Raphaela Henze
Gernot Wolfram *Editors*

Exporting Culture

Which role for Europe in a Global World?

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Editors
Prof. Dr. Raphaela Henze
Hochschule Heilbronn
Künzelsau, Germany

Prof. Dr. Gernot Wolfram
Macromedia Hochschule für Medien und Kommunikation
Berlin, Germany

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Introduction

Cultural transfers between Europe and the rest of the world belong to the history of this continent for over a thousand years. Streams of migration, artistic exchanges, political movements, social imbalances and a history of flights and escapes have determined and determine this ongoing development. However, the history of colonialism, from a historical perspective, has led to a negative image in relation to the term 'European Culture'. Institutions such as the European Union, and many others, have made huge efforts in an attempt to change this image and to implement a new one based on an understanding of diversity, tolerance and cultural openness. But has this policy really led to an increase in the visibility of European Culture in our global world?

So-called "high culture" including classical music, theatre, literature, dance etc. is present all over Europe, but, for example, how many modern, European literary voices, how many film directors' or dance choreographers' works reach the levels of awareness amongst a global audience in the way many of the cultural products from the United States, India, or the Arab World do? Does a genuine European mass culture even exist? And what might that word *genuine* mean in this context?

Somewhat surprisingly, today, Europe as well as European Culture is often connected with the attribute of being 'old' or 'old fashioned'. So it seems that European Culture needs some sort of protection and further explanation. Perhaps though, this is also a compliment and reflects some of the special features of this continent with its countless numbers of cultures, languages and traditions. Discourses of remembrance and legacy play an important role in almost every European country, naturally also questions of postcolonialism and eurocentrism, as well as reflections about edges and centers. When we use the term European Culture we use it as a symbol, as a space for certain traditions, doubts and hopes. Thus, these processes of reflection need time and space to create proper content.

In the development of globalization this approach can appear as something outdated that disturbs the rush of rapid changes, and for some it might even appear as a huge waste of time, money and effort. Therefore, this volume tries to look at the role of the export of culture or cultures as well as European cultur-

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al transfers and their special approaches in order to reflect on both their failures and their opportunities.

Some of the many questions of interest to us include:

- What do we actually mean by 'European identity'?
- Is the export of national cultures (in most European countries subsidized by the taxpayer) still relevant or simply a waste of money and effort in a global world? Will one culture dominate all others?
- Can and should European countries learn, for example from the USA, about how to export popular culture (and is it even possible given the global limitations of most European languages)?
- What are successful examples of cultural transfers and what can be learned from them?
- Do we need new cultural identities? How can we avoid the gaps of mono-cultural national approaches in the field of cultural activity?
- Which role does the European Union play within these processes?

We tried to find authors from different countries to help us with these questions and to get in- and outsiders' perspectives on the European Cultural Agenda and the diverse efforts we undertake to foster both our national as well as our European cultures.

Although we have authors from eight different countries (USA, Italy, Spain, UK, Austria, Switzerland, Denmark and Germany) with diverse academic and practical backgrounds as well as experience in the field, we are convinced that, in this volume, we will raise more questions than we will be able to offer answers. We cannot see anything wrong with this and look forward to further discussion. Not forgetting, that art and culture are made and created – always and anywhere – by individuals, not by systems or institutions. The tensions between common perspectives and individual approaches have also provided a guiding question for this book.

Mai'a Davis Cross explains why the US-American approach towards public diplomacy and spreading its culture cannot serve as a role model for Europe despite some obvious similarities like a diverse population. She draws a clear line between economic success based on popular cultural products and culture as a means to raise mutual understanding and cooperation. Both are important, but should not necessarily be mingled. As the only US-American author in this pub-

lication, she explains how European cultural products and services, as well as the way in which they are exported, are seen from the perspective of the most important trading partner.

Claire Burnill-Maier writes about the narratives of cultural transfers and states that America's economic power has enabled it to influence and shape the values of a growing global audience. She believes that this argument has been used to express a helplessness of other cultures to compete against the American 'cultural juggernaut'. Burnill-Maier's contribution however, seeks to look beyond this and argues that cultural production and output in Central Europe are subject to a 'comprehensive conservatism' dating back many hundreds – indeed thousands of years, from which it cannot separate itself and which is holding back its ability to make its voice heard in the global cultural market. This conservatism is rooted in the cultural narrative of Europe, and is therefore difficult to challenge. In contrast to this, the USA, whose (modern) history spans only a short period, has, until now fewer of these historic ties with which to grapple.

Raphaela Henze describes the particular structures of trading artistic goods, concepts and ideas from Europe to other countries. She discusses the phenomenon that all in all Europe is the second largest exporter of content (27 % of all international content in comparison to 50 % by the United States of America) but that the content stays mainly in Europe and mostly does not find its way out. She reflects upon the traditions of so-called "high culture" in different countries and asks for a new commitment to proper investment in culture with self-confidence. Although there are some lessons to learn, Europe is not obliged to copy structures from the USA or other "big players". Its traditions and contemporary culture are rich enough to formulate its own way of cultural transfers.

Gernot Wolfram refers to the fact that today 'Europe' is, from a cultural and political perspective, a difficult term. Economic pressures often lead to a form of European culture which is determined by some serious factors of imbalance. In reality, Europe is facing a huge divide between the northern and southern countries at the moment. Many art projects in Greece, Spain, Portugal and Italy have difficulties presenting their ideas to audiences due to a tremendous lack of money. Does a significant discussion about solidarity between artists and art projects already exist? *Wolfram* believes that European Culture is no-longer a term which represents the necessary spirit of a holistic approach, of common values and a unified strategy for how artists can work together in Europe even in a time of economic or political crisis. What exists instead is a broad approach towards the so-called Creative Industries on the continent. This problematic development is closely examined in his contribution.

Opening with data concerning the immigration to the EU from third countries, *Hilary Carty* argues for change in our cultural organizations that will otherwise no longer be able to uphold the status quo. They will have to develop into truly open, democratic cultural institutions. By doing so, they will not only fulfill their tasks of caring for an increasingly diverse audience, but they will be drivers in changing our societies and cities and thus inspire creativity and growth.

Michael Schindhelm writes as an international cultural expert and arts manager about the challenges for European Culture in becoming more visible within global discourses. Missing a strategy, especially in Germany, to present Best-Practice-Examples as sources of knowledge for international partners, he asks for a new process of reflection on how European countries can participate in a more relevant way within the fast global streams of cultural development.

Ulrich Sacker, who has worked for the German Goethe-Institut for many years, explains why especially in times of globalization it is important to invest in culture and why national cultural institutions are well advised not to give art and artists a political agenda. With this assumption, he shares some of the viewpoints of *Pius Knüsel*, who has been involved in cultural transfer as director of the cultural foundation Pro Helvetia for more than ten years. *Pius Knüsel* gives a critical analysis of the approaches of several national cultural institutions abroad. He strongly advocates for art and culture not to be reduced to a mere tool of cultural diplomacy and gives advice on how cultural transfer – understood as a joint endeavor and a dialogue between nations – can become fruitful for both the hosts as well as the guests in their respective countries.

GiannaLia Cogliandro Beyens and *Cristina Ortega Nuere* from the European Network of Cultural Administration Training Centers (ENCATC) focus their discussion on topics of education within cultural fields and their challenges within a global world. They reflect questions including: How should education evolve in a changing society and environment? Which skills and expertise should education in the cultural management and policy field provide for allowing a smart, sustainable and inclusive growth in Europe and beyond? How can networks in the field of culture and education contribute to reforming and modernizing the educational system as well as to creating capabilities to stimulate the sector's ability to innovate through the exploration of fresh and unconventional connections between the creative, business and academic spheres?

German Journalist *Katrin Sandmann* contributes a highly important and unfortunately often neglected aspect in many discussions. That we have thriving cultural diversity, which admittedly we sometimes struggle with, is something that we have to be not only aware of but extremely grateful for. In other parts

of the world artists do not experience the amount of freedom their colleagues in the Western hemisphere do. Where we discuss audience development strategies, members of the Iraqi National Symphonic Orchestra do not know whether they will survive the next performance of European music written by Beethoven, Mozart or Brahms. Even the dominance of US-American popular culture meets its limits in many parts of the Arab world. *Katrin Sandman* writes about the essential power, but also about the vulnerability of arts and artists. She does not see things from a theoretical standpoint; she has gathered her experience in places where being involved with the arts is not only a difficult but sometimes an extremely dangerous occupation.

Iris Rittenhofer, who has lived and worked in Denmark for many years, elaborates that national cultural goods and services have already lost huge parts of their national relevance and already possess a transgressive quality. Many of the cultural products, and she refers specifically to Danish design, are, firstly, no longer produced in Denmark, and secondly, many of the companies producing them are no longer Danish but multinational. This is not seen as anything to lament, but as a challenge to manage this transgressive quality of cultural forms and genres. The European Capital of Culture – the title being awarded to the Danish city of Aarhus for the year 2017 – can be a tool to enhance the visibility of this transgressiveness if it really takes the European aspect seriously and makes not only the cities sharing the title during the respective year work together, but all those interested in this most controversial of all EU projects.

Verena Teissl compares different ways of dealing with cultural transfers in Europe and the USA. On the one hand she states that the USA did not depend on institutions like the Goethe-Institut or the Institute Français to place itself in the centre of the world and in our minds. On the other hand she is convinced that distribution of goods is clearly a different activity from cultural transfer, which is the main task of foreign cultural policy institutions. Cultural transfer can be understood as a trans-cultural tool: Adapting the ideas, systems and formats of expression of foreign cultures results in new, hybrid cultural and artistic practices. She chooses the example of film and film distribution to illustrate her positions with a concrete genre.

We hope to initiate a debate about the opportunities and risks of so-called typical European approaches with this publication. We would be very pleased if we could open up new perspectives on national cultures and their importance in a global world as well as contributing to the improvement of the quality of global artistic exchanges, not only in Europe.

We would like to thank Claire Burnill-Maier and Brigitte Brath for their hard work in helping to produce this volume. Their scientific sensitivity and their guidance through the final version of the book were of tremendous help. We would also like to thank our colleagues, friends, students, and audiences at a variety of conferences who gave us inspiration for our discussions about this fascinating topic.

Raphaela Henze & Gernot Wolfram Künzelsau/Berlin, November 2013

Transatlantic Cultural Diplomacy

Mai'a K. Davis Cross

Abstract

This chapter grapples with the question of whether the EU can project a coherent image to the outside world through public diplomacy given its significant cultural diversity. Has this been an impossible task or has the EU over time managed to create successful and legitimate ways of augmenting its soft power through the export of its cultural products? To shed light on this issue, I first consider the United States as the target audience for European cultural products, and evaluate successes and failures on a practical level. To what extent and why are Americans aware of European cultures? Second, I compare American public diplomacy approaches to European ones. Given that both the EU and US have high-levels of cultural diversity, I conclude by drawing out the lessons and drawbacks of adopting an American approach to public diplomacy, especially in light of the changing geo-political landscape.

Introduction

Public diplomacy is typically defined as how a nation's government or society projects itself to external audiences in ways that aim to improve these foreign publics' perception of that nation.[1] Europeans can boast a long list of public diplomacy initiatives centered on cultural engagement at the European, national, and local levels. These cultural initiatives include music festivals, film weeks, food tastings, education fairs, and so on.[2] Through various media venues, there are also radio and TV talk shows, websites, policy papers and other publications that showcase debates, discussions, and even quizzes about what it means to be Euro-

1 Mai'a K. Davis Cross and Jan Melissen (eds), *European Public Diplomacy: Soft Power at Work,* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

2 European Commission, "A Glance at EU Public Diplomacy at Work," Brussels: European Communities, 2007.

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pean in terms of both culture and identity. At the elite level, expert visits, training programs, information days, media trips, educational exchanges, and other events are common. This clear commitment to the cultural dimension of public diplomacy is certainly a result of the high level of awareness that EU institutions and member states have of the importance of foreign publics' perceptions of Europe.[3] Indeed, foreign public opinion is absolutely central to achieving Europe's foreign policy goals from trade to energy to security.[4]

The European Parliament advocates defining European culture as broadly as possible, but with specific and coherent strategies of promoting it to external audiences.[5] In particular, the Parliament recognizes the connection between culture and foreign policy, emphasizing the importance of culture's relationship to human rights. It stresses the important role of the fledgling European External Action Service (EEAS) in being able to convey cultural messages to foreign publics. And it calls for the EEAS to focus on sharing literature, film, music, and heritage to build bridges with foreign publics, as well as to foster best practices, democratization, and mutual understanding. Indeed, members of the European Parliament see trust building with foreign publics as intimately linked to cultural diplomacy.

Similarly, the European Commission sees culture as the cornerstone of human development.[6] Its research into the role of culture in diplomacy shows increasing demand for cultural products. The Commission finds that given the growth in 21st century communication tools, "creative entrepreneurs" have the potential to truly augment Europe's soft power, defined as attractive or co-optive power.[7] According to the Commission, the EU's influence, both internally and externally, is closely tied to its diverse culture. Internally, mutual exchange of culture within Europe promotes increased creativity, which enhances economic growth, jobs, innovation, enrichment, and lifelong learning. Externally, it promotes peace, intercultural dialogue, and conflict prevention – all major goals of EU foreign policy.

3 Emma Basker, "EU Public Diplomacy," in Javier Noya (ed.), *The Present and Future of Public Diplomacy: A European Perspective. The 2006 Madrid Conference on Public Diplomacy* (Madrid: Elcano, 2006).

4 Committee on Culture and Education, European Parliament, "Draft Report on the cultural dimensions of the EU's External Relations," November 29, 2010.

5 Committee on Culture and Education, European Parliament, "Draft Report on the cultural dimensions of the EU's External Relations," November 29, 2010.

6 European Commission, "A Glance at EU Public Diplomacy at Work," Brussels: European Communities, 2007.

7 For more on European soft power, see Mai'a K. Davis Cross (2011) "Europe, A Smart Power," *International Politics* 48(6), pp. 691-706.

Member states have long engaged in robust approaches to their own national and sub-national public diplomacy.[8] But both the European Parliament and Commission understand that Europe's culture may be most influential when disseminated in a collaborative fashion, (i. e. at the European level), even though it is internally highly diverse. Collaboration in European cultural outreach can be achieved in such a way that cultural practitioners are able to come together in a forum for dialogue, and identify key stakeholders. In other words, there is a strategic dimension to culture as part of an overall European public diplomacy approach.

At the same time, it is undeniable that intra-European cultural diversity makes it challenging to project a coherent image of Europe to external audiences. This is where a comparison to the US might be valuable. It is worth noting that few *individual* countries have a singular culture or identity, even within Europe. The US, for example, is at least as internally diverse culturally as Europe with its multiple ethnicities, vastly different geographic landscapes, and spectrum of indigenous cultures. Yet, the US still manages to project a coherent and quite tangible image that is recognizable around the world. This chapter will first elaborate upon how American audiences perceive European culture, as an example of a key target audience for European cultural diplomacy, and then compare the US to Europe in terms of how well the two actors project their cultural identities abroad. Finally, I will conclude with some lessons for the future of European public diplomacy.

The US: An Important Target Audience for Europe

The transatlantic relationship is often described as the most important and enduring alliance in the international system. This is no more obviously true than when we consider the historical context of the post-World War II period in which there was widespread recognition of the United States' role in supporting Europe through Marshall Aid, enabling the reconstruction and eventual establishment of a united Europe. The US was the first country to recognize the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), and the first to establish diplomatic representation towards this fledgling union. In turn, the European delegation to the US was

8 For a full account of member states' individual public diplomacy strategies, see: Philip Fiske de Gouveia, with Hester Plumidge, "European Infopolitik: Developing EU Public Diplomacy Strategy," *The Foreign Policy Centre,* November 2005.

established in 1954 when the ECSC was barely off the ground.[9] Now, the EU and US are each other's biggest trading partners, together making up around 40 % of global trade in goods, and almost half in global trade in services. They are also each other's biggest foreign direct investors. They work together in almost every area of security policy, both internal (terrorism, organized crime, trafficking) and external (peace, stability, development, and defense).[10]

The EU and US should have a natural affinity when it comes to cultural exchange because of the wide body of shared values that are at the core of their close strategic alliance: democracy, the rule of law, international cooperation, free market, fundamental freedoms, and so on. Even though these values often result in disagreements when it comes to the nitty gritty of politics and policies (i. e. the death penalty, approaches to counter-terrorism, use of force, visa reciprocity, some aspects of international humanitarian law, climate change, access to health care, and so on),[11] core shared values are arguably what really matter in providing a basis for effective cultural engagement.

European culture has a high status in the eyes of most Americans. At its core, European culture is also a central part of American culture as many Americans have European heritage, albeit from generations ago. As Wim Wenders, the famous German film director, said in a speech to the European Commission:

> [The American Dream] was the dream dreamed by all the immigrants from 18th and 19th century Europe, who had to leave their native countries for a wider variety of social and religious reasons to travel to that "Promised Land" called America. They dreamed the dream of the "Land of Opportunities", and it offered them precisely what they lacked at home: **a future.** It

9 Beginning in 1974, the EU also launched the EU Visitors Program to bring future American leaders to Europe for tours of several weeks with the goal of enhancing mutual understanding. This was primarily for political, rather than cultural, aims. See: Scott-Smith, Giles. "Mending the 'Unhinged Alliance' in the 1970s: Transatlantic Relations, Public Diplomacy, and the Origins of the European Union Visitors Program," *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 16(4), pp. 749-778.

10 For examples of how the EU explains itself to Americans more generally, see: EU Delegation to the US, "The European Union: A Guide for Americans," 2008; "EU Focus: The European Union and the United States: A Long-Standing Partnership," *Delegation of the European Union,* December 2010; and Anthony Gooch, the Spokesman for the European Commission Delegation to the US, "Taking it to the U.S.: the EU's Greatest Public Diplomacy Challenge," April 19, 2006, University of Southern California Center on Public Diplomacy. http://uscpublicdiplomacy.com/index.php/events/events_detail/1934/.

11 "The European Union and the United States: Global Partners, Global Responsibilities," *European Commission External Relations.* June 2006. Also, a November 2011 Pew Survey of the differences between American and European values provides evidence of the main differences: "American Exceptionalism Subsides: The American-Western European Values Gap," *Pew Research Global Attitudes Project*, November 17, 2011. http://www.pewglobal.org/2011/11/17/the-american-western-european-values-gap/ (accessed April 15, 2013).

> was this blend of European hopes and projections that gave rise to America; it was thus a European projection in the truest sense of the word. It was "our film" that was running there![12]

Thus, there is often an immediate understanding of what it means if something is described as culturally "European," more so perhaps than other cultures that have become enveloped into the overarching notion of "American culture." There is an assumption among regular Americans that "European culture" is somehow more authentic, more sophisticated, more beautiful, more historical, and deservingly, more expensive than an average American cultural product or event. From architecture to food to movies, most Americans would assume that European culture is likely to be more serious and possessing a greater depth than its American equivalent. Of course, these are stereotypes and generalities, but it provides a snapshot of the essence of how Americans tend to hold European culture in high regard, even while they may at the same time regard American projection of hard power as more effective.

In more specific terms, it is perhaps illustrative to look at the example of film. Wendy Everett argues that European films are often unpopular, both to American and European audiences.[13] She notes that European films are generally of high quality, and that they are typically creative, diverse, and grapple with a wider range of issues than standard American films. They are also often low budget, and less audience-conscientious. Rather than aiming to be pure entertainment, in the tradition of Hollywood, European films are regarded as works of art best featured at film festivals rather than big IMAX multiplexes. As Everett argues, European films do not seek to satisfy audiences, but instead to *challenge* thinking in complex and unpredictable ways. They are less formulaic, and more about exploration of identity, transformation, and journeys. This formulation of European films is what Americans perceive. Artsy film houses in the US are only found in university towns or trendy city neighborhoods. Intellectuals, artists, and elites watch European films, not typical Americans in rural areas or small towns, although they are still often aware of what European films entail.

Wim Wenders argues that film alone has the potential to "consolidate an image" of Europe. However, even though film as a cultural product emerged in both

12 Wim Wenders, "The Image of Europe. Identification and Representation," Discourse on Europe, Brussels, 11 June 2007.

13 Wendy Everett, "Dinosaur, Shipwreck or Museum Piece? The Unstable Identity of European Cinema," in *The European Puzzle: The Political Structuring of Cultural Identities at a Time of Transition,* edited by Marion Demossier, New York: Berghahn Books, 2007. pp. 102-116.

Europe and the US around the same time, the latter took a far more aggressive approach.[14] Wenders writes:

> The Americans were quicker to grasp the potential POWER that using pictures to tell stories would eventually bring. Instinctively, they knew they were backing a winner by using the power of pictures as a multiplier for their "American Dream" – indeed using it, ultimately, as a way to put out and spread their message. They were quick to realize this new medium had the potential to become one of the biggest industries worldwide.[15]

Thus, in the case of film, Americans are more successful both in projecting a positive and coherent image of themselves, and in selling a key cultural product widely.

In terms of high forms of European culture, such as fine art, theater, and music, Americans tend to view these in terms of European *heritage* or *tradition*. Ullrich Kockel distinguishes between heritage, culture, and tradition.[16] He defines heritage as "cultural patterns, practices, and objects that either are no longer handed down in everyday life or are handed down for a use significantly removed from their historical purpose and appropriate context – such as to attract tourism."[17] Thus, culture becomes heritage when it is no longer actively a part of society. Kockel defines tradition as "cultural patterns, practices, and objects that are 'handed down' to a later generation, for use according to their purposes as appropriate to their context."[18] Tradition adapts to new circumstances over time, whereas heritage does not, and culture is the current artistic expression of a society. Kockel's understanding of these concepts is significant because most Americans tend to mainly perceive European culture, with the exception of film, as belonging to Europe's heritage or tradition. To the extent that Europeans have a vibrant and innovative cultural life today, which of course they do, Americans are generally less aware of it. Indeed, Americans mostly visit Europe for the history.

European public diplomats have appreciated the importance of this problem, and have consciously tried to re-brand their cultures in an effort to convey the reality of Europe's cultural creativity. A well-known example of this was the UK's efforts to re-brand itself in the late 1990s as a less stuffy, more multicultural, and more creative country, brimming with new, young, and hip ideas.[19] This

14 Wim Wenders, "The Image of Europe. Identification and Representation," Discourse on Europe, Brussels, 11 June 2007.
15 Ibid.
16 Ullrich Kockel, "Heritage Versus Tradition: Cultural Resources for a New Europe?" in *The European Puzzle: The Political Structuring of Cultural Identities at a Time of Transition,* edited by Marion Demossier, New York: Berghahn Books, 2007, pp. 85-101.
17 Ibid. p. 96.
18 Ibid. p. 97.
19 Martin Leonard and Andrew Small, with Martin Rose, "British Public Diplomacy in the 'Age of Schisms'," *The Foreign Policy Centre,* February 2005, pp. 2-3.

initiative, known as "Cool Britannia," had mixed results at best.[20] A branding approach implies a kind of commodification of culture, often designed to attract tourists or investors, but at the expense of authenticity.[21] Peter van Ham argues, "Branding is less about *knowing* the EU than it is about *loving* it."[22] But he adds, Europe should "shamelessly exploit its multicultural diversity."[23] In a sense, this is what Americans have successfully done through film and other forms of popular and mainstream culture.

We can speak of European cultural products, but also of culture more generally. Somehow, with all of the focus on economic and political integration, the EU did not focus on culture until many decades after its founding.[24] Indeed, now it seems as though culture, not high politics, is the last holdout of national sovereignty in Europe. Even foreign and security policy has significant elements that have been Europeanized, especially with the 2009 Lisbon Treaty.[25] But culture is an area in which it is difficult for the EU to lead because it is still fully member states' domain, or more appropriately, regions and cities within member states. The EU's role in the cultural realm is formally only "to support, coordinate or supplement" the policies of its member states.[26] Consequently, only 1 % or around €170 million per year of the EU budget goes towards subsidies for the arts. This is less than even what a small member state like Estonia spends on culture by itself.[27] But there is tremendous added value from even this small role for the EU. Nearly all the cross-cultural exchange and circulation of art within Europe is paid for by the EU budget. Moreover, it is written into the EU treaties that European institutions must protect cultural diversity. Thus, the EU focuses on projects that will enhance diversity and maximize impact.

The EU's cultural budget also subsidizes activities outside of Europe. For example, during the celebrations marking the EU's 50th birthday, there were over 50 events in 19 American states for a period of 14 days.[28] EU delegations as well

20 Shaun Riordan, "Dialogue-based Public Diplomacy: A New Foreign Policy Paradigm?" *Clingendael Discussion Papers in Diplomacy,* No. 95, November 2004, p. 11.
21 Kockel, pp. 90-97.
22 Peter van Ham, "Branding European Power," *Place Branding,*1(2): 2005. p. 123.
23 Van Ham, p. 125.
24 Speech by Andras Bozoki, Minister of Culture of Hungary, "Cultural Policy and Politics in the European Union."
25 Mai'a K. Davis Cross, *Security Integration in Europe: How Knowledge-based Networks are Transforming the European Union,* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011.
26 Philip Ebels, "EU culture budget: small and likely to get smaller," *euobserver.com*, October 25, 2012.
27 Ibid.
28 European Commission, "A Glance at EU Public Diplomacy at Work," Brussels: European Communities, 2007.

as member state embassies pooled their energy and resources to construct a program that involved numerous universities, schools, museums, local governments, research institutes, museums, and think tanks. In Washington DC alone, 38,000 people attended events at European embassies that explained European cultural diversity to the American public. These types of events, which occur all over the world, have a tremendous impact, but are still limited in terms of overall target audience.

Strategies for the Future: The US as a model for Europe?

It is clear that the US has found successful ways of exporting its culture internationally. But could this strategy work for Europe? I argue that there is a lot more room for maximizing Europe's cultural impact, but it will not likely come from adopting a US-style strategy. This is mostly because to the extent that one can strategize about promoting culture through government-funded activities, the US has actually not done that well lately. Rather, American culture works for itself at the level of the cultural entrepreneurs themselves. The people-to-people, or networked dimension of US cultural diplomacy thrives, while the purposeful efforts of the US State Department fall a bit short. Why is the American approach to cultural diplomacy inappropriate for Europe?

First, US-style public diplomacy has not served the country well since 9/11. In the period between the end of the Cold War and 9/11, the US neglected public diplomacy. But when the government brought it back during the Bush administration in the wake of 9/11, it was treated more as a *war* of ideas rather than of relationship building.[29] Some of the efforts to promote American culture were surely hamstrung by the unpopularity of the Bush administration and foreign policy agenda. The Obama administration has a better image, but still not a very robust cultural diplomacy strategy. Dov Lynch argues that four major problems with the US's current approach are: (1) a lack of credibility especially in the Arab and Muslim world, (2) a war mentality of aggressively fighting information battles, (3) a culturally biased attitude that is too direct and often comes across as arrogant, and (4) a branding strategy based on corporate market-oriented strategies to "win" consumers.[30]

The fourth criticism is particularly relevant to the cultural dimension of public diplomacy. Americans tend to be quite good at marketing, branding, and pro-

29 Dov Lynch, "Communicating Europe to the World: What Public Diplomacy for the EU?" *European Policy Centre*, November 2005, p. 19.

30 pp. 20-21.

moting consumerism, but when it comes to cultural products, this strategy is often counter-productive. Noya argues that:

> Countries which create their own brands are trying to lure investment, tourism, buyers, and so on. They are trying to *position themselves on the map* of significant nations in these areas. Public diplomacy seeks to convince, to transform the world by transforming ideas; it seeks to *change the map* of international relations.[31]

The main point of cultural diplomacy is less to make money, and more to build mutual understanding, networks, and transnational ties. As mentioned earlier, cultural approaches to foreign policy are at the core of protecting human rights, freedom of expression, and diversity. Economic growth and profit naturally follow from legitimate forms of cultural engagement. Indeed, the cultural sector in the EU employs 8.5 million workers (3.8 % of the EU's workforce), and is responsible for around 4.5 % of the EU's GDP.[32] Moreover, the Commission believes that the cultural sector is a "largely untapped resource" in the European economy,[33] and also finds that it is an industry with resilience, losing fewer jobs during the financial crisis compared to most other industries.[34] But the tail should not wag the dog. Culture is primarily about ideas and expression. Europe already has a largely positive external image;[35] it is just not maximizing its potential.

Second, the American dream – that anyone can succeed through hard work and opportunity – has been in decline since the 1970s.[36] At least one-third of Americans no longer believe in it. In the 1960s and earlier, American public diplomacy often seemed more legitimate, i. e. a real reflection of the spirit of the people, and there was significant government support to help amplify it around the world. Javier Noya observes:

> In the fifties and sixties, the Department of State (DOS) promoted exhibitions of American abstract expressionism and sponsored tours by jazz musicians such as Dave Brubeck or Dizzy

31 Javier Noya, "The United States and Europe: Convergence or Divergence in Public Diplomacy?" *The present and future of public diplomacy: a European perspective; the 2006 Madrid conference on public diplomacy* / ed. J. Noya. Madrid: Real Instituto Elcano, 4 December 2006. pp. 1-6.

32 Philip Ebels, "EU culture budget: small and likely to get smaller," *euobserver.com*, October 25, 2012.

33 European Commission, "Commission from the Commission to the European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: Promoting cultural and creative sectors for growth and jobs in the EU," Brussels, September 26, 2012.

34 Benjamin Fox, "Culture sector an 'untapped' resource, says commission," *euobserver.com,* September 27, 2012.

35 Gallup International, Voice of the People, 2005.

36 Jeremy Rifkin, *The European Dream: How Europe's Vision of the Future Is Quietly Eclipsing the American Dream*, 2004.

> Gillespie world-wide, from the communist block to Arab countries such as Iran. Jazz was genuinely American music, born in the United States, and it also represented freedom, improvisation in both strictly musical spheres and at social level, since it was an Afro-American minority product. And while the DOS was promoting jazz as American culture, jazz musicians like Max Roach, who did not participate in the DOS initiative, were releasing works such as the Freedom Suite in which they staked their claims to the civil rights, which at the time black people were denied in the United States.[37]

But after the Cold War, the US Information Agency was disbanded and certain departments were redistributed to other parts of government, significantly weakening the transnational cultural engagement that flourished so much in the 50s and 60s.

The European Dream, by contrast, is beginning to solidify, and it offers an appealing alternative to the American Dream. As Jeremy Rifkin describes it, the European Dream has the qualities of embeddedness, inclusivity, and belonging.[38] Rather than being based on religious heritage and faith, as in the American Dream, the European Dream is secular. As a transnational and multicultural vision, it is "one far better suited for the next stage in the human journey," according to Rifkin.[39] This dream is still in its nascence, but it is increasingly reflected in European culture and cultural products, especially as younger generations begin to take Europeanization for granted as a core part of their identities as European citizens.[40]

Third, there is a changing geo-political landscape in which developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America have started to gain in wealth and power. It is important to recognize that although the transatlantic relationship is the most important in the world, and will be for the foreseeable future, the need to engage better with audiences that have less in common with Europe will be the challenge of the future. This is something that the US faces too, and with ongoing central implications for its own security and foreign policy.

The way in which Europeans can most learn from American cultural diplomacy is in terms of grappling with the reality of internal diversity. It is often noted that to speak of a European culture or identity is a misnomer because the languages, histories, national myths, and landscapes within Europe are so diverse. But the same is true of "American culture." From the jazz of New Orleans to the hula of Hawai`i to the architecture of Manhattan, there is nothing that is uniform

37 Javier Noya, "The United States and Europe: Convergence or Divergence in Public Diplomacy?" *The present and future of public diplomacy: a European perspective; the 2006 Madrid conference on public diplomacy* / ed. J. Noya. Madrid: Real Instituto Elcano, 4 December 2006. pp. 1-6.

38 Jeremy Rifkin, *The European Dream,* p. 77.

39 Ibid. p. 76.

40 Mai'a K. Davis Cross, "Identity Politics and European Integration," *Comparative Politics*, 44(2) (review article), pp. 229-246, January 2012.

about American culture. Festivities celebrating culture in the United States focus on Native Americans, Chinese Americans, Italian Americans, African Americans, and the list goes on and on. Thus, one lesson that Europeans can gain from the American experience is that there is strength in diversity. Europeans too often tend to amplify their differences and denigrate their successes, giving the world the impression that there is no glue holding the European "family" together. Clearly, this could not be further from the truth, after nearly six decades of together crafting an "ever closer union," and even withstanding major existential crises while still persevering. A coherent message of unity should come out of Europe's wealth of distinctive forms of expression, and from embracing the power of these differences. The more that connections can be drawn between Europe's diversity and its overarching commonalities, the more it can maximize its cultural diplomacy, and in turn, its soft power.

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Examining Cultural Narratives and Celebrating Diversity – Can Europe Slow the American Cultural Juggernaut?

Claire Burnill-Maier

> "The earth is in effect one world, in which empty, uninhabited spaces virtually do not exist. Just as none of us is outside or beyond geography, none of us is completely free from the struggle over geography."
>
> Edward Said (1994: p. 6) "Culture and Imperialism"

Introduction

European cultural output of the late 20th and early 21st centuries has struggled – drowned out by prolific production and the huge success of America's cultural offerings. Whilst writing this chapter, planned trade talks between the US and the EU are in jeopardy as some European nation states seek a 'cultural exception' to bilateral trade talks in a bid to 'protect cultural diversity' from the American cultural 'juggernaut'. As European cultural managers seek to find ways to compete on the global market, is there a requirement to address the profound influence of the past, in order to find a more positive outlook for Europe's cultural output?

This chapter seeks to explore the notion that when examining the mechanisms for the success of US cultural output, with a view to applying them to a successful European cultural strategy, it is vital to consider the cultural narratives of the two regions. In Edward Said's "Culture and Imperialism" he states:

> "The power to narrate, or to block other narratives from forming and emerging, is very important to culture and imperialism, and constitutes one of the main connections between them. Most important, the grand narratives of emancipation and enlightenment mobilised people in the colonial world to rise up and throw off imperial subjection; in the process, many Europeans and Americans were also stirred by these stories and their protagonists, and they too fought for new narratives of equality and community."[1]

I this chapter it is argued that it is the success of America's new narrative that has set it apart from Europe. America has succeed in creating a grand narrative in which the nation itself fulfils the role of lead protagonist promising visions of freedom, equality and human community via capitalism. In contrast, Europe's narrative is secured in the past by ties of elitism and imperialism, whose conno-

1 Said (1994) p. xiii.

R. Henze, G. Wolfram (eds.), *Exporting Culture,*
DOI 10.1007/978-3-658-01921-1_3, © Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden 2014

tations for newly emerging nations embody the very structures from which they have sought independence.

Gramsci's notion of cultural hegemony[2] has been used to criticise the overwhelming dominance of US (popular) cultural output on the global market. America's economic power has enabled it to influence and shape the values of a growing global audience. Gramsci's argument has been used to express a helplessness of other cultures to compete against the American 'cultural juggernaut'. This chapter however, seeks to look beyond this and argues that, cultural production and output in Central Europe is subject to a 'comprehensive conservatism', that prevails, which is holding back its ability to make its voice heard in the global cultural market. This conservatism is rooted in the cultural narrative of Europe, and is therefore difficult to challenge. In the European cultural sector itself, lies a history to which it is inextricably joined. At the very core of Europe's cultural production is a conservatism, dating back many hundreds – indeed thousands of years, from which it cannot separate itself. In contrast to this, the USA, whose (modern) history spans only a short period, has, until now had fewer of these historic ties with which to grapple. It can therefore be argued that America has successfully projected a notion of economic, political and cultural freedom to the world, which has, paradoxically, created a situation in which it has been able to, coupled with its economic domination, subjugate and exert enormous power and influence throughout the globe. In order to challenge current US hegemony in the cultural sector, European cultural output needs either to embrace a fresh stance and find ways in which to throw off some of the 'cultural-historical shackles' that hinder the success of its global cultural output or learn how to harness it and adapt it to increase its appeal on the global stage.

This chapter will consider the ways in which the two narratives differ and the effect this has on the success of their respective cultural output. It will question the longevity of US cultural dominance and what, if any, are the implications for the way Central European cultural output is received on the global stage.

> "Until the lions have their own historian, the tales of the hunt will always glorify the hunter."[3]

The socio-cultural histories and narratives used for the purposes of this chapter are those that western historians have taught us. They are the 'standard' western histories of one time European hegemony, and subsequent US hegemony. This chapter does not discuss in detail the other histories that are an important part of European and US histories – neither the voices of Native Americans nor the

2 Gramsci (1968): Prison Notebooks, London: Lawrence & Wishart, p. 182.
3 African proverb – source unknown.

voices of the African diaspora are examined, though neither can they be ignored. What this chapter seeks to illustrate is the argument that it is the suppression of these other narratives that has contributed to Europe's faltering competitiveness on the global cultural market.

For the purposes of this chapter, the term 'culture' is used in its broadest sense. Academics and organisations such as UNESCO have sought a definition for the concept of 'culture' many times, resulting in many definitions, however, should we need a definition for it here, Geertz' definition may be applied:

> "Culture is a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which people communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life."[4]

Geertz's definition is particularly helpful in this instance as it does not seek to differentiate between 'unique cultures', but acknowledges the fluidity and continuity of culture with which this chapter deals.

When discussing and comparing the US and Europe's cultural *output*, the term is also taken to mean cultural production in its broadest sense. UNESCO's 'culture cycle' encompasses cultural output that goes beyond institutionalised forms and includes cultural activities that are unrelated to social and market activity[5].

> "The culture cycle captures all of the different phases of the creation, production, and dissemination of culture. In this approach, culture can be viewed as resulting from a cognate set of processes. These activities may or may not be institutionalised, and they may or may not be governed by the state. The broad conception of a sector that includes non-formal, amateur and activities unrelated to the market is termed a 'domain' in order to indicate that the concept covers social and non-market related activity, as well as economic, market-related activity."[6]

Cultural output in this sense therefore includes forms of entertainment including digital output, television, film, books, magazines and other printed material as well as food and fashion. In using these definitions, I endeavour to avoid the narrow view of culture which is limited to high-culture but to go beyond this view in order to include the symbols and values that culture also encompasses.

The term 'European Culture' is a highly problematic and hugely complex concept. Within the work of the European Union, it has been a central challenge to try and forge the notion of a European identity, but in spite of the uniqueness of nation states, there is commonality to be found throughout Europe:

4 Geertz (1973): p. 89.
5 UNESCO (2009): Framework for cultural statistics. Montreal.
6 UNESCO (2009): p. 19.

> "The idea of a 'European culture' is a complicated one, on which it is possible to take a number of standpoints. One point of view is to emphasise the shared heritage of the continent's countries, based on a long shared history of democracy, liberal economic regimes and value-sources such as the Enlightenment, the French Revolution and the continent's status as the fulcrum of two global wars in the last century."[7]

In order to discuss European culture and cultural output, it is necessary to adopt the viewpoint that there is a strong degree of cultural homogeneity that links Europe.

Cultural Narratives

Anthony Smith argues that Europe's shared history dates back as far as the Holy Roman Empire[8], an era which has been reflected and glorified repeatedly across cultural genres throughout European history, including through literary works, architectural styles, fine arts, and theatre. The ideals of empire and dominion are recurring themes in European history and are reflected in the narrative that it projects.

The beginnings of the European capitalism began to emerge around the 16th century. Territories began to develop economies beyond an agrarian model which were controlled by land owning aristocracies. However, disputes for sovereignty, peasant uprisings, the emergence of new states, and spiralling costs forced states to find new sources of income[9]. The European aristocracy and the increasingly powerful body of merchants sought to gain new territory in order to secure commodities for the European market. Rich, powerful elites emerged dictating the cultural landscape and shaping European tastes.

Over the three centuries that followed, in spite of the emergence of a growing school of thought which moved away from the idea of divine rule towards that of enlightened rule, many traditional practises remained and whilst new systems of ownership emerged so too did new groups of wealthy elites who tended to emulate the practises of the aristocracy. The ideology of imperialism dominated much of 18th and 19th century Europe, and whilst enlightenment teaching had brought about political change domestically in Europe, the same enlightenment teaching was being used as justification for the imposition of European cultural values throughout the European colonies. What is crucial here is that whilst domestically European nations were undergoing the political and ideological changes encapsulated by 'liberty, equality and fraternity', throughout Europe's colonies

7 *Eurobarometer 278 (2007): p. 63.*

8 Smith, Anthony D. (1992): National Identity and the Idea of European Unity. Blackwell Publishing.

9 Bernstein, Hewitt and Thomas in Alan and Thomas (1992) Poverty and Development in the 1990s, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

oppression and a policy of supressing local cultures was firmly in place[10]. The title of 'Emperor' adopted by European rulers in the 19th century bears testament that although the role of an absolute monarchy had largely been removed from the European political landscape, a strong sense of traditionalism and an elite ruling class was, and in many cases still remains, in existence.

Against the backdrop of a struggle for economic supremacy, and the emergence of liberal economics it has been argued that a lack of modernisation amongst the British and continental European powers contributed to their respective declines in global economic dominance. Perry Anderson (1992) cites the traits of 'traditionalism and empiricism' as two of the elements that have legitimised and perpetuated a conservatism that has hindered (British) economic development.

> "Traditionalism and empiricism henceforth fuse as a single legitimating system: traditionalism sanctions the present by deriving it from the past, empiricism binds the future by fastening it to the present. A comprehensive conservatism is the result, covering society with a pall of simultaneous philistinism (towards ideas) and mystagogy (towards institutions)…"[11]

It could be argued, that these same traits, have prevailed throughout central European cultural output and have, as a result, hindered its ability to achieve cultural dominance in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Whereas Europe's long history seems to serve to tether its cultural output and hinder its success. American culture has the youth, fluidity, and capacity to grow and to flourish.

The beginning of modern American history may be considered as one that began with Colombus' discovery of the Bahamas in 1492 followed by the establishment of the tobacco colonies. With a history that begins only a little over five hundred years ago, it is comparatively young. Modern America is a nation that was developed by settlers and immigrants who arrived in the so called 'New World' in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. Significantly, those who made the journey, largely from Europe, were often those seeking to make economic fortunes, or to escape religious persecution. The pull factors of the Americas, even in its earliest days, were those of wealth and crucially – freedom. Freedom has proven to be a recurring theme in America's cultural dominance.

At the outset, America formed part of the mercantilist struggle for land. The French, Spanish and British all endeavoured to secure land in order to achieve global dominance. With the voices of Native Americans subdued by the new colonists, and with the slave trade and shipments of commodities Europe's power

10 See Saliha Belmessous (2013) Assimilation and Empire Uniformity in French and British Colonies pp. 1541-1954, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

11 Anderson (1992): p. 29.

and wealth grew. Whilst each settler brought with them their own narratives and their own histories, the will to 'begin afresh' and to find 'new fortunes' was a driving force for many. Slowly the new entrepreneurial inhabitants of America began to shape a new culture.

Unfettered by the conventions of the past, the settlers of early colonial America deliberately sought a new way of life, often as an attempt at leaving behind their own histories and the constraints of religious dogma in Europe. The eighteenth century saw the colonising powers defeated, the declaration of independence and the newly independent America emerge and with that the birth of a new period of global primacy led by the United States. With independence and the establishment of a political system based on post-enlightenment values, for the new American nation, the notion of freedom took on more weight. Escape from religious dogma, and freedom from dominant European powers was now also joined by an economy driven by the ideal of free-trade.

The influence of European history in America, of course remained. Ideas, artefacts and symbols of Europe were imported and adapted and it wasn't until the Anglo-American wars of 1812-1814 that a new beginning for American cultural output began. Up to this point painters and artists in post-independence America were required to produce images and artworks that reflected and celebrated the fortunes of the new colonists – portraits were required to adorn the walls of those who had successfully established lucrative businesses. Architects had been imported from Europe and much of the culture in evidence had its roots still firmly in Europe. Following the Anglo-American wars however, there was a desire amongst Americans to establish a uniquely American culture. A new spirit of American patriotism was born and it sought its own identity. Even then however, European dominance still prevailed and many writers and artists were still looking to Europe for inspiration.

> "tastemakers continued to look abroad for classical and then revival styles. While folk painters roamed rural areas to provide portraits for middling Americans, the European tour and grand historical themes remained critical to the work of academic painters and sculptors. At the same time, new cultural institutions on home soil provided opportunities for artists to study and exhibit. The artistic career of Samuel F. B. Morse (1791–1872) is exemplary. He began as a rural portraitist, took the Grand Tour of European capitals and art collections, and, upon returning to New York, sought commissions for high-style portraits and historical studies. In 1825, he co-founded the National Academy of Design and served as its first president."[12]

Whilst the fledgling nation of the United States of America began to seek, and carve its own cultural identity with independence, the turning point for the switch

12 Jaffee (2007): http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/pram/hd_pram.htm).

from European cultural hegemony and the beginnings US cultural dominance is found with World War 1. According to Elisabeth Currid's 'The Warhol Economy' (2007), it was the influx of European refugees in 1915 to New York that 'invigorated' the cultural scene in the USA. The effect of this, it can be argued, is twofold; not only does the influx of talent begin to secure a livelier cultural scene but it reinforces the notion of freedom within America's cultural narrative. The United States already established as a haven for those seeking a new way of life, re-emerges more forcibly than ever.

The instability of post-World War 1 Europe opened up huge opportunities for America. America, reluctant to enter the conflict, but instrumental in the defeat of Germany, emerged victorious and thereby able to add 'victor' to its narrative of freedom. In the period leading up to the Second World War America saw huge economic growth – as well as the great depression. Mechanisation, the development of electrical goods, radio and film became hugely important sources of cultural production. The infrastructure for the blanket production of mass cultural goods was in place and the geo-political shift resulting from the Second World War would ensure American cultural products would become some of the nation's most successful exports.

Whereas Europe's centuries long mercantilist struggle had resulted in Europe holding approximately 85% of the earth as colonies from the mid-19th Century up to the beginning of the First World War[13]. The Second World War was to bring an end to colonialism. Decolonisation, a process spanning largely from 1945 into the 1970s, created new nations each representing new economic opportunities for a global capitalist system. One which America has been able to exploit and where American imports of cultural goods from all aspects of the cultural spectrum can be found in huge numbers, including (though by no means limited to), clothing, foods, music, and business models.

13 Harry Magdoff, Imperialism: from colonial Age to the Present (New York Monthly review, 1978), pp. 29 and 35 in Said E. (1993) Culture and Imperialism p. 6.

The Commodification of Culture and the Promotion of Ideals

In Jameson's critique of the postmodern, he uses the argument:

> "'culture' has become a product in its own right; the market has become a substitute for itself and fully as much a commodity as any of the items it includes within itself"[14]

This being the case, then there are no reasons why European culture cannot be as competitive as those cultural goods offered by America. In part, the success of American cultural output can be attributed to aggressive marketing, certainly. But going beyond that, it is important to consider what it is about American popular culture that makes it so marketable. At the heart of America's success lies the cultural narrative that it is projecting. That American cultural output is still tied to a strongly appealing cultural narrative, ensures its success.

By way of introduction to John Fiske's 'Understanding Popular Culture' (1989) he makes the compelling case for understanding the meanings that jeans convey. He makes the case that through the wearing of jeans, an actor aligns himself with an ideal. Central to this argument is a notion of jeans representing freedom, naturalness and 'Americanness'. He goes on to suggest that the ideal can be subverted through designer jeans or by wearing faded or ripped jeans – but the act of wearing jeans, as opposed to a different form of comfortable, durable clothing, has a cultural meaning beyond practicality.

Fiske's argument is persuasive and can be used to build a case, not only for jeans, but for the global success of American cultural export. Extrapolating Fiske's understanding of what drives popular culture, it is easy to see why American popular culture has found such a huge market. US cultural output is a substitute for itself. Those buying into American goods are, in effect, buying into and promoting the 'American Dream' – a concept that America has perpetuated throughout its short history.

On re-examination of the geo-political climate of post-Second World War we can argue that American cultural goods are not simply commodities, but representations of its own narrative. As a result of social revolutions across the globe, newly decolonised nations were faced with the daunting prospect of choosing between political ideologies. America's success, based on a short period of post-colonial history, provides a model with the apparent qualities of freedom and economic success based on capitalist values, has broad appeal. For the peoples of the newly emerging nations, consuming American cultural goods can be compared to buying into America's narrative and taking up that narrative for themselves.

14 Jameson (1990): section ix.

If we then apply Anderson's argument to cultural output, the effect is two-fold. The first effect of Europe's ties to the past, which include elitist class systems, that were at their height during the period of Europe's global domination, is that European culture is unlikely to appeal to the very peoples who were oppressed by it. Throughout the colonial period, it is French and British cultural output that can be seen as being the most successful – though it was forcibly imposed, even prior to Jules Ferry's 'Assimilation' initiative whereby French cultural values were imposed upon the peoples across its empire including compulsory schooling and uniform and a standard curriculum including the history of France as grand narrative[15] colonial powers had attempted 'civilise' the work forces of the south. Even where cultural works were acknowledged, if there was no demand for them in Europe, then it was seen as having no worth. Bujra, in Allen and Thomas (1992) uses the example of the Baganda craft production of bark-cloth, soap and pottery in the mid-nineteenth century. Although the skill of the craftsmanship was acknowledged as superior, the apparent lack of demand for such goods meant at those manufacturing such goods were instead put to work on coffee plantations, and with that, production of local cultural goods all but died out. The second effect is that without the ability to extricate itself from its past, it becomes difficult for Europe to create truly new forms of cultural output. In addition to Europe's colonial past, the horrors of the Second World War left an indelible stain on the narrative of Europe's 'glorious past'. For Germany in particular and to a lesser extent for Austria, the narrative became one of guilt and shame (a narrative that was encouraged and perpetuated by the narratives of the British and American allied forces). It is a narrative that has permeated the countries' cultures. The cultural narrative of a post-war Europe has become increasingly fragmented and the will of individual nation states to assert their own cultural narrative over the other narratives of Europe has resulted in an incomprehensible clamour. A growing tendency towards nationalism – which in itself is rooted in the past – and in parts of Europe a growing sense of anti-European feeling, are projecting conflicting messages to the globe. These conflicting narratives are, in essence, unmarketable.

If Fiske's case holds true across all aspects of (popular) culture, then it seems clear that in order to compete on the global market, there is a need for Europe to promote a united narrative that reflects a more positive attitude towards it. It needs to be one to which a global audience can relate and have positive associations with. The idea of a united European voice is not a new one, in his work 'The Meaning of Europe' Denis De Rougemont states:

15 Saliha Belmessous (2013) Assimilation and Empire Uniformity in French and British Colonies pp. 1541-1954, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

> *"Europe is much older than the European nations. Their lack of unity and their ever more illusory claims to absolute sovereignty endanger its very existence. If only they could unite, Europe would be saved, and with it all that remains valuable in its richly creative diversity."*[16]

It seems that Europe should be seeking greater emphasis on its collective narrative and taking a more positive attitude towards its heterogeneity. For it is the heterogeneous nature of Europe, which is not limited to heterogeneity with regard to individual nation states and segregations of language but also from a shared history of colonialism resulting in a rich variety of ethnic groups. There is a need to begin to move its narrative forwards; whilst recognising the past, unforgivable actions of colonial powers, Europe now needs to embrace the diversity that directly, and indirectly resulted from it. The increasing trend towards seeking to protect and preserve national cultures – at the expense of trying to form a more united European culture seems ill-advised. The net result is pockets of insular cultures that are unmarketable globally. One of the most problematic issues of trying to create a more united cultural narrative for Europe is that the growing trend towards nationalism is reflected in national media. The language surrounding 'the other', particularly within the framework of immigration, is largely negative and the language of patriotism, which depends upon looking into and reiterating historic narratives of perceived former national strengths and the and notions of nation states' unique identities are emphasised[17]. Increasingly negative language surrounding a united Europe can only serve to exacerbate the problem and fragment the shared narratives further.

Shifting Patterns of Cultural Hegemony

Gramsci (in Barker 2008: p. 68) describes cultural hegemony as a *'continuous process of formation and superseding of unstable equilibria'* likewise international post-war histories may begin to reshape the global cultural landscape. America's post war military endeavours have served to detract from its immediate post-Second World War triumphalism. The geo-political climate is shifting and America's economic dominance is coming into question. There is a growing call for social justice on a global scale and many of the voices which have gone unheard are asserting themselves and seeking a platform on which their story may be told.

16 De Rougemont (1965): p. xi.

17 Demetrios G. Papademetriou and Anette Heuser (2009): Public Opinion, Media Coverage and Migration. Developing strategies for immigration and Integration reforms Council Statement. Third Plenary Meeting of the Transatlantic Council on Immigration http://www.migrationpolicy.org/transatlantic/Council-Statement-May-2009.pdf.

Similarly, a shift in the dominating global voices is altering the American narrative. The narrative of freedom has been brought into question and a new narrative is being heard, particularly that of voices from the south. A story of oppression and the failings of America's free-market economics is emerging. Since the events of 9/11 there has been a dramatic shift in the way in which the global audience views America. America's military interventions, in particular post 9/11, in Iraq and Afghanistan have opened questions about legitimacy and in its pursuit of its war-on-terror have put it under global scrutiny. The images of freedom that America once portrayed are being replaced by visions of war and domestically one of an economy in crisis. The shift in the narrative, as in Europe, is according to Luce (2012: p. 5) causing the American nation to revert to its old narrative – and resulting in nationalism, the resurgence of Republican traditionalism and calls for tighter controls on immigration. As part of his analysis Luce quotes Fareed Zakaria, and Indian born commentator who says:

> *"Every visa officer today lives in fear that he will let in the next Mohamed Atta. As a result, he is probably keeping out the next Bill Gates."*

Luce's analysis of the state of the US political and economic climate is powerful and in his conclusion he states that America needs 'new ideas'[18].

Luce acknowledges that there is a shift in the way in which the globe views America's apparent success. The veneer of capitalism's success has been tarnished as the global audience recognises the failings of an ideology that has failed large numbers of people and has left a legacy of greed that has left developing nations struggling to compete against multinationals and local producers unable to gain access to markets that have been dominated by foreign producers. In a global system that has been dominated by American economic power, there is a growing awareness that the overarching dominance of the USA has exploited, and prevented the emergence of young nations and as a result there is an ever-increasing backlash of anti-American sentiment that is growing across the globe.

With this in mind, the sustainability of America's cultural dominance is clearly called into question. In the current global socio-political climate, the factors that are laid out here as being the corner-stones of America's cultural dominance are being challenged – and therefore there is little value in attempting to replicate the mechanisms, models, and business strategies that run the American cultural machine. What is crucial to Europe's success is finding a positive, collective narrative to project to the global market.

18 Luce, E (2012): Time to start thinking, America and the spectre of decline. Little Brown.

Conclusion

In order to establish and propagate a more positive collective narrative, European nations need to adopt a more positive attitude to their own heterogeneity and to acknowledge their role within it. Europe, in essence, forged the beginnings of a global, capitalist system. The global movement of people has a history inextricably rooted in Europe's early mercantilist endeavours. I would argue strongly that the diversity of peoples, religions and cultures within Europe should be placed at the heart of cultural output. A greater emphasis on listening to, and responding to global voices within Europe through meaningful consultation would help bring about a much stronger, marketable voice. Audience development strategies should be implemented, not as cynical marketing ploys, but by way of bringing about greater cultural engagement and seeking to enrich Europe's cultural landscape. Said (1994: p. 408) concludes:

> "there seems no reason except fear and prejudice to keep insisting on their (cultural geographies) and distinctiveness, as if that was all human life was about. Survival in fact is about the connections between things …"

By embracing and engaging diverse voices across all areas of European culture a powerful message of solidarity can be created and woven into the future narrative of Europe. Such a narrative would serve to ensure the future success of European cultural output, far more than a constant strive to seek uniqueness and promote national patriotic narratives that are based in a flawed narrative of the past.

Case Study 1

London 2012 Olympic Opening Ceremony.

The opening ceremony for the 2012 Olympic Games hosted in London was directed by Danny Boyle and was received on the global stage with great acclaim. Whilst some of its subtle references to British culture were lost on the global audience, columnist Alex Wolff stated that the event 'gave us a chance to celebrate protest and dissent'.

During the ceremony, Boyle managed to acknowledge Britain's colonial past and reliance on its colonies to achieve its industrial transformation whilst also recognising with gratitude and humility the contribution of those who were oppressed by it. Furthermore, Boyle's spectacle went on to celebrate the struggles and upheavals of political change and the importance of a vibrant popular cultural movement in order to win a war of attrition on elitist values. The ceremony itself was able to subtly question both the nation and the globe whilst continually emphasising a positive narrative. For further debates:

http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/jul/30/danny-boyle-olympics-ceremony-partial-history

Case Study 2

National Liverpool Museums – Museum of Liverpool

The Museum of Liverpool, winner of the Council of Europe prize 2013, was opened in its current form in July 2011. The museum reflects the city's global significance through its unique geography, history and culture. Visitors can explore how the port, its people, their creative and sporting history have shaped the city. The museum is a celebration of the people of Liverpool and places a strong emphasis on Liverpool's place in a changing global-political climate. The museum acknowledges the important contribution immigrants have made to the life of the city as well as its role on the global cultural landscape.

The museum's exhibitions have been created in close consultation and in dialogue with a broad cross-section of the Liverpool demographic. The result is a museum that tells a narrative of everyday Liverpool and celebrates the lives, peoples, and culture of the city.

Compare: http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/

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Spending on culture is a solid investment

Raphaela Henze

"This is the great new problem of mankind.
We have inherited (…) a great 'world house'
in which we have to live together
– black and white, Easterner and Westerner,
Gentile and Jew, Catholic and Protestant, Muslim and Hindu …
Because we can never again live apart,
we must learn somehow to live with each other in peace'

Martin Luther King jr.

Influenced by the book "Mainstream" by French sociologist *Frédéric Martel* we started to think about some of the questions it raised. There are three topics of specific interest. One is the idea of national identities and the role they play in a global world. The second is the dominance of US-American popular culture. And last but not least we would like to have a closer look at how Europe exports its culture or – maybe more precisely – cultures, to the world. Cultural transfer, embodied in European arts projects, seems to be a key answer to many of the issues raised in this but also in the other texts in this volume. Therefore, *Gernot Wolfram* further explores cultural transfer and the prerequisites of European cross-border art projects in his contribution to this book. Cultural transfer is not only an opportunity to reconcile the multicultural nature of our fragmented European societies but could also serve as a means of focusing attention and interest from outside Europe on what our contemporary art scene has to offer.

1. Identities and European Culture

It makes sense to clarify what is understood by identity and then try to find the differences between identities as well as what they have in common on a global, European as well as on a national level. A question that is important for this text is whether there is a European identity at all.

As early as 1973, the nine member states of what was then called the 'European Community' signed "The Declaration on European Identity" in Copenhagen. It is doubtful whether an official document can form an identity for an ever increasing number of people living in European countries. We do not think that

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politics can impose something as complex and multifaceted as an identity top-down. Therefore, the 'No' to the European constitution in 2004 should not be viewed as a 'No' to a European identity, although, admittedly, it struck a blow to further political integration and raised questions about the future of European identity (Demossier 2007: 3). Having a European identity, which is in a very broad sense understood as a sense of belonging, does not necessarily mean being in accordance with EU politics, even though politics and identity are to a certain extent interlinked.

We therefore have to find indicators outside politics for a European identity.

It is important to understand that a European identity does not compete with the national identities that undoubtedly exist (Thiesse 2007:15). The one does not work without the other (Delanty 2003: 4). Although many see citizenship as a core element of identity, we would argue that a sense of social, cultural and historical unity and a desire to live in a European country are more important ingredients of a European identity. According to *Delanty,* identity is based on difference and thus exists in a relational context (Delanty 2003: 2). Oversimplified, one could state that in Europe our national identities prevail. We are primarily German, Italian, Austrian or Danish and only then are we European. But when compared with other continents, our European identity, based on e. g. procedural rules for conflict resolution, communicative solutions, (justified) skepticism concerning unregulated markets, strong sense of social justice and security, opposition to the death penalty, as well as what Habermas describes as "constitutional patriotism" (Habermas/Derrida 2003), might come to the fore.

This could be clearly observed during the Iraq wars that were strongly opposed by most of the inhabitants of continental European countries. The demonstrations – the biggest after the Second World War – could, according to *Habermas* and *Derrida*, even be seen as the beginning of a European consciousness and public awareness (Habermas/Derrida 2003). Europeans were not only united in diversity but also in their opposition to a war they sensed served mainly economic interests. It is also likely that this opposition was caused by the experiences and still present memories of two world wars European countries had – in contrast to the USA – to experience on their own soil.

So the Iraq war brought shared values, emotions and beliefs into our focus and also proved that Europe and Europeans are not united in Islamophobia as some scholars think. This does not mean that the still predominantly Christian countries of Europe do not to this day struggle to find the right way to deal with a growing Muslim population. But it proves that religion, for a variety of reasons,

cannot be a bond between European countries[1] or seen from a different angle a means of differentiation from others.

Anti-Americanism[2], which, according to *Amy Chua,* is based on the European perception of America's position of world power posing a fundamental threat to European national identities (Chua 2003: 241), also fails to serve as a unifying tool which is proven by the ongoing interest in US-American popular culture.

If there is one thing most Europeans might agree on it is anti-imperialism – and this is interesting taking into consideration that many European countries have a long imperial history with some having colonies until today. The word 'superpower', that has long been used to describe the USA, and which is nowadays frequently used to describe China, has no positive connotation. There are quite a few who see the terrorist attacks against the USA inter alia as a fatal consequence of an extraordinary market dominance (Chua 2003: 230) and foreign policies that rarely played according to the rules laid out by public international and humanitarian law.

All in all, there seems to be something like a European identity which might even be seen more clearly when looked upon from the outside. But is this identity also formed by and based upon a European culture? Here things get even more complicated. If it was already difficult to provide arguments for a European identity, it will be even more difficult to find them for a European culture although one might be inclined to think that the one does not work without the other. As *Trojanow and Hoskoté* have shown, culture is something that has been and is in constant flux. An integral part of every culture is that it has to deal with different influences. Culture needs provocation, inspiration and has to be questioned and enriched by other sources (Trojanow/Hoskoté 2007: 36). Every tendency to 'protect' a culture from matching and mingling with others – and this is by far a thing of the past – can only have disastrous consequences, the mildest of which would be a standstill. According to *Martel*, France, for example, has a tendency to ignore its own minorities, to work against regional dialects and local cultures and often fails to value its diversity although on a global scale it pleads for diversity and presents itself as its ideological champion (Martel 2011a: 29).

European culture is praised e. g. for the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, the industrial revolution, human rights, the rule of law and secularization. But we rarely think about all the influences that were needed and that played a role in these achievements, many of them from sources outside Eu-

1 Several Gallup studies have shown that church attendance in Europe has been gradually declining over the years (being particularly low in the Scandinavian countries and still relatively high in Ireland).

2 The term started to be used already in the 1920s.

rope. In the arts Braque, Picasso, and Kirchner for example, got their inspiration from West African sculptures; Matisse, Macke, and Klee found new motives and colors in North Africa as well as Turkey, and Mondrian, Malewitsch, and Kandinsky were influenced by Asian spirituality (Trojanow/Hoskoté 2007: 24). *Iris Rittenhofer,* in her contribution to this book, gives the example of the Danish design icon 'Wegner chair' that was strongly inspired by the art and craftsmanship of Chinese cabinetmakers.

Undoubtedly Europeans have achieved and invented a lot – like others. Germans still like to call their home-country the country of 'poets and thinkers' – referring to *Goethe, Schiller, Kant* and *Schopenhauer*, to name only a few. The only problem is: *Jürgen Habermas*, one of the founders of the 'Frankfurter Schule', is one of the few German philosophers of reputation still alive. All the others, Germans do not get tired of referring to, are (very) long gone. So what is it that European artists and cultural managers can give to the global world of today? And why should a world where everything and everyone is just a mouse click away bother? Does it even make sense to still think about national cultures and identities? Are globalization and the World Wide Web not leading us into a homogenized culture probably modeled on a US-American archetype?

As stated in the beginning, human beings can and usually have more identities and are able to understand different cultures. Both *Delanty* and *Martel* have shown that globalization has in fact not led to a unified, global culture and the abandonment of national ones. Being able to consume the blessings of the American entertainment industry does not necessarily result in abandoning one's interest in Bavarian brass music or folk songs.

Domestic music (sometimes with protectionist help from the state, e. g. "exception culturelle" in France that legitimizes quotas for domestic productions) makes up more than 50 % of all music sales in the world and despite the presence of international broadcasters such as CNN or Al-Jazeera, television still retains its national or even local focus. More than half of the box office takings at cinemas in e. g. France and the Czech Republic are from domestic movies, while in Japan and India it is even over 80 %. The publishing industry, similar to the news and advertising market, stays mainly local (Martel 2011a: 31). So yes, there is a European culture when we agree on this being an umbrella term for numerous local cultures that are, despite globalization, thriving.

But which roles can these cultures and their products play on a global market?

Let us focus on cultural services and the diminishing number of cultural products made in Europe for the moment. When it comes to high culture and classical music or literature, Europe is doing fairly well. Many of the most success-

ful contemporary painters are from Europe. In the art market with its own rules and laws, it does not look too bad for Europe. The difficulties start when it comes to the mass market of popular culture. Even British pop stars – enormously successful in Europe – have huge difficulties to conquer the US-American market, a famous example being former UK boy band singer *Robbie Williams*. The language problem which is so often cited as an explanation does not even apply in his case. If we look at the Top Ten music charts at this very moment, we will not find a single European band or singer in it (and admittedly no song that is not in English). In Hollywood, some European actors and producers from Spain, Italy, Denmark, the UK and Germany have become successful, but their number is still relatively small.[3] Although the 'European film'[4] receives a lot of praise internationally for its artistic quality ('art house' cinema)[5], it does not play a significant role when it comes to box office success[6]. US films dominate European screens (Everett 2007: 107). The situation is slightly better when it comes to literature. *Joanne K. Rowling, Cornelia Funke,* and *Stieg Larsson* (the last one even posthumously) took care of this.[7]

All in all Europe is the second largest exporter of content (27 % of all international content in comparison to 50 % by the United States of America), but the content stays mainly in Europe and does not find its way out. Europeans do not only cherish their own cultural goods, but they are also hungry for international ones – especially US-American movies, TV-series, music, games and literature (Martel 2011b: 441), whereas there is no real demand for what Europe has to offer in other parts of the world. So why is it, that European artists and cultural

3 This is specifically interesting taking into consideration that this art form was invented in Europe and that much of the talent that helped to develop and sustain the Hollywood system originated from Europe (Everett 2007: 104). The last fact underlines the importance of brain gain. The USA has been successful in gaining talent (not only in the arts but also in science and technology) from other countries and 'exploiting' it for their own good.

4 The terms 'European film' or 'European cinema' for the heavily fragmented European cinemas are difficult ones, although according to Everett (Everett 2007: 103) there are some key trends and concerns visible across different national and regional cinemas that identify certain key characteristics of what can be called 'European film' or 'European cinema'.

5 And that European producers and directors would like to see films as art and not as a commodity like any other became obvious in 1993, when they argued for the exclusion of film and audiovisual media from the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). With regard to the USA, former French President François Mitterand even declared in this context: "No single country should be allowed to control the images of the whole world…what is at stake is the cultural identity of our nations, the right of each people to its own culture." (Mitterand's statement is reported in Ellwood 2001)

6 Some British films like e. g. "Trainspotting", "Billy Elliot", "Bend it like Beckham" being the exceptions that prove the rule.

7 And delivered the material for highly successful movies.

products are not really able to compete with their counterparts from over the Atlantic – not even thinking about the upcoming competition from India, Indonesia, South Africa, Brazil, Mexico, China and the Arab world? And what should be the consequences?

2. US-American dominance in popular culture

a) Market, Marketing and Audience Development

At first one might think that an explanation for the dominance of US-American popular culture is the sheer mass of people that creates a huge market as well as perfect marketing and branding strategies. It is a fact that e. g. US-American movies (sometimes co-financed by European taxpayers' money) being successful at home have, on the whole, already reached break even – despite production costs that are unheard of in Europe. Conquering the European and Asian market is a nice extra, the Arab world a challenge. It is a geographic and demographic given: no European country has such a large audience – but all European countries together easily exceed the number of 312 million inhabitants.[8]

However, totally different funding structures, national cultures and identities as well as different languages come into play. US-American content is, as *Martel* has called it, 'mainstream'. Therefore a *Dan Brown* book, a *Lady Gaga* song or a Hollywood movie will be more familiar to many Europeans than e. g. regional music from the geographically closer Czech Republic. The ability to reach and seduce the masses wherever they are located is definitely one of the 'secrets' of the US-American success. Two other decisive factors are marketing and audience development. Where German theater directors have difficulties with marketing, like *Claus Peymann,* artistic director of the public funded Berliner Ensemble*,* who declared in an interview with the German journal 'SpiegelOnline' in 2006 that marketing is total nonsense, most of the US-American colleagues have understood that good marketing is key to success. Furthermore, the European distinction between art and entertainment is nothing many US-American artists or cultural managers are bothered with. *Adorno* might not like it but good art can and should entertain as well as educate, provoke, unsettle etc. At times when the audience was, by many, considered a necessary evil, that was due to lack of intellectual capacities unable to understand and therefore appreciate what was presented, the cultural managers from over the Atlantic understood that the

8 But in contrast to Europe, and this is will be a decisive factor in the future, the population of the United States as well as in other parts of the world is growing.

audience is what it is all about and – and this distinguishes them until today from many of their European counterparts – they trust their audience. That – at least in Germany – we have had and still have to learn from the cultural institutions in the USA how to develop and maintain an audience is shown by the fact that the term 'Audience Development' is much more common than the German translation 'Besucherentwicklung und -bindung'. Having said this it is not surprising that European cultural managers are currently not greatly sought after experts in other parts of the world as *Michael Schindhelm* explains (Schindhelm 2012: 49).

Martel sees European cultural products becoming more 'mainstream' in order to survive and be financially successful.

But how do cultural products become 'mainstream'?

Followed by applause, Jimmy Carter said in 1978 on opening a museum: "We have no ministry of culture in this country, and I hope we never will. We have no official art in this country, and I pray that we never will." This sounds peculiar to most Europeans. Many sense that it is just a pretext to get around state funding the arts. The USA has been considered a 'melting pot' for many years. Culture and its products are based on many different influences so that there should be something in for everyone. But maybe we should think about the melting pot symbol again. For what comes out of such a pot is a mixture where you might not be able to recognize the ingredients any longer. Is that really true for many of the cultural products of the USA? Or is it not more likely that diversity is the key to success?

b) Diversity

In the private sector 'diversity management' is common and it is not surprising that the idea of managing diverse personnel was imported to Europe from the USA ten to fifteen years ago. The USA understood much earlier (and they had to understand since the US population comprises 45 million Hispanics, 37 million African Americans, and 13 million Asians) that dealing with a diverse body of employees is not only a challenge but a chance. It is not only an opportunity to reduce tensions, but primarily a way to motivate people, to open new markets, and increase creativity. All this would serve the cultural sector in Europe well. As in the business world, the cultural sector of the USA is diverse and that is definitely another factor explaining its success. It is not only that many of the most successful artists have diverse backgrounds. This diversity is also mirrored in many cultural organizations whereas in Europe the dominance of white male in leadership positions not only in the private but also in the cultural sector is striking. *Hilary Carty* states in her contribution to this book that way too often the established cultural institutions represent the status quo without much inclination to

change it. *Hilary Carty* has worked in many leadership positions in the cultural sector in London and even in a city which is considered multicultural she has experienced awkward situations with people mistaking her for the assistant because they had not expected a black woman in her position.

A diverse body of personnel in cultural institutions would also help with tackling one of the most pressing issues: developing new audiences. Only those people who belong to the minority and ethnic groups whom we desperately want to see in our museums, theaters, and concerts can give first-hand experience and advice on how best to target these groups. Cultural institutions would therefore be well advised to employ more diverse personnel. It is time to see diversity as something not only necessary but positive and important instead of lamenting foreign infiltration. We have to understand that culture can only thrive and develop because of exactly this foreign infiltration. America, for example, is a nation of immigrants. Everyone – with the unfortunately too often forgotten exception of Native Americans – came from somewhere else. Furthermore it is a dire fact of demographics that without an increase in non EU-immigration in the next decades, Europe is likely to wither and die – figuratively and literally (Rifkin 2004: 252).

c) Creativity[9]

It is not only diverse influences that lead to a country being creative in art as well as in science and technology. And it is not only good marketing and branding (although their importance and their being perfectly mastered by the US-Americans should not be downplayed). As *Martel* says: "I don't believe that Avatar just came out of focus groups or that it was tailored to suit audience expectations. Marketing alone didn't create Star Wars, the Matrix or Spiderman, or even Batman The Dark Knight." (Martel 2011a: 30). Most of the cultural products the world likes to consume are highly creative. How can creativity be fostered assuming that there is creative potential if not in all but then in many people? There is not one single answer to this question. *Richard Florida* started to deal with this topic more than ten years ago and has become a sought after expert, invited by many cities all around the globe asking his advice on how to bring creative people in and 'exploit' their talent for economic success. In a nutshell, creativity needs – according to *Florida's* admittedly controversial theory – investment in technology and talent but it can only flourish in a tolerant environment (Florida 2005). Bearing this in mind Europe should do fairly well when it comes to attracting creative people. Although there is still room for improvement when it comes to funding science

9 The complexity of this term in this context is further explored in the accompanying text by Gernot Wolfram.

and research[10], programs like the highly successful Erasmus program have given more than 2.2 million students since 1987 the opportunity to spend a term or two in another member state and by doing so experiencing Europe first hand. When it comes to tolerance, most European countries are very well able to compete with the USA. Where e. g. gay marriage is still illegal in many states of the USA, it is not an issue e. g. in Germany where the foreign minister is married to a man and takes his husband with him on 'business trips' to the Arab world.

Funding might also have an influence on creativity. State funding of cultural institutions is very rare in the USA. Most institutions depend strongly on sponsors, donors, and the audience for earned income and have therefore developed tools to get the urgently required money in. These tools are now being looked at and copied by many European cultural managers. Audience development as previously mentioned, is one of the components of success.

In Europe, there is a totally different approach to funding. Leaving the arts to the market was never considered an option. Competition is therefore rare and no real incentives for top talents are provided. Since the Enlightenment and the period of Romanticism there has been the idea of the independent artist who produces a merit good that nobody with their senses together would ever be willing to bring to the market. Hundreds of foundations and funding programs in Europe are based on this ideal and the idea that art needs support to be free.

Regardless of which funding concept is favored – and this is not the place to discuss the pros and cons of different funding structures – doubtlessly the market approach towards culture in the USA breeds highly diversified and creative products. Not everyone will like everything. But at least there seems to be something for almost everyone – on or off Broadway. Although Europe produces outstanding products and services, it still fears competition and therefore protects artists and cultural systems under the 'UN Convention of the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions' of 2005. This might do culture in general a favor, but does it help to promote top acts and actors able to compete on a global market?

Benchmarking should be something cultural institutions should get acquainted with. It is a tool that does not only apply in the private sector, but could easily be transferred to the cultural sector as well.[11] Having a closer look at what is happening elsewhere in the world and adapting best practice examples is essential when

10 Only around 1 % of the GDP (the EU Agenda 2020 aims for 3%), whereas it is around 2 % of the GDP in the USA.

11 Many cultural institutions already do benchmarking although they might not like the term. See also Schindhelm in this volume.

it comes to improving products and services.[12] When it comes to investments in talent and technology, Europe is doing fairly well. Furthermore tolerance is – although there is still much room for improvement – more advanced than in many other countries in the world. And European cultural goods and services are supported by institutions like Goethe, Cervantes, British Council, Institute Français to name only a few that help them to become more popular.

3. Europe's export of culture

In times of globalization it is feasible to critically reflect on the role of these state-funded national institutions. Is their approach towards culture and exporting it to the world still up-to-date and helpful for those working in the cultural sector? Is helping those in the cultural sector their task in the first place?

Many EU member states work on their country's reputation and influence abroad. France, for example, through the Alliance Française, is among the highest spenders per capita when it comes to positioning itself and its language all around the world (Schaake 2011: 111). Many of the others focus on promoting specific cultural characteristics first and foremost their language. National artists are invited to tour foreign countries, put plays on stage or exhibit their artworks. But it would be short-sighted to see the task of cultural institutions abroad exclusively as promoting national cultures, cultural products, and – becoming increasingly important – their respective creative industries. Other aspects, often described as 'nation branding'[13], 'cultural diplomacy' or as American social scientist *Joseph Nye* calls it 'soft power', come into play. Cultural diplomacy can be seen as a means of transforming traditional prejudices into objective information, enlightenment, understanding and a desire to cooperate (Sabathil 2011: 100). It is therefore not surprising that e. g. the German Goethe-Institut as well as the 'ifa' Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen are subsidized by the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

12 We are aware of the fact that the dominance of US-American content does not make them friends everywhere in the world. It might even lead to ethnic hatred and global instability. But instead of being fearful we should try to learn our lessons from the US-American example and make the most of our 'second mover advantage'. However, we should also be aware of the fact that others try to do the same. In Mumbai, Shanghai and Dubai, for example, huge media conglomerates are established not only to get a share of the money that is involved in the sector, but also to provide content considered more appropriate by them (Whether it is content Europe would consider more appropriate is a different question).

13 Being further explored by Ulrich Sacker from the Goethe-Institut in this book.

Culture is to be seen as an integral part of the evermore important process of friend-raising and enhancing mutual understanding. Imagination, empathy, critical thought, creativity, curiosity as well as an interest in complexity and analysis are qualities that can be found in the arts (DeVlieg 2011: 151). Culture can also be seen as a means to promote the rule of law, human rights and development through trade. This is only possible, however, if the approach towards connecting people through culture is not top-down but participatory. It is common knowledge that the effect will be a different one when we succeed in creating ownership, when those targeted feel involved and part of the project instead of being mere observers. All too often, cultural institutions abroad have not focused enough on engaging people in their activities. As *Reem Kassem* states: "The last thing we need at the moment is to treat the public as mere spectators" (Kassem 2011: 47). Furthermore, it would be strongly advisable to speak with one voice and give up the bilateral approach towards cultural diplomacy – and this not (only) because cooperation will save each country money and increase the audience.

Many people in different parts of the world have difficulties locating the member states of the European Union on a map (the majority of Americans have actually never heard of the EU (Davis Cross 2011: 21)). This does not mean that there are no single cultural products that have a fair chance on a global market (e. g. Danish, or more broadly, Scandinavian design, British pop music) and should as such be promoted, but the overall approach when it comes to state-funded cultural endeavors abroad must be a different one especially when taking the global competition for talent, tourists and audiences into consideration. A Europe-wide cultural diplomacy initiative that allows people all around the world to experience the unity within the rich diversity which this part of the world has to offer is an absolute must.

For several reasons this is easier said than done. The fear that such an EU-wide approach could lead to a dilution of the EU's cultural diversity is the easiest to overcome. Culture in Germany for example being the responsibility of the sixteen federal states does not make speaking with one voice on a European level easier – and is, for good reasons, totally incomprehensible for many people outside the EU. But it is difficult to get a message across many, even within the member states, have not yet understood. First of all we do not only have to accept but embrace the idea of diversity being something positive. This is how culture and countries develop. Or as *Pius Knüsel* writes in this book: "Through each cultural shock, the arts experienced a new boost." The fear of foreign infiltration needs to be overcome sooner rather than later. Many countries or better their inhabitants should understand that being multi-cultural means more than having

the opportunity to choose a Chinese, Indian, Italian, Greek or whatever restaurant for dinner in the city you live in. Due to cultural diasporas Europe has to rethink the very idea of immigration (Rifkin 2004: 257) otherwise national institutions abroad will have severe difficulties to be authentic and trustworthy with their messages of their home countries being welcoming and tolerant places when the news shed a different light on them.

4. Conclusion

National or even local traditions and customs are an integral part of our identities not only as Germans, French, Spanish or Italians but also as Europeans. We are able to have several identities and not even globalization will lead us to trading them in for a global homogeneous one. Instead of looking for (historical or religious) bonds that tie all Europeans together, we should appreciate our differences, see them as an opportunity and promote this diversity as the Americans have done successfully for many years.

In order to create more cultural goods and services that find a large and international audience, we have to give up the artificial and very European distinction between high and popular culture. This does not mean giving up on quality but it might mean that we have to trust our audiences more. Entertainment can be of extremely high quality.

We need more self-esteem and let our cultural products and services compete. Even former French minister of culture *Jack Lang*, who had attacked Jurassic Park as a threat to French national identity in the 90ties, argued that if France's cultural heritage is not "to dwindle into insignificance, economics and culture should learn to live together in France".[14] Protectionism leads nowhere and this goes for the arts as well. But this does not mean that art should become a mere tool either for economic success or for international relations. Art needs the chance to be provocative and critical regardless of how it is funded – an issue that cultural politicians need to make a higher priority than they currently do.

Cultural institutions abroad should engage their respective audiences in a dialogue instead of only show casting national characteristics if they take their roles as ambassadors seriously. It makes sense to speak with one voice[15] – and not only to surprise the many that do not expect the Europeans to be able to do so (Davis Cross 2011: 20). Saving money – that could be used for European art projects –

14 Lang's statement is reported in (Ellwood 2001).
15 An idea brought forward already in the 1960s by Denis de Rougemont.

would be a nice side-effect of a common approach[16], but the essential point is that only with joined forces can European cultural goods and services become known in the world. 'Made in Europe' can become a trademark.

However, we should not overestimate art and culture in this context. That art and culture are really the key elements in solving present and future problems as *Katherine Watson* (Watson 2011: 148) sees it, might unfortunately be too optimistic.[17] In his contribution to this volume, *Pius Knüsel* gives the example of the German exhibition "The Art of Enlightenment" that took place in Beijing in 2010 and which proved that the message the exhibition was able to send was too subtle. The opening was overshadowed and – with regard to the topic of Enlightenment – contradicted by the arrest of the renowned Chinese Artist Ai WeiWei for dubious reasons.

But art and culture definitely have a universal mission. Artists can only do their work properly in countries where there is freedom of speech and expression and no censorship.[18] Arts can have enormous power: they can raise attention and they can even distress those in power. They definitely can connect people. They can build international networks which is – especially in times of globalization, where networks are way too often understood as something that does not need any social, face-to-face interaction – important.

The former EU Commissioner for culture Ján Figel once said: "Spending on culture is a solid investment". We could not agree more!

16 In July 2013 Bertelsmann, the Center for European Economic Research (ZEW) and Rand Europe presented a study that dealt with cost cutting in Europe. One of the proposals was to agree on replacing national embassies and consulates with joined entities that represent all member states. 1.3 billion € could be saved by this.

17 Sometimes it is culture itself that creates diplomatic tensions as just happened in September 2013 with a concert by Zubin Mheta organized by the German ambassador to India that took place (heavily protected) in Kashmir despite strong opposition.

18 Katrin Sandmann in her contribution to this book gives examples of artists living and working – mostly unrecognized by the rest of the world – in countries where these prerequisites are not given.

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The Weak and the Strong Term "European Arts Project" – Potential and Lack of Self-Consciousness within Cultural Structures on the Continent

Gernot Wolfram

1. What are European Arts Projects?

The term "European Arts Projects" sounds credible – in Europe. It is a promise and a wish, but it could be argued that until now, it is not a term with any real meaning behind it. Reflecting on the term, one might think: different artists from different countries come together from across the continent, share their ideas, exchange their knowledge and create new aesthetic experiences. This fascinating idea appears in political speeches and on the websites of many art foundations and funding programs all over Europe. It is also an important approach of the cultural programs of the European Union. But does it actually reflect reality in any way? If we look closely at European artistic exchanges in practice, on the one hand there are many different forms of sustainable cooperation to be found (to mention just a few: the Swedish Arts Projects around the Baltic Sea Region[1], the Dutch networking platform for art residencies "Trans Artists"[2] or the Greek cooperation project "Medeaelectronique"[3]), but on the other hand it is clear that the full potential of these possible art projects is much greater than it may first appear, and thus far unfulfilled.

Economic factors are frequently responsible for shaping European culture which is determined by some serious factors of imbalance. At the moment, the reality is that we are facing a big structural gap between the northern and southern countries of Europe. Many arts projects in Greece, Spain, Portugal and Italy are struggling to present their ideas to the audiences due to a tremendous lack of money. In times of crisis such as this, it is not culture that appears at the top of the agenda. Budgets for culture are cut at the first hint of economic hardship. What of European solidarity in the Arts field? Some beacon projects seem to cast their

1 Compare http://artline-southbaltic.eu/de (Sept./2013).
2 Compare http://www.transartists.org/ (Sept./2013).
3 Compare http://www.medeaelectronique.com/tag/medea-electronique/ (Sept./2013).

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light more on the general lack of an overall strategy than on showcasing the existence of common processes.

Is there already a broad and significant discussion about solidarity between artists, cultural institutions and art projects? I fear: No. European culture is not, currently, a term that reflects the spirit of an holistic approach, of common values, and a strategy for ways in which artists can work together in Europe even in a time of economic or political crisis.

2. Creative Industries as a functioning strategy for European Arts Projects?

What we have instead is a broad approach towards the so-called 'Creative Industries' on the continent. Based on the recognition that creativity is not merely part of the Arts, many states believe that this could be a potential solution for art projects as well: encouraging creative people to reflect more intensely on the economic potential of their projects and ideas. The German cultural scientist Andreas Reckwitz even speaks of an "imperative of creativity" (Reckwitz 2013: 15), meaning a commonly accepted obligation, not only for artists, but also for all employees across all sectors (and more broadly for citizens) to be creative. In this context the word *creative* is not specifically defined, it is a confused term, claiming that people should present output, bring their knowledge, their ideas and their dreams into (economic) production. He states further that, within this demand for creativity, we are faced with the existence of a curious paradox: on the one hand economic and political institutions use vocabulary from the space of the arts to stimulate a new mode of productivity and efficiency, on the other hand artists lose their relevance within our societies, their role becomes skewed as they are being requested to adopt the role of traditional entrepreneurs. – This becomes acutely obvious when one looks on the forthcoming funding program for European Union for culture entitled "Creative Europe"[4]. Behind this innocuous name lies a completely new logic for funding.

Artists will be required to submit applications with ideas which have not only innovative artistic and aesthetic value, but they also should reflect their economic potential. Artists are being asked to become a semblance of business people – and of course for many artists that is an approach which arouses few negative emotions because they are already successful or have projects which fit with the needs of the market. But is that the case for the majority of artists? Who real-

4 Comp. http://ec.europa.eu/culture/media/creative-europe/index_en.htm (Sept./2013).

ly benefits from this development? And do creative people in all the countries of Europe have the same access to the promises of the Creative Industries?

For example, how can a Czech translator of polish poetry or a Danish composer who works with the sound of falling stones and leaves or a French dancer who tries to rediscover dance forms from ancient Greece prove that their own artistic work will lead to profit-oriented economic success? Their audiences will probably never be a significant mass of people, but for the development of art and culture their contributions are necessary. These artists are often the genuine manifestation of the oft-quoted term 'cultural diversity'. If these artists request funding in the future, will the reply be: tell us your business concept or prove that your idea will be profitable? And how difficult will it be for small national cultures to become properly visible if the economic success of cultural goods and ideas is the centre of attention?

3. The curious "Imperative of Creativity"

That sounds polemic but touches serious experiences of many artists in their daily life and in their attempts to survive. The "imperative of creativity", without doubt, also offers positive potential for the cultural scene but when we look up on the current situation it must be said that there is a discernible process dividing the art scene in terms of those deemed to have achieved economic success and those which, from an economics perspective, are the "losers". Interestingly, radical and popular forms of criticism against this movement are emerging currently not only from Europe, but also in prospering countries like China, Brazil or the USA. There is a growing expression of criticism against a banal logic of creativity in different art scenes.

The well-known and respected American poet Kenneth Goldsmith published a piece on his website entitled: "Uncreativity as a creative practice"[5]. He defines himself as a writer and poet without creativity. He believes that as an innovative artist he has to disappear from such terms which suggest consent from the society he lives in. He writes: "Innovative poetry seems to be a perfect place to place a valueless practice; as a gift economy, it is one of the last places in late hyper-capitalism that allows non-function as an attribute. Both theoretically and politically, the field remains wide open. But in capitalism, labor equals value."[6] This gives us a hint that terms like "Creative Industries" or "Creative Europe" do not mirror new, exciting discoveries of the Arts. They are political terms, already accepted

5 Compare http://epc.buffalo.edu/authors/goldsmith/uncreativity.html (Sept./2013).
6 http://epc.buffalo.edu/authors/goldsmith/uncreativity.html (Sept./2013).

by states and institutions. In this context they can offer positive structural possibilities but according to Goldsmith we should be careful not to confuse them with debates about current values and ideas of culture.

Artistic projects today are often seen as an important part of the so-called "Creative Industries" in different countries, in Europe as in the USA. The symbolic and economic impact of the term *Art* leads to new strategies of representation. As previously mentioned, the new orientation of the official funding program of the European Union is deeply connected with this development. This is a tremendous change towards a completely different understanding of cultural projects in Europe. The orientation towards economic success will probably radically change the perception of events within the artistic scene and their audiences. But alongside the aforementioned critical arguments, can we also find some positive arguments for using this development of the Creative Industries to stimulate new cultural transfers and to improve the every-day conditions of so-called "creative people"?

Perhaps a view on some facts can help to answer the question. As in the United States we can observe in Europe that different art scenes merge into complex areas of new economic fields. Media companies, games designers, and marketing experts amongst others use strategies from artistic fields to spread their offers to new audiences worldwide and vice versa. Artists receive support from the the state, for example in Germany with special offices, paid by the Ministry of Economy, offering information and funding opportunities for young artists and "creative entrepreneuers" (Kreativland 2013: 13).

The Technology Strategy Board in the UK tries to impress interested partners with numbers and data, describing the significance of the Creative Industries: "The creative industries form one of the UK's leading industrial sectors. Businesses ranging from advertising and crafts to performing arts and video games employ 1.4m people and contribute 5.3 % of the country's output (GVA). The strength of this UK sector is recognized globally, and it is seen as one that can help push economic recovery. PwC has forecast a compound annual growth rate of 4.2 % for the UK's media and entertainment industry to 2016." [7]

Similar data are presented in many countries in central and northern Europe. It would be another topic to discuss on which scientific methods the impressive data of the Creative Industries in these countries are based, but nevertheless, the fact is, political institutions have a tremendous interest in presenting these numbers as a proof that new industries develop an important good for the society – ideas which lead to economic power. And, underlying this assumption is a hid-

7 Compare https://www.innovateuk.org/creative-industries (Sept./2013).

den attempt at reducing state funding for culture. This is a development towards American structures. European cultural policies are slowly abandoning the idea that creativity is a sphere which needs protection and support. It is seen as a business like any other forms of business. That certainly has to do with changes within the needs of people in some parts of Europe. Particularly in the countries of northern Europe the Creative Industries are an important factor because in these economically wealthy societies people from the middle classes are increasingly interested in consuming experiences rather than in consuming traditional goods. Access to certain events, to emotional experiences, to so-called "life quality" are increasingly becoming the new 'status-symbols'. In these countries we can also observe a changing understanding of the role of the Arts and of culture. That has also consequences for Arts Management, like Gordon Torr states in his book "Managing Creativity".

> "We are used to imagining music, dance, theatre, literature, crafts and the visual arts as the most significant aspects of our cultural experience. Around them we visualize those newer forms of artistic expression that include things like performance art, video art, installations, computer and multimedia creations.(…) Underlying this way of looking at culture is the romantic assumption that the activities at the centre are somehow worthier than those at the circumference because they are less tainted by commercial ambition. (…) The trend is clear. The high-end cultural stuff that survives only through the beneficence of state or municipal subsidies – the opera, ballet, national theatres, public galleries and museums (…) – has had to make way as the products of the creative economy claim centre stage." (Torr 2008: 134)

This critical approach concerning traditional structures of so-called "high-culture" is on first sight very convincing, because there is undoubtedly a growing problem of acceptance and resonance for these artistic areas, especially amongst the younger generation. But what should be the reaction to this development? Going the American Way, trusting in the rules of the market and the behavior of customers? Or to stimulate a certain kind of cultural education to convince people that even difficult or 'boring' experiences of culture can reveal an important value?

John Cage once said: "If something is boring after two minutes, try it for four. If still boring, then eight. Then sixteen. Then thirty-two. Eventually one discovers that it is not boring at all."[8] Although Cage was an American composer, I would call this attitude a typically European one.[9] Why? Because it doesn't trust the stimulation of entertainment or of being easy to consume, it functions the other way around. That is the reason why Europe has offered so many funding programs for

8 http://epc.buffalo.edu/authors/goldsmith/uncreativity.html (Sept./2013).

9 Of course there are a lot of relevant and important state funding programs in the USA, like, for example, the Texas Commission on the Arts (http://www.arts.texas.gov/) but the structures all over the country are completely different from the European funding structures.

Arts and Culture over the last forty years. One can find in many brochures and on the websites of arts foundation this explanation – giving time, money and space for the Arts to stimulate innovative art positions. European cultural foundations and funding programs have defined themselves over decades as partners for the Arts, not as institutions which organize the transfer between customers and market-relevant products. That has led to some problems, of course, like the previously mentioned dominance of high-culture-products within funding structures. But it has also led to a certain kind of quality and sustainability. When we look on the rich cultural scenery of Germany's capital, Berlin, then it becomes clear, that many innovative theatres could not survive without money from the state or the senate of Berlin. In particular, Arts projects for migrants or so-called minority groups are internationally well-known as "benchmarks" for a sustainable cultural approach to artistic diversity. If they should survive only by selling tickets or offering "creative ideas", they would fail. Many theatres are indeed changing their strategies to meet market needs and offer more and more musicals – one of the most successful formats of the last 30 years. But would a theatre represent cultural developments in a proper way just by fulfilling the current wishes of a dominant majority of visitors? Or when we look at the field of Visual Arts – do we truly believe that paintings which suddenly touch the taste of a large majority of people and could potentially lead to quick–purchasing, consumer behavior are automatically the right choice for the development of this field? With a conventional business management approach, one might agree. Just following the needs of the market would lead to a pure customer oriented perspective which would not meet the self-awareness of the Arts and Arts Management. (comp. Chong 2009)

Perhaps it is necessary to remember at this point one more time that innovative artistic ideas need time and space to present their new aesthetic values. As Pablo Picasso once said when he turned his style of painting into cubism: "New things in the Arts are always ugly, like a newborn baby. After a while people understand why they are worth to discover within a new kind of beauty." Do we give artistic projects today this time? Do we bear in mind, that artistic products are different from the production of, for example, perfumes and shoes? Therefore I would like to suggest that European partners within the Creative Industries sector should place more emphasis on this special knowledge in order to enable sensitive development of creative projects.

4. European concepts between market needs and protection

Innovative artistic formats need a smart concept for funding opportunities, marketing activities, media presence and a proper time schedule – and a complex reflection on how the new approaches of Audience Development measures can be implemented. (comp. Sims 2011) It is certainly important to recognize that there are significant differences between the For-Profit and the Non-Profit-Sector, without dividing them in parallel worlds.

Within the Non-Profit-Sector subcultural and cultural developments grow under completely different circumstances when compared to those in the field of the Creative Industries where conventional management approaches are seen as a generally accepted base for all management related issues and processes surrounding creative products and services. This gap between the For-profit-Sector and the Non-Profit-Sector is frequently neglected when reflecting upon questions regarding the organization of artistic projects. It is a challenge for the future to bring these two spheres closer, to make clear that both *represent* cultural diversity. They should be partners, not opponents.

Here we face some exciting challenges for artists in Europe. To avoid pressure from institutions outside the genuine cultural fields, artists should seek and define for themselves how they want to view their capacity to promote and "sell" their products, not only in their home countries but also in other spaces of the continent. Not every artist, especially in the time of his early career, has the opportunity to have a manager at his side. So artists are forced to organize for themselves a space in which they can survive – without losing their values and – to consciously use this all-too-often underestimated word – their ideals.

European projects can help to encourage artists to see their strength, their power and their abilities to stimulate the awareness of people beyond borders. But to have real cooperation, artists should concentrate on discussing artistic ideas which are strong enough to attract the attention of audiences in different countries. At the center of cooperation is always an idea! Not a concept of how to bring people together or how to establish cooperation. These are also important factors, but a strong idea will lead to audiences – and captivated audiences, as we can observe in the area of crowdfunding, are able to push an idea forward. Especially in modern digital times, it is much easier to attract the attention of people in different places – like the Greek dancing company *nomass* financed via the Internet and crowd funding is staging events with their new performance in Athens and Berlin.[10]

10 Comp. http://www.behance.net/nomass (Sept/2013) & http://www.litsakiousi.com (Sept/2013).

5. The potential new role of Europe within cultural transfers

So, the term *European Art Projects* is weak when cultural institutions repeat rhetorically and endlessly the historical shifts of memory, the responsibility for cultural heritage and the politically correct patterns of being one community in harmony. The term is strong when it is an expression for lively new artistic ideas which bring people from different countries together, and, perhaps much more important, fascinate audiences beyond national borders. (comp. Wolfram 2012) That needs stimulation of the management competencies of creative people concerning aspects like visibility, marketing, (digital) distribution strategies but at the same moment a self-conscious concept of investment in new funding programs.

Within this approach it is also necessary to reflect upon the different levels of political, social, economic and cultural development in different European countries. When we look on the topics and discourses of young artists in Greece, in the current times of tremendous economic crisis, and compare them with the discourses in northern countries of Europe, then we see huge differences. Nevertheless, it is one continent with the generally accepted pretension of being one huge cultural space with diverse influences, which presents its cultural diversity as the most important sign and symbol to the rest of the world. This pretension is problematic enough but at the same time it is a fascinating and plausible ideal, also a confession for peace and solidarity and for the power of culture to let people encounter each other in a sensitive way.

This pretension could become reality if European artists, arts managers and cultural institution start to place the tradition of protecting the arts by smart funding programs, stimulating the networking capacities of creative people and the self-conscious experience of slower but sustainable development at the middle of their efforts. Globalization does not automatically mean being fast and quickly profit-oriented. Aesthetic values do not follow the logic of conventional product cycles, they claim their own time and logic (comp. Seel 1996) and therefore do they belong to the real elements of global transfers. Jazz, Blues, Tango, Manga Comics, just to mention some internationally successful cultural movements, did not conquer the world because of smart and quick marketing strategies. They offered certain aesthetic stimulations which were perceived in different ways in many countries beyond the countries and regions they originated from. Europe has been a grateful recipient of cultural goods and ideas from all over the world during the last 60 years. It is probably now time to reflect on the kinds of cultural structures, ideas and knowledge Europe would like to offer in the concert of different voices and cultural concepts in a globalized world.

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Democratising Cultural Institutions – A Challenge for Europe. A Challenge for Culture

Hilary Carty

Across the continent of Europe, populations are shifting and that shift is dramatic:

> "During 2011 there were an estimated 1.7 million immigrants to the EU from a country outside the EU-27… The EU-27 foreign population on 1 January 2012 was 20.7 million, representing 4,1 % of the EU-27 population."[1]

Of course, migration is not a new phenomenon for Europe: major territories and established civilisations were built as the outcome of migration, adaptation and integration – note the 'Anglo-Saxons' at the cornerstone of current 'English' origins. Still, with such significant numbers of other nationals on the doorstep, the Declaration on European Identity signed by the nine member states of 1973 conjures up a fading aspiration of uniformity and a European citizen of even 40 years ago would not recognise many of the major European cities today.

Whether in Berlin, Brussels, Milan, or Amsterdam the diversity of peoples and cultures is striking. And London, with over 300 languages spoken in its schools is perhaps most striking of all. 'There are very few cities in the world where you can order breakfast in Farsi, book a taxi in Urdu, ask for afternoon coffee in Arabic and spend the evening chatting with your friends in Cantonese. But all of this – and more – can be done in London.'[2] So when London's Olympic team boasted of welcoming the world in 2012, it was not an empty promise; with communities from every competing nation residing in the UK capital, somebody, somewhere in the City could welcome you 'home from home'.

1 Migration and migrant population statistics Eurostat, March 2013 http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/Migration_and_migrant_population_statistics.

2 Buncombe, A & MacArthur, T. (1999).

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1. A challenge for Europe

What then is a modern European capital City? A 'melting pot', a 'rainbow nation' or a critical mass of world cultures colliding and blending?

> "As a result of globalisation, multiculturalism, global civil society and cosmopolitan political and cultural currents, societies are becoming more and more pluralized and interpenetrating, and less and less discrete wholes anchored in unique cultures and territorial nation-states"[3]

From across the globe, many seek a passage to Europe to fulfill both economic and social aspirations. Whilst recent waves of migration have seen significant travel across and within Europe itself, perhaps the most dramatic of recent times was the migration from the former colonies to support the post-2nd World War industrial regeneration of European cities. The 1950s – 1970s witnessed the 'bite-back' of 18th and 19th Century colonialism, with European nations seen as the natural destination for citizens of former colonies who had a both a familiarity and an affinity with the norms and practices of former ruling countries. They came to see the 'Motherland' as so aptly captured by Jamaican Poet Miss Lou in her 1966 poem 'Colonialism in Reverse'. And just as the colonisers brought their cultures to the new world, so too do today's immigrants to and within Europe bring their culture with them.

Culture is fundamental to human development and interaction. It defines who we are and what we believe. Delanty (2003) states: 'Nature is not an idea or a cultural given, but a mode of self-understanding that is expressed by people in ongoing narratives'. We need culture to affirm our identity, enrich our lives and develop our sensibilities – and it is for this reason that groups from similar cultures cluster together in discrete neighborhoods. They seek not to be exclusive (reject others), but rather to be inclusive; to recognise a collective history, affirm common beliefs and celebrate shared heritage; so vitally important when in a foreign land.

Each wave of migration presents its own challenge – bringing with it a complex suite of 'mixed blessings'. With the earlier immigration from former colonies, issues of skin colour and vibrant cultural traditions underscored 'difference' even whilst the hosts and new arrivals shared the common bond of language and, in many cases, religion. In the early 21st Century, the pattern of immigration (largely within and across Europe) sees people of similar Caucasian appearance mingling on new territories but, in this instance, issues of language, religion and distinct regional allegiances mark sometimes acute divergences in belief systems and perspectives. The culture clash takes a new form.

3 Compare Delanty (2003) Is There a European Identity?

But how easy can it really be to accommodate these new communities within European Cities? How flexible can the host nation be with regard to adoption, adaptation and integration? Are they really ready to share the stage? I am reminded of a creative group of dancers, singers and other artists working in the Midlands in England in the 1980s. At that time, the big push for UK theatres was to get the region's diverse communities through the theatre front doors – as paying audience members. But little thought was being given to letting them enter through the backstage doors – as artists and performers. What value statements were being made about the nature and appeal of the arts from these diverse communities? Were they not worthy of performance and review? And was there really only scope for one 'ethnic' group in a theatre open 6 days per week? With such constraints, very few artists from diverse cultural backgrounds could receive significant exposure; and those that did, felt tremendous pressure to 'succeed' on terms they had not agreed – for fear of precluding future representations from diverse groups. Theatres were slow in responding to the demographic changes so there was little room for creative experimentation and risk – the artists had to be 'tried and tested' attractors of good audiences and essential crowd pleasers. A sacrifice of creativity over access?

And this challenge remained, despite the incontrovertible evidence that UK cities were increasing in diverse populations year by year. It was the concrete example of one of life's truisms: those in power will rarely relinquish it willingly to accommodate newcomers. Was there a genuine desire to change the audience profile within those institutions? Or were the positive gestures and statements only paying 'lip-service' to the cause? Acknowledging the impact of cultural change on audiences and the institution itself, was the price of democracy simply too high for established institutions? 'The history of liberty is a history of the limitation of government power, not the increase of it.'[4] And so too the power of cultural institutions.

2. A challenge for society

Throughout history the force of democracy has challenged societies and the status quo. With its egalitarian outcomes, 'democracy' does not always bring desired results – particularly from the perspective of those in power or those with a vested interest in the status quo. In each case, the ruling team has had to relinquish some of its authority. Taking the UK as an example, whether we think of the

4 Woodrow Wilson, 28th president of the U.S., (1856-1924).

fight for universal suffrage (granted to men in 1918 and women in 1928); the rise of the Trade Union Movement (from the 1860s to formation of the Labour Party in 1900); the Race Relations Act 1971 (which outlawed inequality on grounds of Race); or the spread of regional government (with the establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1998 and the Welsh Assembly in 1999); no matter the example, what has been common is the struggle to be heard, to be respected and to be accommodated. We are witnessing this same power struggle across Europe. That struggle, played out in the parliamentary and civic arena is paralleled in the cultural arena, where the established cultural institutions represent the power base in the status quo and the new European communities seek avenues to be seen, heard, respected and accommodated.

But how far can a city change before it stops being identifiable with its own cultural traditions? What then of the 'home' culture of the indigenous Europeans? Professor Birgit Mandel, in a lecture exploring new challenges for cultural managers in international contexts[5], cites three impacts of cultural exchange

- Cultural Globalization – McDonaldization
- Cultural Differentialism – lasting differences between cultures
- Cultural Hybridization – third cultures develop in integrating processes

Historically, the UK has largely embraced the 'Cultural Differentialism' or 'Multi-Cultural' approach – welcoming and celebrating the distinctiveness of different cultural traditions and encouraging an eclectic range of identities under the banner of diversity. Elsewhere in Europe, a more nation-centered approach has been adopted, prioritising harmonisation and integration within the norms of the indigenous cultures:

> How does the British example relate to Europe in general? Its history of multicultural citizenship is clearly different from that experienced in other nations – France provides an obvious contrast. There has been a widespread reaction against multiculturalism as state policy and practice where resources have been allocated according to communities on the basis of ethnic or racial identity. In former Communist bloc countries increasing cultural diversity has met with considerable opposition at both political and everyday levels.[6]

Both the 'multi-cultural' and the 'harmonisation' models have benefits and dis-benefits. If Capital cities all embrace these new identities according to the UK model, how will we distinguish Paris from Prague, Brussels from Belarus? How far can a City 'welcome the world' but retain its distinctiveness and its character – its own 'cultural' identity? Yet, history reveals that cultural ties are 'ties that bind'

5 Epidaurus, Greece. May 2013.
6 Eade, J. (2010) Cultural and Ethnic Diversity in Cities: Challenges and Chances.

and, the poignant combination of identity, belonging, heritage and nationhood, offer invaluable succor to the travelling nomad. Rarely are such ties loosened completely and, at best, Mandel's 'cultural hybridization' is achieved.

The issue of cultural hybridization is both topical and pertinent in the context of a fast-changing Europe – where the boundaries move (literally) to accommodate the new. Those boundaries are political, pragmatic and arbitrary. But beyond the pragmatics of physical association one must reach to the values, the customs and practices that harmonise the Cities of Europe. Like a magnet, these are the practices that draw communities within; the values and customs most poignantly displayed through a City's arts and culture.

3. A challenge for culture

The arts and culture are critical to a City's identity and cultural institutions play a vital role in shaping its character – its 'look and feel'. Klamer et al (2002) note that within governmental priorities for culture across Europe, "there is widespread attention to the issue of identity and pluralism, one with growing importance because of ever-increasing immigration and globalisation. This calls for preserving national identity while at once recognising the cultural diversity of newcomers." For cultural institutions the same challenge applies – not simply to respond to the changing dynamics of the cities but to get the balance right – preserving, developing and promoting the city's distinctive classical canon; whilst simultaneously opening the doors of cultural institutions to bring in new stimuli and innovations – and that includes the cultural practices and traditions from the 'new' communities settling in their midst.

In a call to action to make strong connections with the audiences on their doorsteps, Androulla Vassiliou (European Commissioner for Education, Culture, Multilingualism and Youth) reminds us of the social cost of ignoring the new audiences: "the insights and empathy that culture offers are crucial in enhancing the intercultural understanding that Europe is built on."[7] It remains a question of balance – the traditional with the contemporary; the established with the emergent; the secure with the uncertain. Whilst each institution must look within and outwith its own walls, it is even more critical that policy makers and governing agencies consider the question of balance at local and national levels. Taken collectively, a City's response can, therefore, span the range of institutions and offer a coordinated approach to the challenges of democratising cultural provision, re-

7 European Audiences 2020 and Beyond (2012), European Commission.

taining, updating and spiking its cultural identity to remain relevant and accessible in the lives of its inhabitants and visitors.

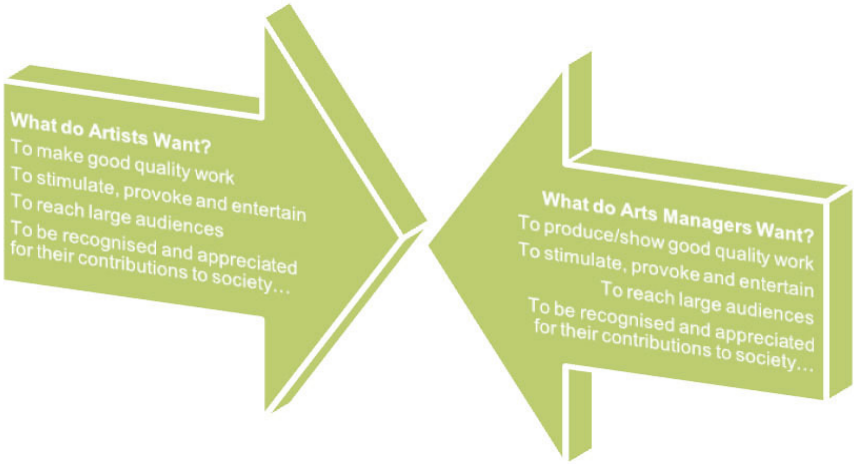
To achieve this, it is essential to address some of the existing barriers to cultural institutions that present unhelpful obstacles to indigenous and migrant communities alike. Notable barriers include:

- **Class** – with 'high' culture such as opera and ballet retained as the purview of the privileged upper classes or more affluent neighbourhoods
- **Economic Power** – those with money (old or new) accessing the best available provision to the detriment of others
- **The Glass Ceiling** – unwritten and unacknowledged barriers to inclusion such as recruiting 'in one's own image' preventing progression to leadership levels for diverse individuals
- **Education** – poor education provision and aspirations in areas of significant migrant communities. Access to a good education is critical to the creation and maintenance of intelligent and harmonious societies. And, in the European context, a 'good education' includes access to the classical cultural cannon
- **Opaque 'Rules of Engagement'** – unfamiliarity with the rules or etiquette of cultural provision preventing confident access and engagement
- **Governance** – without access to the leadership roles within an institution can any community consider itself 'democratic'?

There is much to be learnt from other areas of society, including sport. With the success of the 2012 Olympic Games in London fresh in memory it is worth noting the origins of the Olympics as a unifier of nations. Baron Pierre de Coubertin, the founder of the modern Olympic Movement saw the Games as a tool for bringing nations together in one space. Whilst competing in a range of technical disciplines, the athlete is also mixing and mingling with representatives of other nations and this interaction engenders familiarity, awareness of perspectives, approaches and beliefs; it encourages respect and tolerance. The Olympic Games and Paralympic Games stimulate cultural exposure on a massive scale. The audience sees the spectacle, but the athletes experience the camaraderie and real 'cultural' exchange – the exchange of traditions and perspectives. And that is critical to living and working in harmony.

4. Meeting the Challenge

So how can cultural institutions meet the challenge of responding to Europe's new communities? Regardless of cultural background, I contend that artists and arts managers/promoters, in essence, seek the same outcomes:



Artists and Arts Managers Parallel Outcomes

At the centre of both ambitions is the desire to make, produce and show good quality work that variously stimulates engagement, provokes questions and entertains. They seek to reach significant audiences witnessing and appreciating their work and value the recognition of their creative contributions within society. Hence, there is not such a big difference between the ultimate perspectives and expectations of the creators and producers of arts and culture. The challenge, however, lies in the detail of delivery and the critical power of selection lies largely within the purview of the institution:

- To maintain, to innovate or simply to display culture?
- Which artists to select?
- When and how/how often to promote diverse productions?
- When to provoke and when simply to entertain audiences?
- How much research and development time to allocate/fund?

- And who should be the judge of 'quality' when the culture is not our own?

From the perspective of both Arts Mangers and Artists, issues and challenges impact their ability to 'make produce and show good work' and in the area of diverse communities these include:

a. Manager / Promoter (Lack of) Knowledge
b. Audience Development
c. Audience Engagement
d. Presentation and Representation
e. Employment

a) Manager / Promoter (Lack of) Knowledge

A sophisticated awareness of a spectrum of creative work within the programming policy of the venue would be the standard requirement of the 21century Cultural Manager/Promoter and, in relation to European arts and culture, this criteria is usually well met. When asked to consider the work of artists from diverse cultural backgrounds, however, the promoter is often allowed the privilege of 'not knowing' one style of work from another. Why not? Whereas a music promoter would be certain of the audience appeal for Mozart verses Mendelssohn, it is acceptable to not be able to distinguish the classical appeal of Ravi Shankar versus the commercial work of A R Rahman. To bridge this knowledge gap, the Manager/Promoter needs to form connections with key groups and/or agencies to both gain familiarity with key exponents of relevant genres and join the information networks that will ensure that knowledge is updated at appropriate intervals.

b) Audience Development

Of course, programming policy should always shape the artistic choices, so the Manager/Promoter is not required to gain an expertise in the intricacies of the art forms of every diverse culture, but should prioritise familiarity with those who can deliver within the institution's programming policy. Not only are City populations changing, but audiences for the known cannon of European culture are also dwindling. Writing in EUobserver in October 2012, Philip Ebels noted that "faced with a continued fall in ticket sales, cultural institutions in Europe should be looking for ways to reach new audiences and for new ways to reach restless existing audiences." This sentiment was echoed by the Director of Communications at the Stuttgart Ballet who told the European Audiences 2020 Conference[8]

8 Brussels October 2012.

"I think the challenges all performing arts organisations in Europe are facing are demographic – the ageing of the audience – and how to diversify the audience… And we have to find creative solutions to answer to those challenges."[9] Those creative solutions may be found through experimenting with broadening the direct appeal of the programme to develop (in both numbers and impact) the audience.

> Audience development is a strategic, dynamic and interactive process of making the arts widely accessible. It aims at engaging individuals and communities in experiencing, enjoying, participating in and valuing the arts through various means available today for cultural operators, from digital tools to volunteering, from co-creation to partnerships.[10]

Hence, in an urban City such as Vienna or Madrid, a citizen may ask 'Can I see myself reflected?' in the general programming of key theatres? 'Do they mean me?' when they speak of audiences? 'Am I included' in the invitation to attend? And the responses to these questions will emanate not from grand statements or proclamations, but from the programmes, the advocacy, outreach and welcome perceived by the onlooker and potential audience member. Good audience development works hard to extend the attraction and appeal to target groups and rewards the Manager/Promoter with successful footfall. This approach (now widely championed by the European Commission with resources from 2014) benefits audiences in general whilst extending and creating new opportunities for audiences from diverse backgrounds to access cultural institutions.

c) Audience Engagement

In Europe, as elsewhere, venues are also dealing with the demand from audiences to have an active engagement with the creative process rather than simply to be passive consumers. Popular television shows now give decision rights to the audience through telephone or online voting, thus allowing the audience to shape content. The vast availability and ease of digital media facilitates content development and content distribution on a mass scale, and audiences now demand the right to produce & practice, not simply to consume and observe.

> Success in these rapidly changing circumstances requires a shift in the mindset of cultural operators. They have to adapt to a new multidimensional world, in which they are no longer the sole gatekeepers of art, nor the only decision-makers about what the public should or shouldn't see or hear or experience.[11]

9 Cited in EUobserver: *Culture: 'A new wind is blowing in Europe' 2012.*
10 Vassiliou, A. European Audiences 2020 and Beyond (2012), European Commission.
11 Ditto.

And when that expanding audience includes significant numbers from diverse cultural backgrounds, then the programming choices must acknowledge, respond to and stimulate that diversity also.

d) Presentation & Representation

One of the subtle limitations placed on artists from migrant backgrounds is that they are often asked to simply 'present' or 'represent' their culture – for the education of the host community. Black Film-maker Horace Ove decried the evidence that "all you are allowed to make is films about black people and their problems. White film-makers on the other hand, have a right to make films about whatever they like." [12] As creative beings, all artists from all cultures seek the freedom to be creative. So whilst it is sometimes possible to simply 'display' the arts of another culture, the scope to experiment and push the boundaries of cultural understanding, the freedom to loosen the known cultural framework, to experiment with the contemporary or cutting edge, is also valuable – and should be afforded to all. The outcome can be exciting and dynamic, capturing contemporary expressions of cultural shifts. N. Richard notes "celebrating difference as exotic festival… is not the same as giving the subject of this difference the right to negotiate its own conditions of discursive control."[13] Hence, within a cultural institution where contemporary narratives and issues are being explored, the migrant's contemporary narratives may also contribute new perspectives.

e) Employment

The mere mention of the issue of 'employment' in the context of diverse communities can set a whole host of hares running as entrenched attitudes affirm or decry the values and processes of increasing the diversity of a workforce. Taking an example most common in the corporate sector, a compelling narrative that cuts through the argument is the simple business case for diversity:

> "No matter the organization or industry, critical competencies and opportunities for competitive advantage – such as talent retention, problem solving and innovation – can be improved by harnessing diversity, numerous studies show. As a result, companies are discovering that effectively managing a diverse workforce makes good business sense."[14]

Clearly, not all approaches and methodologies from the corporate sector transfer directly to the cultural sector, and cultural enterprises often have distinct and

12 Cited in Morley (1996) Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies.
13 Ditto.
14 Butcher, D. (2011): The Business Case for Diversity.

proven ways of working that serve the creative mission well. Where contemplating the unknown, the unfamiliar or the difficult, however, having access to a range of opinions and perspectives will most often lead to the optimal solution. And if that range is present within your governance, leadership, marketing and/or staff teams – how much more quickly and efficiently can you access and take advantage of that eclectic range? As the demographics of Europe has changed, so too have the skills and expertise of its citizens. So a level-playing field must be created, ensuring that individuals from diverse backgrounds (who have the relevant skills, competences and experience) are able to apply. In my opinion, it is never helpful to 'lower the bar' of standards and excellence. Rather, cultural institutions can consider where and how they advertise; which networks are activated ('in my own image'/'the old school tie'?) and whether they have genuinely applied lateral thinking to optimise the range of candidates for a given position. If a strong and diverse range of candidates forms the shortlist for any vacancy, why would you not wish to appoint 'the best man/woman for the job?'

5. The Need for Policy Leadership

Individual cultural institutions acting in isolation will make a difference – in their locality and for their local populations. Doing 'nothing' is the least effective option. But, the impact and effectiveness of individual actions will have more genuinely democratic and finally sustainable outcomes if they are endorsed and contextualized through overarching policy frameworks. A policy-led approach is critical in supporting cultural organisations to experiment, develop and sustain a variety of interventions over time; noting that success is rarely achieved at the first attempt and 'one size does not fit all'.

Klamer et al, in their 2006 study *Financing The Arts and Culture in The European Union* identify a myriad of structural frameworks for the provision of arts and culture across the European Union, highlighting centralized, decentralized and federal systems (albeit with various formats). They also note a variety of priorities for policies and investments: whilst the Nordic Countries, Austria, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg highlight support or artists as a main objective, art education and social cohesion is particularly prioritized in Sweden, Denmark, Finland, some Baltic countries, the United Kingdom, France, and the Netherlands. For Italy, Greece, Cyprus, and Malta, however, the protection and development of heritage remains highly important.

With this eclectic backdrop of structural frameworks and policy priorities, it will be imperative to encourage flexibility in the modes and means of adop-

tion of policies to support cultural democratisation. Countries/ Country clusters will need to review and shape provision to the 'best fit' for local circumstances. For example, the UK has a strong history of interventions in this field, including (at various times) financial targets for expenditure on the arts from culturally diverse groups; monitoring of staff and Board/Trustee membership; and discrete programmes for promoting and developing culturally diverse work. However, the UK also has a particular history of migration; a distinct approach to cultural interaction; and a pluralistic model of subsidy for culture which is not universal across Europe. For this reason the European Commission on a macro level and European Countries on micro levels need to develop and adopt prioritised mechanisms that encourage and support the agenda of democratising cultural institutions in a flexible manner.

One element that will inevitably be an essential inclusion is the provision of public subsidy, the key mechanism through which governments determine and provide for the priorities sought by society as a whole. Collected through taxes paid by the populace, public subsidy is intrinsically an instrument of democracy and its utilisation to enhance the democratisation of cultural institutions for the new populations of Europe (who also contribute through taxes) is both fair and just. As stated above, questions of 'how much?' and 'which priorities' will need to be determined in line with national/regional approaches to provision on culture as well as the programming and curation priorities of cultural institutions. However, specific investments to support audience development, audience engagement and creative innovation would provide valuable resources to encourage and facilitate the diversification of cultural provision for the benefit of all.

6. Co-creating European Culture

The task of becoming and maintaining the role of a truly open and democratic cultural institution is neither simple, nor straightforward. On the surface, it may seem the easiest and best solution to maintain the status quo – providing good quality art that reflects the historical European cultural canon that is already both established and valued.

But the world is changing.
Europe is changing.
European Cities are changing.
And so is the European cultural canon.

Do we wish culture to stand still, like a dusty object at the back of a museum, once cherished but no longer relevant or regarded? Or can we redefine these museums as 'spaces where different cultural forms can be enacted and where divergent cultural opinions can be voiced, embraced and resolved.'[15] Can we evolve with a purpose, embracing contemporary and diverse cultural expressions whilst using the historical cultural context to interrogate, juxtapose, co-educate and co-create an inclusive definition of Europe and European culture that speaks of our time in the 21st Century? It requires conversation, dialogue and interaction. We need to engage with the communities on our doorsteps; have a dialogue with people we don't know; explore opinions that we don't appear to like or yet understand.

There is a high cost for not opening and integrating our institutions. The price is in separate communities, separate lives, separate opinions and separate belief systems… strangers living together in the physical environment, but apart in socialisation and culture. The outcomes lie in the arena of ignorance and distrust.

We need to build a common agenda between, across and despite all our differences and in so doing, establish 'community' – the new European community.

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"Old Europe" and a Changing Paradigm on Cultural Relevance. A Statement

Michael Schindhelm

Nowadays, when we reflect the situation of global cultural exchanges, one aspect is obvious: people often say, when describing the current exceptional circumstances, for example, that the global economy or global politics is undergoing tectonic shifts or that humanity is facing tasks of a complexity never encountered before or that nations need to make titanic efforts to cope with the current crisis. But in fact, a great deal has happened during the last two decades: the inglorious demise of communism, Fukuyama's brief dream of the global spread of American capitalism, the new terrorism since 9/11, astonishing natural disasters, the economic rise of China and India, epidemics and finally the crisis of the market economy. European culture is, within this global development, a difficult term because this term is on one hand linked with a long history of negative dominance of European cultures in the countries which had to suffer under the systems of colonialism, on the other hand, when we look on the situation of today, we can observe that in many European countries events of so-called "high-culture" determine the broad understanding of culture. Mass culture and symbolic approaches, in Russia, India, Brazil and other countries, are based on completely different concepts. That means, that we as Europeans have to reflect these different international approaches and we have to ask ourselves why our concepts are often called "old-fashioned" or "too intellectual". In this fast, new global world we can see, without any doubt, some dangerous dividing lines when we use the term culture. That has consequences for the questions of cultural transfers.

Without offering too much pathos at the beginning, it is perhaps necessary to make a few personal observations and remarks on possible trains of thought. In my case, it was first the radical experience of a new world, its visions and demands that I discovered in Dubai between 2007 and 2009, after spending time in the high-culture world of Berlin opera. It was probably my experience of speed and cursoriness derived from this and the risk that an emerging culture might destroy itself through too much acceleration. Speed in Dubai was literally an hallucinatory experience. Looking at things more closely, it was clear that Dubai – despite

R. Henze, G. Wolfram (eds.), *Exporting Culture,*
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its exotic exceptional role – was the *ne plus ultra* of the phenomenon of speed, which has also entrapped the developed world. Putting things more simply, you could say that the largely peaceful period since the end of the Second World War has been a time of the removal of boundaries and particularly increasing mobility. But ever since the start of the global financial crisis, we have felt that this age of unlimited mobility may perhaps be drawing to a close. We are looking for new narratives in order to describe what is happening around us and where it is taking us. Sustainability has become one of these narratives and no supermarket can survive any more without sustainable products or services. Sustainability is now mainstream.

Another possible narrative seems to be forming right now. The longer the crisis continues, the more probable the prospect becomes that there will not be any simple return to former market economic conditions. Climate change, the shortage of resources, population growth, the end of economic growth – all suggest that the 21st century could become the century of a new asceticism.The spirit of the age already has a term to describe it: frugal innovation. The special thing about this phenonenon may be that it only appears to be based on a Western idea – but in reality it may have the potential to enable emerging economies to have a strong economic and cultural influence on the rest of the world.

It may be appropriate for Western countries to introduce more and more restrictive austerity packages and declare that austerity is a general virtue. The engineers of the abandonment of nuclear energy in Germany, for example, are thinking of ways in which they can make a departure from atomic energy attractive to emerging economies. But this raises the question of whether the West can seriously and in good conscience call on the rest of the world to forego what is left of the world's natural resources – after it has first consumed a large proportion of them itself. This is not only a moral problem, but also one lacking in innovation. The statement "No growth" as such can only be understood as very negative.

But it is possible that those countries, which are causing us so many headaches by their rapid rise – like China and India –, are even one step ahead of us in terms of austerity and can show us what is actually required to make austerity work:

The Tata Nano, the world's cheapest car, for instance, became a symbol before the first one rolled of the production line in 2009. The Tata group, India's most revered conglomerate, hyped it as the embodiment of a revolution. Frugal innovation would put consumer products, of which a $2,000 car was merely a foretaste, within reach of ordinary Indians and Chinese. Multinationals are beginning to take ideas developed in (and for) the emerging world and deploy them in the West. The term for this development is *Jugaad* in-

novation. *Jugaad* is a Hindi word meaning a clever improvisation. Clever improvisation seems to become a new influential form of innovation moving from East to West. For example, Walmart, which created "small mart stores" to compete in Argentina, Brazil and Mexico, is reimporting the idea to the United States. India's Mahindra & Mahindra sells lots of small tractors to American hobby farmers, filling John Deere with fear. China's Haier has undercut Western competitors in a wide range of products, from air conditioners and washing machines to wine coolers. This trend will surely accelerate. The West is doomed to a long period of austerity, as the middle class is squeezed and governments curb spending. Some 50m Americans lack medical insurance; 60m lack regular bank accounts. Such people are crying out for new ways to save money. A growing number of Western universities are taking the frugal message to heart (at least when it comes to thinking about things other than their own tuition fees). Santa Clara University has a Frugal Innovation Lab. Stanford University has an (unfrugally named) Entrepreneurial Design for Extreme Affordability programme. Cambridge University has an Inclusive Design programme. Even the Obama administration has an Office of Social Innovation and Civic Participation to encourage grassroots entrepreneurs in health care and energy.

It remains to be seen whether narratives like austerity or frugality actually describe the change of values in our global society in a profound way and what consequences this will have on the development of art and culture. For example: Are we about to embark on a new, ascetic avantgarde movement? Or an innovative culture based on shortages and improvisation?

Leaving aside all polemics, we should perhaps ask ourselves how open we really would be towards a radical transformation of values – or whether and where Europe – the old continent – is able to produce social and artistic models for this, which handle the change process critically without demonising it? And whether European *culture* – a tool to distinguish between nations, their heritage and identity, and to foster understanding between people – might be an area where these kinds of models could be created.

A major obstacle today is the obvious weakness of all that what was supposed to be considered "Europe" and "European". In the period of an apparent decomposition of Europe's fiscal and to some extent even political entity we probably also need to reflect on how much European experience, values, traditions and success still matter to the rest of the world. We may feel the imperative to rethink the balance between the "national" and the "European" in this context but also the question of how far art and artists should consider themselves concerned from the current crisis of an European identity.

I believe that our own attitude often stands in the way: we proclaim the universalism of values, which leads to cultural essentialism, but with a two-faced view of political and cultural developments in countries outside the West, on the one hand, and human rights, freedom of expression, welfare and environmental standards, on the other. For example, many large-scale cultural projects launched in emerging countries during the past few years – the construction of museums, universities, theatres, theme parks, but also exhibitions or festivals – are still based on this kind of essentialism and assume that we know best how to develop these things and that it would be appropriate for us to supply our ideas and products too.

But in reality, this essentialism is a myth like any other. It is probable to suppose that a major transformation is taking place right now in terms of content, institutions, work models and values. Despite all the convergence that has taken place in economies and cultures, the last ten or twenty years – since the end of the Cold War – have clearly demonstrated that civilisation around the world is still highly diverse and nobody has the last word on interpretation any longer.

Therefore we probably need new kinds of think tanks in Europe just to have functioning platforms to discuss these questions with many different international partners in order to find solutions. For example, a think tank like the one planned at ZHdK (Zurich University of the Arts) could help efforts to monitor these transformation processes; this would firstly involve examining the role that our Central European region plays in all this (in developing theories, research, practice and teaching) – and secondly, the significance that this transformation could have on the region (its cultural institutions, the art community, content, research, teaching, strategy development etc.). International and regional perspectives should be seen as two sides of the same coin.

The Central European region, however, is an open-ended term; it basically refers to the German-speaking world, but it also refers to a possible hub function, which countries like Switzerland, Germany, Austria and perhaps even Holland could fulfil in mediating between the eastern and western parts of the continent. And they can help to improve a transfer of cultural ideas, goods and projects from Europe to the rest of the world with an important goal: to show that the European heritage of enlightenment, reflection and dialectic strategies is not something "old-fashioned". But this is not an automatic recognition, not any longer. We have to prove that European approaches lead to sustainable results, that time and patience are not only factors of hesitation. They are necessary to avoid the kind of speed which results, at the end of the day, only in titanic masterplans for new symbolic buildings and tourist events but no concrete space for innovative artistic ideas which can help to understand cultural identity as a key factor for relevant artistic

expressions. Unfortunately, there is often little interest in many countries outside Europe, at least not on official levels, to reflect intensively the abuse of the term culture for purely symbolic and representative actions. The complexity of cultural diversity and its streams in a global world, and also the support of sub-cultural scenes, need relevant advocates who can make clear that this approach goes beyond economic challenges. At exactly this point, the Europeans could potentially find a new role within this global discussion – provided that they are also able to change their attitude and call a halt to discusscussing culture predominantly as "high culture". Primarily, we need to ask ourselves what global culture actually is and to what degree it might represent a new category or a new cultural term. To answer these questions one should compare developments on other continents precisely. If we look, for example, to Shanghai or to Shengzen, we can see a huge energy as well as a kind of "naivete" we have already lost in Europe and of course we would not be able to reestablish such attitudes any more. Culture, in these cities, means something completely different to a European context. That requires – for us – first of all a process of translation. We have to learn how people outside Europe understand the term culture. And we have to reflect that this is not a new space we are looking at. Historical knowlegde, a precise approach to foreign traditions, and an openness for different positions should be the starting position for cultural transfers from Europe. And we can learn something very important from countries abroad.

I want to illustrate this argument with an example. When in New York, Seoul or Rio de Janeiro cultural institutions search for new solutions for their projects, they start with a kind of international check, they look for so-called "benchmarks" from elsewhere, screen similar problems and how they have been solved in other countries. For example, thus far they have no personal contacts to Germany, to choose my home country, as it is very difficult to find out about such benchmarks in Germany. The explanation is quite simple. It is hardly possible to find proper benchmark-projects on the websites of German institutions, in English. Naturally, they exist, but their knowledge, their results, their experiences are not available as sources for international partners and their wishes for a dialogue. Here a huge potential for cultural transfers exists. Knowledge within international Arts Management is knowledge written in English. It does not matter if we look to Spain, China, Brazil, USA or India, the second language for such projects is mostly English. This is of course a problematic reality, especially when we reflect upon the loss of cultural diversity and its transfer via language, but it is a working reality. When we see how many German artists are successful abroad, just to name the painter Gerhard Richter or the film director Werner Herzog, it is astonishing that

German cultural institutions are not very often at the level they could be, as relevant partners within international discourses. Globalization can support cultural transfers and the exchange of ideas but it can also lead to a dominance of only some countries, like the USA or India, which use language patterns in the same way as special marketing tools – in a strategic way to be visible all over the world.

European culture does not exist only because of famous opera houses, festivals, theatres or museums. Concepts of diversity and using mass culture as a common value stimulating new audiences exist but they are not on the main agenda of cultural policies in Europe.

In the 21st century it is necessary that European cultural institutions define their values and strategies in a way which reflects the potentials of cultural transfers in a globalized world. To become visible, to avoid the stereotypes of being "old fashioned", or being sceptical but without losing the historic heritage of rational criticism against quickly drafted concepts of cultural success is a potential which is still widely unused. European artists have already found many ways to be accepted and to be visible in global spheres, but when we talk about a structural, a political, and an economic approach, then we have to admit honestly that, the gaps between Europe and other continents in the field of culture have become bigger than they should have. Starting to discuss this phenomen is perhaps the first step to changing the situation.

These are all signs of a crisis. Familiar behavior, decision-making, and interpretive criteria do no longer work. Crises of this kind have occurred time and again in the past, for instance, with the advent of modernity or of American popular culture. Crises also call into question institutions, as well as the theory and practice of culture. As a rule, they end with the assertion of a new understanding of (cultural) phenomena, that is to say, with the rise of a new theory and practice. As history teaches us, existing theories and practices do not automatically vanish as a result of such shifts. Often, such theories and practices are expanded or complemented. The situation of artists and cultural researchers can be compared to that of cinema-goers watching the same film for the nth time. They know the characters, the key scenes, the outcome. This time, however, the film suddenly starts running much faster. We lose our sense of direction. We see familiar sequences, but also unfamiliar ones. We realize that the film is narrating something new. But we do not know what. Memory does not help us. We leave the cinema — irritated or fascinated, or indeed both — and realize, moreover, that the film continues beyond the screen. It enters our everyday life, just as we become members of a cast acting out roles. Unlike in the feature film, however, no one is giv-

ing directions in this film-as-life, thus leaving us to find our own roles and develop a dramaturgy.

These phenomena can also be viewed from a different perspective, namely, technological progress, modern urbanism, and sociology. And yet these phenomena remain phenomena of cultural globalization, since they affect the internet or urban planning just as much as the theatre or the gambling industry. This leads me to suggest that it makes sense for us to consider these phenomena together. These thoughts offer us an opportunity to ask ourselves which film – to use the word as a metaphor – we are currently experiencing. Or rather, which culture are we living in?

Exporting Culture in a Global World – Necessity, Waste of Money, or even Danger?

Ulrich Sacker

1. Introduction

Today, more people are taking German classes with Goethe-Institutes around the world, than ever before. With almost 200,000 students at the 158 Goethe-Institutes abroad, this is an increase of six percent; within Germany the increase has reached 17 percent, corresponding to 38,000 students. The President of the Goethe-Institut, Klaus-Dieter Lehmann, explains this overwhelming interest in the German language and Germany as a whole, not only with the ever increasing search for employment due to the global financial crisis, but also with the subtle, continuous and long-term cooperation by the Goethe-Institut with countries across the world, based on equal partnerships from the start.[1]

However, the steadily growing interest in Germany is also closely linked to the world's expectations regarding Germany's role on international, and especially on European playgrounds. The main question is why German culture should be exported at all and which image of Germany should be presented?

The Goethe-Institut, Germany's official cultural institution abroad, considers its main task as constantly re-examining the impact of migration and globalization on the representation of modern Germany with the help of German experts and foreign partners from the areas of culture, society, economy and politics. In this way, a series of conferences and debates, e. g. "Mapping Democracy", a project in partnership with actors, Bayerischer Rundfunk and the Goethe-Institut's headquarters in Munich or "Landmarks", an initiative together with the weekly DIE ZEIT, Deutschlandradio Kultur and the Goethe-Institut Hamburg are investigating German culture in the age of globalization. Twenty years after reunification it might be easier to find Germany on the map, but it remains difficult to determine how globalization is influencing German culture. Apart from the usu-

1 Prof. Klaus-Dieter Lehmann, President of Goethe-Institut, Interview „Goethe Aktuell", München, 13.12 2012. See also: Goethe-Institute im Portrait, Hg. v. Klaus-Dieter Lehmann und Olaf Zimmermann, Berlin/München 2013.

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al clichés of "deepness" and "thoroughness", are there other factors which distinguish Germany from other nations? Are these perceived uniquenesses in danger and therefore need to be preserved, or should they rather be neglected with the promise of greater richness? Is the concept of national culture obsolete in a context where any given artistic expression from the other side of the world is only "one mouse click" away?

Naturally, we strongly believe that Germany, as a modern "Kulturnation" (cultural nation) plays a vital role with regard to globalization, amongst the concert of all nations. Yet, even with its abundance and quality of artistic and intellectual diversity, it still has to fight deeply rooted prejudices in order to present Germany as an innovative and creative country.

Particularly in Europe, the Goethe-Institut, with its intercultural and interdisciplinary programs, attempts to raise awareness of cultural diversity, European integration and mobility outside and within Europe as well as endeavoring to enhance the degree of European civil engagement.

A variety of methods and instruments are in place in order to deploy culture, not only to export any given country's image and as a tool to prevent or to stop diplomatic earthquakes and epidemics,[2] but also as a means of creating 'a passion for a country's people, history, art and language' as seen by American author Jonathan Franzen.[3]

The following sets out to explain which procedures for cultural export are in place and why certain attempts are more successful than others. Our methodological approach consists of comparing some of the most frequently used functions of cultural export against a backdrop of foreign and economic policy.

2. Public Diplomacy and Nation Branding

More and more countries nowadays rely on the concepts of public diplomacy and nation branding in order to attach a specific unique selling proposition (USP) to their country With that, "national branding" is first and foremost an attempt – especially by smaller, particularly developing countries e. g. Mauretania or Azerbaijan[4], to distinguish themselves from other similar competing countries. In most

2 Frank Walter Steinmeier, Interview Welt-Online, 23.4. 2009.
3 Kosmopolitismus neu denken. Afrika in Europa/ Europa in Afrika. Internationales Symposium, Akademie der Künste, Berlin 2/3 Februar 2013.
4 Ulrich Sacker, Project: Branding Research Azerbaijan, OCTV, Berlin 2007.

cases, the concept is drawn up by external specialists or companies[5] using special methods to compare three images:

Firstly, the image of the country in question as seen by its target audience, secondly, the perception of the country by its own people, and thirdly the "official" new image which the country's government hopes to project.

Table 1: Image Definition[6]

The three perceptions of the country described above have to be brought together convincingly. The overall goal is usually an attempt to increase the influx of tourism and promote export and gain as much as foreign investment as possible.

As communication today is instant and global, it should be used to develop a brand reflecting the true, unique identity of the country. The resulting "slogan", which will be used to promote this new image, must take into consideration both the positive and negative aspects of the country in order to avoid their immediate denunciation as pure propaganda by the communities of the new social media.

Negative characteristics, such as e. g. detrimental environmental practices or an infrastructure that is still developing, should therefore not be hidden, but on the contrary subsumed under a slogan such as "a country of rapid change for the better". This is also a message to the World Bank, environmental and conservation funds as well as international aid programs.

5 Simon Anholt, Competitive Identity, The New Brand Management for Nations, Cities and Regions, Palgrave Macmillan, London 2006.

6 Ulrich Sacker 2007.

Branding difficulties may arise when the assets of competing countries are too similar, e. g. salaries, housing, schools, beautiful beaches and landscape, international and local infrastructure and traffic links.

Whilst the complete "re-branding" of large nations (for example USA, Germany) is almost impossible because of persistent images in peoples' minds, it might be possible in the case of less well-known countries (for example Azerbaijan). In such cases culture is used solely as a commercial tool.

3. Soft or Smart Diplomacy and Cultural Toolbox

Culture and the cultural industries have become the most important instruments or "soft diplomatic tools" for enhancing a country's specific image or country brand. The term "smart" diplomacy was only coined a short time ago by the then Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, and has the same connotation as traditional military and moral hegemony that was assisted by "smart" weapons but without the use of a "battleship". The term "soft diplomacy" is used as a method of pursuing an unofficial relationship between two countries involved in conflict or even war. Examples are German cultural centers, the Goethe-Institutes, in Lisbon[7], Spain, Romania, Hungary, Palestine and many other conflict areas which remained open while the German Embassies and Consulates Generals were already closed.

Frequently members of the opposition or intellectuals promoting political change would meet despite, in many cases, being secretly registered by the ruling forces[8].

In these cases, culture was "used" for political purposes in order to maintain a secret, thin line of contact in contrast to the official policy of the respective country. A further example is the presence of the Goethe-Institut with a library, film viewings and concerts in North Korea during a period of political embargo. This kind of pursuit would often help to establish long-term friendly relationships, especially after the end of the conflict.

A more obvious and prominent interference in internal affairs during international conflicts is the use of the so-called "Cultural Tool Box". A good example of which is the immediate establishment of funds from the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs that were made available to open, or re-open, Goethe-Intitutes and introduce instant aid and "Good Will" programs, such as by the USA in Islamic countries after September 11. The success of such initiatives resulting from a direct reaction to rapid political change is doubtful as the political motivation

7 Curt Meyer-Classen, Portugiesische Tagebücher 1969-1976, Königstein, 1979.
8 Herta Müller, Christina und ihre Attrappe, Wallenstein, 2009.

is too clear and doesn't inspire confidence amongst the people of a nation, even among opposition groups.

4. Creative Industries and Market Domination

This is the case when culture is (mis)used as a tool to dominate international (US) or regional markets (EU) and is used as a vector for development.

The new regional program called 'Culture and Development' in Europe, is designed to "Give particular attention to strengthening the capacity of Euro-Mediterranean partner countries in the field of cultural expression and to promoting access to culture[9]. The goals of this program are clearly stated:

> "The overall objective is to support the efforts of the Southern Mediterranean countries in building deep-rooted democracy and to contribute to their sustainable economic, social and human development, through regional co-operation in the fields of media and culture."

The specific objective is to reinforce the role of media and culture as vectors for democratization, and economic and social development for societies in the Southern Mediterranean.

In the USA, the predominance of American film worldwide serves political and economical purposes at the same time. Developing countries find that all too often their access to the international markets is limited to the production line, a result of their abundant raw material and cheap labor. They are also frequently excluded from the more profitable areas of design and distribution, namely within the "Creative Industries". Although the creative industries within African nations are growing increasingly confident about securing the whole design and development process themselves[10].

It is still problematic even for renowned intellectuals in both Europe and America to make "equality in partnership" a serious matter. This was demonstrated by an obvious lack of interest in the theme at the "Rethinking Cosmopolitanism. Africa in Europe – Europe in Africa" conference accompanying the "Nothing to Declare?"[11] exhibition in Berlin. It clearly showed that it is still necessary to rethink the concept of cosmopolitanism and to ask whether the old concepts of "European", "Western" or "African" art are still valid or already obsolete. Globalization has had a strong impact on museums, audiences and art itself and is constantly changing the cultural centers of gravity and multiplying the number of

9 Crystelle Lucas, DG Europaid, European Commission, Brussels, Dec. 2012 (From the Reports of the Euromediterranean Ministries of Culture Conference 3, Athens, May 2012).

10 Sana Ouchtate, Culture in external Relations, Eunic-European Union National Cultural Institutes, General Assembly, Brussels, Dec 2012.

11 Nothing to Declare – Weltkarten der Kunst nach 1998. Feb. 1 until March 26, 2013 Berlin.

international exhibitions while artists from around the world are frequently meeting curators from around the world and conducting projects in New York, Mumbai and Berlin simultaneously.

Consequently, cosmopolitism should be understood as a principle which embraces the idea of cohabitation, despite all differences, based on coexistence through diversity. As a metaphor for mobility, migration and coexistence, it is just the opposite of intolerance, racism, lack of flexibility and misunderstood sovereignty – thus rather a term for peace, ethics and moral responsibility for all people.

5. Europe, Cultural Contents and Institutions

It is a fact that certain aspects of American culture are known around the world: Hollywood and pop music, fast food, the I-Pod, the highway and the All American Dream[12]. They have all been exported through the media, especially via television and cinema. However, in this case, it has not only been deliberately exported by American governments or industrialists as a campaign for international consumers of American goods, but has spread out across the world in a self-promoting way.

Every now and then a new survey emerges asking a number of young people from Arab and Islamic countries which country they like best and in which country they would like to study, putting the USA in first place for the latter question and in a less prominent position regarding the former. Thus, even the acceptance of a particular practical asset of a foreign culture (e. g. education, career), is not necessarily linked to making friends or even inducing trust. This coincides with an observation made by the President of the Goethe-Institut, Professor Klaus-Dieter Lehmann[13], who is concerned by the growing alienation within the transatlantic union between the USA and Germany and has established a German Academy in New York following the example of the American Academy in Berlin. Only the physical presence of such cultural centers or think tanks will provide enough local knowledge and experience to provide platforms for cultural encounters and to develop long-lasting and reliable personal networks which are increasingly important in our age of globalization.

The situation for Europe or European countries is entirely different. It is true that the question of whether there is such a thing as “European culture” is often denied.

12 Jean Baudrillard. America, London / New York, N.Y., 1988.

13 Excerpt from an Interview with Deutschlandfunk on the Occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the Goethe-Institut http://www.dradio.de/dkultur/sendungen/thema/1497733.

The argument that there is extreme cultural diversity within the European continent is often used to contradict the idea of a common European culture. However, consider European cinema, which differs so entirely from the Asian or American film industry, using common cultural history, human tragedy and similar esthetics for a multitude of co-productions is illustrative of commonality within Europe. European cinema outside Europe holds only 3 % of the total of foreign film (e. g. India, Korea, China or the USA), it is still considered being closer to the small production numbers of developing countries than the USA. Nevertheless, the European Commission is currently trying to change the situation for the better of Europe through the shareware online cinema project "STREAMS"[14].

In addition, EUNIC is a recognized leader for international cultural affairs, mainly regarding the issue of multilingualism, but also in the arts, youth, education, science, intercultural dialogue and development sectors. It is a network of the national institutes for culture, established in 2006, with 32 members from 26 countries and over 80 "clusters" based in different locations in Europe and around the globe, and working through its members in over 150 countries with with more than 2,000 branches and thousands of local partners. It is a network which is based on open cooperation and works in a bottom up NGO-style with a compact, independent and flexible administration[15].

On a more theoretical level, the European Commission under the coordination of the Goethe-Institut and with the help of the British Council, the European Cultural Foundation, the Danish Cultural Institute, the Institut Français, the institute for Foreign Relations e.V (ifa), the KEA European Affairs and Bozar has just started to conduct a study[16] in order to improve the role of culture within European external relations. The "mapping" of the existing policies, instruments methods and especially their sometimes very different aims used by the various countries has already started and first results will already be examined in April 2013. The questionnaire distinguishes their main objectives, the sectors of society and institutions involved:

14 http:// www.streams.franzoesischerfilm.de/10926.

15 EUNIC, General Presentation, Working Paper find out more on www.eunic-online.eu Bruxelles April 2013.

16 Miryam Schneider, Study for the EC-Project: "Preparatory Action: Culture in External Relations", Brussels, 2013.

Table 2: Main Objectives[17]

a.	Support foreign policy objectives
b.	Improve diplomatic relations with other governments
c.	Establish and promote
d.	at international level
e.	Improve investments, exports and business relations in general
f.	Improve investment, exports and business relations dialogue and build trust with foreign publics
g.	Promote a favorable image of the country abroad
h.	Branding of country abroad (implying the use of special marketing strategies)
i.	Support cultural sector to expand their activities in the cultural and creative industries in particular
j.	Increase cultural exchange and cooperation
k.	Attract tourism
l.	Support cultural diversity
m.	Foster people to people contacts, intercultural dialogues and debates
n.	Strengthen civil society (especially in countries in transition)
o.	Promote use of national languages
p.	Promote translations
q.	Intellectual exchange of ideas
r.	Education
s.	Support diaspora communities
t.	Aid to developing countries
u.	Contribute to conflict prevention and cultural security
v.	Other: e. g. Promote Multilingualism

17 Ibid.

Table 3: Main sectors[18]; Intellectual exchange in humanities

a.	Museums/touring Exhibitions
b.	Heritage
c.	Libraries
d.	Performing arts
e.	Visual arts
f.	Literature and literary translations
g.	Music
h.	Film and audiovisual services
i.	Interactive video games
j.	Press and book publishing
k.	Television and radio
l.	Design
m.	Fashion
n.	Advertising
o.	Architecture
p.	Sports
q.	Others

Table 4: Institutions[19]

a.	Government
b.	Government agencies
c.	Diplomats
d.	Cultural Institutions
e.	Artists/Creators/NGOs
f.	Embassies
g.	International Organizations
h.	Others

18 Ibid.
19 Ibid.

It would be rather more interesting to find out the target groups' perception of the employed instruments. Have they in any way changed their image of Europe or have they opened new academic, educational, social and economic perspectives? Have they learned from each other or accepted their different cultures?

6. True and equal partners for long-term foreign relations

Anyone doubting the fundamental importance of culture in international relations should consider the worldwide outrage sparked by the destruction of the Buddhist statues in Afghanistan, the appalling lack of protection of Iraq's cultural heritage following the American invasion in 2003, or more recently the destruction of the antique Syrian "Suk" or an ancient library in Mali. One has to decide between commercial success and the gain of trust between the peoples. The different approaches of an interest-guided (often economic) and purpose-free cultural policy (often based on the concept of free dialogue) have sparked a recent outcry in German parliament among the opposition which denounced a complete shift in paradigm by the present government towards cultural exportation for purely economic purposes.[20] In commercial terms, a large number of cultural investments may very well lack the required immediate financial return. In reality, only a long-term cultural engagement with people who are accepted as equal partners on a level playing field can lead to innovative and new co-operations. If they are truly based on dialogue and the West or more developed countries are equally willing to learn from their respective partners, only then may they create the mutual trust which is required for human understanding, for the discovery of unknown worlds of culture, for peace and even for good business! In this way, the Goethe-Institut has always preferred dialogue to huge glamorous events. This is globally perceived as a genuinely democratic practice and has had a lasting positive impact on Germany's image. Therefore, the physical presence of national cultural institutes such as the Alliance Française, the British Council, the Italian Cultural Institute, the Instituto Cervantes, Instituto Camões, Goethe-Institut as neutral platforms without a hidden political agenda or an elaborated cultural tool box, public spaces where people, artists and audiences can meet and share their knowledge and culture are needed as much as mutual exchange programs (e. g. the success story of the "OFAJ"[21]). This also applies to the many other German "antennae" like Humboldt-Foundation, German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), Ger-

20 Session 231, March 2013: Top 6 Foreign, cultural and educational policy. Permalink: http://dbt.gtv/fvid/2250020.

21 Office franco-allemand de la Jeunesse, http://ofaj/-France.

man Worldwide Radio and Television (Deutsche Welle), Institute for Foreign Relations (ifa) and Center for German Schools abroad (ZfA), only to mention a few. "Together, they are a precious capital for Germany, a sort of currency reserve of unshakeable sympathy and respect unaffected by crises"[22]. Here, each dollar or euro invested will pay back hundredfold.

22 Johannes Ebert, General Secretary of Goethe-Institut: http://www.goethe.de/prs/int/04/de10247740.htm.

A slippery slope – state, the arts and international reconciliation

Pius Knüsel

Amongst cultural practitioners, international cultural exchange is still considered as the pinnacle of cultural activities. It combines public mission, individual passion, gratitude of the hosts and bold elements. What could be more exciting than curating an exhibition of European art in Shanghai, promoting African music in Vienna or putting up a German-Russian Year of Culture? And what, if not global exchange, will drive the arts into the future?

In fact, the arts have always been bartered and have highlighted strange influences in the most evident way. Where sailors went, artefacts, mainly handicrafts, were transported back and forth; works of art that can be transported, as we are used to today, did not exist. It was easier to take an artist on a voyage and to have him draw and, once back home, repaint what he had seen. Trade, across the Mediterranean Sea, around the African continent, along the Arabic-Indian coasts, along the Silk Road, and from the 16th century onwards, across the Atlantic, has always fostered cultural exchange. Christian missionaries, the pure and brutal desires of European kings and emperors to conquer new territories, the violent competition for new colonies all contributed to the mixing of cultures which defines modern times. Of course, the notion of cultural exchange had not been considered in the past – any 'cultural spoils' were simply a result of crude exploitation and looting.

Nonetheless, the colonization of different peoples, and its imposition of European values, concepts and cultural metaphors and place-holders stimulated ethnological curiosity and produced new aesthetic dimensions. As inhumane as conditions were, they turned out to be fruitful for the arts. Through each cultural shock, the arts experienced a new boost; otherwise they remained in regionally closed systems developing slowly within the codes of tradition and in parallel to similarly steady technical development. As a result of these shocks, we can find Christian motives in classical Indian painting, African inspiration in the early years of modern European art, and simply admit that from Arabic culture of ancient times much was translated into Greek, then into Roman culture which is still considered to be the basis of our civilization. Aesthetic concepts including beauty, transcendence, harmony and emotion guide the artistic creativity of our times and root in those cultures.

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The best illustration of cultural dominance, as a concept, is the world exhibition of 1889 in Paris[1]. It became unforgettable because of the Eiffel Tower. The tower was a masterpiece of engineering, a very young profession boosted by the invention of structural steel work. For the birth of modern Europe, engineers were more important than all the politicians, artists and national heroes put together. It was the engineers who designed trains linking the farthest corners of Europe; it was the engineers who built the roads, factories and the representational buildings which gave face to the notion of Europe's superior civilization. The buildings of the period mark the beginning of what we now call sculptural architecture; buildings that go beyond the visibility of gravity and the economy of maximal volumes. The Eiffel Tower was a European obelisk, hence a symbolic copy of Egyptian art – and a cultural landmark. European culture had already spread around the globe.

The promoters of the World Exhibition of Paris in 1889 – (the ninth expo since its premiere in London in the year 1851), had invited individuals representing foreign cultures and nations (nation and culture being the same a decade after the invention of the nation state). Individuals came from Asia, Africa, and Latin America. They were put into traditional costumes and replica of indigenous villages, where they had to practice their rituals, i. e. Balinese temple dances, the manufacture (and sale) of handicrafts or performing nomadic songs, whilst being observed by hundreds of thousands of Europeans. Those 200 individuals, considered as exotic humans, representative of primitive cultures, spread over 20 mini ghettos, served as the backdrop that emphasised the apparent superiority of European culture and civilization that considered itself so much ahead of straw, copper dishes and physical trance.

One should not underestimate the impact of such an event. Approximately 31 million visitors travelled to Paris in 1889. In 1851, London had already attracted 6 million people. At the time, Europe itself counted less than 300 million inhabitants. It was the fourth (of nine) world exhibitions to be held in Paris alone; together the exhibitions laid the foundation for the city's reputation as the World's cultural capital, a position it retained until the 1970ies. Amongst tourists, Paris is still a prime destination in terms of arts and culture, with tradition counting as one of its important assets.

Yet the ninth world exhibition had paradoxical effects too. The artists in particular were impressed by the inherent qualities of the exotic dances and handi-

1 A fascinating approach to the world of the world exhibitions is given by Beat Wyss, Bilder von der Globalisierung. Die Weltausstellung von Paris 1889, Berlin 2012 (in German only).

crafts they saw. Amongst French artists, the interest in new patterns and forms grew. Up to this point, artists had travelled to the French shores of the Mediterranean Sea. Now northern Africa became the new trend. The globalization of arts in an inbound sense came into being, driven by economy (imports) and the interest of artists. Paris, Berlin, and Moscow became hot spots of arts' development. The world exhibitions, planned as a European manifesto, created its own counter movement which 100 years later, when the Berlin wall came down, marked the end of this superiority: the rehabilitation of non-European cultures, their art and the recognition of it as true artistic expression on equal terms. It was a never completed move towards reconciliation.

1. A sense of superficiality

Of course not all that glitters is gold. The economic power of the European nations, their systems of arts and cultural promotion and the financial padding of international cultural activities glamorize European arts, their institutional as well as aesthetic concepts, up to this very day. There is a pervading attitude of respect and recognition for diverse cultures among participants and organisers. Yet it feels simply opportunist, as Niklas Luhmann says:

> "The trendy option for cultural diversity legitimates a conservative attitude towards one's own culture and a merely touristic interest for others."[2]

Its link to a strong economy, its openness and obvious political support make the western arts system very attractive for artists from economically weaker or developing countries. Often they take up the first opportunity to migrate west where they are then socially integrated and aesthetically assimilated, turning them into representatives of a hybrid, but mostly western art. There are countries like France which, in a paternalistic style, encourages foreign artists to move to France where they are supported whilst their home countries lose their most creative talents. Like Asghar Farhadi, the Iranian director, who made his most recent movie "A Separation" in France. The tolerance-of-diversity-principle uses the same tolerance to foster a permanent brain drain westwards. It makes it hard to speak of true, international cultural exchange. Wherever we look, there is an imbalance. A contradiction.

At this point it seems appropriate to add, that state supported cultural exchange is politically biased by principle. It is a global battle ground where na-

2 Niklaus Luhmann, Die Realität der Massenmedien, Opladen 1996, S. 194 (citation transl. by PK).

tions compete for attention and image although they all proclaim the freedom of the arts. The suspicion is that they mean the freedom to serve. Cleverly, modern political interest is not as manifest as it was decades ago. Nations behave much more like intelligent sponsors. An intelligent sponsor uses understatement to bring about the desired image transfer. In the realms of cheap consumer goods like soft drinks, one still may find those sponsors who bombard consumers with their brand. People have become resistant. So a contemporary sponsor uses more subtle means like personalized messages, generosity and ambassadors of intention, in order to convert hesitant consumers. This too is the method nations use in order to seduce the opinion-makers of foreign countries.

The success of an artistic product, a show, an exhibition, its popularity, its emotional gravity and prestige will produce a spill-over on the sender so that there is no need for blunt self-presentation. This would considered paternalistic behaviour. They know, that the key-players know, that it is their signature that makes the event possible. Furthermore, they know that they will receive their kickback when the time has come.

The world exhibition of Paris in 1889 was a message to the homelands, to the population of Europe. The populace of other nations only knew of it from hearsay or from the little media coverage that existed in the period, and even then it was only when the spectacle was over. Firstly, the world exhibitions served the idea of peaceful competition between developed countries – France, UK, Germany, Austria, Italy, the USA. Osaka, Japan, was the first town outside the western world to host a world exhibition – and that was as recently as 1970, 120 years after the first edition. There were little sisters of the world exhibitions – the Olympic Games held for the first time in Athens in 1896, a result of the growing inclination towards ancient Greek culture, a part of the humanistic-bourgeois life style.

This lifestyle itself was part of the self-styling of the new industrial bourgeoisie and had an enormous influence on higher education in the West. Another sister was the Art Biennale of Venice, launched in 1895. Though many copies emerged around the globe, European Venice has held its leading position and sets the standards for contemporary art as they then are applied throughout the world.

The world exhibitions proved that art and culture suit the needs of national profiling. It is only logical that, after the turn from the 19th to the 20th century, foreign policy started using arts and culture as a regular transporter of national spirit and civilization to the outer world and to fortify national dominance. France was the first to found the French Institute in Florence in 1907. It was a branch of Grenoble University, but was soon transferred to the state. Today the foreign ministry of France runs more than 100 institutes and 125 culture sections of its em-

bassies all around the world, add to that 900 Alliances Françaises subsidized associations spreading French culture and civilization in non-formal contexts. The mission of this dense network is to strengthen the cultural presence of France in the world. "By creating the French Institute, France wanted to inspire promotion of its foreign cultural activities", the French minister of culture Xavier Darcos underlined once again in 2013. [3]

France was followed by Germany, which created the Deutsches Auslands-Institut (German Foreign Institute), soon renamed as Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen (Institute for International Relations or ifa). It began operations from Stuttgart in 1917. Its mission was the cultural care of Germans living abroad (helping them by supporting any type of Heimat (homeland) substitution), the production of touring exhibitions of German art abroad as well as large-scale propagandised PR. The NSDAP used it as a planning centre for a nationalist cultural policy in the occupied eastern territories and as a support tool for their forced Germanization.

In 1949, the ifa was reformed; since then it has been an autonomous organisation, whose official mission is to display German visual art abroad, to promote the dialogue of civil societies and nations and to spread cultural information about Germany around the world. Mainly state-financed, it seeks a balance between financial dependence and political autonomy and dedicates itself to mutual understanding by means of culture, intercultural dialogue and the promotion of Germany. Obviously, the mission has remained the same over decades and regimes. The wordings has become softer, the terms more trendy, only the underlying spirit is still closely connected to the idea of the nation state and its eternal need to compete with its neighbours across the world. If it can be said that nations behave like companies – this is where it happens.

In 1934, the UK founded the British Council. Like others, this structure served and continues to serve as a means of maintaining and extending the influence of the UK through cultural activities in the world. The founding Royal Charter defined its mission as, "promoting a wider appreciation of British culture and civilisation by encouraging cultural, educational and other interchanges between the United Kingdom and elsewhere". It is, once more, the same rhetoric.

There is no serious objection to it – except for one: That the arts went through the political turbulence of 1968 and since then have pretended to be free of politics and external interest. Aesthetic innovation and critical approach were introduced as the key criteria for what true art has to be. These two criteria exclude any other endorsement. Yet "a wider appreciation" is a purely affirmative aim.

3 Compare www.institutfrancais.com.

The key terms have remained the same over decades: appreciation, sympathy, influence – in an increasingly competitive global environment. The Swiss arts council Pro Helvetia[4], founded in 1939 on the pretext of the country's intellectual defence against the fascist threat, was charged with a dual mission highlighting the internal impact of international cultural activities. The first axis was to create a cultural identity for a nation which, since its first day, has been proud of cultural diversity and the variety of social-cultural models the cantons (its Länder or districts) represented. Yet, the debate on the option to join the Third Reich brought deep divisions between the French part of the country and a large portion of its German areas to the surface. In particular, in the big German speaking cities, a significant number of citizens proclaimed affiliation with the Nazis.

Pro Helvetia's primary mission was to repair these cracks. Its secondary mission was to foster cultural relations with foreign countries, "in particular, by soliciting understanding for the Swiss mentality and culture". Again, it was about appreciation based upon the tolerance of different attitudes. Once more, it was about propaganda.

The networks of cultural representations turned out to be formidable instruments for the cold war. The Bolsheviks and the German fascists had demonstrated how easily they fit into propaganda and mass education. The cold war was a war of symbols and metaphors. Who could provide more of it than the arts? Therefore, post 1945, cultural diplomacy had its heyday: systematic, politically initiated, directed and accompanied, in every case publicly subsidized, international cultural activities.

Orchestras and jazz bands toured, art was exhibited in foreign museums, short wave stations aired their programs into the atmosphere, cultural ambassadors and writers barraged foreign audiences with lectures everywhere, new cultural centres were opened. This happened in the East as well as in the West; for obvious reasons western countries were more active and more powerful. The eastern *block* strengthened ties mainly among friends within Europe, Africa and Cuba and erected houses of national culture in allied capitals. Only a few dared to cross the great wall, like Romania which opened an official art gallery in New York.

More joined in, such as the Japan Foundation in 1972, a result of the economic growth of the nation which called for a cultural counterpoint in order to design the image of a complete nation. In 1991, after the death of Franco, a similar concept compelled a re-emerging Spain to open the Instituto Cervantes.

4 A brief version of the history of Pro Helvetia can be found on its webpage: http://www.prohelvetia.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/customers/prohelvetia/Die_Stiftung/Dokumente/Geschichte/120817_Highlights_of_over_70_years_Pro_Helvetia_E_DEF.pdf. Read also: Zwischen Kultur und Politik. Pro Helvetia 1939-2009, Zürich 2010.

At the heart of all these networks, cultural activities and programs, we find a national canon, a culture and a set of artists and artworks considered by parliaments and foreign ministries as the most typical of the nation, typical in the way it expresses, illustrates or emphasises the vague system of values qualified as its own. The decades from 1945 to 1989 were the half-century of patriotic culture. Those who aspired for state support had to share the canon of national values. Those, who did not prove themselves as loyal, remained outside the official system and its privileges. Even within domestic cultural policy, political affiliation played an important role, as testified by many cases of censorship.

The tension, between official control and the desire of artists for freedom, encouraged by mobility and internationalization, broke in the western hemisphere in 1968. The student revolt was basically a cultural revolution. It led to a new set of values – democratization, participation, sexual as well as political liberation, abolition of authority, to name but a few. The freedom of the arts became an important issue and was added to the constitution in most western countries in order to protect artists from political repression. The arts themselves shook off the humanistic-bourgeois canon and ideal. They turned to political radicalness, laid bare in the political pop songs of the early seventies and in punk music which carried the protest character of music to its ultimate form. Instead of affirming authority, as they had during the fifties and sixties, a critical attitude towards political and economic power became the key marker of true arts. Art no longer pretended to be an authority giving us great ideas and linking us to tradition, but a critical mindset helping us to escape permanent manipulation.

For domestic cultural policy this disruption had long-lasting consequences. Numerous countries overhauled their systems of cultural promotion. Experts were appointed, juries inaugurated, independent artists supported, contemporary art forms like pop music, jazz, video, and comics were acknowledged. The idea that the arts could be more than an instrument of foreign policy, but – in the light of 2500 years of tradition – an important factor of social formation in a domestic context, gained enormous recognition – Germany invented the appropriate slogan: “Kultur für alle”, culture for all. The states took initiatives, cultural output multiplied rapidly, cultural institutions sprang-up and cultural education was made a key school subject. A general aesthetification of society began; art, design and multimedia invaded every social sphere and – became a commodity.

2. Prisoner of the past

At home, art is separate from its political purpose (the discussion, if its purpose is viewed as an economic one, will lead too far here). Abroad, it still sticks to its financial supporter. Of course the field has changed greatly. Nobody with perhaps the exception of the North Koreans speaks of propaganda anymore[5].

Method and intentions are the only communication tools used in cases where cultural exchange is state financed. But it still is about political interest; furthermore it is about the global economy of attention. Those nations wanting to do business must not be forgotten. They must be seen as generous. They must be in the headlines …

The key terms look like old friends: Dialogue, appreciation, partnership. The formula of German cultural foreign policy for example speaks of "winning partners, communicating values, defending interests". Art, commonly viewed upon as something peaceful and good, can contribute to foreign policy. This positive, though unfortunately false, rhetoric finally denudes the arts of their potency. Well-made art, anointed with all the refinements of the 21st century, or the highlights of the classical period are at the heart of such activities. Chosen works always follow the principle of not provoking the host country. The more authoritarian a government, the more the country offering works fears censorship, and as a result behaves more prudently Germany presented a very sad example with "The Art of Enlightenment". The exhibition was the inaugural exhibition of the renovated Hall of the People, resp. the National Museum in Beijing in 2010. It was curated in Germany and financed with 10 million Euros by the German foreign ministry. Nevertheless, China's censorship intervened – and Germany gave in. Additionally, the night before the official inauguration, China arrested the renowned Chinese artist Ai Wei-Wei making it a truly scandalous event.

Similar aspects, although with opposite intentions, marked the case of Thomas Hirschhorn. His show "Swiss-Swiss Democracy" was opened in late fall 2004 at the Swiss Culture Centre in Paris, run by Pro Helvetia. The theme was democracy. Tens of thousands of clippings from newspapers and books entirely decorated the walls of the centre. A poster showed a scene of torture from Abu Ghraib, made public shortly before the exposition was planned. Overlaying the picture were the emblems of the three oldest cantons of Switzerland, founders of the confederation, and the claim "I love democracy". In this case it was the parliament of the sender state which intervened. For denigrating the image of Switzerland by associating its democracy with the torturing practices of Americans

5 What is interesting in this context is the exhibition of North-Korean paintings in Vienna in 2010 – pure propaganda acclaimed by the public, http://www.zeit.de/2010/23/Kunst-aus-Nordkorea.

in the Iraqi prisons, it punished Pro Helvetia with a budget cut for the following year. It also provoked great turmoil – and a public debate which lasted half a year.

Of course, a lot of cultural exchange happens without state support. Some of it can be carried out thanks to patrons and philanthropic foundations. A larger part is moved around the globe by market forces. The cultural market is a powerful actor and a dynamical one too. It is innovative. But Europe has little to say in it. European cultural policies focus on highbrow or intellectual culture only. Intellectual – conceptual contemporary and classical culture – cannot be exported without state support. The system of subsidization has pushed its costs to unreasonable levels making its products uncompetitive. Therefore European countries – with the exception of the UK – use their cultural networks and institutions mainly as export channels for intellectual arts. In the field of commercial pop culture, Europe is a small player[6]. There is little which can be sold profitably to others. The result of such politics is that European countries finance both sides of cultural transfer: the exportation of their own artistic products and the importation of mainly US pop culture. Besides promoting cultural diplomacy in the fifties and sixties (and re-launching it, particularly in the central Asian countries[7]), the US successfully tried to keep trade barriers low so that films and music could be exported to other nations. Under the umbrella of the UN convention of the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005), European countries fiercely protect their artists and cultural systems from being overrun by commercial culture. France for example insists on the "exception culturelle", (the cultural exception) pretending that its market needs more quota in favour of domestic production, that imports have to be regulated and French artists should be supported generously. Cannes, the famous film festival, became its hot battle field in 2013 when hundreds of film directors protested against a potential liberalization of the audio-visual market.

Both sectors, the commercial and the non-commercial, follow the rules of exchange to some extent, if exchange is understood as a mutual giving and receiving of similar products, values or interests. The commercial sector sells. It has earned a true demand. Message and interest are congruent. What is sold has a huge impact on local production. Success makes money, a rule everybody knows and respects. Thus far, the commercial sector is transparent. Official exchange, however, motivated by a veiled interest in winning the favour of the host coun-

6 A thrilling overview of the global culture market and its drivers was given by Frédéric Martel, "Mainstream. Enquête sur la culture qui plait à tout le monde", Paris 2010, available in German, French, Chinese, Spanish and several other languages.

7 Matthew Wallin, The New Public Diplomacy Imperative. America's Vital Need to Communicate Strategically, www.americansecurityproject.org, 2012.

try, involves gifts. It works with incentives or discounted offers in order to place its artistic products. Institutions in need of filling up their programs, grab what fits into their profile. It is difficult to see this as an exchange. In most cases, it is a one-way activity because the interest is not a mutual one. All big nations are competing for China's love, take Germany's example. As a consequence you find Swiss Years, French Years, Russian Culture Weeks, British Festivals in China en masse. Artists are rarely asked if such initiatives make sense; they take part because it is hip and because it is a well-paid trip. You seldom find a Chinese Year in Switzerland or Russia or elsewhere. It is a unilateral love. Usually the economically stronger partner dominates, with China being a special case.

3. Independence, cooperation, risk sharing: three principles

International cultural exchange is a very slippery slope when it comes to the usual standards of the artistic field: critical attitude, honesty, message transfer. So the challenge is to structure cultural exchange in such a way that it fits more than less into its own discourse of dialogue and understanding without reducing art to background music. The arts, be it music, theatre, literature, film, etc., are not made to unify people. On the contrary, art is much more about positioning, about highlighting differences and controversial positions. It may conciliate as well as provoke, it may attract some and repel others. The example of Thomas Hirschhorn made it evident. What was considered disrespectful by the majority of Swiss deputies to the mission of Pro Helvetia, was simply an expression of liberal thinking for the French audience.

In order to protect the arts from massive political exploitation and to bypass the contradiction of affirmative propaganda and critical approach, we recommend a number of methods. These help to achieve the honest exchange of cultural goods and activities and are used as a forum for one-to-one dialogue. Whether projects result in peace and understanding, remains an open question. Even if differences and distances grow, we prefer societies to stay in touch with books and films rather than resorting to sanctions and other hard measures. These methods do not proclaim big events like "The Art of Enlightenment" or "Une année croisée France-Russie". Big events satisfy politicians who can hold speeches and cut ribbons, they impress their counterparts. They are about prestige – a short lived gain. They may have some positive spin-offs but they do not justify the investment and the distortions of perception that come with them.

Art is a medium of world exploration, analysis and re-composition separate to politically approved action. Art that goes farther than representation and pres-

tige takes place mostly outside big institutions like operas, museums or leading festivals. If international cultural exchange is about an open encounter, an examination, or a dispute without predefined result, then the most interesting partners are independent promoters and small and mid-size institutions that are not directly tied to the state and rely on a variety of financial resources, or the artists themselves. Only with a selection of partners such as this, can the obstacles laid down by official sources seeking to gain attention or avoid diplomatic troubles be bypassed. Projects do not become domesticated only when operating below the radar of politics, and therein lies a significant problem. Big money, big stages and big media coverage are strong seducers. Independent artists and promoters do not receive all the rewards that the large institutions might offer. But they do know the tolerance in the system. They also know the secret of how to veil contentious topics or how to mask them intelligently so they reach the audience without attracting the eye of the censor. They also have an audience that is interested in learning and debating – unlike the audience that is simply longing for the glass of champagne after the show.

If the first rule here is called "independence", the second is named "cooperation". Whoever moves art from one country to another, must not conceive their great project at home. They must first explore the host country, learn about the needs of potential partners, the themes agitating them, the manner of production, the personnel resources, skills, and money at hand. That is the way to create exchange on a level playing field which in turn earns the title "exchange", to generate themes and content relevant to both sides and the creation of a new experience instead of an exhibition of known names or a tour of world-renowned artists or the copy of a concept successful elsewhere but that does not fit the context. The shared development of the project is key to mutual learning. It demands that Europeans, frequently the dominant partner, have to leave room for unexpected ideas and forms and have to acknowledge them.

The third, and final recommendation, is "shared risk". Those who opt for independent projects based on partnership when undertaking an international cultural project, have to make sure that their foreign partners participate in the financial risk. This sounds easy, yet it is the most difficult part of the task. Convincing a gallery in Egypt to take on part of the cost for a project, whilst international competitors are offering similar projects for free, demands a lot of persuasion and strong argument. Exaggerated generosity substitutes interest in arts with a perspective of a riskless event which may even leave some money in the pocket of the promoter. This is a major disadvantage for artistic success and sustainability, as it reduces the likelihood of experiencing a unique artistic adven-

ture that leaves emotional traces. Only those who share the financial risk, are interested in creating something new, only they will mobilize their audience and fight for the attention of the relevant critics and exponents of the cultural scene. Therefore, shared risk is a key rule. Sharing does not necessarily mean 50/50. It may include an imbalance ranging from 10/90 to 40/60 on the host's side, depending on the economic context, the structure and the position of the partners, etc. Simply do not give it for free – each side should invest what it can.

Such types of cooperation necessarily require a lot of knowledge transfer: project management, content generation and experience of negotiating. The reward for both sides should not to be over-looked when evaluating the project. Although the partnership may only yield modest gains, we have proven that partners in the host country do not abandon the partnership in favour of more generous offers. On the contrary, the cultural gain of a common partnership has proven to be so important that instead of seeking greater, guaranteed financial gain elsewhere, partners are ready to accept the financial risk again.

These three principles sound simple, yet they are not. They demand money and political support, but also a great deal of personal strength, particularly in the sphere of complex negotiations which are required in place of simply buying required services and affiliations. They demand more, namely to share appreciation and visibility and to integrate opposing interests and values. Politics are not in favour of such complicated procedures; politicians prefer growth of the symbolical space of the nation instead of its dilution in cultural netting. Nonetheless, the three principles of independence, partnership and risk-sharing are requirements which allow the arts to develop as a room of blank and metaphorical speech, as a composition of emotions and vibrations. Sometimes dialogue may turn into a serious argument. This is healthy. It is not always the anticipated reconciliation we seek in the international field (this is actually the job of politicians), but it does raise awareness on both sides. Sometimes we part feeling more different from each other than when we met. Thanks to the arts.

Exporting Culture in a Global Word: War economy or Warhol economy?

GiannaLia Cogliandro Beyens / Cristina Ortega Nuere

In this article we would like to focus our attention on the central role of education for creating the conditions for developing capabilities, particularly in the present crisis situation. Educational institutions and more specifically networks, associations and alliances are the best platforms for creating the best conditions to contribute to the modernization of the educational system and generate opportunities for unconventional connections between creative business and academic spheres.

This article aims to reflect on the value of culture in different fields that are currently under debate due to their importance in the situation our world is living in at the moment. The current global economic crisis is what most people are concerned about. However, we are convinced that we cannot get out of the crisis without establishing policy in terms of sustainable development and without making the progress and the well-being of the citizenship the focus of our goals. In the first part of the article we will consider those relevant areas taking culture as a guide. What place should culture be assigned or what place does culture already occupy in terms of economy, sustainable development and well-being? What are European countries and institutions doing to enhance culture's contribution in those areas?

How should education evolve in a changing society and environment? Which skills and expertise should education, in the cultural management and policy field, provide for allowing smart, sustainable and inclusive growth in Europe and beyond? How can networks in the field of culture and education contribute to reforming and modernizing the educational system as well as to creating capabilities to stimulate the sector's ability to innovate, through the exploration of fresh and unconventional connections between the creative, business and academic spheres? In the final section of this article we will try to provide brief answers to these questions.

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1. Prioritising culture in challenging times

There are different studies justifying the relevance of culture as an economic driver, as well as policies that foster culture in that basis. In that sense, the changes that Europe's international partners, such as the United States, have already made in the cultural and the creative sectors and the results they have obtained are to be taken into account, as well as the investments that emerging countries such as China have made in the last years. Moreover, it is essential to analyse what the European Union has suggested and imposed through the past policies in those areas.

There are also several studies, policies and organizations that deal with culture as an enabler for sustainable development. The work that the United Nations has been doing during the last decade is crucial to understanding how we have reached current levels of sustainable development. The Agenda 21 action plan has been a cornerstone in that process, both internationally and locally. The last conference that took place in Rio de Janeiro in 2012 set the goals for the next years and laid out the basis for a post 2015 agenda that should enhance culture's role as a driver and as an enabler of sustainable development. This work has resulted in achievements in terms of poverty alleviation, social inclusion and environmental sustainability.

And now, a debate about the role of culture as a factor for progress and well-being is emerging worldwide. This was clearly highlighted in the last international congress organized by UNESCO in Hangzhou in May 2013. It is entitled: "Culture: Key to Sustainable Development". The measurement of well-being through specific cultural indicators was one of the main topics analyzed and debated. It seems that the relevance of capabilities to achieve well-being has become a recurring issue among experts, as those capabilities show themselves as economic drivers. However, they are also enablers of sustainable development, that will ultimately lead to higher levels of individual and social well-being. Moreover, Amartya Sen's "capability approach"[1] and Martha Nussbaum's further "ten central capabilities"[2] point to the same conclusion. Thus, investing in the creation of conditions for developing capabilities, proves to be a field for research as well as a practical policy guideline.

1 Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*, 2000.
2 Martha Nussbaum, *Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach*, 2011.

2. War economy or Warhol economy?

Is culture merely costly, as it is often seen, or does culture have a considerable impact on the economy that might cast a different light on it? Different studies justify the relevance of culture as an economic driver and consequently, there are policies that foster culture to that end. In that sense, a closer look at the current European framework of economic policies, in order to find which position culture is supposed to occupy, seems to be obligatory. A look at the Europe 2020 Strategy may be the best way in which to gain a broad overview of the situation. According to José Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission, "Europe 2020 is the EU's growth strategy for the coming decade. In a changing world, we want the EU to become a smart, sustainable and inclusive economy". These three mutually reinforcing priorities should help the EU and its Member States to deliver high levels of employment, productivity and social cohesion. Specifically, the European Union has set five ambitious objectives to be reached by 2020: employment, innovation, education, social inclusion and climate/energy.

What position should culture hold in such an ambitious strategy? According to the communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions entitled "Promoting Cultural and Creative Sectors for Growth and Jobs in the EU", the cultural and creative sector is a "largely untapped resource for the EU 2020 strategy". It is defined as a sector with high opportunities for growth, as a catalyst for innovation and as a key element in global competition and soft power. In order to achieve the aforementioned goals, the key policies for an integrated strategy in culture would be the following ones: The requirement for changing skills, improving access to finance, enlarging the marketplace, expanding international reach and reinforcing cross-sectorial fertilization.

The communication states that improvement in those fields would also "help other economic sectors, such as the education and vocational training sector, as the cultural and creative sectors can contribute to developing the blend of skills around creativity and entrepreneurship, critical thinking, risk taking and engagement, which is needed for the EU's competitiveness in the knowledge society". So it seems clear that the policies aiming to reinforce cultural skills are likely to be enablers for fostering capabilities.

According to the survey made by PricewaterhouseCoopers[3] mentioned in "Culture: a driver and an enabler of sustainable development" a document published by UNESCO in May 2012, "cultural and creative industries represent one

3 PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2008.

of the most rapidly expanding sectors in the global economy with a growth rate of 17.6% in the Middle East, 13.9% in Africa, 11.9% in South America, 9.7% in Asia, 6.9% in Oceania, and 4.3% in North and Central America. Promoting this sector requires limited capital investment, involves low entry barriers and can have a direct impact on vulnerable populations, including women. In Ecuador, recent studies show that the formal and private cultural activities contributed 4.76% to the 2010 GDP and in the same year, 2.64% of the total employed population worked in cultural occupations. Almost 60% of the latter were women".

The Cultural Statistics' survey published by Eurostat in its 2011 edition[4] shows that the United States have been investing in the cultural and creative sectors for decades both as strategic economic sectors and a tool to affirm their presence globally. Others, such as China, South Korea or India, are also making massive investments to boost their economic potential and 'soft power'. To do so, they enter into global competition for creative talents. For example, in China public investment in culture has grown by 23% annually since 2007, and there are plans to raise the sectors' share of GDP from 2.5% to 5-6% by 2015.

The data collected in that survey also reflects an interesting matter in relation to economic growth via job creation. The profile of cultural and creative workers has some particular features that may be particularly relevant in the current landscape of job losses and lack of opportunities. According to the survey, those who work in cultural and creative sectors are academically better equipped as nearly 60% of them have tertiary studies while the percentage of the total workers with that level of studies is just 30% on average in the 27 countries of the Union. Also, the percentage of people employed in part-time jobs are higher in those two sectors, with more than 25% on average in the EU, compared to less than 20% in relation to general working data. In 26 of the 27 countries, included in the data, the percentage of part-time workers employed in the cultural and creative sector is higher than in the general data.

Within the data related to the people employed and working from home is even more significant. In all 27 countries, without exception, the number of employees in the cultural and creative workforce, who are working from home, account for more than other workers. The numbers from the 27 countries contained in the data are very explicit: more than 25% of cultural and creative workers work from home, in contrast to the less than 15% of the general workers. In countries such as Hungary, Italy or Slovakia the percentage is triple, and in Iceland, although it is not a member state, the cultural and creative workers working at home number more than 50%. Finally, instances where people have more than one job are

4 Eurostat, *Cultural Statistics*, 2011.

also found more in the cultural and creative sector compared to the general data. The difference is more significant in countries including the Netherlands, Austria, Czech Republic or Belgium, where there is a difference of more than 50% in favour of cultural and creative workers.

3. Sustainable development: How does culture make a difference?

We believe that culture cannot only be an economic driver, but can also drive and enable sustainable development. Many studies and policies reflect that, and important institutions work hard in order to achieve that goal. UNESCO is one of the referents in that sense. In the 2010 Millennium Development Goals (MDG) Summit, UNESCO remarked that culture was an important sector for the achievement of these goals. That message was ratified in two "Culture and Development" UNGA Resolutions in 2012 and 2011. However, the document entitled "Culture: a driver and an enabler of sustainable development" published in May 2012[5] might serve as the best example.

According to that publication, statistics, indicators and data on the cultural sector have shown beyond any doubt that culture is a powerful driver for development: "It provides community-wide social, economic and environmental impacts, resulting in economic benefits and poverty alleviation. Cultural heritage, cultural and creative industries, sustainable cultural tourism, and cultural infrastructure can serve as strategic tools for revenue generation, particularly in developing countries given their often rich cultural heritage and substantial labour force". In line with that, by January 2012, culture was included in 70% of the United Nations Development Assistance Frameworks.

When talking about the cultural sector, a broader overview is necessary. We believe that the cultural sector is connected to many other sectors which makes the boundaries unclear. This is the case in the tourism industry, which has become one of the world's fastest growing economic sectors. According to the aforementioned document, "gross worldwide tourism receipts grew at an average rate of 7% from 1998 to 2008, with 12% for the Least Developed Countries for the same period. Cultural tourism – that relies on tangible and intangible cultural assets – accounts for 40% of worldwide tourism revenues". So, investment in culture and creativity has an effect on the revitalisation of the economy of cities, by means that are not supposed to belong to the cultural industries. In the last years, many cities have improved their image using cultural heritage and cultural events. In

5 UNESCO, *Culture: a driver and an enabler of sustainable development*, 2012.

order to offer quality services and attract visitors, the stimulation of urban development plans is necessary.

However, the benefits of the cultural sector's development cannot be measured simply in monetary terms. Concepts, such as social inclusion, resilience, innovation, creativity and entrepreneurship for individuals and communities are also consequences of cultural-led policies. "Respecting and supporting cultural expressions contributes to strengthening the social capital of a community and fosters trust in public institutions. Cultural factors also influence lifestyles, individual behaviour, consumption patterns, values related to environmental stewardship, and our interaction with the natural environment", states the "Culture: a driver and an enabler of sustainable development" document. This means that many sectors such as those related to environment, gender issues, health or education can be beneficiaries of culture-led policies.

Moreover, when talking about diversity, multiculturalism or marginalised communities, cultural education plays an important role. An approach based on human rights, an approach that understands that cultural diversity is the basis of a balanced relationship framework between equals, plays a decisive role in achieving development goals, whilst also maintaining sustainability. As stated in the aforementioned document, "The integration of culture into sustainable development strategies and policies advances a human-centred and inclusive approach to development, in addition to serving as a powerful socio-economic resource. Culture is a transversal and cross-cutting concern and, as such, affects all the dimensions of development".

The data collected in "Culture: a driver and an enabler of sustainable development" shows that culture is increasingly taken into account as a development indicator: "Whereas 5 years ago culture was mentioned in only less than 30 % of UNDAF, it is now mentioned in 70 % of them. Culture has been defined as a UNDAF outcome in several countries. Indeed, as the 2010 UN Secretary General's Report on Culture and Development has shown, 18 UN organizations work in the area of culture or regularly adopt culture-sensitive approaches".

However, those culture-sensitive approaches may not be effective in all cases. That is to say, there is not a single culture policy design that may be eligible for every community, social group or context. A global scope may not be satisfying. This was stated by Jyoti Hisagrahar in Hanghzou at the "Culture: Key to Sustainable Development" congress. Hisagrahar proposed the concept of "place-based capabilities approaches", as an extension of Amartya Sen's idea of "substantial freedom" and Martha Nussbaum's conception of "central capabilities". According to that proposal, "approaches aim for individuals, households, communities,

institutions, and governments to achieve culturally informed sustainable human development by building on existing local assets and overcoming obstacles and limitations. A place-based capabilities approach would empower people to actively pursue the benefits of human development using their cultural resources."

4. Measuring progress and well-being: Where does culture stand?

The objective of this part of the text is to briefly outline the status of culture as an indicator of well-being and development. After a review of the background to the question, different programmes proposed by different institutions have been analysed in order to highlight their most significant contributions and also their deficiencies that experts have identified. This debate is constantly revised and improvements proposed by different programmes are being introduced to the following proposals.

It is important to take into account that a solid base regarding minimum basic conditions is needed when talking about well-being and development, so the 60 indicators gathered in the Millennium Development Goals can be used as an appropriate point of take-off for the debate. Beyond that, the 65/309 UNGA resolution (*Happiness: towards a holistic approach to development*[6]) adopted by the General Assembly *invited* Member States to pursue the elaboration of additional measures that better capture the importance of the pursuit of happiness and well-being in development with a view to guiding their public policies, may be considered. Happiness is a term that the pioneers in well-being measurement, the Government of Bhutan, began to use as early as 1972 to measure quality of life and social progress in their community, via the well-known Gross National Happiness.

The Stiglitz-Sen-Fitoussi report[7] commissioned by the former president of the Republic of France, Nicolas Sarkozy, aimed to identify the limits of GDP as an indicator of economic performance and social progress, including identifying associated problems with its measurement. The report was written by economists and social scientists, counting on a broad range of specialists. It proposed 8 indicators that would eventually take into consideration the objective and the subjective dimensions of well-being. The proposed indicators were: material living standards, health, education, personal activities including work, political voice and governance, social connections and relationships, environment and insecurity.

But that was not the first programme that talked about focusing on the subjective perception of well-being. In 2003, the European Foundation for the Im-

6 http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/65/309.
7 http://www.stiglitz-sen-fitoussi.fr/documents/rapport_anglais.pdf.

provement of Living and Working Conditions launched the first pan-European quality of life survey (EQLS) called 'Quality of Life in Europe'[8]. It reported that subjective and attitudinal perceptions were of particular relevance for identifying individual goals and orientations, and that individual perceptions and evaluations were most valuable when these subjective evaluations were linked to objective living conditions. The report stated that applying both ways of measuring quality of life gave a more complete picture. The six indicators taken into account were: employment, economic resources, family and households, community life and social participation, health and health care and knowledge, education and training.

The definition of these indicators gave way to a new dimension to the debate. How were those indicators chosen? Who chose them? In this sense, the United Kingdom has highlighted the importance of social participation in the design process of indicators in recent years. At the end of 2010 the Office for National Statistics launched a programme to design an index and a chart of indicators that can be used to measure national well-being and development, consulting among ordinary citizens and sectorial experts, online or in nationwide events. The consultation took place between November 2010 and January 2011, and following that a first draft was published. It focused once again on the subjective perception that "individual well-being is central to an understanding of national well-being. It includes objective circumstance, for example an individual's employment status; and subjective well-being which includes each individual's experiences and feelings". The proposed domains for the indicators were: our relationships, health, what we do, where we live, personal finance, education and skills, economy, governance and natural environment.

One interesting outcome of that proceeding is that, following the publication of the first draft in November 2011, many experts in the cultural sector, including John Holden (associate at independent think tank Demos and visiting professor at City University in London) or Hilary Jennings (associate at The Happy Museum), raised their voices across different media to complain that arts and culture had not been considered as main indicators. After those claims, in February 2012, the first revision of the draft was published stating: "There was broad overall support for the domains proposed, with many suggesting that more domains are needed in order to provide a complete picture of well-being. The most often cited areas for additions covered the arts, culture, sport, spirituality, religion, faith and access to green spaces".

Further to this, another interesting point can be drawn. Social participation is very likely to be included when designing well-being and development pro-

8 http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/pubdocs/2004/105/en/1/ef04105en.pdf.

grammes and indicators. However, it has been shown that, on the one hand, citizens may not identify culture as an important issue in relation to well-being and development, or on the other hand, the experts responsible for filtering the data collected do not place great importance on culture. If the first case is correct, accessibility, training and education in culture should be favoured.

Apart from the Office for National Statistics in the UK, probably the institution that has most enlightened the current debate has been the OECD. In 2011, a new programme for measuring well-being and development was carried out, in which arguably the most interesting thing was that the subjectiveness of individuals was pushed further. Eleven main indicators were proposed and those questioned had the chance to determine how significant each of the indicators was in their lives. This methodology highlighted the subjectivity and perception of each individual. The indicators were: housing, income and wealth, jobs and earning, social connections, educational skills, environmental quality, civic commitment and governance, health status, subjective well-being, personal security, work and life.

It has already been stated with the example of the UK, and the aforementioned indicators verifying it, that culture has not been taken much into consideration as an indicator for measuring well-being and development. It has been reported as important, but always as a way to improve other sectors, e. g. related to education, or as a tool for inclusion. But the cultural practice by itself does not seem to have enough impact on an individual's well-being in the indexes so far. However, countries like Canada point that out by, for example, introducing leisure as a main indicator: living standards, healthy populations, community vitality, democratic engagement, time use, leisure and culture and environment.

Finally, in Australia, they have seen that culture must be considered as a main indicator for measuring well-being. It was not a national institution that made the proposal however, but a regional institution, Community Indicators Victoria (CIV). CIV aims to support the development and use of local community well-being indicators in Victoria, with the purpose of improving citizen engagement, community planning and policy making. It should be highlighted that the indicators proposed by CIV are designed to measure community well-being, not merely individual well-being, which we believe should also be taken into account. They use the following five main indicators: Healthy, safe and inclusive communities, dynamic resilient local economies, culturally rich and vibrant communities, sustainably built and natural environments, democratic and engaged communities.

As a last proposal, we would like to give a further thought to cultural indicators for measuring well-being. The aforementioned programmes aim to measure well-being and development and design their indicators in that sense. We

have tried to analyse where the debate is currently and to find out the role culture plays in it. But, why not think the other way around? New lines of research can be opened in this debate if the indicators to measure cultural activity are looked at under the premise of well-being. That is to say, that there are already many indicators that have been used and have proven to be appropriate for measuring cultural activity. Moreover, it is interesting to analyse which indicators could also be used to measure well-being and development. A paper by Derek Simons and Steven R. Dang, "International Perspectives on Cultural Indicators: A review and compilation of cultural indicators used in selected projects", draws out some interesting key points.

In that sense, we would like to highlight the fact that culture should be given the role of a general objective, not just a tool to achieve other goals, as outlined in this paper. That is to say, that not only culture can be an indicator of well-being and development of an individual or a community, but well-being can also be an indicator of culture.

5. Prioritising education in challenging times: The role of education to create capabilities

The question is how education should evolve in a changing society and environment? Which skills and expertise should education in the cultural management and policy field provide for allowing smart, sustainable and inclusive growth in Europe and beyond? How can networks in the field of culture and education contribute to reforming and modernising the educational system as well as to creating capabilities to stimulate the sector's ability to innovate through the exploration of fresh and unconventional connections between the creative, business and academic spheres? In the final part of this article we briefly try to answer these questions.

The world has entered a phase of history where change is an essential feature. But it is a form of change that is radically different from that experienced in the past. In this new context (digitalisation and globalisation are opening new market opportunities, in particular for small businesses and cultural organizations) education is faced with the challenge of fulfilling its mission adequately but also to contribute to smart, sustainable and inclusive growth in Europe. The recent communication of the Commission "Rethinking the education: investing in skills for better socio-economic outcomes" published in November 2012 calls for the creation of new capabilities for this new context. In this document it states:

> "The broad mission of education and training encompasses objectives such as active citizenship, personal development and well-being. While these go hand-in-hand with the need to up-

> grade skills for employability, against the backdrop of sluggish economic growth and a shrinking workforce due to demographic ageing, the most pressing challenge for Members States is to address the needs of the economy and focus on solutions to tackle fast-rising youth unemployment".

In the new European policy for the educational sector emphasis is placed on delivering the right skills for employment, increasing the efficiency and inclusiveness of our education and training institutions, on working collaboratively with all relevant stakeholders and on putting all the efforts in developing transversal skills:

> "Modern, knowledge-based economies require people with higher and more relevant skills. CEDEFOP forecasts predict that the proportion of jobs in the EU requiring tertiary level qualifications will increase from 29% in 2010 to 34% in 2020, while the proportion of low – skilled jobs will fall in the same period from 23% to 18%. Transversal skills such as the ability to think critically, take initiative, problem solve and work collaboratively will prepare individuals for today's varied and unpredictable career paths".[9]

In the final recommendation of the workshop on "Education, skills and professional training" organised by the European network on cultural management and cultural policy education, ENCATC in partnership with ELIA in 2011 also mention that:

> "Educators should take both artistic and creative as well as communicative, technical and personal competences into account. Educators should also stimulate curiosity, show the variety of possible career paths and teach students how to balance the 'new roles', while staying close to the core of the profession. As students and graduates are not always aware of the options for their future careers, educators should further increase their efforts to keep in touch with and stay informed about the latest developments".

Moreover, in the European Commission Analysis of the Green paper [10] civil society asks education to change and thus to

> "offer students time to learn and to experiment, to think out of the box and to develop their own identity as an artist and creator. European, national and regional policymakers should acknowledge the independent and different functions of (higher arts) education and the CCI sector is also stressed. Otherwise, Europe will lose out on innovative potential and critical thinking, which is essential for an innovative creative sector. Educators and the CCI sector should share responsibility, invest in joint cooperation and overcome mutual prejudices."

Brussels also believes that to achieve the Europe 2020 goals, education should also stimulate open and flexible learning. According to the Commissioner for Education, Culture, Multilingualism, Sport, Media and Youth, Androulla Vassiliou:

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9 Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of Regions: Rethinking the education: investing in skills for better socio-economic outcomes", November 2012.

10 http://ec.europa.eu/culure/our-policy-development/consulation-on-green-paper_en.htm.

> "Education and training can only contribute to growth and job-creation if learning is focused on the knowledge, skills and competences to be acquired by students (learning outcomes) through the learning process, rather than on completing a specific stage or on time spent in school. While the learning outcomes approach is already the basis of the European Qualifications Framework and national qualification frameworks, this fundamental shift has not yet fully percolated through to teaching and assessment. Institutions at all levels of education and training still need to adapt in order to increase the relevance and quality of their educational input to students and the labour market, to widen access and to facilitate transitions between different education and training pathways".

Since the publication of the Europe 2020 Strategy adopted in June 2010, the big debate in the cultural sector is which knowledge, skills and competences should be provided by the educational and training sector to ensure smart, sustainable and inclusive growth in Europe and beyond.

There is strong support from academic and political levels for considering the idea of cultural and creative competences a basis for creativity and innovation, which in turn boost smart, sustainable and inclusive growth. This is due to these competences contributing to the building of intellectual capital which is increasingly recognised as a new source of growth and competitiveness in Europe; they can also contribute to all forms of innovation, mainly non-technological and social innovation, through their impact on production and demand, and on the design, production and market success of innovative products and services; finally these competences also seem to enable development – and the maximisation of spill-over effects – of cultural and creative industries as they are embodied in the competences of artists and creators as well as audiences and consumers. [11]

A first meeting on "An EU Level Sector Skills Council in The Field of Culture" has pointed out the need for reflection in this sector and a mapping exercise to contribute to the European ET 2020 on employment, productivity and social cohesion and towards developing the new European Skills Passports. This is also one of the points of the WORKPLAN for Culture 2011-2014 (European Council 2010): Identification and development of skills through culture sector councils. These councils will support the development of policies in the sector concerned, by providing analysis of likely developments on the sectorial labour market and by better meeting the skill needs of that sector.

The public consultations for the Green Paper on unlocking the potential of cultural and creative industries published by the European Commission in 2010 invites educational systems to reinforce creative skills to allow more space for the development of creativity and to adopt a more problem-solving and risk-tak-

11 Council conclusions on cultural and creative competences and their role in building intellectual capital of Europe, November 2011.

ing approach rather than the use of "traditional" academic methods. In response to The European Commission Green Paper 'Unlocking the Potential of Cultural and Creative Industries' COM(2010)183 which lays-out the need for "space for experimentation" the Welsh representation in Brussels, points out that staff from the cultural and creative sectors are not coming into, or working in higher education, alongside educators. It is in the teaching environment, and in informal meetings that new initiatives and ideas are most likely to be developed.

To stimulate innovation, universities need to promote entrepreneurial skills. This assumption is also proved by the study on the entrepreneurial dimension of the cultural and creative industries (2010) commissioned by the European Commission. This document underlines a lack of entrepreneurial skills within the creative and cultural industries (CCI) sector, nevertheless the narrow model of entrepreneurship focused solely on commercial success does not correspond to the CCI sector for which critical, creative and cultural achievements are often more important.

The Bruges Communiqué (2010) states that creativity and innovation in VET as well as the use of innovative learning methods, can encourage learners to stay in VET and participating countries should actively encourage VET providers to collaborate with innovative enterprises, design centres, the cultural sector and higher education institutions in forming "knowledge partnerships".

The data collected by the European project initiated by a number of ENCATC members "Creative Blended Mentoring for Cultural Managers" CREAM (2011-2013), prove that by providing a new set of skills in the cultural sector that goes beyond business attitudes and that reflects the skills a cultural manager should possess in a globalizing and changing market, universities could create capabilities to stimulate the market. This goal could be reached by developing a new 'creative blended mentoring' training programme which would train cultural managers in continuing VET by upgrading their curricula according to the guidelines of the new cultural framework curricula.

European networks play a pivotal role in advancing the debate on reforming and modernizing the educational system as well as creating capabilities to stimulate the sector's ability to innovate through the exploration of fresh and unconventional connections between the creative, business, and academic spheres. They also act as a platform for encouraging exchange of knowledge, methodologies, experiences, comparative research and regular assessment of the sector's training needs in the broad field of cultural management and cultural policy through a wide range of activities and projects.

As part of its strategy for achieving the Europe 2020 objectives, the European Commission encourages representatives from education and training, from cultural industries and from the business sector to come together and develop innovative business models and joint cooperation initiatives. ENCATC, through its role as an adviser to the European Platform Access to Culture, backs up the wish of its members for a better relationship between educational institutions and industries through reinforced cooperative schemes (e. g. career orientation advice, internships, work placements, real life projects…). Partnerships could include collaboration within education institutions across disciplinary boundaries; collaboration between higher education institutions (HEI) and conservatories and/or art schools; collaboration between HEI and government agencies (e. g. identification of needs in industries and gaps in education and training) as well as collaboration between HEI and the private sector (may lead to the creation of strong vocational courses that are fit for industry needs and deliver strongly on employability). Finally, partnerships with businesses could also help HEI better address disciplines such as personal career development, entrepreneurship or small business management in their curricula.

The role of universities is also to qualify the research at academic level and influence the academic world into adapting curricula in the cultural sector and thus offering students increased opportunities for stable employment. In the proceedings of the World Conference on Higher Education – towards an Agenda 21 for HI, organised by UNESCO in 1998 it is stated that education should not be separated from research being conducted in the field. Since its creation, the European network on cultural management and cultural policy education, ENCATC has recognized this need and has been active in pursuing, publishing, presenting, and disseminating research in arts and cultural management as well as cultural policy to strengthen the understanding of cultural management and cultural policy issues. In line with this objective, ENCATC's research activities have already included the organisation of the Forum for Young Researchers, the organisation of the CPRA competition, and the online researchers' Forum in partnership with the European cultural Foundation. To continue pursuing this objective and creating an even stronger synergy between education and research, since 2010 ENCATC has organised an annual research session where many papers were submitted by members and non-members for presentation, covering a wide range of topics within the vast field of cultural management.

As ENCATC is a multidisciplinary network, ENCATC encourage contributions and interdisciplinary exchanges from different scientific sectors that inevitably lead to the expansion and innovation of educational capabilities for cultur-

al management and cultural policy. Thanks to the appreciation of the ENCATC community and its active members, ENCATC has published the Journal of Cultural Management and Policy since 2011. This new publication aims to provide a platform for multidisciplinary debate, and new perspectives among researchers. Indeed, we are convinced that our strength in the diversity of our members' research fields and this multidisciplinary approach are key factors for a new "renaissance" in the field of arts and culture. The objective of the ENCATC Journal of Cultural Management and Policy is to stimulate the debate on the topics of cultural management and cultural policy among scholars, educators, policy makers and cultural managers. The journal is based on a multidisciplinary perspective and aims to connect theory and practice in the realm of the cultural sector.

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In war, art is not a luxury[1]

Katrin Sandmann

> "When we feel bad, we ask questions about ourselves and our lives. We are not used to feeling terrible because we are in a war."[2]

Indeed, in most parts of Europe we are not. But many people across the world are. Countless artists live and work in war zones or violent, post-conflict surroundings. More often than not the art world does not know much about them. Ask Jonathan Watkins who curated the Iraq Pavilion at the 2013 Biennale in Venice. He has visited Iraq three times "seeking out artists isolated from the burgeoning international calendar of biennials and art fairs. Travelling in a bulletproof car surrounded by soldiers was a constant reminder of the instability that underlies daily life (…) we went to the Fine Arts Association in Basra," he recalls. "They say things which are heart-breaking – for instance, 'You're the first foreign curator who has come to see us.'"[3]

It doesn't come as a big surprise that most people know little about cultural life in places like Baghdad, Kabul, Karachi or Grozny. In a city like Mogadishu, after more than two decades of civil war, is there any cultural life at all? In conflict or post-conflict zones, what are artists dealing with? How can they express themselves when there is no freedom of speech, like in present day Iraq? How can they have an impact when people around them are struggling to feed their families or live in constant danger of death? Where do artists in these places get their inspiration from? Do they rely mostly on their own cultural roots or are they looking elsewhere? What are they hoping to achieve? And why are so many of them willing to risk their lives for what they are doing?

I set out to find answers to all these questions in the beginning of 2012. The search turned into a series of documentaries for German Public TV, called *War-*

1 Jeanette Winterson, "In a war, art is not a luxury – In a world that makes no sense, artists, writers and actors have a right to speak out against war", published in The Guardian, World News, October 16th 2001"

2 Ibid.

3 Gareth Harris: "The view from Iraq – The country's pavilion offers artists rare access to the international circuit", published in the Financial Times, Visual Arts, May 24th 2013.

R. Henze, G. Wolfram (eds.), *Exporting Culture,*
DOI 10.1007/978-3-658-01921-1_11, © Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden 2014

riors of Culture (Kulturkrieger). In Iraq, Afghanistan, Haiti, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Gaza, Pakistan, Somalia and Chechnya I talked to painters, sculptors, musicians, video-, performance- and street artists, filmmakers, actors, writers and *metteurs en scenes*. I chose those countries because in the news, and therefore in the minds of most people, they are connected with war, terrorism and poverty, not with the arts and culture. Still, I encountered people who tried to make the impossible possible. Cinematographers or theatre directors in Iraq and Chechnya, who brought the trauma that people had experienced in war, and still suffer from tremendously, out of the private and into the public sphere. I met young Afghan street artists who were clearly inspired by Banksy and the likes. They copied the style but delivered their own content. Their wall paintings criticized Afghanistan's opium trade and openly questioned the "cost of war".

> "In the end, the thing that's important about free expression is that it's the right from which all other rights are derived. If you can't articulate ideas and if you can't articulate critiques of other peoples' ideas, then you're powerless."[4]

Many of the artists I met ignored death threats because they believe in what they do and simply refuse to be intimidated. They insist on their right to express themselves freely. They do so in many different ways, sometimes with, sometimes without inspiration and help from the outside world.

1. Baghdad, Iraq

> "We have the choice. Either we leave or we stay and fight. But sometimes you risk your life fighting, like my friend the actor Hadim Mehdi who was killed in his own house. He was killed for openly saying how wrong this government functions."[5]

Being an artist in Iraq is dangerous business. It can easily become a deadly profession. All the artists I met, be it painters, musicians or filmmakers, told me that they were being threatened. The director Oday Rasheed was the most outspoken and told me why, he thought, they all received death threats. He believed that those in power knew how dangerous a free cultural life could become for their agenda. (Without specifying what that agenda might be.)

> "I especially mean the religious parties. They have very precise ideas, what our cultural life should look like. And that is definitely not the liberal culture we are aiming at."[6]

4 Shaun Randol interviews Salman Rushdie – The Art of bravery: An Interview with Salman Rushdie – Los Angeles Book review, April 25th 2013.
5 Oday Rasheed, Film Director in an interview with the author in Baghdad, October 2011.
6 See footnote 3.

Oday has co-founded the "Independent Iraqi Film Center". A place where they not only taught young Iraqis the art of filmmaking but actually produced feature films like *Quarantine*. This movie is a very bleak story about a serial killer who is slowly losing his mind. It is set and shot in present day Baghdad. The film could be described as a modern day Iraqi version of the American *Film Noir*. It is less about crime, though, and resembles more of a psychological drama. In a nutshell, it shows what the succession of brutal dictatorships, followed by a short foreign invasion and thereafter a long bloody civil war does to humans. It makes them sick. Rasheed won a lot of acclaim and awards for *Quarantine*, at least in the United States and Europe. Back home in Iraq, he would not even find a theatre willing to show it. That is partly due to there are only a handful of movie theatres left in the Iraqi capital, most of them behind high walls in private clubs. These theatres prefer to show US-action and comedy movies. "The Iraqi films are too depressing", one theatre owner told me.

There have been cultural setbacks regardless of the fact that Baghdad was chosen as the "Arab Capital of Culture" in 2013. My guess is that this title has more to do with Iraq's cultural heritage than its cultural presence. That looks rather bleak partly due to religious extremists and religious parties. Ask any musician in Baghdad. Almost every member of the *The Iraqi National Symphony Orchestra* told me that they had received anonymous threats, simply because they play classical music. Not only Beethoven, Mozart or Brahms, some classical Arabic music as well, but mostly the well-known Western composers. "Here some people think it is against religion", Mohammed Ezzat, one of the conductors and himself a composer, told me. The orchestra is nothing new to Iraqis. It was not established by the Americans after the war. It has been around ever since the late 40ties. And the musicians have always been paid by the state. Ironically it is the same state, run by religious Shia parties, that wants to shut them down. It is the extremist followers of these parties who are most likely to threaten the art world in Baghdad. This is why *The Iraqi National Symphony Orchestra* rarely advertise their concerts. Sometimes – oddly enough – the state requests them to perform; often they play for foreign dignitaries or for a wider circle of fans, family and friends.

Given all that, one could argue that after 70 years of Mozart in Iraq, the time has come for foreign composers. Perhaps a large part of Iraqi society is either too pious for that sort of entertainment or simply could not be bothered to care much. Maybe, instead of constantly risking their lives, the Symphony should just do what so many of their colleagues have done before. Pack up and leave to play in Jordan, Lebanon or the Netherlands. Well, Mohammed Ezzat, the conductor, does not want to hear any of that. He sees it as his mission to educate young Ira-

qis about the beauty of Brahms and Beethoven. Is it worth risking his life for? Yes, he says. Why? – Because, says Ezzat, the music is beautiful, for everyone, everywhere in the world.

The situation is even worse for everything relating to pop culture. (Western) pop culture is regarded by extremists of all sorts as a direct import and bad influence from the United States. Regardless, *Technical Death Metal* is a very popular genre of music. I met with a band called *Dog Faced Corpse* (DFC). The band's name refers to a genuine incident. Police had fished a beheaded corpse from the Tigris. A dog's face was sewn onto the body. *DFC's* songs are as brutal as the band's name and daily life in Iraq. *DFC* sings about mass murder and the most brutal forms of torture anyone could possibly imagine. Most of their stories are picked straight from the newspapers. You don't have to look for violence in Iraq – it is always around. That might be the biggest difference to *Death Metal* in Norway or the US. In the West, metal heads take their inspiration from often really sick horror or splatter movies. In Iraq they take their inspiration from reality.

The band members were used to being threatened. The way they dressed, their long hair, their tattoos and piercings didn't exactly make them blend in. They loved metal, regarded it as a lifestyle and were happy to show it off. All of them thought it was worth paying a certain price. But eventually they were intimidated such that they were forced to go underground. They deleted their Facebook accounts, email addresses and stopped making music. Concerts had been rare even before that, now they were unthinkable. "Pray for us" was the last of their posts on Facebook, before they disappeared.

As for the arts, few people know that in the times of Saddam Hussein, Baghdad had a thriving art scene. There were (according to my own estimate) at least 30 art galleries in Baghdad alone. And as long as they sang the praises of the dictator or showed no interest in politics, Saddam let the artists do their business. And business went well. Foreigners working with the United Nations and countless international NGOs became reliable customers of those galleries. The paintings were mostly classic in style and showed scenes from the Marshlands, the Tigris river or the old city of Baghdad. All these contained few references to contemporary western art, clearly because there was no demand for it. But with what little is left of the international community in Iraq bunkered down in the Green Zone and a volatile general situation that could make gallery hopping a lethal pastime, artists don't sell anymore. Hence, galleries are dying. In fact, art in Iraq needed foreigners for support. Haider Hashim, owner of the well-known *Akkad Gallery* in a beautiful old Jewish neighbourhood of Baghdad right on the bank of the Tigris river, told me: "First the artists left because the situation was getting worse

and worse. With the artists gone most of the galleries had to close down as well. There was simply no one left to sell to."[7]

That doesn't mean there are no artists in Iraq. British curator Jonathan Watkins of Birmingham's *Ikon Gallery* has just chosen a dozen promising artists to represent their country at the 2013 Biennale in Venice, among them Jamal Penjweny and the German-Iraqi artist Furat al Jamil. Their works deal with contemporary problems like chaos and fear. With few (or no) exhibitions at home, what do they hope to achieve with their work abroad? "I am under no illusion that our art can completely educate an international audience about Iraq's art scene," Furat al Jamil says. "This seems to be a limited objective, but in fact we will be surrounded by an educated and demanding audience, that knows – as well as loves – art, and might decide to consider Iraqi art in particular."[8]

2. Kabul, Afghanistan

> "Another kind of war, less explosive than bombs and more subtle than night raids, is taking place in the Central Asian country of Afghanistan: a war of cultural influence. Its means are financial sponsorships and other support for cultural and artistic events."[9]

According to Giuliano Battiston, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States are in the forefront of cultural sponsoring with a very precise goal: "Their support is aimed at demonstrating that the international presence in Afghanistan has been successful and that Afghans now live normally".[10]

It is undeniable that foreign nationals are a vital part of Kabul's cultural scene. The French and Polish Cultural Centres (both run by their Countries' embassies), the Goethe Institute (offspring of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs) to name just a few, are cultural hubs for the local art scene. They provide secure locations and more often than not funding for all sorts of cultural activities and events. It goes without saying that all that has had an impact. A couple of years ago there were only one or two rock bands in Afghanistan. Today there are dozens. They cover the whole popular music spectrum, from rock, to hip hop, soul to metal. Afghanistan has held its own rock festival, the *Sound Central Festival,* for the third year running. What started as a little gig with five or so bands, and half

7 In an interview with the author in Baghdad, October 2011.
8 Gareth Harris: "The view from Iraq – The country's pavilion offers artists rare access to the international circuit", published in the Financial Times, Visual Arts, May 24th 2013.
9 Giuliano Battiston: "Culture Becomes Latest Front in Afghanistan's War" published by *Inter Press Service*, May 28th 2013.
10 See footnote 5.

of which were foreign, has become a significant event, with a large variety of Afghan bands, male and female alike. Much of that can be attributed to the influence of Travis Beard, an Australian photographer, who chose to stay in Kabul after an assignment and helped young Afghans find their own musical voice. He did not do it in the form of an NGO. He is a musician himself, started his own band and some of his fans just became musicians. Things took off from there. As far as I am aware, Travis Beard has no agenda specifically aimed at painting a rosy picture of Afghanistan. Some young Afghans are simply interested in western style pop culture. In Beard they have found their 'Godfather of Music'.

In Kabul access to the internet and satellite TV is common. *Tolo TV*, a popular local station, funded in part by the US state department, runs "Afghan Star", the local version of *American Idol*. Music shows, popular in Europe and the United States, enjoy the same sort of popularity in Afghanistan and why shouldn't they? There is a school for skating in Kabul, a young Afghan painter teaches graffiti at Kabul University, street art is becoming ever more popular (and critical).

Considering the fact that a lot of young Afghans grew up in the diaspora, be it Europe, the US, Iran or Pakistan, one is not surprised to find that the local art scene is taking its inspiration and influences from all over the world. Slowly bands are beginning to fuse western music with their own musical traditions. What happens in Afghanistan is what has happened around the world over decades. People pick up something popular in another part of the world, copy it and then slowly adapt it to their cultural environment.

Not everything in Afghanistan is about religious extremism, the Taliban and corruption. Even though security is always an issue, and most cultural activities take place in the fortified compounds of foreign institutions, there are clubs in Kabul, run by Afghans, where concerts are held regularly (and without foreign funding) as well as art events and exhibitions. Clubs where young artists meet in a quiet, relaxed atmosphere, to paint, write or talk. Sitting in one of those clubs, I thought the place to a 21st century Asian version of the *Wiener Kaffeehaus*. This is where I met Pedram Foushanji, guitarist of the band *District Unknown*. Contrary to most of the world, his outlook for Afghanistan is pretty optimistic. "If things don't deteriorate rapidly after the International Community starts pulling out in 2014, I could imagine Afghanistan, let's say in 2020, having the reputation as a country for creativity and talent."[11]

Obviously one could easily find arguments against that sort of optimism. One could also argue that a lot of Afghans are preoccupied with more urgent matters. And it is true: Most of the young musicians come from well-off families, in

11 In an interview with the author in Kabul, February 2012.

other words, they are clearly a minority. But they are aware of it, like Quassem Foushanji, brother of Pedram and also a guitarist with *District Unknown*. "Clearly, if you don't know how to feed your family, you don't think about music. If you have no roof over your head and no money to send your kids to school, you don't think about music. But if things are improving, you might become interested. (…) Look, in our first concert, we had to tell people: The song is over, you may applaud if you wish. Over time people here learned how to behave in a concert. Obviously *Sound Central* is not *Wacken*, but if I see 500 Afghans head banging and mashing to our songs here in Kabul, that is quite something."[12]

3. Mogadishu, Somalia

> "Nothing is cheap. People are dead. But still artists go on, they don't give up. 20 years without art, 20 years without peace. Now the situation is getting a little better and the artists are coming back. I hate to exaggerate but I believe it is not only the weapons of the African Union that are bringing us peace, it is also the artists."[13]

Somalia is just recovering from two decades of civil war. Large parts of Mogadishu are still in ruins. Before the present government took over, the al-Qaeda-linked group Al-Shabab banned all forms of public entertainment. The theatre in the city centre lies in ruins. It was symbolically reopened in March 2012. Even though there was no roof and there were no seats, hundreds came. They knew about the danger of visiting a ceremony with public displays of singing and dancing. That danger was confirmed when a suicide bomber blew herself up during the opening, leaving a path of injuries and death. "The risk is obvious, there are forces here that don't want cultural life to take off again. They warned us and threatened us,"[14] one of the organizers of the opening, Jabril Rajoub, told me.

Jabril runs a Somali think tank, the *Center of Research and Dialogue* (CRD), but at the same time he is a patron of the re-emerging art scene in Mogadishu. Intimidation does not stop him. The garage in his well-guarded compound was turned into an atelier for a couple of painters. All of these painters were at least 60 years old. They were all very thin, had very few teeth, obviously they had lived through hard times. Aden Farah Afey was one of them. He has been a painter all his life. "Most of the painters from Mogadishu left or died in the war," he told

12 In an interview with the author in Kabul, September 2012.
13 Jabril Rajoub, Head of the think tank CRD (Center of Research and Dialogue) in an interview with the author in Mogadishu, October 2012.
14 See footnote 11.

me, "the six of us are the only ones who survived."[15] And surviving wasn't easy, especially when the Islamist extremists from Al Shabab took over. Their interpretation of Islam prohibits the depiction of anything human or animal. During their brutal reign Aden Farah Afey hid in a cellar room.

Those who survived work every day in the garage of the CRD. Their figurative paintings are huge and often divided in the middle. One side shows the past, weapons, starvation, chaos, corruption. The other depicts an idealistic future, nicely dressed Somalis walking through clean, modern cities in safety and security. They often have messages written in big block letters on the bottom. In one painting, people walk over a bridge. They leave war and death behind and walk towards a newly erected parliament building in a newly built city. The writing on the painting says translated into English: *A lot is at stake*.

In style the paintings resemble the hand painted advertisements for local shops and businesses that you see all over Africa. "Before the war we painted socialist propaganda for the regime of Siad Barré," Jay Ibrahim, another of the old gentlemen painters, said in an interview. "That is the style we learned to paint." [16] They never knew anything else, they told me. And that is the style they still use, only the message has changed. Their huge paintings nowadays are a warning to the newly elected government. The message is clear: Don't mess up!

Obviously Mogadishu has no working galleries or museums. Not yet, at least. The painters put their huge paintings on very high wooden stakes in the middle of the city: next to the entrance of the *Villa Somalia*, the residence of the Somali president, or right next to Parliament, that is about to be reconstructed, or in the middle of the central market in Mogadishu where thousands of people pass by every day. Thus, the artists make sure they are being seen.

Clearly art in Mogadishu is a highly political undertaking. The painters are not talking about style here, they do not really care about it that much. They are talking about content and substance. For a simple reason: "We are tired of killing each other, our message is a message of peace. And that is especially important for the next generation."[17]

As for the painters, there is no next generation in sight. "The young see how poor we are, nobody wants to become an artist under these circumstances."[18]

Without the funding of CRD those artists would not be able to survive. Somalia is still a very unstable, desperately poor country; nobody has time or money for the arts. Potential buyers would be foreigners. An important part of the

15 In an interview with the author in Mogadishu, October 2012.
16 In an interview with the author in Mogadishu, October 2012.
17 Aden Farah Afey in an interview with the author in Mogadishu, October 2012.
18 See footnote 15.

sub-Saharan art scene relies on foreign buyers. African collectors remain rare. But there are very few foreigners in Mogadishu, and most of them rarely leave the heavily fortified airport where the international community has its offices and representations.

The artists of Mogadishu do not seem to care much about that lack of acknowledgement. They learnt to survive on very little a long time ago. They are quite content with what they have achieved, getting a message out. According to Jabril Rajoub this is of utmost importance, "I am convinced and my colleagues here are convinced that Somalia will never recover without this, without the arts playing a role. It just cannot happen. Military and guns will not do it. Force will not do it."[19]

4. Grozny, Chechnya

> "We shall never forget the war. Every family here lost loved ones. A lot of people got sick, mentally or physically. As artists, as painters, it is our duty to make sure those periods are not forgotten in our history. We have to make sure that our children, children's children and great-grandchildren will never forget."[20]

If you drive through Grozny theses days, nothing reminds you of the war. I did not see a single house that still displays the scars of it. With a lot of money from Russia, the young ruler Ramzan Kadyrov, a reported human rights violator, has rebuilt the Chechen capital from scratch. Grozny has a mere 270-thousand inhabitants, yet it has the biggest mosque in Russia and a number of (nearly empty) skyscrapers that make its skyline look like a miniature version of Dubai. Ramzan Kadyrov's ambitions seem to be somewhat bigger than his tiny country.

Chechnya prides itself on its rich cultural life. Grozny has a gigantic (but so far empty) National Library, a concert-hall, several big theatres, a National Museum and is currently building another big theatre for the famous Waynach Folklore Ensemble. Kadyrov dedicated a whole museum full of Spanish marble and golden Iranian chandeliers to the memory of his late father Ahmad Kadyrov, who was killed in 2004.

Judging by the outer appearance of the capital, Kadyrov wanted his people to forget all about the war. Nothing remains as a reminder of it unless you start talking to the people. Most Chechens I asked prefer not to talk about their memories of the war. Too painful, too many bad memories, they tell me. But there are some people who think that the best way to deal with the trauma of two very bru-

19 See footnote 11.
20 Fatima Dandova, Chechen artist in an interview with the author in May 2013.

tal wars is bringing the memories back into public consciousness. Both of them are artists, both female, one a theatre director, the other one a painter.

Fatima Dandova works in a tiny atelier on the outskirts of Grozny, where she paints and draws more or less for herself. Nothing in her art is revolutionary, a series of war pictures dubbed *Dead City* are more or less classical etchings, studies that you would do in art class in school. What is extraordinary is that she chose to take the route beyond the sanctioned art world and reflects openly on a chapter in her country's history that most people would rather forget. The same goes for Chama Achamdova, a theatre director; only she chose the most public way possible. She put the war on stage for the first time since the official end of the second Chechen War in 2009. The play *Dark Night* is the encounter between Chechen militias, Russian soldiers and Chechen and Russian civilians who all get caught up in the same basement during the war. "In the rehearsals it was very difficult for me to go through this process over and over again. I had to take a week off after the premiere. The subject just exhausted me mentally."[21] Achmadova and Dandova are not looking to the outside for inspiration. What they put on paper or bring on stage is more like an inner reflection of their own past that needs to get out.

A younger generation goes one step further. One day I saw a graffito in a little courtyard off the main boulevard. It was pure *Pulp Fiction*, two men in dark suits aiming their guns at the viewer. Only the typical Chechen fur hats both figures were wearing and their names offered an explanation. They were meant to be famous freedom fighters from the times of the tsar. It took some time to find the boys who had actually sprayed the graffiti. And at first they refused to talk to us on camera, but later gave their consent, if we were willing not to disclose their identity. They did not really think much about the style of the graffiti, they told me. They were spraying for fun and to improve their image. "I just read an article online. In it the author asks: Is there anything Chechens are capable of besides wars and fighting? This was supposed to be our answer."[22] But the answer didn't go down too well with either the house owners or the local authorities. Two days after we discovered it, the graffito was gone, somebody had painted over it. When asked about it, this is what the young street artists said: "Here a different point of view is not accepted. There is only one hero in this country, and we don't paint him. That is why they destroy our pictures."[23] What happens if they get caught spraying, I asked them. "We go to prison. But don't worry. This country is very corrupt. We can bribe our way out of there."

21 Chama Achamdova in an interview with the author in Grozny, May 2013.
22 "Takko" (streetartist) in an interview with the author in Grozny, May 2013.
23 See footnote 20.

Maybe they can. Maybe they cannot. Very few of the artists I met in all those places enjoy the same fame as for example Ai Wei Wei from China. Logically, if unknown artists are censored, intimidated, threatened or sent to prison there is no public outcry in the West, because nobody even knew of them. It was Salman Rushdie who said: "One way to protect artists is to keep the spotlight on them."[24]

24 Quoted from an interview in the Los Angeles Book review: Shaun Randol interviews Salman Rushdie – The Art of bravery: An Interview with Salman Rushdie – April 25th 2013.

RETHINK/ GENTÆNK – negotiating Danishness across borders

Iris Rittenhofer

In 1999, the European Parliament upgraded the 1985-initiative 'European Capital of Culture' and transformed it into a European Community program.[1] The title European Capital of Culture is awarded by the European Council. Since 2011, two cities from two European Countries have been awarded the title each year. After four years of professional work headed by Trevor Davies, the city of Aarhus was elected in 2012. Aarhus is the second largest city in Denmark and the second Danish city to win the title after Copenhagen, which was nominated in 1996. Aarhus shares the title European Capital of Culture 2017 with Paphos (Cyprus).

Aarhus is the city of my life. The invitation to contribute to this volume has given me a great opportunity to immerse myself in the Aarhus project and attempt to fathom the interface of internationalization and the management of cultural activities: What happens when a European community program encounters locality? I will discuss the encounter from the perspectives of policy, transforming creative industries, cultural export in a globalizing world, and the cultural economy. The critical frameworks of mediascapes (Appadurai 1999), cosmopolitanization (Beck 2002) and cultural supermarket (Mathew 2000) are applied. Major questions addressed are whether the planned activities have a European content, how Denmark undertakes cultural export and what it aims to achieve, how Danish creative industries expect to benefit from Europe, as well as questions related to cross-border cultures. Which culture will prove to be dominant in the future? The discussions are illustrated by numerous examples highlighting the creative industries and cultural export in contemporary Denmark.

1 A reform of the program is expected in summer 2013.

R. Henze, G. Wolfram (eds.), *Exporting Culture,*
DOI 10.1007/978-3-658-01921-1_12, © Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden 2014

1. European Capital of Culture 2017

The events planned as a result of Aarhus being a European Capital of Culture hope to attract five million people to the region. In the light of recent severe cuts to the city's budget, the 100 million Danish kroners (app. 13.5 million Euro) (Bloch 2012) awarded to the project by the city council are legitimatized as a major investment aimed at creating growth and yielding enormous profits through increased tax income, improved employment rates and increased tourism, but also hopes to bring about soft effects including the provision of positive experiences for both locals and visitors, increased participation amongst citizens, and gaining international attention resulting in an improved reputation for the city.

Capital of Culture is a professionally managed project. In cooperation with the Danish region Central Jutland, Aarhus won the election over a designated Euro-region. The joint application of the Southern Danish city of Sønderborg and the German-Danish border region Southern Jutland-Schleswig was supported by the German counties Nordfriesland and Schleswig-Flensburg. Interestingly, a national application has been privileged over a joint, cross-border European application. This decision-making process re-negotiated the meaning of 'European': 'Unity in Diversity', the EU-slogan, has in this instance been given a somewhat past-oriented interpretation whereby the unity of diverse units is defined by distinct national cultures and tied to places distanced by territorial state borders.

The Aarhus project receives European support. Guimarães, the Portugese European Capital of Culture 2012, has taken the lead. It started a European network for minor cities to tackle the challenges posed in the wake of Capital of Culture through knowledge exchange and mutual assistance in an effort to foster affluent tourism. This makes Aarhus only a snapshot in the 'networked shaping of place' (Collinge & Gibney 2010) process through EU policies and cross-border relations. Capital of Culture provides a standardized script for the project management to make places widely recognizable in order to create tourism and to foster local economic development. The script exists outside and independent of the nation -state container. It links strips of reality to Aarhus, but uses recognizable forms and genres such as TV, movies or design that make the project indistinguishable from similar projects undertaken in other places or in other sectors of the creative industries.

2. Networked regional development

Aarhus Capital of Culture 2017 is framing professionally managed urban regeneration, expected to benefit the entire region of Central Jutland. The theme chosen for the planned events is 'RETHINK/ GENTÆNK'. The planned participatory projects aim to break down boundaries between business and public sectors and to develop the market value of public institutions in the creative and educational industries. In 2008 Liverpool was the first city to integrate a strategic research project into the Capital of Culture project. Aarhus follows this example with the university as a strategic project partner. Among the planned activities there is an interdisciplinary research conference called 'RETHINK. Participatory cultural citizenship', to be hosted in Aarhus in November 2013. The conference is the first in a series that form part of the Capital of Culture project.[2] In cooperation with local organizations, creative artists and local as well as invited international researchers, the conference presentations and sessions are to be integrated into the city's diverse cultural and political settings, in an attempt to engage both, the academic community and the city as a whole.

As a further illustration of how Aarhus Capital of Culture seeks to challenge boundaries between public and private sectors, an intercultural platform is to be developed in cooperation with adult immigrants, the local Danish language school they attend, the university and 'Global Media', an ambitious multi-media library under construction. Likewise, 'ArtEpi', a moveable miniature city built from sustainable materials in cooperation between national and international scientists and artists serves as yet another example. It comprises a scene, a community center and tiny private living units. 'ArtEpi' is to contribute answers to contemporary environmental challenges. Whilst Denmark's media covers many of the events that are taking place in the name of the Capital of Culture project, it fails to portray to the public how these events fit into a wider European and Global context. The 'ArtEpi' event, for example, bears some strong similarities to the EU 2020 strategy for promoting smart, sustainable and inclusive growth. It also bears a resemblance to the 'Tiny House Movement' (Laura 2013) in the United States. Sadly, these connections are either not made or not conveyed by the Danish media.

The Capital of Culture project in Aarhus invests in reconnecting diverse places and thus transcending geographical boundaries with a view to harnessing the city's surface and subsurface, suburbs and city center as well as the city and the region. Public organizations and institutions are to act as agents of change and to create a space of experience that redraws the geography of the city's cul-

2 Further information on the planned conference series is available at: http://www.aarhus2017.dk/english (accessed March 2013).

ture. Old city subsurface bunkers will be made the sites of events. An 'Art Marguerite' route is to guide tourists from 'Godsbanen', an event venue close to the 'Musikhuset' concert hall in the city center, to Gellerup, a suburb with a strong reputation for its local bazar, social imbalances and cultural clashes. Specially designed tourist packages are set to boost not only the economic fortune of city, but the entire region of Central Jutland; they e. g. include tickets to the city's art museums and concerts in Herning, a small town in Central Jutland, 85 km away from Aarhus. 'Rethink the village' is a program to develop the quality of life in the region's local communities.

RETHINK/ GENTÆNK 2017 denotes 'a clash of rationalities' (Beck 2002:18) in the life of citizens and 'denizens' (Diken 1998) in Denmark. From a cultural economy perspective, the European Capital of Culture exists to develop the economic dimension of cultural products and practices. Here, however, we see unchallenged boundaries. Despite its European character, the undisputed cornerstones of the Capital of Culture project and its related activities in Aarhus seem to be the perception that local citizens represent the Danish national community. Amongst the Danish public there is a general notion that a world of difference exists between locals and foreigners, and among foreigners between visiting internationals and residing immigrants respectively. 'International' artists are to be officially invited by the Capital of Culture project and brought to Gellerup to boost the Aarhus suburb, while the suburb's citizens are being asked to involve the local, frequently overlooked artists of whom many also have 'immigrant' backgrounds. It seems crucial to preserve the idea that a distinct 'nation-ness' (Anderson 1983) is the sole resource for driving the commercially and internationally networked development of a region by new business models and strengthened extensive marketing.

The marketing efforts of the Aarhus's project are already paying off, as it has already triggered increased international recognition. Recently, the 'New York Times' recommended the city for a weekend trip citing its gourmet food, art experience in the city's 'AROS' museum, and party scene. Attention given by international media is always considered great news and is widely reviewed in Denmark's media[3] (Matzen 2013) in ways which negotiate and re-negotiate Danish-ness.

3 "Danske medier har det med at gå i selvsving når vores lille land får ros på den internationale arena" Matzen 2013.

3. Place-shaping policy

Arts genres such as plays, fairy tales, sculptures, crime novels, music, movies, TV-series, design or architecture are deterritorialized genres. They exist everywhere. They create images of places and invented lives. They transport regional and local activities and foster place tourism and its related economically significant activities such as extended services. Understood as an 'EU policy for shaping and (re)shaping places in advanced economies' (Collinge & Gibney 2010), Capital of Culture provides a script for cities such as Aarhus who neither have a noteworthy history nor celebrities of their own to be commercialized in order to create economically significant heritage tourism. By contrast, Odense is internationally known for being poet H.C. Andersen's native town. Odense is in the process of building an H.C. Andersen fairy tale house to attract more visitors to the city. It even creates business opportunities in other localities; a company in the small Danish city of Horsens produces Christmas decorations based on H.C. Andersen's paper silhouettes and draws on the heritage story to market its products. Writer Karen Blixen's novel is dramatized for film in Sydney Pollack's picture movie 'Out of Africa' and has created international tourism to the writer's house in Rungsted in Denmark as well as to the farm in Africa. Salzburg is another European example: The city commercializes composer Mozart's life, portrait and music.

Images of history also provide openers for business in countries where the historical figures and their oeuvre are recognized. Outside Europe, the largest markets for Denmark's creative industries are Japan, China and North America (US/ Canada). Those countries show an interest in historical images from Europe. In contrast, US American cultural export is most often associated with industrial giants such as McDonald, Coke or Hollywood movies.

So far, Aarhus has neither succeeded in associating regional cultural products and practices with a past, nor with multinationals. The project Capital of Culture opens the opportunity not only to shape place, but also to develop associations of cultural products and practices with place. Heritage, place and multinationals, however, are widely recognizable cultural forms that also exist outside and independently of Denmark.

4. Fictional tourist destinations

Fiction sells. Instead of creating comparable imaginations of territorial histories, Aarhus chooses to engage in cultural products within internationally recognizable genres. Their content is to be (re-) invented, negotiated and managed. This seems to be an international trend. Images of local and regional places are produced by the creative industries. Internationally, history, movies and books provide people with ideas for travelling formed of imaginary, real and fictional lives. Fiction is a widely recognizable form that carries those ideas. The job is to create familiarity with the distant and unknown. Those cultural products have become rather fashionable.

The trend is most notable in the case of crime fiction. Cities such as Münster in Germany or Edinburgh in Scotland have their own mystery stories with plenty of references to local places, dialects and contemporary ways of life. Writers such as Swedish Henning Mankell, Norwegian Anne Holm or Danish Jussi Adler-Olsen best-sell under the label 'Scandinavian crime fiction' in many countries both within and outside of Europe. They serve as appetizers for interested and affluent readers to engage in city tourism. The export of novels creates curiosity for distant cities and countries and aims at creating the desire to travel. Moreover, it puts preferences on those travels. It directs tourists to locations that already feel familiar to them. Guided tours invite tourists to visit Ystad, Stockholm or Uppsala to follow in the footsteps of fictional detectives Kurt Wallander, Martin Beck or Ann Lindell. Dramatized books invite us on a journey that follows the moves of the main characters, for instance in Dan Brown's book and Ron Howard's corresponding movie 'The DaVinci Code', in order to pay a visit to the sites of the story. Those examples illustrate that places today are branded in multiple ways which are detached from nation-ness. The cultural forms carry images of place, create fictional tourist destinations, and in this context re-negotiate Danish-ness.

Images of regional or local places are big business for many industries such as the publishing, tourist and local service industries. As Aarhus does not have any widely recognized historical roots to offer, fictional local celebrities will create attention for the place. Creative industries are put into action. In the early 2000s, local writer Elsebeth Egholm has given Aarhus its own detective story series. The stories of 'Dicte' – middle-aged journalist and successful hobby detective with a past – have been dramatized by the commercial Danish channel TV2 in 2012. The series was launched on national prime time TV in January 2013. It puts a spotlight on café chains and beautiful locations at the harbor and in the nearby woods. The main character's professional and personal ups and downs of-

fer food for identification. Together, those features add an internationally recognizable flair to small town life at the outskirts of Europe.

The TV series is a product of companies that joined to form 'Filmbyen Aarhus', a major economic investment by the city council in the growth industries film and media in Jutland. Interestingly, Filmbyen's homepage (accessed in September 2013) gives restricted access to non-Danish speakers. This is a case of 'international made in Denmark': Danish-ness perceived as international and international as a distinct quality of Danish-ness. Even though it is supposed to attract outside investments to support the goal of regional job creation, the homepage displays relevant information exclusively in Denmark's official language.

5. Past-oriented design branding

Traditional export of cultural products from Denmark relies strongly on the heritage-oriented imaginations of a national community. Danish Design has a strong post-national and transgressive quality. Yet, design is branded in past-oriented ways. On Denmark's export website, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs cites the brand as a "global opportunity": "Denmark as a design nation is a global brand which is world famous and opens doors internationally."[4] The story told on 'Danish Design' indicates that "the nostalgic myth of original community or homeland" (Collinge & Gibney 2010: 382) continues to be utilized as a point of reference for the branding of design products. The illusion of a stable orientation point is of limited use in a transforming and globalizing world. Recent art books on Danish Design (Dickson 2006; Dybdahl 2006) challenge the very core idea that the pieces are rooted in a distinct Danish-ness. The famous Danish design classic 'Wegner chair', for example, is strongly inspired by the art and craftsmanship of ancient Chinese cabinetmakers.

Danish Design has always been shaped by impulses from around the world. Many contemporary Danish designers move, train, and work abroad. The 'outside' is integral to the 'inside': Design brand 'BODUM' is, for example, produced in Switzerland; likewise 'Arne Jacobsen' is produced in Poland. Recently, some brand icons of the Danish creative industries have been subject to foreign acquisitions. 'Royal Copenhagen' has been sold to the Baltics; 'Georg Jensen' has been sold to Bahrain. Also, so called 'Outsider Art'[5] is produced both inside and outside the country and exhibited in Denmark. As such it is also integral to the country's creative production. Examples are the storytelling tapestry woven by

4 http://um.dk/da/eksportomraadet/sektorer/moebler-tekstil-og-design (accessed December-2013).
5 GAIA museum in Randers, Denmark. http://www.gaiamuseum.dk/.

refugees in Denmark, or the wooden 'Angel' sculptures carved by a Tanzanian craftsman, both exhibited at the 'GAIA' museum in Randers.

Within contemporary Denmark, the creative industries are used to renewing the nostalgic imagination of a national community as valuable resource in times of global competition. These nostalgic ideas legitimate public intervention in support of the creative industries, players in a supposedly free, international and exclusively market-regulated economy. Ownership indicators are put on a level with 'nation state containers' (Beck 2002). Rather than acknowledging the transgressive quality of design, the change in *Georg Jensen*'s ownership is perceived as a change from domestic to foreign and lamented as a separation of design brand and Danish-ness (Hansen 2013): What will be left of the brand now that it is deprived of its primary resource?

A contemporary radical transformation is that the link between nation-ness and place is disrupted. Stories of place and images of culture are transformed, multiplied and contested. At the intersections of state, 'media landscapes' (Appadurai 1990) and 'marketing landscapes' (Rittenhofer & Nielsen 2009; Oestreicher 2010), a 'cultural supermarket' emerges. "Information and identities" are made available (Mathews 2000). Not only is Danish-ness negotiated from many places, the social landscapes created by humankind also offer the opportunity to understand culture as a topic (Ryan 2008) and to re-tell and thus renew the brand of design.

6. Global leadership?

'Danish' design does neither market history nor heritage; rather, it IS history. A colleague in subtropical Sydney, Western Australia, visited Denmark at Christmas time to experience an exotic Northern European winter: cold, snow, and darkness. The goal was to explore Danish Design at its origin. A visit to the exclusive 'ILLUMS BOLIGHUS' department store in the capital city of Copenhagen turned out to be a disappointment. Its contemporary display of design objects for sale resembled the historical exhibition of 'Danish Design' at an Australian museum.

The episode is illustrative of a core problem: Inside the country, Danish-ness is popularized as a repository for internationally recognizable forms such as design and branded in past-oriented ways that strongly rely on myths that surround the ethnic origin of nation (Smith 1999) and its related ideas of culture as a resource that is tied to a place. The myths of Danish origin form a script for authorities' export-related design product branding-strategies. Official Denmark displays past-oriented visions, as it perceives nation-ness as a resource for export and a major competitive advantage in global competition.

According to the Export Council of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, the international poses both a challenge and threat to design export. "Denmark's opportunity in global competition thus is our history and basic design culture" (homepage, accessed in December 2012, translated by the author). In this way, however, Danish authorities not only do claim some sort of ownership of widely shared forms and genres. It also adds a new-orientalist touch, as Denmark is implied to take natural leadership in global competition (Rittenhofer 2011). Culture as a resource not only legitimates the management of design, but also of the Capital of Culture 2017 project. Inside Denmark, international aspects to events are largely unknown, or poorly publicized. European content is broadly invisible in the ongoing coverage of the project development.

This might explain why design export is traditionally strong in nearby markets. Important European markets are The Netherlands, Germany, Norway and Sweden. European countries are familiar with and share mythological ideas on the origin of nation. The impact of the grand narrative of nation-ness on contemporary culture management provides another interesting aspect of design export: Danish Design is less well known for its design and production of every-day articles including hoovers, bathroom handles for disabled persons, the layout of the daily 'Extra Bladet' or T-shirts designed by 'Nørgaard' in the Copenhagen pedestrian zone. It is furniture, fashion and furs that account for a significant part of the country's total export and which are historically some of Denmark's largest export trade industries. The creative industries, however, are now experiencing growth in exports, especially in the areas of music, games and architecture.

7. Managing transgressive qualities

Danish-ness has a transgressive quality. The political TV soap 'Borgen', and the crime series 'Rejseholdet' and 'Forbrydelsen' are produced in Denmark and sold abroad. 'Forbrydelsen' is sold to Germany as 'Das Verbrechen' and to the UK as 'The Killing'. The globally recognizable form of a TV-series transports recognizable characters and images that carry local inflections. In 2012, in the wake of 'Forbrydelsen', Guardian journalist Patrick Kingsley published a book titled: 'How to be Danish. From Lego to Lund. A short introduction to the State of Denmark'. The author claims that TV-series, architecture and concepts of New Nordic Cuisine are expressions of a particular Danish style.

The sweater of Sara Lund, main character in 'Forbrydelsen', is seen as iconic. It is, however, of island style, knitted from the wool of Faroese sheep by a Faroese living in Denmark. The pattern symbolizes the belonging to a Faroese region.

New Nordic Cuisine is a movement initiated by chef Claus Meyer, co-partner of the world's best restaurant 2010 – 2012 called 'NOMA' together with the head chef and manager René Redzepti. The movement started in 2004 as a cooperation of regional chefs. In 2005, it was adopted by the Nordic Council of Ministers as the core ideology of New Nordic Food and supported by national programs. Redzepti relies entirely on local produce, has an Albanian father and a Danish mother, and was trained in Denmark, Spain and the US.

Kingsley's book is widely reviewed in the Danish media. Here, the international attention given to the TV-series is regarded as proof that the country has an international impact. The ideas revealed about Danish-ness, however, are disregarded. Not on the grounds that they are based on fictional lives or on the grounds of their transgressive quality. Rather, they are dismissed as characteristics of a creative minority 'spelt segment' (Matzen 2013). Whether these cultural forms will contribute to create place-tourism is open. TV-series allow for the experience of country images 'from safe distance and with a remote control in your hand' (Holm 2013).

Conclusion

Cultural forms and creative industries such as those mentioned here may be located in Denmark; however, they display strong transgressive qualities. The interplay of EU policy, state and media landscapes are indications that the resources of cultural export may no longer be located nationally or locally as they develop partly independent of location, are affected by activities occurring elsewhere, and are neither place nor institution bound. Today, nation-ness is no longer a power tool controlled by political or economic elites of a state. The challenge for the creative industries is to manage the transgressive quality of cultural forms and genres in ways that apply 'culture' as a topic. If the 'cultural supermarket' is the dominating culture of the future, it should provide reference points for a realignment of future Capital of Culture projects and the cities' and the regions' development. Such an approach might contribute to developing the notions of sharedness and trans-border community in both a local and European context. Even though a standardized script is followed and internationally recognizable forms are exploited, the challenge for Capital of Culture might well seize a chance to (re-) negotiate European-ness as a topic for contemporary, border-less identifications of a transforming space.

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Export or Cultural Transfer? Reflection on Two Concepts

Verena Teissl

Exporting European culture seems to be a topic closely linked to several incendiary subjects, such as post-colonial theories and the discourse about cultural diversity launched by UNESCO. Europe is not an innocent continent when it comes to questions of post-colonial attitudes, cultural diversity and the appreciation of cultural difference as defined by Homi Bhabha (Bhabha 2000). Rather, European countries have represented *the* power to establish colonization and imperialism during three centuries. With the official end of these two practices, eurocentrism remains a mental force, masked by the concept of cultural diversity (Bhabha in Rutherford: 1990). The static element of "cultural diversity" may serve as an explanation as to why countries like France and Germany, with significant immigrant populations, suffer from disintegration on a transcultural level. Homi Bhabha refers to the implicit hierarchy that underlies the concept of "diversity" as a defined relation between the host country and the immigrating cultures. In this context, to raise the question about exporting culture needs a definition and differentiation in order to be discussed in a constructive way. In the following, I will refer to some aspects of exportation using the example of the USA that may define and distinguish "export" and "cultural transfer". The latter is then illustrated by the process of adaption using the media of film, an artistic expression that originates in Europe, but that in the meantime, is produced in many non-European countries. Film is a particularly appropriate form to look at because of its mass effect. I will then describe the format of festivals as platforms of negotiation for cultural transfer a well as markets for export taking the examples of film festivals and art festivals.

1. The US-Mode of Export

The invitation to contribute to this publication states: "The US has undoubtedly succeeded in exporting their culture all over the world. Clearly there is a lot of money to be made from cultural export, if it is correctly undertaken. However,

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success doesn't necessarily win you friends across the world. Can and should Europe learn anything from the USA?"

This statement calls for a closer look at how the USA has succeeded in exporting culture and what has led to its domination. The two original formats that have enjoyed economic success as well as having had cultural impact as a form of self-representation, have been the theatre musical and the cultural industry for film and music. Musicals have liberated themselves from their origin in the meantime and have become part of cultural transfer (see below). What continues to be articles of export are the goods produced within the industry. The film industry was started by European impresarios, and developed rapidly into the 20th century's first cultural industry: Hollywood, the dream factory. The keys to this success were, on the one hand, the initiation of a vertical marketing system, which proved highly successful; and on the other hand, a combination of failing European competition due to economic crisis and wars with their devastating effects during the first half of the 20th century. Together, these factors contributed to establishing Hollywood as a cinematic power. This export has created an imaginary nearness to the US-American way of life wherever Hollywood established distribution. It has not, though, necessarily created a deeper understanding of US culture. It could even be considered the other way round: To gain a deeper understanding of US culture, it helps to analyse how Hollywood works, how the dreamlike illusions are produced by following strict rules (the happy ending) and watching the box office closely. Also, thanks to the cultural industry, influential subcultures including jazz, rock or pop experienced successful international export. The ground-breaking invention of the USA was, therefore, the industrial production and distribution of certain art expressions. The US would not be a cultural global power without this industry. This means, that a *specific method of production and distribution* made successful export possible, establishing certain cultural goods on the global market and unfolding an illusionary nearness to the US culture.

2. Cultural transfer, adaption and the subtle power of formats

At this point it seems fruitful to distinguish between the method of distribution of goods and content as well as formats. Thanks to the cultural industry, the USA did not depend on institutions like the Goethe-Institut or the Institute Français to place itself in the middle of the world and in our minds. But then, the efforts of national representative institutions do not work on an "earning by selling" basis, instead they aim to serve a public good. Distribution of goods is clearly dif-

ferent from cultural transfer which is the main task of foreign cultural policy institutions. Cultural transfer can be understood as a transcultural tool: Adapting ideas, systems and formats of expression of foreign cultures results in new, hybrid cultural and artistic practices. It is a dynamic process which differs from the static concept of "diversity" (Rutherford 1990, Bhabha 2000). Also film or rap music do not only exist as goods created by the cultural industry but have been adapted in many different forms and cultures. Homi Bhabha refers to the format itself as a tool of power and insurgence. He explains that Salman Rushdie made use of this subtle dimension provided by the format by returning to epics instead of verse when he wrote the "Satanic Verses" (Bhabha 2000: 333ff). Cultural essence is inherent to the format and therefore cultural transfer can also be a question of ideology. Following this theory, what are the implications brought about by implementing formats on a global scale? Let's have a look at a mass media and a product of the cultural industry, film:

Film was born in Europe and can be seen as an expression that mirrors the European inquietude for developing systems "that hold and reflect the real world" (Teissl 2007). Film seems to be the most secular articulation that Europe has developed in the wake of this inquietude. This suggests that film compromises an artistic expression rooted in occidental logics and dynamics: Furthermore, the essence of occidental culture is inherent in the format itself, in the medium. When the Lumière brothers sent their agents all over the world to sell their newly developed "Cinématograph", it was countries like Mexico, India and the USA which quickly adopted the innovation – countries which considered themselves as (at least partly) occidental. Other countries, like many African nations, that have only recently begun to use national film production systems, have remained simply film locations for a long time. Two contexts are inherent: a) Countries which did not build up a national film production were condemned to being objects of filming instead of producing images of their own. They were subjected to alien representation on the global market. b) Not every culture of the world feels the desire to make films. Depending on cultural artistic preferences, film can even disturb the process of artistic recreation and reflection of a society. To adapt filmic expression implies adaptation of a European way of thinking. Wimal Dissayanake analyses this complex process of adaption using the example of the Hindi film industry and demonstrates that it is not a question of technology or plot, but of cultural narratives. The Hindi film industry adopted Hollywood's star system, but shaped the characters true to the culture. This could be interpreted as an adoption rather than an adaption. More significantly for the latter are the references paid to the Hindi epics "Ramayana" and "Mahabarata", to the Sanskrit and Parsi

theatre (Dissayanake 2006) which form part of the Hindi cultural narrative. With Bollywood, the Indian film industry has established a convincing and powerful expression for the Hindi majority – just like Hollywood still represents "Whiteness". This, however, leads to another discourse …

When the attempt for adaption fails, which is the case of indigenous filmmaking in Latin American countries this may serve as a manifestation that cultural narratives are crucial to distinguishing between authentic adaption and copy. Just imagine that for some reason we are obliged to adapt the African dancing culture or the Peking opera. Would we rather assume or copy?

Film has experienced an "export" that very quickly gained momentum independent from being a cultural export in the sense of goods with copyright and a price label. It spread by a much more subtle mechanism, by a cultural transfer, that makes non-European cultures speak European by adapting the format and Europeans think (or rather: feel) Indian by watching a Bollywood film.

In some cases, modern art production in non-European countries depends on the financial support of foreign cultural institutions like the aforementioned Goethe-Institut or the Francophony. Both of them not only export national culture but sustain local art production. Every withdrawal of those institutions in economically poor countries has a weakening effect on national art production with a heavy implication for global variety. At the same time, they have an impact on the aesthetics produced. For example, the Francophony was a decisive support system for western African countries in establishing national film production; but African film-makers are critical that western funding often depends on the European expectation of how African films should look like (Diawara 2010). The struggle for authentic production is one of the most complex implications of cultural transfer and transcultural exchange – and of course: Authenticity is a major item for exportation and usually what one experiences as "authentic" comes out of precast concepts: another challenge for transcultural affairs on every level: production, selection, selling.

Coming back to the main subject of this article: What definition can be found for exporting European culture and what could be an appropriate context? What are the criteria for "being successful"? For someone rooted in post-colonial ideas, who believes in the richness of a wide range of cultural and artistic expression, success can only be defined as benefiting from difference in the way Homi Bhabha makes use of the term: a constantly dynamic process of cultural translation to new forms. This implies a need to take a closer look on the bright and on the dark sides of the systems of production and distribution. The European way, if I may generalise it, represents the opposite of economical positioning. Indus-

trial cultural production was supported and desired – but, in the end, its products developed alongside the "European tradition": Not in vain, the European film industry in the post- war period started to focus on the art film in contrast to the genre film, one of the "recipes" for success that Hollywood established. While the latter builds on a glamorous star system and genres like film noir, western or film-musicals, the art film emphasizes the director, his singularity and the opposition to genre-like appearance in its style. It alludes to the idea of the "genie", established during the democratization and the rise of the bourgeois society. The "genie" is not only a term but a whole concept, reflecting the beginning of the individualization within society and expressing the recognition of being "authentic" – different from the others by being true to oneself. The ideals of art and talent, the complexity of arts expression and the frequently cursed, but even more desired angry artist in his role of questioning the rules of society are parts of the European approach and its ambition. The results are intimately connected with the concept which makes it per se difficult to export. Artists receive their tasks within society from society itself, as it is the case with any profession (Hauser 1988).

3. Festivals as platforms of negotiation and networking

In Europe, a particular format for producing, selling and hosting art forms has been developed: festivals. They emerged from the efforts of bringing together modernism and aesthetics in the late 19th century and are dedicated to the processing of the arts. Different developments intertwined in the 19th century, such as the development of new technologies, the appearance of the bourgeois industrial society, the hunger of artists to be free of academic ties, and well-rehearsed forms of presentation (Zembylas 1997). The Great Exhibition in London of 1851 marked a new form of presentation by building the crystal palace, a chance to experience exhibits in a new way and to a broad audience (Krasny 1996). Technology became an aesthetic adventure and the idea of celebrating exhibits in a limited time and in a staged place provided the starting point for festivals in the art sector. In 1876, Richard Wagner founded the Bayreuther Festspiele to create his own independent scene for performing opera as a complete work of art. In 1895, the first Biennale Art Festival took place in Venice, founded by artists seeking new ways of presentation and inspired by the International Art Festivals that took place as of 1886 in Munich in the 'Glaspalast' (crystal palace) which was inaugurated in 1854 with the Erste Deutsche Industrieausstellung (Fleck 2011). One of the central motivations for the foundation of the Biennale in Venice was to create a market removed from the academic art exhibitions (ibid.). In 1921, the Donau-

eschinger Kammermusiktage established a platform emphasizing the experiment with contemporary music. In 1932, the first film festival took place in Venice – driven by the desire of the European film industry to catch up with Hollywood. But only after the Second World War, could the vivid dynamics of film festivals could develop and strengthen the European art film through their existence. Also theatre festivals and interdisciplinary festivals started to emerge.

To this day, festivals provide a time-space (Elfert 2009) dedicated to experiments in order to sustain new expressions within their category. Ever since they developed as additional formats to permanent institutions like museums or theatre houses, most festivals provide a lab-character and, at the same time, they function as markets. Buyers and Sellers are part of the target audience and push the export of single art goods offered by a cultural event that at the same time offers discussion and dialogue with a high degree of attention and a multiplicity of players. Festival markets evocate the pattern of bazars where art expressions are negotiated concretely by offering single products as well as through the underlying process of constant aesthetic formation. Highly recognized festivals such as the 'documenta' in Kassel and Cannes Film Festival have a huge impact on the formation of taste and offers of artistic goods within national markets.

Due to their mass-effect and industrial involvement, the first festivals to spread worldwide were film festivals. The concept of the film festival was taken up in non-European countries such as Columbia, Cuba and India. Film festivals – not under copyright as a format – were quickly recognized as a platform for the same reason the one in Venice was initiated: To oppose to a hegemonic film industry. By offering support to national and geopolitical cinematography film festivals became central players producing difference, just like Homi Bhabha claims: a space full of global interest and charged with local meaning. Thanks to film festivals in Cartagena (since 1960), Tunis (since 1966), Ouagadougou (since 1969) or La Habana (since 1978), Arab, African and Latin American film production has been encouraged. They have formed a lobby for films and artists that have been under-represented on the European market and were particularly successful in this role during the late 1960ties and in the 1970ties when solidarity with non-European cultures influenced the perception of art expression from non-European countries. At the same time film festivals like Cannes and Venice, which are reduced to glamour through media coverage, have made a strong contribution to making the art world more international in its European reception. These festivals were the first to present filmmakers like Emilio "el Indio" Fernández (Mexico, 1904-1986), Ousmane Sembène (Senegal, 1923-2007), Abbas Kiarostami (Iran, 1940) or the ground breaking films by French filmmaker Jean Rouch

(France, 1917-2004). Rouch introduced entirely new concepts regarding ethnographical filmmaking and is regarded today as a pioneer in employing ethnography as a form of post-colonial criticism (Les Maîtres fous, 1954/55) as well as a technique to look at the European lifestyle (Moi, un noir [1958], Chronique d'un été [1960]). Without the acceptance and awarding of 'Les Maîtres fous' at Venice Film Festival, Rouch may never have been recognized, due to his approach causing heavy polemics within the ethnographical academic self-perception (Hohenberger 1988). This might serve as an exemplification that festivals – in this case, film festivals – serve as spaces for innovation decoupled from interests produced by academic interests as well as by dynamics of national markets. Within their function as platforms, they provide a "third perspective" (Teissl 2013a: 23), in the same way, festivals are able to sustain art forms suitable for political opposition and alignment to global art expression within non-European countries as they offer spaces detached from national boundaries. Today, seven decades after the first film festival took place, we speak of "World Cinema" and a global film festival circuit. The latter is said to consist of about 4.000 festivals worldwide and has established an alternative mode of distribution suspending the rules of territorial markets: A global network for a global audience.

The case is different with Biennale Art Festivals because contemporary art is not a mass media to start with. The degree of complexity in modern and contemporary art may well serve as an indicator of the intricacy the European (or occidental) world has grown into. While nobody questions how the internet works and what digital code does, a lot of people question the appearance and language of contemporary art. In the case of technology, one does not need to speak the functional language – the digital code – to make use of the device. Contemporary art presents pure language in the most complex form of signs and symbols. It therefore makes the invisibility of complexity visible (but not necessarily understandable). The tight connection between art and society – constituting the social and political role of artists in a defined society – makes it difficult to transform contemporary art per se into an exportable good. Nevertheless, this is exactly what Biennale Art Festivals have recently started to do. As with film festivals, the expansion of Biennale Art Festivals in non-European countries has established platforms for communication and support for production in recent years. Since the 1990ties, art festivals have enjoyed a boom in number and interest: La Habana, São Paolo, Johannesburg, Istanbul or Dakar have found ways in which to make their voices heard in the art market (Moser 2011: 88). In comparison to film festivals, art festivals as a global phenomenon are a fairly new field and divide the

opinion amongst researchers. The Berlin based author Simon Sheikh critics the marketing-attitude behind the expansion of art festivals:

> "Global, that always comprises financial implications and their accompanying complexities. If every city founded a Biennale, every place could be marketed as unique and then there is not solely cultural logic behind it but also the economic pursuit of exclusive rights, proceeds from tourism and external investment." [1]

Sheikh also critics the influence of curators and galleries on the selection and points out:

> "In fact, a Biennale not only turns cities into brands, but also artists. To be appointed as a Biennale-Artist brings prestige and recognition increasing their opportunities on the market. It's not surprising, therefore, that exactly the same works and artists are presented that are to be found in galleries and international art exhibitions."

Contrary to this, the curator and researcher Christian Morgner analyzes the programs of international art festivals in an ongoing research-project. In his intermediary results he has disproved that programs appear the same all over the world (Morgner 2012). Seen from his perspective, art festivals in non-European countries form lobbies for contemporary art coming from Europe *and* from the host countries. By doing so, art festivals fulfil a role similar to the one of film festivals: To support global art production in a dispatched time-space by negotiating a variety of concepts. The curator Okwui Enwezor balances negative and positive elements by saying:

> "In its expansion mode, as in its insatiable propensity to absorb even the most arcane of artistic grammars and scales of production, biennales have come to exemplify not only important scenes of cultural translation and transnational encounters between artists, art markets, institutions, and various professionals, but a negative impression of its form as an agora of spectacle have to define its relation to art." (Enwezor 2002: 46)

He continues by emphasizing "the fact that not all biennales function along the logic of spectacle. (…) In truth, most biennales, particularly those working in and addressing specific artistic contexts, often work as low budget, modest projects." (ibid.)

Finally, the organized networking within the festival world deserves recognition as a strong contributor making festivals transnational places and spaces. In 1933, the FIAPF (International Federation of Film Producers Association) was already founded, in order to structure the landscape and hierarchy of film festi-

1 Sheikh 2011, online on www.goethe.de/wis/bib/prj/hmb/the/156/de8622843.htm. Translated from the German version of the text by Claire Burnill-Maier.

vals. After World War II, umbrella organisations made their way to establish the festival world either within continental interests, like EFA (European Festival Organization, founded in 1952), or by art categories on an international level. In 2009, the Biennial Foundation was founded as an umbrella association for over one hundred festivals of contemporary art worldwide to "establish contact between disparate biennial organizations and to facilitate the exchange of information, experience, and expertise within a global network of partner organizations and colleagues" (www.biennialfoundation.org/about/). The Biennial Foundation is a non-profit organization registered in Amsterdam with their main office in Athens (ibid.). The organized networking provides structures and exchange, autonomous from national dynamics. It uses its own market with its own conflicts. The German cultural manager Jennifer Elfert states:

> "Festivals […] could develop a certain leading model of cultural organization only with special networking tools because festivals and networks reveal similar potential structures. (…) In other words, festivals establish through networking processes own structures and thus new market situations, which can sometimes also lead to a higher pressure of competition, isolation and a loss of individualism. Despite these possible dangerous consequences, one can describe the development of structures within networks as a successful concept because of the fact that economic goals can be reached by co-productions and long-term projects, which can be a financial advantage for every partner within the cooperation." (Elfert 2009: 108f[2])

4. Conclusion

To view festivals as parallel worlds for global exchange in the best sense of the word might be an idealistic view. Neither art nor film festivals are detached from gatekeeping, hegemonic aesthetics and economic interests. It should also be considered that, by their expansion, the subtle power of the format is shifted to festivals themselves and therefore follows the principles of the inherent concept, as well as the interests by the funding institutions. As to the format of festivals, Enwezor sees the danger of immanent discourses of the west, but also the opportunities for deeper transnational exchange (Enwezor 2002). This can be understood as one of the central challenges that festivals – and especially their curators – have to face. Enwezor asks: "How do institutions of art integrate the slower, critical cultural shifts that arrive in the wake of these transnational, denationalised, global transformations?" (ibid.: 43) and emphasizes the processing that leads to profoundness. He also states that the

2 Translated by Claire Burnill-Maier.

> "recent postcolonial, post imperial discourse inserts a new spectator whose gaze upon the mottled screen of modernity is counter-hegemonic / counter-normative, and not simply counter-cultural. It is in this sense that postcolonial subjective claims (multiculturalism, liberation theology, resistance art, feminist and queer theory, questions of third cinema, […] deviate from hegemonic concept of spectatorial totality and render fragmentary." (ibid.: 56)

Considering this idea of modern spectators, I feel the idealistic view of festivals is justified, consolidated. They offer concepts to those who work in the field, they are open enough to include activism against the concept itself and they develop their strength by leading a kind of parallel existence for a global audience. In all their achievements, festivals can be adapted hosts for the further exportation of European culture; and of course, for importing non-European culture. The bond of European cultures consists not so much in certain themes, but in the constant abstraction of arts alongside the features of our abstract society. Exportation itself has taken place in an abstract way. But is "exportation" the appropriate term? Certainly not as a description of the aforementioned examples. For all of them relate to the context of cultural transfer in contrast to what "export" means.

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Authors

Burnill-Maier, Claire, studied English and Drama Education at the University of Exeter. Following a three-year period of living, working and extensive travel in Asia, she returned to the UK. Having developed an interest in the field of Cultural Studies during the course of completing her MSc in Development Studies at the University of Bath, she now lives in Germany and lectures in Cultural Studies and English in Austria.

Carty, Hilary S., is an independent consultant specializing in leadership development, management and organizational change. Prior to working independently, Hilary was the Director of the Cultural Leadership Program a £22m government investment in excellence in leadership within the UK cultural and creative industries. Her career includes senior level management experience in the arts, cultural and creative industries including Director, London (Arts) at Arts Council England; Director, Culture and Education at London 2012, where she delivered the inception and planning of the Cultural Olympiad as part of London's successful Olympic bid; and Director of Dance for Arts Council England. She holds an MBA from the University of Westminster, is a qualified coach with the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development, and a qualified Organization Development Practitioner with the NTL Institute, UK. In recognition of her contribution to the arts, culture and the development of work-based learning, Hilary has been awarded Honorary Doctorates from De Montfort and Middlesex Universities and a Honorary Fellowship of Goldsmith's University of London.

Cogliandro Beyens, GiannaLia, joined the leading European network on Cultural Management and Cultural Policy education (ENCATC) in 2002 with the assignment to manage and expand a growing network of over 100 members in 40 countries. She is also administrator of the Thomassen Fund (mobility fund) and serves on several boards. In 2010 she was elected member of the Advisory group of the European Platform Access to Culture. Former Policy Officer of the Cultural Forum of EUROCITIES, the network of major European cities, she designed and coordinated several transnational projects in the field of culture. Earlier, she

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was appointed Secretary General of the Association of the European Cities of Culture of the year 2000 set up in 1996 by the European Commission. Journalist since 1993, she was Press & PR Officer for the N.A.T.O organization in Rome. For the European Commission she wrote 10 reports on social European policy and a major study on the European Cities of Culture for the year 2000. Educated at the University "*La Sapienza*" in Rome, GiannaLia Cogliandro Beyens holds a degree in Political Sciences – International Relations, a M.A. in European & International Career Studies and a M.A. in European Constitution.

Cross, Mai'a K. Davis, is Senior Researcher at the ARENA Centre for European Studies in Oslo, Norway, where she writes about issues of European security, foreign policy, epistemic communities, smart power, diplomacy, and public diplomacy. She is the author of two books: *Security Integration in Europe: How Knowledge-based Networks are Transforming the European Union* (University of Michigan Press, 2011), which is the 2012 winner of the Best Book Prize from the University Association of Contemporary European Studies, and *The European Diplomatic Corps: Diplomats and International Cooperation from Westphalia to Maastricht* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007). She is also co-editor (with Jan Melissen) of *European Public Diplomacy: Soft Power at Work* (Palgrave, 2013). She holds a PhD in Politics from Princeton University, and a bachelor's degree in Government from Harvard University.

Henze, Raphaela, is Professor of Cultural Management at Heilbronn University. Her main research focus is on HR management and organizational development in cultural institutions. Prior to joining Heilbronn University she held several senior management positions at different German universities and non-profit organizations and worked in science communication and marketing in the ministry of science in Hamburg. She is also a Visiting Professor at the University of Arhus, Denmark, Trier University, Germany and the University of Economy in Bydgoszcz, Poland. She studied law at Trier University, Humboldt-University Berlin, and Paris X-Nanterre in France, received her Ph.D. at Ruhr University Bochum, was a postdoc at Yale Law School, USA, as well as at the National Institute for Educational Policy Research (NIER) in Tokyo, Japan. Raphaela Henze holds an MBA from the University of London.

Knüsel, Pius, * in 1957, Swiss, graduated from the University of Zurich in German Literature and Philosophy. He is a free lance journalist and was cultural editor for Swiss Television from 1985 until 1992 as well as founder and artistic and business director of the Moods Jazz Club in Zurich from 1992 until 1997. Pius

Knüsel is Board member of the European Jazz Network. He was head of the department of cultural sponsoring of Credit Suisse from 1998 until 2002. In 2002 Pius Knüsel was appointed director of Pro Helvetia, the Swiss Arts Council. Since 2012 he is director of the Open University of Zurich. He is co-author of "Der Kulturinfarkt", an extended critical review of contemporary cultural policies in the German speaking countries. He teaches arts management and cultural policy at various universities in Switzerland and abroad.

Ortega Nuere, Christina, is the President of ENCATC, the leading European network on Cultural Management and Cultural Policy education. She is the Director of the Institute of Leisure Studies and the Principal Researcher of the Official Research Team of Leisure and Human Development of the University of Deusto, Spain.

Rittenhofer, Iris, is Associate Professor at the faculty of Business and Social Sciences, Aarhus University, Denmark, head of the research group CRU at the Department of Business Communication, and member of the scholarly reference group developing the research program IMPACT 2017 (http://projects.au.dk/2017/research-on-aarhus-2017/), the contribution of Aarhus University to RETHINK – European Capital of Culture 2017. In 2011, she was honorary Visiting Professor at the Center for Management and Organization Studies CMOS, University of Technology Sydney in Australia. Iris Rittenhofer holds a MA degree from Bielefeld University in Germany and a PhD degree from Aalborg University in Denmark.

Sacker, Ulrich, has been working with the Goethe-Institut for over 30 years where he was either holding the position of a Director of an Institute (San Francisco, Hong Kong, London, Lyon) and of an Executive Manager (Munich, Paris, Berlin). Currently, he is responsible for European affairs at the Goethe-Institut Headquarters in Munich. He also worked with the Universities of Berkeley and Stanford in the USA as well as with Oxford and LSE in Great Britain. Among other things, he started three Festivals of German and European film and is member of the jury of European Film Awards. In Berlin, he was in charge of political relations and the international visiting program while at the same time, he was running the department of communications and new media in Munich.

Sandmann, Katrin, worked as a foreign correspondent for Germany's biggest private television network for 15 years. She was the Middle-East Bureau Chief in Jerusalem in the time of the second Intifada and went on to live in Amman and Baghdad in the following years. Sandmann covered the wars in Iraq, Lebanon,

Afghanistan, political turmoils in Pakistan, Iran, Syria, Yemen and Sub-Saharan Africa, as well as natural disasters from the Tsunami in Asia to the devastating earthquakes in Haiti. Since 2011 she heads the department for International Documentaries with Kobalt Productions, a Berlin based TV production company. In this capacity she wrote, produced and realized a series of documentaries called "Warriors of Culture". For this eight part series Katrin Sandmann travelled to Mogadishu, Gaza, Karachi, Grozny, Baghdad, Kabul, Kinshasa, Port-au-Prince in order to explore the impact of war and political crisis on the arts and the cultural life in those cities.

Schindhelm, Michael, is a writer, filmmaker, theatre and opera director and cultural consultant. He has worked in various countries in- and outside Europe and held the position of the founding Director General of the Berlin Opera Foundation (2004-2007) and the founding Director of the Dubai Authority for Culture and Arts (2007-2009). He is an international expert for arts projects and innovative cultural actions. He has published numerous fiction and non-fiction books and was a well-known TV-moderator in Switzerland. For further information: www.michaelschindhelm.com

Teissl, Verena, is Professor of Cultural Management und Cultural Studies at the University of Applied Sciences Kufstein (Austria). She was a co-founder of the International Film Festival Innsbruck and a long time collaborator of the Viennale – Vienna International Film Festival where she stills is a consultant. She has edited several books about film and literature in Latin America and has been living for several years in Mexico.

Wolfram, Gernot, studied German Philology, Rhetoric and Communication Sciences in Tübingen and Berlin. He has lived in Berlin since 1997 and teaches as Professor of Arts Management at the MHMK University of Berlin and as Professor of Cultural Studies at the FH Kufstein (Tyrol). He has produced numerous publications within the fields of Intercultural Exchange, International Arts Management and Discourses of Otherness. Since 2009 he belongs, as an expert for cultural projects, to Team Europe of the European Commission in Germany.

The editors look forward to comments, suggestions and further discussion:

Prof. Dr. Raphaela Henze, MBA
Heilbronn University Campus Künzelsau
Reinhold-Würth-Hochschule
Daimlerstraße 35
D-74653 Künzelsau
Germany
Tel.: +49 (0) 7940-1306-250
Mail: raphaela.henze@hs-heilbronn.de

Prof. Dr. Gernot Wolfram
MHMK University for Media and Communication
M33 Höfe
Mehringdamm 33
10961 Berlin
Germany
Telef.: +49 (0) 030-2021512-88
Telefax 030.202 15 12-15
Mail: g.wolfram@mhmk.org