire staff must be managed and integrated in the centre's wider audience relationship management strategies.

  The staff represent a separate unit as important as all external stakeholders taken together as well as the internal organisational structure, underlining each staff member's individual competence. The strategic management issue concerning the individual competence of each staff member is to build trust in the organization, inducing people to share ideas and knowledge as Becker (1982) presupposes as an integral part of his arts worlds' argument and as the dialogue management concept (Slotte, Hannukainen & Kilpi, 2005) advocates.

Furthermore it is crucial to induce every staff member – not only the leadership – to build constructive and inductive relationships with her/his external network – i.e. to employ a relationship marketing approach to the staff, enabling each member to work as a change agent for the organisation, the importance of which I discussed in Chapter 3[167].

Following this, as staff members work with their network partners and other community members to turn them into opinion leaders[168] – they get feedbacks, new ideas and experiences as well as new knowledge from which the important strategic issue arises as to how the organisation can safeguard that the individually held knowledge acquired by each staff member is converted into improved organisational administrative and learning systems, tools and templates like, for instance, the organising of internal knowledge sharing across staff groups, and subsequently use this learning to improve staff members' competence in a feedback loop. This is equivalent to the evaluation systems described earlier in this thesis as part of the arts marketing/audience development concept – now employed in all parts of the organisation.

- The value for the end-customers – read: audience – is constantly increasing as the product is pushed and pulled up the spiral depending on whether the quality of the relationships between the arts centre and its network partners and other stakeholders provides the organisations with a good reputation. For an arts centre this is related to the internal 'artistic' process of programming, organising environment and preparing venue, procuring and acquiring necessary equipment and support as well as caring for the (external) artist(s) and accompanying production personnel.

The strategic issue is how an arts centre can enable conversations among the network partners and other stakeholders so that the know-how that becomes a result of this can improve the organisation's systems, tools, processes and products – read: arts events, in order to be subsequently fed back to improve the competence of the very same network partners and stakeholders.

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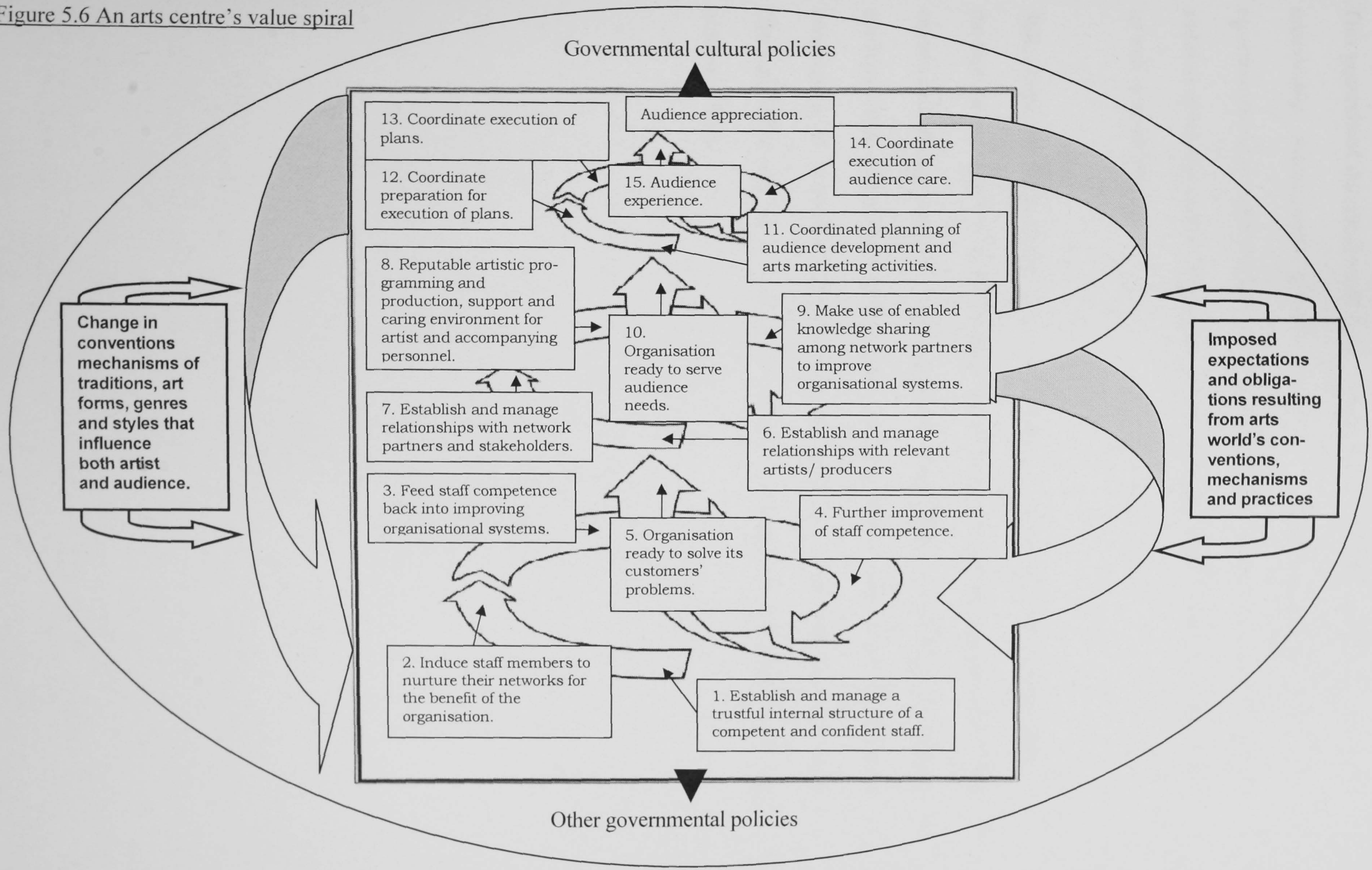
167 Section 3.3.2.3

168 See Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2.3

- As an arts centre is an arena where artistic products are executed, produced and presented, it makes a crucial contribution to the total artistic experience value added. The audience reception and reaction to the work of art represents a completion of the value spiral and feeds back to the artist as well as to network partners and the wider community. For this feed back to happen there is a need to coordinate the planning, preparations and execution of marketing and audience development activities as well as audience care.

- An arts centre is affected directly and indirectly by governmental policies and priorities, but these influences are filtered through the New Public Management instigated managerial strategies which allow the professionals of arts organisations more margin to interpret external (cultural policy) aims, pursue their own objectives, and execute their professional skills.

Figure 5.6 An arts centre's value spiral



This generalised description concludes this thesis. It conceptualises a broad audience relationship management process which the findings of this thesis deem recommendable to acknowledge and practise in order to maximise the artistic value addition which arts centres in particular and arts organisations in general are positioned so well to contribute to.

Still, I hope that future studies will scrutinise my conclusions and bring new insights to the fore for the benefit of cultural policy studies in general and the management of arts centres and arts organisations in particular. For I wish that the quest to understand the qualities which characterise the process of bringing about works of art involving the cooperation of everyone whose activity has anything to do with the end result (Becker,1982), will be a continuous pursuit of researchers and scholars in our academic field.

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APPENDICES

1. **Linking cultural policy rationales and delivery expectations for arts organisations**
2. **Linking delivery expectations with practice expectations for arts organisations**
3. **List of external interviewees – individuals who received questionnaires**
4. **Survey results Colchester Arts Centre.**
5. **Survey results Ibsenhuset.**
6. **Supplementary questions in network questionnaire**
7. **Supplementary questions in staff questionnaire**
8. **Supplementary questions in director questionnaire**

APPENDIX 1: LINKING CULTURAL POLICY RATIONALES AND DELIVERY EXPECTATIONS FOR ARTS ORGANISATIONS

Cultural policy rationales	Mechanisms (The process by which cultural policy rationales are brought about)	Agencies	What results local, regional and national cultural policy agencies expect arts organisations to deliver.
• Democratisation of culture/civilising mission.	Britain and Norway: • Geographical and all-inclusive access • Establishing and supporting national touring arts organisations. • Encouraging and supporting widespread investment in buildings and equipment tailored for arts performances.	• Authorities – national, regional and local. • Civil society – arts organisations, audience groups.	Britain: • Provision of local as well as visiting professional arts and accommodation of local amateurs. • Facilities/surroundings organised and operated to stimulate *'successful practice and enjoyment of the arts'*. Norway: • Provision of visiting professional arts and accommodation of local amateurs. • Facilities owned by co-operative societies equipped to meet the National Touring Theatre's minimum technical requirements as well as act as local centres of sports, recreational and cultural activities.
• Cultural democracy.	Britain and Norway: • Continue as above + • Increased support for touring and building facilities. Britain: • Some support for participatory creative arts activities as means of self-expression and communication. Norway: • Strong support for amateur activities in the arts. Cultural policies are extended to include all self-realisation activities in arts, sports and leisure activities.	• Authorities – national, regional and local. • Civil society – arts organisations, audience groups: Britain: Community arts groups. Norway: Local authorities.	Britain and Norway: • Continue as above + Britain: • Increasing local authority investment in arts facilities. • Incipient focus on earned income and marketing – personnel, price differentiation, easy access to buying, product augmentation. Norway: • Substantial growth in national, regional and local authority investments and ownership in arts centres and regional arts institutions blending culture and arts activities rooted in local and regional traditions, establishing centres of cultural and artistic professional and amateur co-operation to invigorate local and regional identities and development.

Cultural policy rationales	Mechanisms (The process by which cultural policy rationales are brought about)	Agencies	What results local, regional and national cultural policy agencies expect arts organisations to deliver.
• Cultural governance and managerialization	Britain and Norway: • Continue as above + • Governance through exposing public services and public sponsored activities to market competition – encouraging marketisation and competitiveness. • New Public Management – some target-led funding objectives, incentives and financial operations instructions (Norway, Røyseng, 2003), funding agreements and clearly defined goals and targets (Britain). Britain: • Public funding cuts. • Instruments of achieving national public policy goals: Social/cultural inclusion, regeneration. Target-led funding, transparency, accountability, auditing, proving public benefit. • Increased local authority involvement in the arts and incorporation into the kit of tools of official local policy strategies – i.e. financial and fiscal regulations, rituals and rules about governance, planning, verification, auditing, compulsory competitive tendering etc. Norway: • Focus on earned income through	• Authorities – national, regional and local. • Arts organisations - Operated in accordance with the wishes of the community served, the perspective and overall strategy of its funders; and - Professionally managed and cost-effectively run with a clear vision. • In addition for arts centres - with a programme and policy in more than one arts form; and - multi-functional and centrally located arenas for arts experiences and participation.	Britain and Norway: • Continue as above + • Appropriation of principles of planning, budgeting, accounting, reporting, funding agreements, reorganising, legal arrangements. • Private funding and sponsorships, risk diversifying/collaboration/ partnerships/out-sourcing. • Professionalism – leadership, finance, technical operations, box offices. • Increased emphasis on market communication, market demand and supply. Britain: • Heavy focus on market/customer orientation – arts marketing/audience development – e.g. how to diffuse and ensure that the artistic potential of the product is suitably managed and transferred from the artist to different audiences. Internal implications: • Examine purpose and mission, prioritise different institutional goals, and determine how building new audiences aligns with ultimate organizational purpose in a long-term plan. Set clear aims and measurable targets in advance. • Secure full and integrated information among staff members about mission, aims and objectives. • Necessitate resources – i.e. staffing, professional ability, organisational operation including commitment, equipment and funding. • Improve programming – i.e. programme events according to an artistic inspired vision. Develop a broader range and quality of the activities/events. • Instigate co-operation and dialogue between artistic, educational and marketing management about audience development activities. Raise awareness among staff of

Cultural policy rationales	Mechanisms (The process by which cultural policy rationales are brought about)	Agencies	What results local, regional and national cultural policy agencies expect arts organisations to deliver.
	sponsoring and market oriented activities. • Policies on strengthening national arts institutions, professional quality. • Institutionalisation of regional arts centres as professional arts providers – bulwarks against a perceived threat coming from the growing international cultural and media industries.		how arts marketing and audience development activities contribute to overall objectives. Build support for innovation and risk within the organisation. Develop internal customer service oriented mindsets. Turn every staff member into a marketer. • Analyse/profile existing attendance groups according to risk abilities = benefits sought (Ref. the characteristics of the Everett Rogers-typology). External implications: • Address distinct target group/ groups and match needs and interest with benefits of current offerings. Every existing and potential attender should be able to determine how well an art event/benefits offered matches the benefits s/he is searching for or assess the risk in trying out the artistic and cultural product on offer. • Retend, enhance, cultivate, and innovate. Sustain existing audiences, enhance the existing audience's understanding and enjoyment of the arts which they currently consume as well as cultivate their taste by introducing them to different art genres and forms. • Extend. Arouse latent interest in potential audiences (of same kind) persuading them to attend performances whilst improving aspects of the arts which deter their attendance. Establish an appropriate marketing mix tailored to suit audience needs, product surround and core product. • Broaden. Undertake outreach projects that target the group of people who for economic and social reasons are the least likely to attend arts events. • Control and Evaluation. All involved staff collect and analyse information about target groups' attendance and the reciprocity between programming and audience development activities. • Establish, nurture, negotiate, and maintain relationships with the community served. Build confidence about the arts in general within the community. Encourage individuals to become artists. • Internalise and make strategies based on the knowledge of your own and your customers' network. Include authorities and government agencies, suppliers, influencers, distributors and alliance partners (read: stakeholders) in audience

Cultural policy rationales	Mechanisms (The process by which cultural policy rationales are brought about)	Agencies	What results local, regional and national cultural policy agencies expect arts organisations to deliver.
			development strategies and activities. Make your organisation be perceived as one with which people want to be associated. Every one-to-one contact between customer/stakeholder and staff member is 'a moment of truth'.

APPENDIX 2: LINKING DELIVERY EXPECTATIONS WITH PRACTICE EXPECTATIONS FOR ARTS ORGANISATIONS

What results local, regional and national cultural policy agencies expect arts organisations to deliver.	How local, regional and national cultural policy agencies would like to see these expectations put into practice.
Democratisation of culture/civilising mission: Britain: • Provision of local as well as visiting professional arts and accommodation of local amateurs.	Britain: • Should programme according to an artistic or community inspired vision. • Should organise/hire local semi-professional and amateur arts events. • Might organise/receive/hire local, regional, national professional touring arts organisations/artists. • Might organise/hire other non-arts-related activities like local events, meetings and functions.
• Facilities surroundings organised and operated to stimulate *'successful practice and enjoyment of the arts'*	• Should have special emphasis on adjusting facilities for the social aspect of enjoying arts.
Norway: • Provision of visiting professional arts and accommodation of local amateurs.	Norway: • Should programme according to an artistic or community inspired vision – emphasising the effects on the community as a whole. • Should organise/hire local amateur arts events. • Should receive national professional touring arts organisations/artists. • Should organise/hire other non arts related activities like local events, meetings and functions.
• Facilities owned by co-operative societies equipped to meet the National Touring	

What results local, regional and national cultural policy agencies expect arts organisations to deliver.	How local, regional and national cultural policy agencies would like to see these expectations put into practice.
Theatre's minimum technical requirements as well as act as local centres of sports, recreational and cultural activities.	• Should adjust facilities to national touring organisations' performance-related technical requirements
Cultural democracy: Britain and Norway: • Continue as above + Britain: • Increasing local authority investment in arts facilities. • Incipient focus on earned income and marketing – personnel, price differentiation, easy access to buying, product augmentation. Norway: • Substantial growth in national, regional and local authority investments and ownership in arts centres and regional arts institutions blending culture and arts activities rooted in local and regional traditions, establishing centres of cultural and artistic professional and amateur co-operation to invigorate local and regional identities and development.	Britain and Norway: Programming and facilities continue as above + • Funding Britain: ▪ Might receive local and regional governmental funding. ▪ Should increase income by focusing on customer orientation through box office management, public relations and selling, increased focus on bar income. Norway: ▪ Will receive increased local, regional and national governmental funding.
Cultural governance and managerialization: Britain and Norway: • Continue as above +	• Programming Continue as above for both + • Should organise/hire local semi-professional and amateur arts events. • Should organise/receive/hire local, regional, national professional touring arts organisations/artists. • Might organise/receive/hire international professional touring arts organisations/artists. • Might organise/hire other non arts related activities like local events, meetings and functions. • Might organise/hire regional and national meetings and conferences. • Facilities Continue as above for both +

What results local, regional and national cultural policy agencies expect arts organisations to deliver.	How local, regional and national cultural policy agencies would like to see these expectations put into practice.
• Private funding and sponsorships, risk diversifying/collaboration/ partnerships/out-sourcing. • Appropriation of principles of planning, budgeting, accounting, reporting, funding agreements, reorganising - legal arrangements. • Professionalism - leadership, finance, technical operations, box offices.	• Should have technically updated facilities – building and equipment – to organise all relevant arts activities. • Funding Britain: ▪ Should apply for and receive local, regional and national governmental funding when meeting funders' aims. Norway: ▪ Will receive local, regional and national governmental funding if not contested after overall cuts in budgets. Both: ▪ Have to increase private funding through sponsorships – funds, barter, in kind and risk diversifying/collaboration/partnerships/out-sourcing. • Planning ▪ Must have and file annual budgets, accounts and reports. ▪ Must have and file long-term strategic plans including revision of purpose and mission, prioritizing different institutional goals. • Leadership and staffing ▪ Leadership: • Board recruitment: • Britain: Should have arts industry related recruitment. • Norway: Will have local political recruitment, but increasing recruitment from local business life. • Both: Should have industry experienced managing director. ▪ Staff - both: • Will have strong element of industry-/autodidact personnel. • Should have specialised personnel in finance and marketing. • Will have strong element of part time/free-lance/volunteer staff. ▪ Audience relationship (and marketing) management:

What results local, regional and national cultural policy agencies expect arts organisations to deliver.	How local, regional and national cultural policy agencies would like to see these expectations put into practice.
• Increased emphasis on market communication, market demand and supply. Britain: • Heavy focus on market/customer orientation - arts marketing/audience development – e.g. how to diffuse and ensure that the artistic potential of the product is suitably managed and transferred from the artist to different audiences. Internal implications: • Examine purpose and mission, prioritize different institutional goals, and determine how building new audiences aligns with ultimate organizational purpose in a long-term plan. Set clear aims and measurable targets in advance. • Secure full and integrated information among staff members about mission, aims and objectives. • Necessitate resources – i.e. staffing, professional ability, organisational operation including commitment, equipment and funding. • Improve programming – i.e. programme events according to an artistic inspired vision. Develop a broader range and quality of the activities/events. • Instigate co-operation and dialogue between artistic, educational and marketing management about audience development activities. Raise awareness among staff of how arts marketing and audience development activities contribute to overall objectives. Build support for innovation and risk within the organisation. Develop internal customer service oriented mindsets. Turn every staff member into a marketer.	Both: Should allocate financial means and staff to plan and effectuate marketing activities to communicate offerings and meet income targets. Britain: • Long-term strategic plans must include focus on audience relationship issues. • Does plan exist that includes strategic revisions of purpose and mission, prioritizing of institutional goals, and clear aims and measurable targets? • Are there procedures in place to secure full and integrated information among staff members about mission, aims and objectives? • Are there procedures/plans/decisions in place to necessitate resources – i.e. staffing, professional ability, organisational operation including commitment, equipment and funding? • Are there procedures in place to secure co-operation and dialogue between artistic, educational and marketing management about audience development/marketing activities? • Are there procedures in place/activities and processes running aiming to ▪ Rise awareness among staff of how arts marketing and audience development activities contribute to overall objectives, ▪ Build support for innovation and risk within the organisation, ▪ Develop internal customer service oriented mindsets and turning every staff member to a marketer? • Are there procedures in place to analyse/profile existing attendance groups according to

What results local, regional and national cultural policy agencies expect arts organisations to deliver.	How local, regional and national cultural policy agencies would like to see these expectations put into practice.
• Analyse/profile existing attendance groups according to risk abilities = benefits sought (Cfr. the characteristics of the Everett Rogers-typology).	risk abilities = benefits sought?
External implications: • Address distinct target group/ groups and match needs and interest with benefits of current offerings. Every existing and potential attender should be able to determine how well an art event/benefits offered matches the benefits s/he is searching for or assess the risk in trying out the artistic and cultural product on offer. • Retend, enhance, cultivate, and innovate. Sustain existing audiences, enhance the existing audience's understanding and enjoyment of the arts which they currently consume as well as cultivate their taste by introducing them to different art genres and forms. • Extend. Arouse latent interest in potential audiences (of same kind) persuading them to attend performances whilst improving aspects of the arts, which deter their attendance. Establish an appropriate marketing mix tailored to suit audience needs, product surround and core product. • Broaden. Undertake outreach projects that target the group of people who for economical and social reasons are the least likely to attend arts events.	• Are there procedures in place to address distinct target group/groups and match needs and interest with benefits of current offerings by ▪ Sustaining, enhancing, cultivating, and innovating existing audiences, ▪ Arousing latent interest in and persuading potential audiences (of same kind) to attend performances, ▪ Sustaining or establishing an appropriate marketing mix tailored to suit audience needs, product surround and core product, and/or ▪ Undertaking outreach projects that target groups of people who for economical and social reasons are the least likely to attend arts events? • Are there appropriate and consciously designed market communication procedures with ▪ season programme, ▪ usage of general or targeted/placed communication channels, ▪ price differentiation, ▪ product augmentation attributes; and ▪ appropriated box office service with easy access to buying,?
• Control and Evaluation. All involved staff collect and analyse information about target groups' attendance and the reciprocity between programming and audience development activities.	• Are there control and evaluation procedures in place that involve relevant staff, collect and analyse information about target groups' attendance and the reciprocity between programming and audience development activities?
• Establish, nurture, negotiate, and maintain relationships with the community served. Build confidence about the arts in general within the community. Encourage individuals to become artists.	• Are there activities directed towards establishing, nurturing, negotiating, and maintaining relationships with the community served by ▪ Acknowledging and strategically working on network partners. In case, which partners /stakeholders are acknowledged: • Authorities and government agencies (funders and/or regulators)? • Customers apart from audiences? • Suppliers, influencers, alliance partners (industrial, non-industrial); and or • Competitors?

What results local, regional and national cultural policy agencies expect arts organisations to deliver.	How local, regional and national cultural policy agencies would like to see these expectations put into practice.
• Internalise and make strategies based on the knowledge of your own and your customers' network. Include authorities and government agencies, suppliers, influencers, distributors and alliance partners (read: stakeholders) in audience development strategies and activities. Make your organisation be perceived as one with which people want to be associated. Every one-to-one contact between customer/stakeholder and staff member is 'a moment of truth'.	• Building perception of the arts centre as an organisation which people want to be associated with. • Internalising and making strategies based on the knowledge of your network partners'/stakeholders' network and that every one-to-one contact between partner/stakeholder and staff member is 'a moment of truth'.

APPENDIX 3: SURVEY RESULTS COLCHESTER ARTS CENTRE

Numbers included: Staff: 8 incl. Director Network: 17 Suppliers:

1. How would you evaluate the reputation Colchester Arts Centre has got in the community as far as its cultural programme goes?

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Very bad	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Bad	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Neither good nor bad	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Good	3	50	3	18	1	10,0
Very good	3	50	13	77	9	90,0
Don't know	0	0	1	6	0	0,0
Not answered	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
	6	100	17	100	10	100,0

2 a. Colchester Arts Centre provides a *unique* contribution to the cultural identity of Colchester.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	0	0	2	12	0	0,0
Agree	0	0	4	24	2	20,0
Strongly agree	6	100	11	65	8	80,0
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Not answered	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
	6	100	17	100	10	100,0

2 b. Colchester Arts Centre provides a *unique* contribution to the cultural identity of the region.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	0	0	5	29	1	10,0
Agree	4	67	4	24	4	40,0
Strongly agree	2	33	8	47	5	50,0
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Not answered	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
	6	100	17	100	10	100,0

3 a. Colchester Arts Centre provides a *valuable* contribution to the cultural identity of Colchester.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Agree	1	17	5	29	2	20,0
Strongly agree	5	83	12	71	8	80,0
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Not answered	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
	6	100	17	100	10	100,0

3 b. Colchester Arts Centre provides a *valuable* contribution to the cultural identity of the region.

Evaluation	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage

	Staff		Network		Suppliers	
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	0	0	1	6	0	0,0
Agree	1	17	6	35	4	40,0
Strongly agree	5	83	10	59	6	60,0
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Not answered	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
	6	100	17	100	10	100,0

4 a. We meet/Colchester Arts Centre meets the needs of a broad range of arts audiences in Colchester.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	2	33	1	6	1	10,0
Agree	2	33	4	24	1	10,0
Strongly agree	2	33	11	65	7	70,0
Don't know	0	0	1	6	1	10,0
Not answered	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
	6	100	17	100	10	100,0

4 b. We meet/Colchester Arts Centre meets the needs of a broad range of arts audiences in the region.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	2	33	2	12	1	10,0
Agree	3	50	4	24	2	20,0
Strongly agree	1	17	9	53	5	50,0
Don't know	0	0	2	12	2	20,0
Not answered	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
	6	100	17	100	10	100,0

5. Colchester Arts Centre's cultural programme is well communicated.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Disagree	2	33	1	6	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	0	0	2	12	0	0,0
Agree	4	67	5	29	3	30,0
Strongly agree	0	0	8	47	6	60,0
Don't know	0	0	1	6	1	10,0
Not answered	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
	6	100	17	100	10	100,0

6. How would you evaluate the reputation Colchester Arts Centre has got in the community as far as its business operations go?

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Very bad	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Bad	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Neither good nor bad	1	17	0	0	0	0,0

Good	3	50	6	35	3	30,0
Very good	1	17	8	47	6	60,0
Don't know	1	17	3	18	1	10,0
Not answered	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
	6	100	17	100	10	100,0

7a. We are/Colchester Arts Centre is efficient.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Disagree	0	0	1	6	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	0	0	2	12	1	10,0
Agree	6	100	5	29	3	30,0
Strongly agree	0	0	7	41	4	40,0
Don't know	0	0	1	6	1	10,0
Not answered	0	0	1	6	1	10,0
	6	100	17	100	10	100,0

7b. We are/Colchester Arts Centre is honest.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	0	0	2	12	0	0,0
Agree	1	17	4	24	2	20,0
Strongly agree	5	83	9	53	6	60,0
Don't know	0	0	1	6	1	10,0
Not answered	0	0	1	6	1	10,0
	6	100	17	100	10	100,0

7c. We are/Colchester Arts Centre is trustworthy.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Disagree	0	0	1	6	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	0	0	1	6	0	0,0
Agree	2	33	4	24	2	20,0
Strongly agree	4	67	9	53	6	60,0
Don't know	0	0	1	6	1	10,0
Not answered	0	0	1	6	1	10,0
	6	100	17	100	10	100,0

8 a. We are/Colchester Arts Centre is pro-active.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	0	0	3	18	2	20,0
Agree	4	67	2	12	0	0,0
Strongly agree	2	33	8	47	5	50,0
Don't know	0	0	3	18	2	20,0
Not answered	0	0	1	6	1	10,0
	6	100	17	100	10	100,0

8 b. We respond/Colchester Arts Centre responds to opportunities.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Agree	4	67	5	29	2	20,0
Strongly agree	2	33	8	47	5	50,0
Don't know	0	0	3	18	2	20,0
Not answered	0	0	1	6	1	10,0
	6	100	17	100	10	100,0

8 c. We solve/Colchester Arts Centre solves problems.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	0	0	2	12	2	20,0
Agree	3	50	6	35	2	20,0
Strongly agree	3	50	6	35	3	30,0
Don't know	0	0	2	12	2	20,0
Not answered	0	0	1	6	1	10,0
	6	100	17	100	10	100,0

8 d. We plan/Colchester Arts Centre plans for action.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Disagree	1	17	0	0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	0	0	3	18	2	20,0
Agree	3	50	5	29	3	30,0
Strongly agree	2	33	5	29	2	20,0
Don't know	0	0	3	18	2	20,0
Not answered	0	0	1	6	1	10,0
	6	100	17	100	10	100,0

8 e. We communicate our/Colchester Arts Centre communicates its needs well.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Disagree	2	33	1	6	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	0	0	5	29	4	40,0
Agree	3	50	3	18	2	20,0
Strongly agree	1	17	5	29	2	20,0
Don't know	0	0	2	12	1	10,0
Not answered	0	0	1	6	1	10,0
	6	100	17	100	10	100,0

9. We deliver/The staff at Colchester Arts Centre delivers what it promises.

Evaluation	a. to the audience Number Staff	Percentage	b. to business partners Number Staff	Percentage	c. to all Number Network	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0,0	0	0	0	0,0

Disagree	0	0	0	0,0	0	0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	1	17	0	0,0	0	0	0	0,0
Agree	4	67	2	33,3	5	29	1	10,0
Strongly agree	1	17	1	16,7	11	65	8	80,0
Don't know	0	0	3	50,0	1	6	1	0,0
Not answered	0	0	0	0,0	0	0	1	10,0
	6	100	6	100,0	17	100	11	100,0

10. We have/The staff at Colchester Arts Centre has shown that we/they understand what our/I/my organisation needs from them.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	1	17	1	6	1	10,0
Agree	4	67	5	29	2	20,0
Strongly agree	1	17	9	53	5	50,0
Don't know	0	0	2	12	2	20,0
Not answered	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
	6	100	17	100	10	100,0

11. We are/Colchester Arts Centre is always clear about what it wants from me/my organisation.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Disagree	1	17	0	0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	0	0	2	12	2	20,0
Agree	4	67	8	47	4	40,0
Strongly agree	1	17	4	24	2	20,0
Don't know	0	0	3	18	2	20,0
Not answered	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
	6	100	17	100	10	100,0

12. We are/Colchester Arts Centre is an organisation others/I/my organisation appreciate doing business with.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Agree	1	17	5	29	2	20,0
Strongly agree	4	67	11	65	8	80,0
Don't know	1	17	1	6	0	0,0
Not answered	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
	6	100	17	100	10	100,0

13. Doing business with us stimulates the relationships our business partners have with other organisations/partners they work with. My organisation's relationship with Ibsenhuset stimulates my (organsation's) relationships with other organisations.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
Disagree	0	0	1	6	1	10,0

Neither disagree nor agree	1	17	6	35	2	20,0
Agree	2	33	3	18	2	20,0
Strongly agree	1	17	6	35	5	50,0
Don't know	2	33	1	6	0	0,0
Not answered	0	0	0	0	0	0,0
	6	100	17	100	10	100,0

APPENDIX 4: SURVEY RESULTS IBSENHUSET

Numbers included:	Staff: 18 incl. Director	Network: 67	Initiators: 11 av 12 (91,7%)	Customers: 11 av 13 (84,6%)	Suppliers: 23 av 39 (59%)

1. How would you evaluate the reputation Ibsenhuset has got in the community as far as its cultural programme goes?

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Initiators	Percentage	Number Customers	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Very bad	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Bad	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Neither good nor bad	1	7,1	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Good	2	14,3	10	18,9	2	18,2	3	27,3	4	17,4
Very good	9	64,3	36	67,9	8	72,7	8	72,7	13	56,5
Don't know	0	0,0	4	7,5	0	0,0	0	0,0	4	17,4
Not answered	2	14,3	3	5,7	1	9,1	0	0,0	2	8,7
	14	100,0	53	100,0	11	100,0	11	100,0	23	100,0

2 a. Ibsenhuset provides a *unique* contribution to the cultural identity of Skien.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Initiators	Percentage	Number Customers	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0,0	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Disagree	0	0,0	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	2	14,3	1	1,9	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	4,3
Agree	5	35,7	12	22,6	3	27,3	2	18,2	5	21,7
Strongly agree	5	35,7	28	52,8	6	54,5	9	81,8	9	39,1
Don't know	0	0,0	4	7,5	0	0,0	0	0,0	4	17,4
Not answered	2	14,3	8	15,1	2	18,2	0	0,0	4	17,4
	14	100,0	53	99,9	11	100,0	11	100,0	23	99,9

2 b. Ibsenhuset provides a *unique contribution* to the cultural identity of Telemark.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Initiators	Percentage	Number Customers	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0,0	1	1,9	1	9,1	0	0,0	0	0,0
Disagree	0	0,0	1	1,9	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	4,3
Neither disagree nor agree	2	14,3	6	11,3	0	0,0	1	9,1	4	17,4
Agree	7	50,0	30	56,6	6	54,5	9	81,8	10	43,5
Strongly agree	3	21,4	6	11,3	3	27,3	1	9,1	2	8,7
Don't know	0	0,0	4	7,5	0	0,0	0	0,0	4	17,4
Not answered	2	14,3	5	9,4	1	9,1	0	0,0	2	8,7
	14	100,0	53	99,9	11	100,0	11	100,0	23	100,0

3 a. Ibsenhuset provides a valuable contribution to the cultural identity in Skien.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Initiators	Percentage	Number Customers	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0,0	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Disagree	0	0,0	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	1	7,1	3	5,7	1	9,1	0	0,0	1	4,3
Agree	6	42,9	11	20,8	2	18,2	3	27,3	5	21,7
Strongly agree	7	50,0	30	56,6	7	63,6	7	63,6	10	43,5
Don't know	0	0,0	3	5,7	0	0,0	0	0,0	3	13,0
Not answered	0	0,0	6	11,3	1	9,1	1	9,1	4	17,4
	14	100,0	53	100,1	11	100,0	11	100,0	23	99,9

3 b. Ibsenhuset provides a valuable contribution to the cultural identity in Telemark.

Evaluation	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage

	Staff		Network		Initiators		Customers		Suppliers	
Strongly disagree	0	0,0	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Disagree	0	0,0	2	3,8	1	9,1	0	0,0	1	4,3
Neither disagree nor agree	1	7,1	2	3,8	0	0,0	1	9,1	1	4,3
Agree	8	57,1	26	49,1	4	36,4	7	63,6	11	47,8
Strongly agree	3	21,4	16	30,2	5	45,5	3	27,3	5	21,7
Don't know	0	0,0	3	5,7	0	0,0	0	0,0	3	13,0
Not answered	2	14,3	4	7,5	1	9,1	0	0,0	2	8,7
	14	99,9	53	100,1	11	100,1	11	100,0	23	99,8

4 a. We meet/Ibsenhuset meets the needs of a broad range of arts audiences in Skien.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Initiators	Percentage	Number Customers	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0,0	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Disagree	0	0,0	0	0	1	9,1	0	0,0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	1	7,1	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Agree	8	57,1	26	49,1	4	36,4	3	27,3	11	47,8
Strongly agree	5	35,7	20	37,7	5	45,5	8	72,7	6	26,1
Don't know	0	0,0	2	3,8	0	0,0	0	0,0	2	8,7
Not answered	0	0,0	5	9,4	1	9,1	0	0,0	4	17,4
	14	99,9	53	100	11	100,1	11	100,0	23	100,0

4 b. We meet/Ibsenhuset meets the needs of a broad range of arts audiences in Telemark.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Initiators	Percentage	Number Customers	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly	0	0,0	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0

disagree										
Disagree	0	0,0	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	1	7,1	5	9,4	3	27,3	2	18,2	1	4,3
Agree	8	57,1	27	50,9	2	18,2	4	36,4	15	65,2
Strongly agree	4	28,6	14	26,4	4	36,4	5	45,5	3	13,0
Don't know	0	0,0	3	5,7	1	9,1	0	0,0	2	8,7
Not answered	1	7,1	4	7,5	1	9,1	0	0,0	2	8,7
	14	99,9	53	99,9	11	100,1	11	100,1	23	99,9

5. Ibsenhusets cultural programme is well communicated.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Initiators	Percentage	Number Customers	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0,0	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Disagree	0	0,0	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	2	14,3	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Agree	6	42,9	19	35,9	6	54,5	5	45,5	3	13,0
Strongly agree	6	42,9	26	49,1	5	45,5	6	54,5	13	56,5
Don't know	0	0,0	5	9,4	0	0,0	0	0,0	5	21,7
Not answered	0	0,0	3	5,7	0	0,0	0	0,0	2	8,7
	14	100,1	53	100,1	11	100,0	11	100,0	23	99,9

6. How would you evaluate the reputation Ibsenhuset has got in the community as far as its business operations go?

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Initiators	Percentage	Number Customers	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Very bad	0	0,0	1	1,9	1	9,1	0	0,0	0	0,0
Bad	0	0,0	2	3,8	1	9,1	0	0,0	0	0,0
Neither	8	57,1	13	24,5	1	9,1	5	45,5	6	26,1

good nor bad										
Good	5	35,7	18	34,0	5	45,5	3	27,3	7	30,4
Very good	0	0,0	11	20,8	2	18,2	3	27,3	4	17,4
Don't know	0	0,0	6	11,3	1	9,1	0	0,0	4	17,4
Not answered	1	7,1	2	3,8	0	0,0	0	0,0	2	8,7
	14	99,9	53	100,1	11	100,1	11	100,1	23	100,0

7a. Welbsenhuset is efficient.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Initiators	Percentage	Number Customers	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0,0	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Disagree	1	7,1	3	5,7	0	0,0	0	0,0	2	8,7
Neither disagree nor agree	3	21,4	11	20,8	3	27,3	3	27,3	4	17,4
Agree	8	57,1	21	39,6	6	54,5	5	45,5	8	34,8
Strongly agree	1	7,1	8	15,1	1	9,1	1	9,1	4	17,4
Don't know	0	0,0	8	15,1	1	9,1	1	9,1	4	17,4
Not answered	1	7,1	2	3,8	0	0,0	1	9,1	1	4,3
	14	99,8	53	100,1	11	100,0	11	100,1	23	100,0

7b. Welbsenhuset is honest.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Initiators	Percentage	Number Customers	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0,0	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Disagree	1	7,1	2	3,8	2	18,2	0	0,0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	1	7,1	7	13,2	1	9,1	3	27,3	1	4,3

Agree	8	57,1	22	41,5	4	36,4	4	36,4	12	52,2
Strongly agree	2	14,3	16	30,2	2	18,2	3	27,3	9	39,1
Don't know	0	0,0	4	7,5	1	9,1	0	0,0	1	4,3
Not answered	2	14,3	2	3,8	1	9,1	1	9,1	0	0,0
	14	99,9	53	100	11	100,1	11	100,1	23	99,9

7c. We/Ibsenhuset is trustworthy.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Initiators	Percentage	Number Customers	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0,0	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Disagree	1	7,1	2	3,8	2	18,2	0	0,0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	3	21,4	4	7,5	0	0,0	3	27,3	0	0,0
Agree	7	50,0	27	50,9	4	36,4	5	45,5	14	60,9
Strongly agree	1	7,1	16	30,2	3	27,3	2	18,2	9	39,1
Don't know	0	0,0	2	3,8	1	9,1	0	0,0	0	0,0
Not answered	2	14,3	2	3,8	1	9,1	1	9,1	0	0,0
	14	99,9	53	100	11	100,1	11	100,1	23	100,0

8 a. We are/Ibsenhuset is pro-active.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Initiators	Percentage	Number Customers	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	1	7,1	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Disagree	1	7,1	3	5,7	1	9,1	1	9,1	1	4,3
Neither disagree nor agree	6	42,9	14	26,4	2	18,2	5	45,5	6	26,1
Agree	4	28,6	17	32,1	5	45,5	2	18,2	6	26,1
Strongly	0	0,0	8	15,1	0	0,0	1	9,1	5	21,7

agree										
Don't know	0	0,0	8	15,1	2	18,2	1	9,1	4	17,4
Not answered	2	14,3	3	5,7	1	9,1	1	9,1	1	4,3
	14	100,0	53	100,1	11	100,1	11	100,1	23	99,9

8 b. We respond/Ibsenhuset responds to opportunities.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Initiators	Percentage	Number Customers	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0,0	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Disagree	1	7,1	0	0	1	9,1	0	0,0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	4	28,6	9	17	2	18,2	1	9,1	3	13,0
Agree	6	42,9	20	37,7	5	45,5	5	45,5	10	43,5
Strongly agree	1	7,1	16	30,2	0	0,0	4	36,4	6	26,1
Don't know	0	0,0	5	9,4	2	18,2	0	0,0	2	8,7
Not answered	2	14,3	3	5,7	1	9,1	1	9,1	2	8,7
	14	100,0	53	100	11	100,1	11	100,1	23	100,0

8 c. We solve/Ibsenhuset solves problems.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Initiators	Percentage	Number Customers	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0,0	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Disagree	1	7,1	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	2	14,3	11	20,8	3	27,3	1	9,1	5	21,7
Agree	7	50,0	24	45,3	3	27,3	6	54,5	12	52,2
Strongly agree	3	21,4	8	15,1	1	9,1	2	18,2	4	17,4
Don't know	0	0,0	8	15,1	3	27,3	1	9,1	2	8,7

Not answered	1	7,1	2	3,8	1	9,1	1	9,1	0	0,0
	14	99,9	53	100,1	11	100,1	11	100,0	23	100,0

8 d. We plan/Ibsenhuset plans for action.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Initiators	Percentage	Number Customers	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0,0	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Disagree	1	7,1	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	5	35,7	8	15,1	0	0,0	3	27,3	4	17,4
Agree	6	42,9	22	41,5	4	36,4	5	45,5	10	43,5
Strongly agree	0	0,0	12	22,6	3	27,3	2	18,2	4	17,4
Don't know	1	7,1	9	17	3	27,3	0	0,0	5	21,7
Not answered	1	7,1	2	3,8	1	9,1	1	9,1	0	0,0
	14	99,9	53	100	11	100,1	11	100,1	23	100,0

8 e. We communicate our/Ibsenhuset communicates its needs well.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Initiators	Percentage	Number Customers	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0,0	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Disagree	2	14,3	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	7	50,0	17	32,1	2	18,2	5	45,5	7	30,4
Agree	3	21,4	13	24,5	4	36,4	2	18,2	6	26,1
Strongly agree	0	0,0	11	20,8	2	18,2	1	9,1	6	26,1
Don't know	0	0,0	10	18,9	2	18,2	2	18,2	4	17,4
Not answered	2	14,3	2	3,8	1	9,1	1	9,1	0	0,0
	14	100,0	53	100,1	11	100,1	11	100,1	23	100,0

9. We deliver/Ibsenhuset delivers what it promises.

Evaluation	a. to the audience Number Staff	Percentage	b. to business partners Number Staff	Percentage	c. to all Number Network	Percentage	Number Initiators	Percentage	Number Customers	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0,0	1	7,1	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Disagree	0	0,0	0	0,0	2	3,8	2	18,2	0	0,0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	3	21,4	3	21,4	4	7,5	0	0,0	1	9,1	1	4,3
Agree	5	35,7	4	28,6	31	58,5	6	54,5	8	72,7	14	60,9
Strongly agree	4	28,6	3	21,4	13	24,5	2	18,2	1	9,1	8	34,8
Don't know	1	7,1	2	14,3	2	3,8	1	9,1	0	0,0	0	0,0
Not answered	1	7,1	1	7,1	1	1,9	0	0,0	1	9,1	0	0,0
	14	99,9	14	99,9	53	100	11	100,0	11	100,0	23	100,0

10. We have/The staff at Ibsenhuset has shown that we/they understand what our/I/my organisation needs from them.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Initiators	Percentage	Number Customers	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0,0	1	1,9	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Disagree	1	7,1	1	1,9	0	0,0	1	9,1	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	0	0,0	7	13,2	2	18,2	1	9,1	2	4,3
Agree	9	64,3	25	47,2	4	36,4	5	45,5	13	60,9
Strongly agree	1	7,1	16	30,2	3	27,3	3	27,3	8	34,8
Don't know	3	21,4	2	3,8	2	18,2	0	0,0	0	0,0
Not answered	0	0,0	1	1,9	0	0,0	1	9,1	0	0,0
	14	99,9	53	100,1	11	100,1	11	100,1	23	100,0

11. We are/Ibsenhuset is always clear about what it wants from me/my organisation.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Initiators	Percentage	Number Customers	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0,0	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Disagree	1	7,1	4	7,5	0	0,0	1	9,1	1	4,3
Neither disagree nor agree	2	14,3	7	13,2	1	9,1	2	18,2	3	13,0
Agree	9	64,3	25	47,2	5	45,5	5	45,5	13	56,5
Strongly agree	0	0,0	9	17	0	0,0	2	18,2	6	26,1
Don't know	2	14,3	6	11,3	5	45,5	0	0,0	0	0,0
Not answered	0	0,0	2	3,8	0	0,0	1	9,1	0	0,0
	14	100,0	53	100	11	100,1	11	100,1	23	99,9

12. We are/Ibsenhuset is an organisation others/I/my organisation appreciate doing business with.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Initiators	Percentage	Number Customers	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0,0	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Disagree	0	0,0	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	1	7,1	7	13,2	2	18,2	0	0,0	1	4,3
Agree	10	71,4	17	32,1	2	18,2	3	27,3	11	47,8
Strongly agree	1	7,1	25	47,2	4	36,4	7	63,6	11	47,8
Don't know	2	14,3	3	5,7	3	27,3	0	0,0	0	0,0
Not answered	0	0,0	1	1,9	0	0,0	1	9,1	0	0,0
	14	99,9	53	100,1	11	100,1	11	100,0	23	99,9

13. Doing business with us stimulates the relationships our business partners have with other organisations/partners they work with. My organisation's relationship with Ibsenhuset stimulates my (organsation's) relationships with other organisations.

Evaluation	Number Staff	Percentage	Number Network	Percentage	Number Initiators	Percentage	Number Customers	Percentage	Number Suppliers	Percentage
Strongly disagree	0	0,0	0	0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Disagree	0	0,0	1	1,9	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0
Neither disagree nor agree	4	28,6	14	26,4	3	27,3	1	9,1	6	26,1
Agree	5	35,7	17	32,1	1	9,1	6	54,5	9	39,1
Strongly agree	1	7,1	12	22,6	3	27,3	2	18,2	6	26,1
Don't know	4	28,6	6	11,3	4	36,4	1	9,1	0	0,0
Not answered	0	0,0	3	5,7	0	0,0	1	9,1	2	8,7
	14	100,0	53	100,0	11	100,1	11	100,0	23	100,0

APPENDIX 5: SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS IN NETWORK QUESTIONNAIRE

(...)

C. ADDITIONAL FEEDBACK

- **Is there anything Colchester Arts Centre should start doing, or do more of?**
- **Is there anything Colchester Arts Centre should stop doing, or do less of?**
- **Is there anything Colchester Arts Centre does at the moment that they should do differently?**

- **How well would you say you know Colchester Arts centre's**

	Very well	Quite well	Only partly	Not at all well	Don't know
Business operations					
Cultural programme					

- **How often do you discuss the Colchester Arts Centre with**

	Once a week or more	Once a month or more	Seldom	Not at all	Don't know
Colleagues					
Superiors					
External partners/ organisations					
Friends and family					

- **Any further comments?**

APPENDIX 6: SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS IN STAFF QUESTIONNAIRE

(...)

14. The arts centre's programming decisions are made on a well informed basis.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't know

15. We work hard to provide optimal conditions for

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't know
The artists						
The audience						

16. I feel respected as a staff member.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't know

17. My comments, remarks, suggestions and so forth are taken seriously by the director and acted upon when needed.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't know

18. I like meeting with outside people and organisations representing the arts centre.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't know

19. How often do you discuss the arts centre with

	Once a week or more	Once a month or more	Seldom	Not at all	Don't know
External partners/ organisations					
Friends and family					

C. ADDITIONAL FEEDBACK

- **Is there anything the arts centre should start doing, or do more of?**
- **Is there anything the arts centre should stop doing, or do less of?**
- **Is there anything the arts centre does at the moment that they should do differently?**

- **Any further comments?**

APPENDIX 7: SUPPLEMENTARY QUESTIONS IN DIRECTOR'S QUESTIONNAIRE

(...)

14. The arts centre's programming decisions are made on a well informed basis.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't know

15. We work hard to provide optimal conditions for

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't know
The artists						
The audience						

16. I like meeting with outside people and organisations representing the arts centre.

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't know

17. I discuss the arts centre with

	Once a week or more	Once a month or more	Seldom	Not at all	Don't know
External partners/ organisations					
Friends and family					

18 a. I participate in professional networks and/or organisations where I discuss

	Number of networks/ organisations	Once a month or more	Once a year or more	Seldom	Not at all	Don't know

Administrative matters concerning the operations of arts organisations						
Programming issues						
General business operation issues						

18 b. I regard the significance of meeting colleagues on these occasions for

Very limited	Limited	Neither important nor limited	Important	Very important	Don't know

19. I am a member of voluntary organisations and/or other societies where I establish contacts and discuss issues of importance for my job as director of Colchester Arts centre.

	Number	Once a month or more	Once a year or more	Seldom	Not at all	Don't know
Voluntary organisations.						
Other societies.						

19 b. I regard the significance of establishing this kind of network connections for

Very limited	Limited	Neither important nor limited	Important	Very important	Don't know

C. ADDITIONAL FEEDBACK

- **Is there anything the arts centre should start doing, or do more of?**
- **Is there anything the arts centre should stop doing, or do less of?**
- **Is there anything the arts centre does at the moment that they should do differently?**

- **Any further comments?**

APPENDIX 8: LIST OF EXTERNAL INTERVIEWEES – INDIVIDUALS WHO RECEIVED QUESTIONNAIRES

COLCHESTER ARTS CENTRE

INDIVIDUALS AMONG INITIATORS

Stepen Landsley,
Ellisons Sollicitors, Headgate Court, Colchester, Essex CO1 1NP - 01206 764477 - stephen.lansley@ellisonslegal.com

Dr Joseph C. Allard,
Department of Literature, Film, and Theatre Studies, University of Essex. Wivenhoe Park. Colchester. CO4 3SQ. Essex - joe@essex.ac.uk

John Burton,
Purcell Miller Tritton, St. Mary's Hall, Rawstorn Road, Colchester CO3 3JH - johnburton@pmt.co.uk

Paul Marfleet
(could not track valid address)

INDIVIDUALS WITH REGULATORS

Sonia Moore,
Colchester Borough Council, Lexden Grange, 127 Lexden Road, Colchester CO3 3RJ - 01206 282 424. licensing@colchester.gov.uk

Clerk to the Licensing Justices,
Essex Magistrates Court, 80, Victoria Avenue, Southend-on-Sea, Essex SS2 6EU

Baron Fire,
Unit G5, Lubards Farm, Hullbridge Road, Rayleigh, Essex SS6 9Q - 01206 518 999/ 01702 230 082

Belinda Silkstone,
Colchester Borough Council, Environmental Control Officer, Colchester Borough Council PO Box 884. Town Hall. Colchester CO1 1FR, - 01206 282 559, Samantha.riley@colchester.gov.uk

Barry Lock,
Lock Electrical, Ricklands Bungalow, Wiston Nayland, Colchester CO6 4NG - 01206 262 959

MRL Systems Ltd,
1a Castle Acre Road, Swaffham, Norfolk, PE37 7HS - 01760 720 802

CH Lindsey & Son,
Brunel Way, Severalls Park, Colchester CO4 4QX - 01206 844 567

Charity Commission,
2nd Floor, 20 Kings Parade, Queens Dock, Liverpool L3 4DQ - 0870 333 0123

Registrar of Companies,
Companies House, Crown Way, Cardiff CF14 3UZ - 0870 333 3636 (No contact name)

INDIVIDUALS AMONG CUSTOMERS

Elaine Barker,
The Folk Club, Holly Cottage, Lower Road, Peldon CO5 7PR– www.acousticity.co.uk – colchester-folk-club@ntlworld.com - 01206 735 606 - elaine@barkerwood.freeserve.co.uk

John Betts,
Acid Jazz Club, 145 Friday Wood Green, Colchester. Essex CO2 8XF - 01206 710 425

INDIVIDUALS AMONG SUPPLIERS

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Colchester Borough Council, Cultural Services Manager, Street & Leisure, PO Box 331 Colchester CO1 1GL - 01206 282 914 - Kim.Jameson@colchester.gov.uk

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Paul Russ,
Lead Officer, Arts Council England East, Eden House, 48-49 Bateman Street, Cambridge CB2 1LR - 0845 300 6200 - paul.russ@artscouncil.org.uk

Ed Smith,
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Isabel Rocamora,
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Darren Johnstone,
Mailing address? – d.j_@virgin.net

Catherine Wood,

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Lois Kiedon,
'Director. Live Art Development Agency, Rochelle School, Arnold Circus, London E2 7ES, - 0207 033 0275
Daniel Brine,
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Director Andy Roshay,
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Stef Inhof,
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Piano tuner Toby Peecock,
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Journalist Neil Jones,
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INDIVIDUALS AMONG COMPETITORS
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The Arts Office, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester CO4 3SQ - 0126 873261 - arts@essex.ac.uk
Wivenhoe Folk Club,
The William Loveless Hall, 27, High Street, Wivenhoe, Colchester, Essex CO7 9AB - 01206827759
Liz Rabett, Jazz at the Fleece,
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Dave Lyons –
davelyons@jazzatthefleece.org.uk

IBSENHUSET

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Bogrer Eik,
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Torleif Trykkerud,
Mælagata 25, 3716 Skien - 35 53 29 17 - 916 19 444 971 19 668
Mayor **Rolf Erling Andersen,**
Skien kommune, Rådhuset, Postboks 158, 3701 Skien - 35 58 13 50 - rolf-erling.andersen@skien.kommune.no

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Fylkeshuset 3706 Skien - 35584273 - geir.nordtveit@telemark-f.kommune.no
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Chief city manager of arts and culture **Alfhild Skaardal,**
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Skien off. bibliotek, Ibsenhuset, Postboks 349, 3701 Skien - 35 58 13 60 - ove@skien.folkebibl.no

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