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Journal of Cultural Management and Policy



**Volume 2
Issue N°1**

ENCATC Journal of Cultural Management and Policy

Volume 2 / Issue 1 / 2012 / ISSN 2224-2554 / www.journal.encatc.org

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FREQUENCY

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

ARTICLE SUBMISSION

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

ARTICLE SELECTION

All articles considered for publication in the ENCATC Journal of Cultural Management and Policy have gone through a double-blind review process.

PUBLISHER

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Angel of the North is a contemporary sculpture designed by Antony Gormley. It is located in Gateshead, Tyne and Wear, England. It is a steel sculpture of an angel, 20 meters tall, with wings measuring 54 meters across.

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Foreword

The use of cultural management and policy research findings

A word from the ENCATC President, Cristina Ortega Nuere

Dear Reader,

I am very proud to introduce you to Volume 2, Issue 1 of the ENCATC Journal of Cultural Management and Policy.

Launched in 2011 by ENCATC, the only European network on cultural management and cultural policy education, the Journal's Volume 1, Issue 1 has to date been downloaded by 24,630 people (Source, independent statistics analysis service, Tallieu & Tallieu).

This data clearly proves that the ENCATC Journal is already perceived by the scientific and academic community as a valuable instrument for sharing knowledge, exchanging new ideas and encouraging debates and discussion on important cultural management and policy issues.

The prior functions of cultural studies, reports, and magazines range from disseminating research findings; transferring knowledge; promoting debate and dialogue, contributing to reflection; serving as support for cultural policies and improving the process of decision making. In the present context of crisis, tools that facilitate the transfer of knowledge between researchers/ academics, cultural workers and cultural policy makers are becoming especially important in order to foster smart, sustainable and inclusive growth. However, it is not uncommon to hear opinions that suggest this goal is often hampered by the perceived lack of understanding between researchers/ academics and users of research results, mainly those responsible for making policy decisions.

Does the gap of understanding between researchers and policy makers really exist? Can we actually speak of barriers that make it difficult to take decisions based on information and knowledge generated by researchers? Some of the perceived barriers are: Discrepancy between the objectives of stakeholders – what researchers consider to be important, is not necessarily equally important for the decision makers; Lack of understanding about working speeds – without doubt, the time constraint and the lack of specific knowledge of what is going on in the literature also affect the decision-making process; Lack of expertise and informed arguments to defend the speech and proposals – sometimes, politicians are not fully aware of important technical and organizational details of areas under their responsibility; Lack of toolkits – research outcomes often do not provide tools to apply changes and recommendations about how to improve practice; Impartiality and reticence obstacles – the political cost that basing decisions in scientific evidence could mean, it cannot only determine that it could be taken into account. It can also provoke that certain recommendations are filtered systematically if they are not adapted to the thesis of the political group, although they are valid; Access, translation, and listening – there is a perception that there are not enough studies, and the few that exist are not well disseminated; The academic language is not understandable – some people identify the academic language as another barrier. The challenge is how to make the outcomes accessible and understandable and still to keep the prestige and quality of the research.

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What possible solutions could be raised so that the results of cultural research could be used more efficiently? There are some proposals that we would like to remark in order to improve our knowledge transfer objective. These are addressed for a better use of cultural research findings. The most outstanding ones are the following:

Opening a training process on two paths – researchers must provide evidence-based discourse tools to those responsible for implementing cultural policies. On the other hand, those who take decisions should consult and foresee their information needs during the planning process. Communicating opportunistically to researchers and adequately explaining the real context and its limitations would help to bring needs and possibilities closer on both sides.

Creating plural collaborative communities – it would be useful to open spaces (think tanks, working groups, innovation laboratories, etc.) for public presentation and research result discussions, together with policy makers. That is, spaces that facilitate access to information, promoting collective knowledge creation and stimulating new synergies. There should be a better exchange between researchers and policy makers.

Betting on better knowledge management – knowledge managers could help to improve the integration of the variety of inputs in which cultural research is based. This would help breakdown the bias that can blur research developed from a particular discipline (economics, tourism, etc.).

Access, translation and listening – public research departments, universities, research centres, observatories, and research networks need to find a way to provide systematic information about their important findings. But access to research means more than just being able to pick up a research paper and read it; you must be able to understand how to use the research. Promoting meetings between cultural stake-

holders to discuss potentially relevant research results could be a way to reach policy makers from the bottom-up. In addition, researchers must understand the value of accessible user friendly language, as well as understanding the priorities.

Civil society fills the gap – it is important to encourage civil society to be proactive towards authorities and to actively participate in the knowledge creation process close to researchers. To involve non-specialist and larger audiences is difficult, but it's the only way to assure the democratic impact of research. Networks should be more proactive in this issue.

These are some highlights about how to improve the use of cultural research findings among researchers, cultural managers and cultural policy makers.

Finally, I would like to remark that the ENCATC journal is available for online consultation and a printable version will be made available on the ENCATC website.

Sustainable Development and Cultural Policy: Do They Make A Happy Marriage?

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to foster debate within the academic community on the notion of culture as the fourth pillar of sustainable development. Is Agenda 21 for Culture not just another way of making the case for increased funding of the arts by the different governments? Are the goals of this fourth pillar not the same as those traditionally found in cultural policies? This article looks at the origins of Agenda 21 and raises questions about its relationship with the challenges facing cultural and arts organizations, the different definitions of the term “culture,” and the distinction between high and popular culture. It explores the links between these questions and the economic and market issues confronting stakeholders in the cultural sector as well as public policy makers.

Keywords:

Cultural Policy

Agenda 21

Sustainable
development

Market Issues

High art / popular
art

Introduction

Cultural actors in all developed countries are struggling with a serious lack of funding. The economic crisis of 2008 has had a devastating impact on government budgets, leading to severely limited access to public funding. The general consensus is that this situation is hampering the growth of the cultural sector, that young creators are being sacrificed and that cultural organizations cannot afford to expand.

Against this backdrop, some academics have proposed suggestions for dealing with this crisis, while others have sought explanations other than the financial destitution of governments. Bonet and Donato (2011) launched a discussion on the financial crisis currently facing the planet and on its impact on models of governance in the cultural sector. These authors advocate for an examination of the models of financing and management by both cultural actors and governments. For his part, Colbert (2012, 2009) questions whether it is possible that the market for culture has simply reached its saturation point, which would explain the cultural sector's difficulties as well as governments' inability to solve the permanent state of crisis in which the arts community is mired. Another school of thought seeks alternative solutions to the so-called under-funding of culture. It is in this context that the notion of "culture" as the fourth pillar of sustainable development emerged.

This article begins with an overview of the current state of cultural policies. It then goes on to review the definition of sustainable development and its integration of the notion of culture. Finally, we develop several reflections and questions on this process.

1. Policies of cultural democratization: A failing grade

Both Throsby (1995) and Léa and Brodhag (2004) trace the history of the concept of sustainable development from its origins with the Club of Rome in the early 1970s through the 1980s and 1990s. From 1970 to the present, approaches to sustainable development have focused successively on the ecological, economic and then human or social dimensions of sustainable development. It wasn't until the publication by the World Commission on Culture and Development of its 1995 report entitled "Our Creative Diversity" that the cultural dimension was integrated in the discussion. In the wake of this report, authors such as Porcedda and Petit (2001) sought to link the cultural and the social by arguing that culture can make an important contribution to social order and human development. Over the course of these successive reflections, little or no consideration was given to the definition of the concept of culture and to the shift that occurred from "protecting the culture of developing countries in the context of the economic development of wealthy countries" to support for high culture through cultural policies.

The issue of cultural democratization is a recurring theme that was once again pushed to the fore on the occasion of the anniversaries of the cultural ministries of France and Quebec, notably, in 2009 and 2011. Indeed, one of the founding missions of the French Ministry of Culture upon its creation in 1959 was "to make the great masterworks of humanity, and above all of France, accessible to the greatest possible number of French people" (decree no. 59-889 of July 24, 1959, cited in Saint Pulgent, 2009: 15 [translation]). This goal of democratizing culture was subsequently adopted by the majority of industrialized countries. Underlying this commitment to democratization is the idea that a culture of high "quality," or the so-called "high arts," should be shared by all. This "legitimate" culture stands in contrast to cultural products intended for mass consumption (popular art). This long-term strategy aimed at reconciling cultural supply and demand drew criticism, notably from Urfalino, who argued that "... in the short term, this strategy leads to the illegitimacy of public preferences as the main criterion of evaluation" (Urfalino, 1989, p. 97 [translation]). However, this "reconciliation" did not happen because, as Donnat (2002) shows, after 50 years of cultural policies based on cultural democracy, the sociological profiles of audiences of "high culture" have changed very little, whereas the cultural industries have seen extensive development. "Cultivated culture" continues to attract mainly more educated people, while continuing to be largely ignored by people in less educated social classes. Moreover, popular art appeals to all levels of society, regardless of the level of education. In fact, one can say that art, whether high or popular, is accessible to the whole population (Colbert, 2007).

In France, notably, cultural policies based on the objective of cultural democratization were developed in a context of local development. The strategy was to create demand by increasing supply. The arrival of Jack Lang in the Ministry of Culture ushered in a diversification of cultural policies, notably with the question of the promotion of cultural democracy and amateur artistic practice, or support for new forms of artistic and cultural expression. However, the emphasis was placed on promoting the artists, and "citizens continued to be perceived mainly as an "audience" to be won over and retained" (Auclair, 2011, p. 9 [translation]).

When the strategy of democratization of high culture failed to produce the expected results, stakeholders in the cultural sector sought to find other vocations for art. This led to the emergence of various purposes for art that were eventually incorporated in artists' discourse in order to justify calls for greater assistance from governments. These purposes included:

- Culture as a contributor to economic growth, thanks to the economic spinoffs generated by jobs in the cultural sector, cultural tourism, etc.;

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- Culture as a builder of social ties (in underprivileged communities, by fostering citizen participation, etc.);
- Culture as a means of combatting social and cultural exclusion by contributing to the social and professional insertion of citizens;
- The use of works of art in the urban transformation of certain neighbourhoods;
- Culture as a means of contributing to the attractiveness and prestige of a city (Auclair, 2003).

The point here is not to deny art's ability to contribute to the well-being of the population in the area of health, education or social action. Rather, we must acknowledge that these are peripheral aims to which other sectors can also lay claim, whether it be participation in sports, developing a network of friends, volunteering or fostering family ties.

2. Sustainable development: From the emergence of a social dimension to the progressive integration of culture

The first definition of sustainable development appeared in the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, founded by the UN in 1983, which states that: “sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.” It goes on to say that: “in its broadest sense, the strategy for sustainable development aims to promote harmony among human beings and between humanity and nature” (WCED, 1988).

This definition is based on two main principles:

- Harmony between human beings and nature (respect for the planet's “ecological limits”);
- Harmony among human beings (i.e., social cohesion).

The social dimension is clearly evident in this definition from the outset, although the same cannot

be said of the cultural dimension: “the pursuit of sustainable development requires a social system that provides for solutions for the tensions arising from disharmonious development [and] implies a concern for social equity between generations, a concern that must logically be extended to equity within each generation” (WCED, 1988).

However, although the social dimension is mentioned, it is not well developed and, as shown by Sébastien and Brodhag (2004), the question of harmony among human beings quickly becomes assimilated in a confusing mixture of environmental protection and economic development. Thus, until 1992 and the Rio Conference, sustainable development was organized around two main pillars: the environment and development. Following the Rio Declaration, the “development” pole was split in two, with the economy on one side and the social dimension on the other. With the ratification of Agenda 21 (the “21” stands for the 21st century), over 170 countries made a formal commitment to a plan of action that outlined how sustainable development should be implemented by regional and local authorities.

However, it wasn't until the end of the 1990s that this approach based on the three “pillars” of economic development, social development, and environmental protection was consecrated at the World Summit on Sustainable Development, which recalled the importance of promoting “the integration of the three components of sustainable development [...] as interdependent and mutually reinforcing pillars” (World Summit on Sustainable Development, Johannesburg, paragraph 2). In support of Agenda 21 (Chapter 28), local authorities were called upon to adopt “a local Agenda 21” in their respective communities. However, this gave rise to a wide diversity of interpretations.

For example, Sébastien and Brodhag (2004) point to two, even three, different perspectives in relation to these principles. They describe the first approach in terms of what the authors call a “homo ecologicus” mindset, where the aim is to protect the life of all living things. Partisans of this approach promote a model of “strong sustainability” and oppose an economic system based on growth that cannot be sustainable if it threatens its ecological

capital (Passet, 1979). In this model, the economic sphere and the social sphere are embedded in the environmental sphere.

The second approach, that of “homo oeconomicus,” embodies a vision of sustainable development predicated on the maximization of economic indicators. Its partisans support a model of “weak sustainability” because nature has only an instrumental value for them and they believe that technological progress can repair any damage done to nature. They therefore see the economic sphere as encompassing the social and the environmental spheres.

The third vision represents a “revolutionary” position (Auclair 2011) that is at odds with the others and that is represented by the proponents of de-growth. However, whether the central priority is the environment or the economy, the social sphere is always “caught” between the two, and culture is nowhere to be seen.

A reflection on the theme of culture and sustainable development began to emerge starting in the 1990s. Then, in 2001, UNESCO adopted its Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity.

Agenda 21 for Culture was adopted in 2004 at the Universal Forum of Cultures in Barcelona. It is based on the principles set out in UNESCO’s Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity. Over 350 cities, local governments and organizations from the world over agreed to adopt the agenda. The following year, the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions cautioned against the danger of cultural standardization and impoverishment engendered by globalization. Article 1 of this Convention calls on governments to integrate “culture” and not just “cultural expressions” in their development policies. Nurse (2006) went even further, presenting culture as the “fourth pillar of sustainable development.”

3. Defining “culture”

While the cultural dimension was becoming increasingly present in the debates on sustainable development, there was some confusion regarding the definition itself of the term culture. The broader, anthropological meaning of culture refers to the notion of civilization (Auclair, 2011). All peoples have their own distinctive culture that must be preserved and promoted. For example, aboriginal peoples as well as

those from Africa, Australia and the Americas claim affiliation with distinct cultural communities, some of which are threatened with extinction. The narrower meaning of culture refers to different forms of artistic expression – i.e., the works created by people who practise art in an amateur or professional capacity. This latter acceptance of the term “culture” is that taken into consideration by what we generally refer to as cultural policies.

Initially, the debates concerning sustainable development were aimed primarily at protecting the planet from the excesses of industrialization and economic growth at any cost. Subsequently, the discussions began to include the issue of protecting

the culture of developing countries, which, having come to be seen as mere suppliers of raw materials for wealthy countries, were in danger of losing their culture (in the anthropological meaning of the term). From there, an understandable shift occurred toward the protection of cultural expressions and, particularly, protection of the heritage of each of these cultures. What we can call a quantum leap occurred when this notion of protecting the heritage of developing countries was extended to include the heritage of wealthy countries, and, especially, to include the production of artistic works by professional artists living in these wealthy countries. It is interesting to note that Agenda 21 for Culture encompasses many of the exact same components found in virtually any cultural policy. Throsby mentions this on pages 368 and 369 of his article, but Blouët (2008, p. 21-22), in particular, underscores the commitments of Agenda 21 and the recommendations it makes to governments and notes their

striking resemblance to the content of existing cultural policies (see appendix). Thus, an issue that originally concerned North-South relations was gradually expanded to encompass the traditional demands of the professional artistic community.

The question that arises, therefore, is whether this is just an expedient way to move beyond the debate on cultural democratization.

Conclusion

Sustainable development means thinking “globally” over time. It is easy to understand the appeal of this vision for the protection of humanity’s cultural heritage, and, by extension, for tourism, given that the main

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reason for travelling cited by tourists is to visit heritage sites.

But at the same time, we can also question whether this is not again, as highlighted by Urfalino (1989, 1997), just another strategy for justifying the role and place of culture in our society: "It is hypocritical, detrimental and useless to evoke democratization to justify support for arts institutions and professions" [translation]. Can we, today, replace the term "democratization" with the term "sustainable development"? The question is an interesting one and worth debating. Is it not dangerous to "cry wolf" too often? By seizing every opportunity and evoking every argument in the book to demand more support from governments, doesn't the cultural community risk undermining its credibility? Should we perhaps consider a return to the notion of "art for art's sake"? Should we not insist on the intrinsic benefits of art rather than instrumentalizing it by embracing all causes? And, especially, should we not feel a certain malaise at placing the protection of the cultures of poor countries on the same level as support for professional artistic activities in wealthy countries? For only a rich country can really afford to support a diversity of artistic activities carried out by citizens devoted to art on a full-time basis. Should we not simply redefine the notion of "cultural democratization" to encompass all forms of art, whether high or popular (Courchesne and Colbert, 2011)?

We believe that the discussion on the definition itself of sustainable development and the inclusion of culture as a fourth pillar warrant further reflection. This definition should take into account the quantity of cultural offerings in relation to the number of potential citizens as well as questions of governance, as aptly argued by Bonnet and Donato (2011). It is the responsibility of intellectuals, notably those who teach in cultural management programs, to engage in this discussion.

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APPENDIX

(Source: Blouët, 2008, pages 21-22 [translation])

The undertakings are numerous and cover nearly every area of action found in cultural policies. Communities that adhere to Agenda 21 for Culture thus undertake to implement policies encouraging:

- cultural diversity;
- the development of cultural goods and services;
- the deployment of the creative capacity of all citizens;
- linguistic diversity;
- respect for artistic standards;
- the pursuit of and experimentation with new forms of expression;
- training;
- building audiences and encouraging their participation in culture;
- the democratic participation of citizens in the formulation, application and evaluation of public cultural policies;
- public funding of culture;
- the creation of a space for dialogue between the different spiritual and religious families;
- the refusal of any discrimination based on gender, age, ethnic origin, disability or poverty;
- the promotion of the continuity and development of indigenous local cultures and cultures from immigration;
- providing the means for immigrants to have access to and participate in the culture of the host community;
- the implementation of forms of "cultural impact assessment";
- the consideration of cultural parameters in all urban and regional planning;
- promotion of the creation and use of public spaces in cities;
- defence of the principle of the right of all citizens to culture and knowledge;
- increasing the strategic role of cultural industries and local media;
- the promotion of the socialization of and access to the digital dimension;
- promotion of access to local public media;
- guaranteed freedom of speech;
- respect for and guaranteeing the moral rights of authors and artists;

- inviting creators and artists to commit themselves to the population;
- the promotion of books and reading;
- the public and collective nature of culture;
- the development of coordination between cultural and educational policies;
- guaranteeing that people with disabilities can enjoy cultural goods and services;
- the building of relations with universities, research centres and companies;
- the popularization of scientific and technical culture among all citizens;
- the protection of heritage and promotion of its discovery;
- multilateral processes based on the principle of reciprocity in a context of international cultural cooperation...

[p. 22]

The text of Agenda 21 for Culture then goes on to propose a number of recommendations to local, national and international governments, encouraging them to take action at their respective levels to:

- place culture at the centre of all local policies;
- make proposals for consultation with other institutional levels;
- propose a system of cultural indicators to facilitate the monitoring of the deployment of this Agenda 21 for Culture;
- establish instruments for public intervention in the cultural field and work to allocate a minimum of 1% of the national budget for culture;
- avoid trade agreements that place the free development of culture and the exchange of cultural goods and services on an equal footing;
- avoid the concentration of cultural and communication industries.
- implement international agreements on cultural diversity at the state or national level;
- recognize cities as the territories where the principles of cultural diversity are applied;
- incorporate cultural indicators into the calculation of the human development index (HDI);
- develop the cultural dimension of sustainability;
- exclude cultural goods and services from the negotiation rounds of the WTO;
- promote dialogue and joint projects which lead to a greater understanding between civilizations and the generation of mutual knowledge and trust, the basis of peace...

Content Meets Practice in Cultural Management Education

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ABSTRACT

The intent of this paper is to expose activity theoretical perspectives to work-based pedagogy through the pedagogical model of the Degree Programme of Cultural Management at Mikkeli University of Applied Sciences (MUAS) and the case study Mikkeli Meets Russia event. The paper brings up the key differences between traditional learning and work-based pedagogy. It presents the strategic partnership between MUAS and Mikkeli Theatre as one form of collaboration in work-based pedagogy. As a conclusion it can be said that requirements of working-life and the main tasks of the University of Applied Sciences put a great deal of pressure onto professional education. In response to these demands new pedagogical models must be developed and researched. Compared to traditional classroom teaching, work-based pedagogy has changed the context of assignments, evaluation and the schedule of the studies. It has also laid more emphasis on the collaborative relationships between students, teachers and working-life.

Keywords:

Pedagogical model to educate cultural managers

Work-based pedagogy

Activity theory

Strategic partnership

Introduction

The main tasks of the Universities of Applied Sciences (further UAS) in Finland are teaching, research and regional development with an emphasis on a strong co-operation with companies in each region. The law relating to the Universities of Applied Sciences (UAS) (Ammattikorkeakoululaki 9.5.2003/351) defines the main tasks as to provide teaching based on the requirements and developing work of working-life and on research to support individual's professional growth to practice research and development work which benefits teaching and local industrial development. These tasks are also presented through the model of the European University domain (figure 1).

To rise to these challenges many Universities of Applied Sciences have been forced to redefine their pedagogical approach. Different kinds of pedagogical models (Learning by Developing, Tiimiakatemia (Team Academy), Problem Based Learning etc.) have been tried in Finland to better handle all of these tasks.

But what are the prospects of a pedagogical future for UAS? Virkkunen & Ahonen (2008) have presented a description of one possible developmental direction for the Universities of Applied Sciences (figure 2). In the model the historical development is assumed to proceed in two directions. Firstly, the development can be seen to proceed separately from at school and in working-life learning to learning happening in a school's and working-life's interface.

Secondly, the development is seen proceeding from handling the competences required in present working-life in the direction of creating the competences related to developing working-life. Conceptual differences between task oriented competence and expertise are related strongly to this dimension. A new way of action can be found from the interface of these two developmental tendencies. This way of action is based on UAS' and working-life organisations' persistent developing work. The effort to work more towards this dimension of partnerships and co-configuration with working-life organisations was the fundamental basis of the work-based pedagogy of Mikkeli University of Applied Sciences (further MUAS) / Degree Programme of Cultural Management (further CMA).

MUAS/CMA has been worked systematically to develop a pedagogical approach and the structures to make collaboration with working-life partners possible. The work has been done partly through partnerships, which have been classified into different categories. One category, used in the study presented here, is called strategic partnership. A strategic partnership agreement was signed between MUAS/CMA and Mikkeli Theatre in the autumn of 2008. The aim was to provide long-term, more structured co-operation in order to develop the activities of both institutions as well as, eventually, the cultural life in South-Savo, the so-called Lake District of Finland.

The case presented here and studied in my dissertation, is the event called Mikkeli Meets Russia

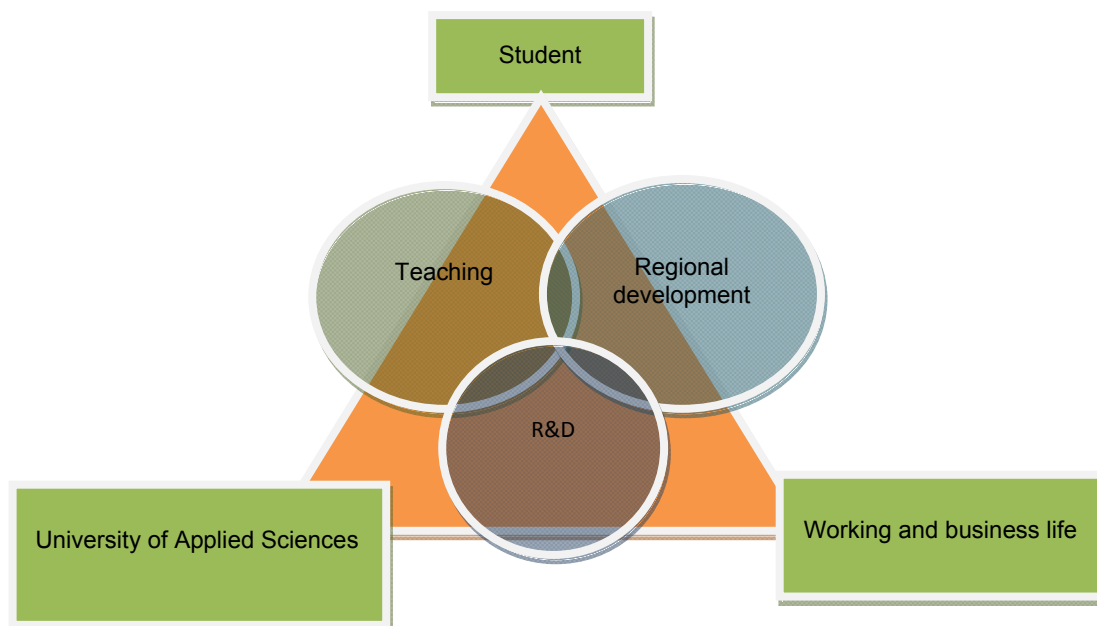


FIGURE 1. EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY DOMAIN
(AUVINEN & AL., 2010)

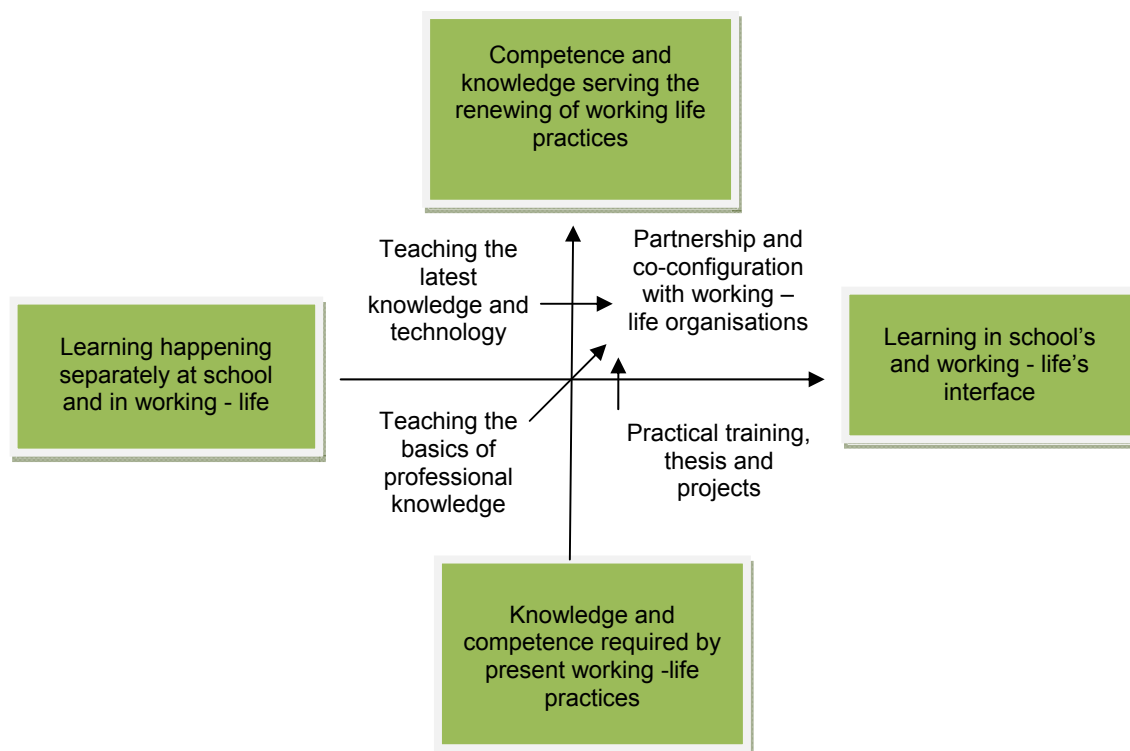


FIGURE 2. ASSUMPTION OF DEVELOPMENTAL DIRECTION OF UNIVERSITIES OF APPLIED SCIENCES

(VIRKKUNEN & AHONEN, 2008)

(further MMR) 2010. It was a new event that emerged from a strategic partnership and the need to offer programme services for Russian tourists and Finnish families. MMR was a series of events. In recent years the number of Russian tourists in Finland has increased dramatically. One of the busiest seasons is at the beginning of the year. As one response to the demand for programme services during that time, MUAS and Mikkeli Theatre called on partners to develop a new event targeting Russian and Finnish families. Twenty participants from ten companies and offices were involved in planning the Mikkeli Meets Russia event in 2009. The event was launched for the first time on 1 January 2010.

This paper will focus on the work-based pedagogy of MUAS/CMA. Firstly, it presents activity-theoretical perspectives to learning. Secondly, the pedagogical model of CMA is described and related to an activity theoretical discussion of learning and teaching. The third part presents the case study Mikkeli Meets Russia and brings into discussion the concept of 'strategic partnership' as a form of collaboration promoting work-based learning. The text of this paper is strongly based on my published research plan (Kuoppala, 2011) and on my dissertation research.

1. An activity-theoretical perspective to school learning and work-based pedagogy

The theoretical footing of the pedagogical model for the Degree Programme of Cultural Management (CMA) at MUAS is in activity theory (Kuoppala, 2007). Activity theory has been widely adopted within the fields of education, for examining work practices in a range of contexts and to examine organisational and strategy practice (Jarzabkowski, 2010).

Activity theory sees human actions as object oriented, evolving, historically developed and socially constructed. The central principles of activity theory are: activity systems as a unit of analysis, multivoicedness of activity, historicity of activity, contradictions as driving force of change in activity and expansive cycles as a possible form of transformation in activity. Activity theory is based on ideas of Russian theorists Vygotsky (1978) and Leont'ev (1981) about human action. Engeström (1987) has developed it further by emphasising the collective nature of activity (figure 3) (Engeström, 2001).

From a pedagogical point of view, we can see a student, teacher or working-life partner as a subject. Other parts of the triangle are defined by the action

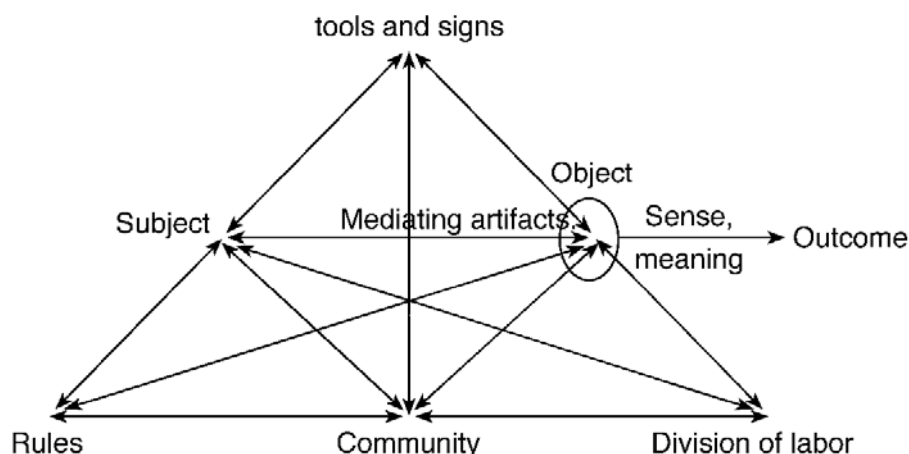


FIGURE 3. THE STRUCTURE OF ACTIVITY SYSTEM

(ENGESTRÖM, 1987)

they are doing. Also from a pedagogical perspective the crucial issue of action is the object. Meaning for example, what are the students actually doing and endeavouring to learn. From an activity theoretical point of view the object is seen as “a true carrier of motivation” (e.g. Leont’ev 1978; Engeström 1987; Kaptelinin 2005; Engeström & Sannino 2010).

The emerging third generation of activity theory takes two interacting activity systems as its minimal unit of analysis (figure 4). This has focused the research efforts on the challenges and possibilities of inter-organisational learning. (Engeström, 2001) Specifically this aspect of activity theory is interesting from the point of view of work-based pedagogy. Can working-life organisations and educational organisations find these shared objects and, through these shared objects, to find the motivation for collaboration and learning?

This chapter examines theoretical perspectives on work-based learning and its distinctions for school learning from an activity theoretical perspective.

If we want to study development, we have to observe changes between the old and new ways of action. Compared to classroom teaching, the work-based pedagogy of MUAS/CMA has some key differences. These differences can be observed through the dimensions of change. What elements of teaching have changed the most in the transformation from school learning to work-based pedagogy? The first clear change is the context for learning assignments. In classroom teaching the main purpose of an assignment is to reproduce and test the students’ theoretical knowledge. In terms of activity theory, the text is the object (Engeström 1987; Miettinen 1990). According to Engeström (1987), this purpose is one of the biggest contradictions of school. The outcome of students’ activity is to reproduce and modify oral or written forms of a text. In other words, text becomes a closed world, a dead object cut off from its living context.

This contradiction has also an interesting connection with motivation. According to Leont’ev

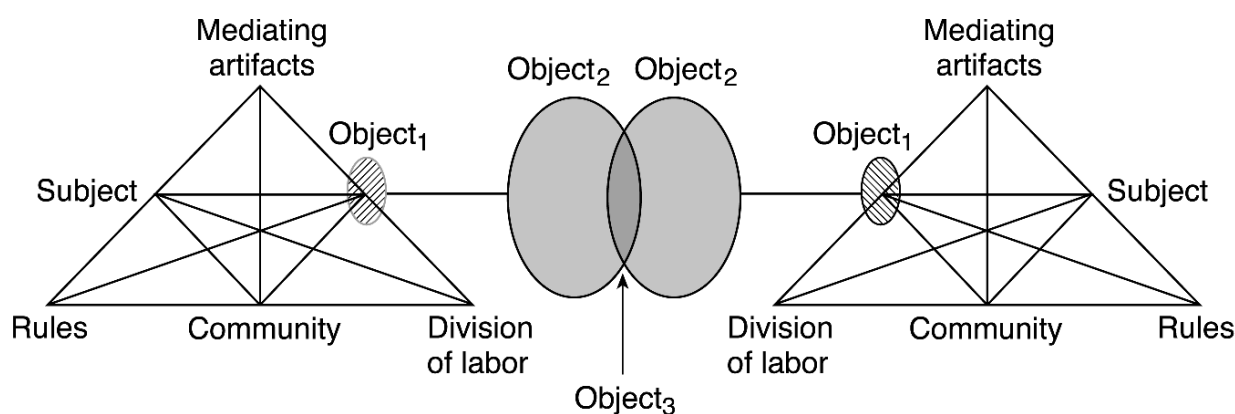


FIGURE 4. SHARED OBJECT OF TWO ACTIVITY SYSTEMS

(ENGESTRÖM, 2001)

“THE INFORMATION SHOULD BE USED TO EXPLORE AND SOLVE PROBLEMS THAT ARE IMPORTANT FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF A SOCIETY AND ITS STUDENTS.”

(1978) there cannot be ‘objectless activity’. Leont’ev further pointed out that motives cannot be taught; they can only be nurtured by developing the content of the actual, vital relations of the learners. According to Bierly et al. (2000) the paths to individual wisdom are experience, spirituality and passion. These authors maintain that passion is strongly linked to motivation. Motivation is crucial because it puts the energy of the individual into implementing wisdom. Bierly et al. (2000) define wisdom as the ability to use knowledge for action, a very crucial aspect of learning and teaching.

Engeström (1987) points out that taking a text out of its living context reduces it to a meaningless object. Because the object is a source of motivation, we then encounter difficulty with motivation. He continues, saying that going to school is a far cry from a learning activity. Students remain the subjects of separate learning actions, not a whole system of learning activity. Engeström’s contention is that the object of a learning activity cannot be reduced to a

text. Rather the text should be a tool. (Engeström, 1987).

Also Miettinen (1990) emphasises that learning should connect with students’ reality. The information should be used to explore and solve problems that are important from the point of view of a society and its students. This would mean new forms of activity in schools and new kinds of connections with the surrounding society.

Engeström and also Miettinen (1990) note that school learning has been characterised by memorisation and reproduction of school texts. It has been accompanied by an instrumental motivation for success, which tends to eliminate substantive interest in the phenomena studied and the knowledge learned. The fundamental problem is that information learned in this way is difficult to use or apply to life outside the school.

Learning can be observed through the model of school learning (figure 5). This model is an early attempt to analyse school learning from the point of

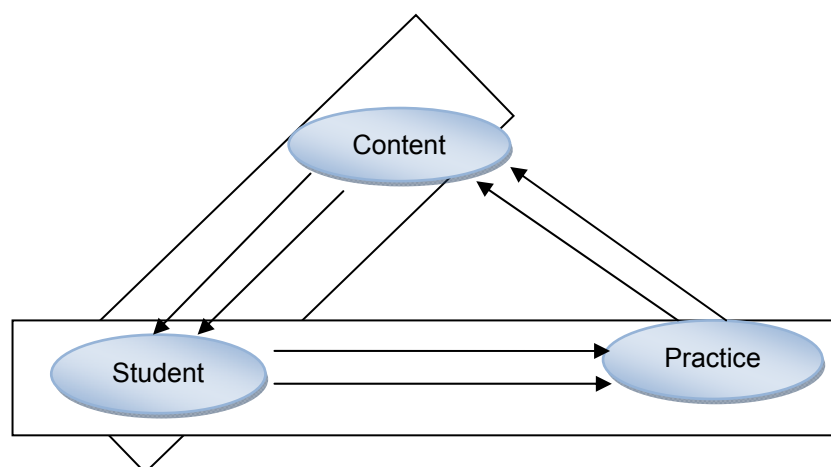


FIGURE 5. THE DILEMMA OF SCHOOL LEARNING AND THE POTENTIAL DILEMMA OF WORK-BASED LEARNING
(ADAPTED FROM ENGESTRÖM & AL., 1984)

view of activity theory. The 'Content' refers to the theoretical and methodological knowledge of studies. Engeström & al. uses the term 'Objectified knowledge (tools)' and uses this term to a great extent for books, theoretical models and computer programs (Engeström & al., 1984). I call it 'Content' here because it refers more to the study module which is an important unit in educational discourse. In school learning the learning actions happen on the Content-Student axis. There is a risk of leaving out Practice. If the connection between Content and Practice is disturbed, then the students will not necessarily understand the meaning of the Content, since it does not anchor their lives. In work-based learning the risk is that learning actions happen on the Student-Practice axis, leaving out Content. Then the learning actions related with the development of knowledge may be disturbed. (Miettinen, 2009)

In the case study Mikkeli Meets Russia (MMR) the learning content for the students was marketing, speech communication and practical training as well as a thesis on the Russian-Finnish event production. The aim of work-based pedagogy is to take into account all of these angles. By combining real-life cases with networks, connecting them with theoretical knowledge, and supporting students in handling real-life cases, we believe that we are at least one step closer to our goal in education.

Edwardsson, Stiwe and Jungert (2010) present in their study what this can mean in practice. They have studied experiences of engineering students in education and employment. Their research was a longitudinal study in which, among other things, the authors identified the turning points, the critical moments, in the students' study paths. One of these critical points was a thesis related to a real working-life case. Many students considered this moment the best part of their learning experiences. They also considered it to be crucial, because the idea of being employed by the firm, or university, for which the thesis was done was strong. The thesis also took place under similar working conditions, which differed from study conditions. Edwardsson, Stiwe and Jungert's (2010) study pointed out that determining the place for the graduate project seemed to have been an even more crucial deciding point than the choice of the profile courses. There were two reasons. Most students get their first jobs as engineers through their master's theses. Secondly, according to most students, the opportunities to learn generic skills and cultural values are best realised in extracurricular activities and work contexts. Scardamalia & Bereiter (2010) and Hakkarainen & al. (2004) emphasise similar aspects in their writings about knowledge building and knowledge communities. The meaning of communities and the authentic context of learning is underlined in these theories. There have also been other attempts to analyse work-based learning, such as active learning (Prince, 2004) and student-centered learning environments (Baeten et al., 2010). These studies also show the importance of the real working-life connections to students and their learning.

Desirable characteristics for a productive person in the modern work place are, for example, a high level of technical skills and the ability to be independent, to improve personal competencies and to develop new methods for coping with challenges. (Hakkarainen et al., 2004) These requirements put a great deal of pressure on professional education. In response to these demands new pedagogical models must be developed and researched.

2. Pedagogical model of MUAS/CMA

The new curriculum of the Degree Programme of Cultural Management (CMA) in 2007 revolved around developmental assignments. It partly reflected activity theory, that is, the object-oriented aspects of learning. In most of the courses the assignments are developmental assignments, which are based on real working-life cases, for example an event plan. The goal is that the needs and goals of the study module, the R&D project and working life are united with the student's personal goals in a developmental assignment. The personal goals of the student are defined in the "personal study plan" called HOPS. This combination of goals is illustrated in Figure 6.

Other important tools in the work-based pedagogy of MUAS/CMA, besides the developmental assignments are the competence passport and guiding clinics. One study module usually has several different partners, increasing the challenge in organising this kind of learning. There are also cases in which the same issue is approached from different perspectives given by the study modules (see appendix 1).

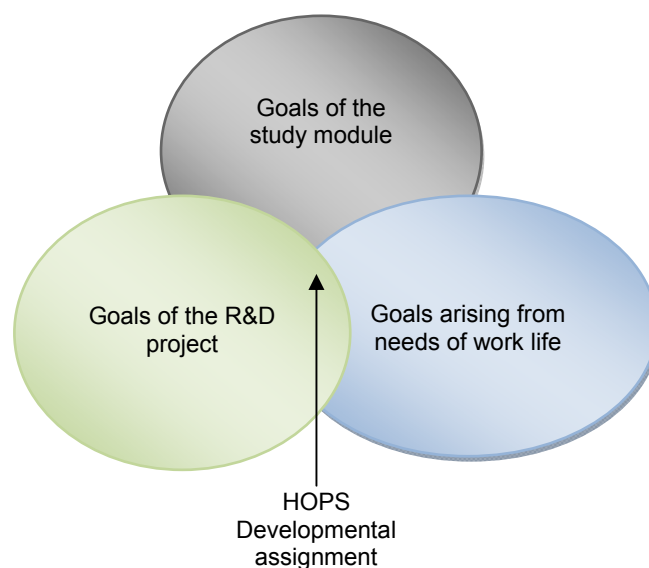


FIGURE 6. GOALS OF WORK-BASED PEDAGOGY
(HAVUKAINEN, 2007)

Goals of changes	Before	Work-based pedagogy
1. Learning assignment	Text as an object	Authentic developmental needs of working-life as the object of learning. Developmental assignment as a tool
2. Schedule	Five days/week contact lessons	Three days of contact lessons, of which afternoons are reserved for mentoring sessions. Two days for reading, writing and meetings with working-life partners.
3. Evaluation	By the teacher, sometimes self and peer evaluation	Teacher's, student's and working-life partner's evaluation Competence passport

TABLE 1. GOALS FOR PEDAGOGICAL CHANGES AT MUAS/CMA

The term R&D means the research and development project and refers to projects financed by different funding organisations. In these cases the goals of the project include strong, longitudinal and developmental aspects. These projects always include collaboration with working-life partners. In other words, they form a developmental network of partners, project personnel, teachers and students.

In the model of work-based pedagogy at MUAS/CMA contact lessons are scheduled three days per week and so-called 'guiding clinics' are held in the afternoons. During the guiding clinic a teacher helps students with their developmental assignments. Two days per week are reserved for concentrating on reading, writing and meetings. This arrangement helps the students to concentrate on one subject at a time, diminishing the fragmentation of the day.

The evaluation tool of the model is called the competence passport. Its purpose is to make visible the students' goal setting and evaluations vis-à-vis the working-life partners. Students receive personal evaluations and feedback from the teacher. They present their developmental assignments to other students for peer evaluation and feedback. By the end of the studies the student has also filed the working life partners' network to use after graduation, for example, for employment.

The biggest differences between work-based pedagogy and traditional teaching are the authentic developmental assignments, the schedule and the evaluations (see table 1). In work-based pedagogy at CMA every developmental assignment is related with a real case; some assignments have stronger connections than others, but the connection can be found. The aim is that the theoretical content of the studies, so called text, is enforced right away. Adapting activity theory, the text is used as a tool, not as an object. The idea is that cases motivate students

to learn. But what is the object of study in a work-based pedagogy? According to Komonen (2007) the object is the authentic developmental needs of working life. This means that the goal of learning is to produce new concepts and models of activity.

A second difference has to do with the schedule. Formerly, teaching was conducted mainly in classrooms five days a week. In this new model contact lessons take place three days a week of which afternoons are devoted to guiding the developmental assignments, a concept that also reflects the change in teaching. The last two days of the work week are reserved for reading, writing and meetings with working-life partners. The hope is to promote deeper learning (e.g. Baeten et al., 2010) by concentration, collaboration and applying knowledge to practice.

A third difference has to do with evaluations. Previously, evaluations were done mostly by the teacher, sometimes supplemented by the student's self-evaluation and/or peer evaluations. In the new model there are evaluations by the teacher, the student and the working-life partner. Evaluations and goal setting are also made more visible by the competence passport. Students become involved in a project through developmental assignments in speech communication and marketing courses. In the MMR case study the event manager's assistant was related to the MMR project through her practical training and her thesis.

The model for work-based pedagogy was also developed through national networks. In the spring of 2008 the UAS' Degree Programmes of Cultural Management founded a working group whose purpose was to compare experiences of pedagogical working models of work-based pedagogy and make changes as needed. MUAS's Degree Programme of Cultural Management was also involved in the KEKO -project, in which a teacher's role and qualifications in work-

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based pedagogy were observed (Memo of CMA workshop 12.5.2008). These networks gave valuable feedback on the model and also emboldened the faculty to continue.

3. Strategic partnership as a form of collaboration for work-based pedagogy

Work-based pedagogy seems to be tied to the field of professional education. Benefits to the learning in a wide sense are beyond dispute. The term “wide sense” refers not only to students’ learning but also to teachers’ and working life partners’ learning. This is fundamental change in the discourse of learning. When we talk of these so called learning communities, we can’t avoid practical challenges related to organising the co-operation and promotion of this kind of learning. Such challenges are for example organisational structures (meaning schedules, guiding and activity systems), resources and commitment. If we want to create new learning environments, the new forms of collaboration must be searched. One possible form of collaboration is strategic partnership. The term comes from organisation theories and refers to “a long-term relationship where participants co-operate and willingly modify their business practices to improve joint performance” (Whipple & Frankel, 2000).

According to Koza and Lewin (1998), there are several reasons why firms enter into alliances or partnerships. These reasons also apply to learning and business alliances. When the reason for an alliance is connected with learning, the partners hope to gain information about technologies, products and skills from each other. Business alliances maximise the utilisation of complementary assets. Each partner contributes a distinctive capability through a particular value-adding activity. In a learning alliance the partners seek to reduce a significant information asymmetry between them. In a business alliance the partners seek instead to establish a position in a product or geographic market or market segment.

In their study Eisenhardt and Schoonhoven

(1996) claim that firms have cooperated when they have needed to, when they were able to and perhaps when it was popular to do so. Strategic alliance formation is a complex phenomenon involving both strategic and social factors operating within the logic of needs and opportunities for cooperation. Firms in a vulnerable strategic position or strong social position were more likely to work through strategic alliances. Eisenhardt and Schoonhoven’s central conclusion was that the failure to include either strategic or social explanations creates an impoverished picture of alliance activity. (Eisenhardt & Schoonhoven, 1996)

When comparing the formation of the strategic partnership of CMA and the Theatre to Eisenhardt & Schoonhoven’s study it can be seen that both CMA and the Theatre were in a vulnerable strategic position at that time. According to memos from that process, CMA was seeking strongly to establish its place in the field of cultural management and South- Savo and also the Theatre had challenges with the amount of visitors and its economical situation. The main point in a strategic partnership between MUAS/CMA and the Mikkeli Theatre was to concentrate on developing work along chosen themes and to establish both quantifiable and qualitative goals for the partnership. (Memo of INTO -pedagogy 9.5.2008) As for the motives of CMA and the Mikkeli Theatre in forming a strategic partnership, there was a willingness to develop something new and highly visible with few resources, as well as a need to find new partnerships, concepts, clients and financial support (Memo of the CMA’s teachers’ meeting 4.2.2008). It appears that the economic reasons for the partnership were quite strong, but also the collaborative aspect for the relationship was strongly present in the goal setting.

Strategic partnerships can be seen as collaborative relationships. Typical features for these kinds of relationships are; long-term, development of new or existing objects, sharing costs and information and willingness to work together to achieve collective goals. Benefits of collaboration are usually both economical and non-economical, as several studies have named them “resource-based and knowledge-based” (e.g. Koza & Lewin 1998; Lowensberg 2010; Barringer & Harrison 2000). The event Mikkeli Meets



FIGURE 7. CONTEXT AND TRAJECTORY OF THE MIKKELI MEETS RUSSIA EVENT

Russia emerged from a strategic partnership. In the next chapter I will present the case as an example of work-based pedagogy and collaboration.

4. Mikkeli Meets Russia (MMR): a new event as a learning environment and a vehicle for local collaboration

In the last two years the number of Russian tourists visiting Finland has doubled. Russian tourists inject some EUR 800 million. Approximately EUR 270 million is spent on services and EUR 530 million on purchases. Such sums are an important economic factor, especially in eastern Finland. (Länsi-Savo 19.11.10) The idea that prompted the Mikkeli Meets Russia event was this large numbers of Russian tourists visiting the area of South-Savo. Especially, during the first days of the New Year there was a lack of suitable activities for these tourists. The beginning of the year is also a holiday for Finns, so the problem of satisfying the tourists and Mikkeli area's economic needs while also giving the Finns their traditional holiday was acute. Used in the terms of activity theory, there was a clear contradiction. There had been a great deal of debate about this problem for several years, including in the local newspapers. The idea for such an event emerged in co-operative meetings between members of MUAS/CMA and Mikkeli Theatre. Some twenty different agencies from various sectors in the area were invited to a meeting where the idea was introduced and the interest of the invited agencies gauged. The common feature of those present was that they all had some kind of contact with Russian tourists. The interest seemed to be shared because there were five meetings in which the attendance varied from ten to eighteen – a substantial figure in this locale.

After a long planning process the event was carried out from 1 January to 6 January 2010 and it seemed to be quite a success. The event was held again in 2011 and 2012, only the name was changed to Mikkeli New Year Events. There were even more

participants in the second year, and the attendance, which was expected to double from 2,500 to 5,000, was surpassed, the number reaching 5,500 (Memo of CMA team meeting 4.2.2011).

Mikkeli Meets Russia was a series of events held at the Mikkeli Theatre, at a local vineyard and at a local ice skating rink. The event was produced by MUAS and the Mikkeli Theatre. The local boxing association, dance school, Regional Business Development Company Miset Ltd, Mikkeli City Orchestra and the local vineyard were also deeply involved in supplying the programme content. A detailed programme is given in Appendix 2. (MMR Final Report, 2010)

The goal was to hold an annual event, the main goal being the year 2012 and thereafter. The hope was that the New Year's events in Mikkeli would become widely known in Finland and the area around Saint Petersburg. (Länsi-Savo 24.11.2010)

Figure 7 presents the context and process of the event. The term "Russian tourists-discussion" refers to the general discussion, for example in local newspapers, of the lack of programme services for Russian tourists especially at the time of the New Year. This discussion was taken into account in collaboration discussions between MUAS and the Theatre. Based on these discussions the idea of the new event was born. The first MMR led to the annual event and to the R&D project called Promoottori, which had the goal to develop new events for the area of South-Savo. This also offered great learning environments for the students of Cultural Management.

The planning process for the first Mikkeli Meets Russia event started in 2008. The idea took shape in meetings between MUAS, Mikkeli Theatre and local agencies. The purpose of these networking meetings was mostly to discuss financial and time investments. Along with the networking meetings in the spring of 2009 the planning group worked on planning the event. The group consisted of a teacher from MUAS, the manager of Mikkeli Theatre and a representative from a travel agency in the Mikkeli area. The three of them established a structure for the event and arranged for programmes and services during the first

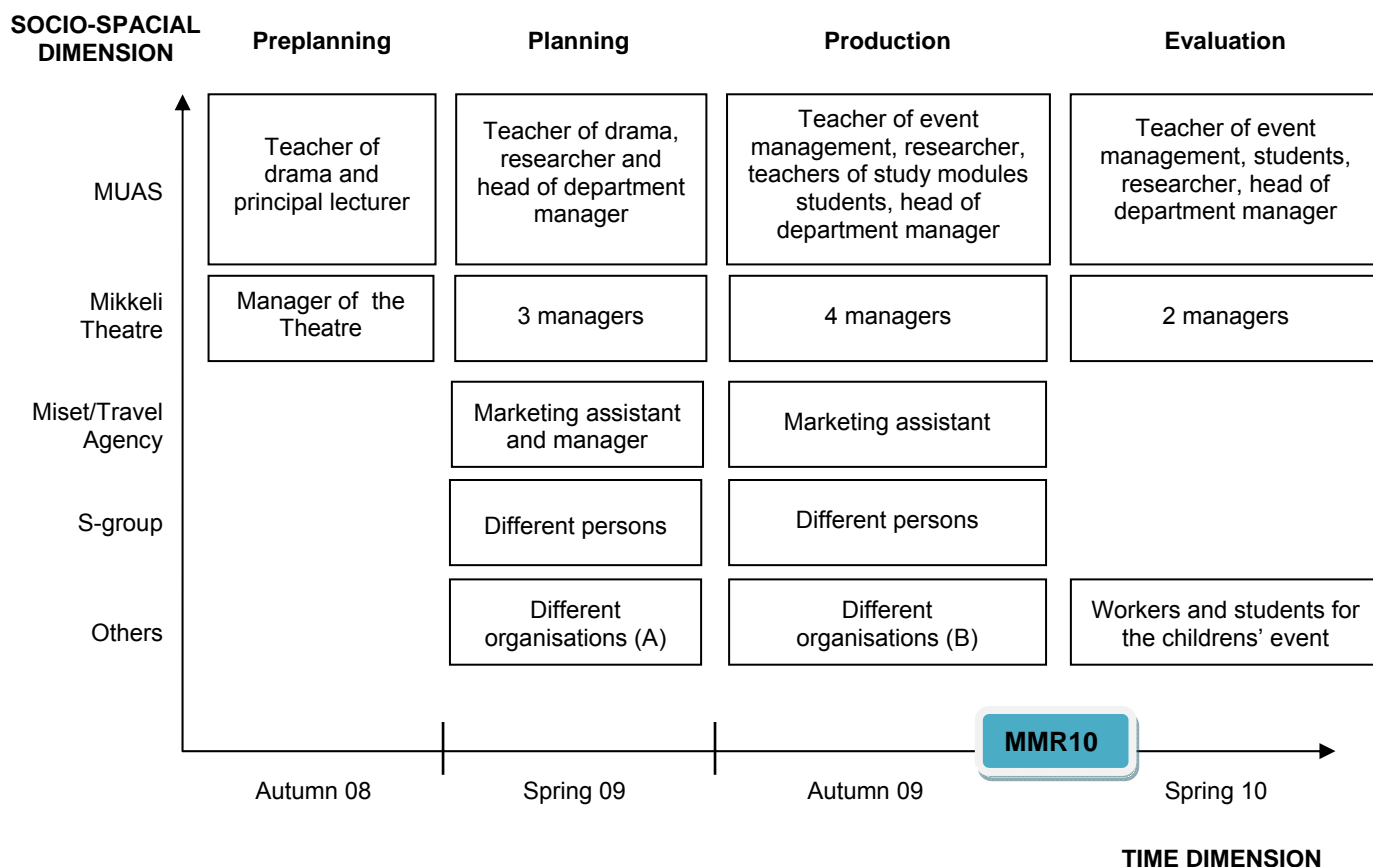


FIGURE 8. THE DEVELOPING PROCESS OF THE MIKKELI MEETS RUSSIA EVENT

week of the year. In the spring of 2009 MUAS obtained financing to support the work of developing the events from the Ministry of Education. The decision was taken to commit one teacher to produce the event. To assist the teacher a student who did her practical training and wrote her thesis as part of the MMR project was employed.

In the autumn of 2009 the production phase began. Other students also became involved in the process. The event was carried out in the first week of New Year 2010. Later in January 2010 the event and the process were evaluated in various meetings, and soon thereafter, planning for the next year's event was begun. The overall process of developing the first MMR, the key organisations and their participants are presented in figure 8. The key organisations were selected for this table on the basis of their attendance at the networking meetings, and these four organisations participated in every meeting. The term "Others" in the table refers to additional organisations involved in the process. At the top of the table are the phases of the developing process of the event.

The target group of MMR was families with children from Russia and Finland. This pilot project created a basic structure for future planning. The event also served as a learning environment for the students involved. The strongest input was from the

students at CMA. The event managers included a teacher from CMA and one of her students. This arrangement was made possible by financial support from the Ministry of Education (see Villacís, 2009).

Six other students from CMA were involved in the process, assigned developmental assignments in marketing and speech communication. There were also students from the Degree Programme of Tourism who carried out the customer survey; students from Health Care took care of first aid, and students from the Vocational school applied fantasy make-up. The aim of my dissertation is to study how did the collaboration between MUAS and the Theatre develop through MMR? To what extent and why did the regional actors become committed to the process and how did MMR change teaching and learning at MUAS? Due to the advanced state of my research process, the results will be available in the near future.

Conclusion

The intent of this paper was to expose activity theoretical perspectives to work-based pedagogy through a pedagogical model of CMA and the case study Mikkeli Meets Russia event. According to recent studies the new ways of learning seems to be here to

stay. As examples of this tendency Engeström & Kerosuo (e.g. 2007) have studied inter-organisational learning, Prince (2004) active learning and Scardamalia & Bereiter (e.g. 2010) knowledge-building and ways to teach it. These and several other studies bring up collaborative relationships and their benefits for learning.

At the beginning of the paper the activity-theoretical perspective to school learning and to work-based pedagogy was presented. The second part described the pedagogical model of MUAS/CMA. It presented the benefits and complexity of which this kind of learning consists. A strategic partnership was seen in this paper as a form of collaboration advancing work-based learning. The third part of the paper was about the Mikkeli Meets Russia case study as an example of a collaborative relationship and a learning environment.

As a conclusion it can be said that work-based pedagogy has changed teaching and learning at MUAS/CMA in several ways. Compared to traditional classroom teaching, it has changed the context of the assignments, evaluation and schedule of the studies, not to mention the change in teachers' profession (e.g. Mäki, 2012). It has laid more emphasis on collaborative relationships. As a consequence of this, CMA and the Theatre signed an agreement of strategic partnership. Strategic partnership provides longitudinal work for partly shared goals. Based on this partnership, the new event MMR was created and the larger R&D project (Promoottori) relating to event management was funded. At this point it also seems that students are more content to study and they complete their degrees in the prescribed time clearly more often than prior to this change (Havukainen/Students' feedback, March 2011). But these are just the first signs of the results of work-based pedagogy and they must be explored more deeply.

The goal of teaching is always learning. This paper referred to Engeström's (1984) model of school learning and related it to the context of work-based pedagogy. Hopefully the potential risks presented in this paper can be avoided and instead, create systems to unify these three pillars of Student-Content-Practice as an ensemble. Through this kind of pedagogical approach we could educate highly competent, networked Cultural Managers for all the different sectors of society.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Study modules and developmental assignments in CMA for the autumn of 2010

Teacher	September	October	November	December	Developmental tasks
	<i>Study Modules</i>	<i>Study Modules</i>	<i>Study Modules</i>	<i>Study Modules</i>	
A	Professional Speech communication	Professional Speech communication	Professional Speech communication	Professional Speech communication	Speech com.: Interviews (Mikkeli Meets Russia), Planning the PR event (MMR), Inter-company communication plan (OODI), Christmas opening event (Mikkeli ry), Open doors on the main campus (MUAS), Inter-company communication plan to "Jäälice" event (MUAS) and to the Music Festival of Iitti and to the "Cup of Culture" part event. Plan of press information event (Cirkus Komponentti)
B	Management Accounting in Cultural Work, The Basics of Management Accountancy		Productizing, Projects in cultural management, Practical training		Productizing :Summary of supply services to Russian tourists (Travel agency in Mikkeli), Further developing products to "Tuottamo", Summer theatre experience packages (Theatre) The basics of management accountancy: Models of event management (Promoottori - R&D project)
C	Literature, Basics of Theatrical Manuscripts and		World, Practical training. Projects of cultural management, Multicultural Placement in Cultural Producing		Basics of theatrical manuscripts...: Stones of Thoughts (Exhibition park in Mikkeli), Live role play (Association of Live Role Play)
D	Professional Growth	Practical training	Production of Cultural Events, Professional Growth, Projects of Cultural Management, Practical training		Production of Cultural Events + Projects of...: Event on Ice (MUAS), Mikkeli Meets Russia, Christmas opening event (Mikkeli ry), Open doors on the main campus (MUAS), Music clubs (local restaurants), MMR-journalistical texts, " Nose Day-event" (YLE/E-S)
E	Philosophy, Art and Cultural History, Professional Growth				Philosophy, Art and Cultural History: Live role play (Association of live role play)
F	Event Technology, Music , The Laws Concerning the Field of Culture				Event technology: Festival of Campus, Opening Ceremony of semester, City Guide of Mikkeli (MUAS)
G		Operating Environment of Cultural Manager	Leadership and Management		Leadership and management: Event strategy of area of Mikkeli (Promoottori) : Operating Environment of Cultural Manager Elo - project/evaluation of developmental tasks (Elo -R&D project)
H	Dramatic Art		Event Academy		Dramatic art: Live role play (Association of Live Role Play), Competition of Improvisation theatre (Promoottori-R&D project), Work-well being by theatrical activities (Voimavuodet - R&D project) Event Academy: Recording concept (Mikkeli Meets Russia)
I	Philosophy/ Research and Development Methods/ Thesis seminar		Experience Production Management, Research and		Data analysis (Tuottaja 2020 -R&D project), Stories (City of Mikkeli), Customer survey (MMR)

Appendix 2

The programme for Mikkeli Meets Russia 2010 (excerpt from information released to the press).

MIKKELI MEETS RUSSIA

1.1. – 6.1.2010

Mikkeli University of Applied Sciences is coordinating a series of events called Mikkeli Meets Russia, which will take place during the first week of January. The venues include Mikkeli Theatre and Concert Hall Mikaeli. The events are produced by MUAS and Mikkeli Theatre in co-operation with the Boxer Association of Mikkeli, Dance School of South-Savo, Mikke ry, Mikkeli City Orchestra and Ollinmäki vineyard. The goal is to create an annual series of events that offers arts, culture and leisure programmes for the inhabitants of Mikkeli as well as for tourists from Russia.



Friday, 1 January 2010

16.00 Mikkeli City Orchestra: New Year's 2010 Eve concert, Concert Hall Mikkeli

14–16 Ice Skating Rink –public skating, Hänninkenttä

11–18 Swimming hall / Spa Rantakeidas

Saturday, 2 January 2010

11–17 Children's event, at the Mikkeli Theatre

14–16 Ice Skating Rink –public skating, Hänninkenttä

11–18 Swimming hall / Spa Rantakeidas

Sunday, 3 January 2010

14–16 Ice Skating Rink –public skating, Hänninkenttä

11–18 Swimming hall / Spa Rantakeidas

Monday, 4 January 2010

11–17 Children's event, at the Mikkeli Theatre

14–16 Ice Skating Rink –public skating, Hänninkenttä

13–21 Swimming hall / Spa Rantakeidas

Tuesday, 5 January 2010

14–16 Ice Skating Rink –public skating, Hänninkenttä

19.00 Tikhvin - Dance Art Plus, Mikkeli Theatre

13–21 Swimming hall / Spa Rantakeidas

Wednesday, 6 January 2010

11–15 End of Christmas event, Ollinmäki vineyard

14–16 Ice Skating Rink –public skating, Hänninkenttä

15.00 Boxing match, Saint Petersburg – Mikkeli, Mikkeli Theatre

17.00 Dance performance *The Nutcracker*, Concert Hall Mikaeli

11–18 Swimming hall / Spa Rantakeidas

Information: www.mikkelimeetsrussia.weebly.com, www.travel.mikkeli.fi, www.russiaservices.fi

Management Models of Symphonic Orchestras in the Czech Republic and their Development in the 21st century

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ABSTRACT

The European trend is manifest in everyday situations of classical music. Orchestras face reduction of subsidies. They are forced to merge, change status, or both. Their numbers are heavily declining. These trends are observed all over Europe. The aim of the project was to get deeper insight into the situation in Bohemia, identification of weak-points and finding basic guidelines, according to theoretical and practical experiences of similar European/US institutions.

Methods involved case-studies, controlled interviews, principles of qualitative research. Historical context and comparison were also important.

Findings: There is high reluctance to change (relationship of musicians vs. administration, lack of "manager attitude", absence of strategic planning). There is a low level of networking and sharing of administrative experiences.

Practical output of the research was implementation of innovative steps to increase financial self-sufficiency in selected orchestras. New organizational structures, systematic long-life education and training of staff were implemented, more students were involved in work-practices and cooperation with universities was strengthened.

Keywords:

Symphonic
orchestras

Symphonic music

Music making
process

Inner
organizational
processes

1. Introduction

Orchestral entities and symphonic music belong to the Czech national tradition – especially in the 19th century, symphonic music had a key role in national culture reformation. Great composers and their work is even today part of every orchestra's repertoire. The sufficiency of famous symphonic compositions (Dvořák: Slavonic Dances, Smetana: My country, Janáček: Taras Bulba or Martinů's Symphonies) created excellent conditions for interpretation and development of symphonic orchestras. The word "tradition" belongs to the crucial argumentation and formulation of strengths of Czech culture; a strong point of Czech culture is "a wealth of creative and interpretative works in the area of classical music" [MCCR, 2006].

The Czech Republic has some 200 theatres in the cultural network [Dostál, 2004] the conditions with orchestras are quite similar; two large categories of symphonic orchestra entities can be recognized – professional and non-professional orchestras. In the area of professional music there are about 22 orchestral entities and 18 other casual orchestras [Dohnalová, 2005]. Also there are 95 non-professional chamber orchestras, 18 non-professional classical symphony orchestras, most of them based in Prague, Central Bohemia and South Moravia [Lázňovská, 2005]. One has to understand the needs of the organization, dramaturgy and repertoire in historical relations of former parts of the Habsburg Empire - Bohemia and Moravia, today's Czech Republic. Briefly, focus will be on the most important links to get a view of the world of Czech orchestras.

Development of first symphonic orchestras is connected with the golden era of classical music at the end of the 18th and 19th century. From that time on we can still find symphonies written by Ludwig van Beethoven in the core repertoire, with minor changes in the instrumental rules. He bridged over the Classical and Romantic period and inspired music composers after him – the romantic era of 19th century and music of the 20th century; they followed and developed new strategies to match the local situation and circumstances. At the same time orchestras as we know them today were founded – financed by public sources (eg. the German city of Aachen founded its city orchestra in 1852) [Jacobshagen, 2006].

The contemporary form of symphonic orchestras has been established partially with the work of composers of the classical period. But even before them court music ensembles were present which played a crucial role in the process of development. The Central European area is still full of fine renaissance and baroque castles, where aristocratic society kept and maintained groups of musicians usually with a hired composer / chapel-master and vocalists. The reason was the pleasure of music and the wealth and social status to that could be shown among the nobility.

For the very first time in the middle of the 16th century, court bands were established in the Bohemian area (Prague with its imperial music group – Císařská kapela, South Bohemian groups in Třeboň and Rožmberk and the Moravian group in Olomouc) [Vaculová, 2006].

After The Thirty Years' War in the second half of the 17th century, there was an enormous increase in similar music groups. Comparatively small cities became centers of culture and music. Above the others, Kroměříž (with well known composers Biber and Vejvanovský) and Jaroměřice nad Rokytou (with its unique ensemble made up of local talented people) [ibid]. Whereas the importance of local courts declined during the 18th century, the role of music groups shifted due to the new social rules and the gradual creation of national Czech music. These two factors influenced further development in orchestral ensembles as known in these days.

At the end of the 18th century, the society experienced some fundamental changes, not least in the attitudes to hygiene and healthcare. West Bohemian spa regions became world famous because of their thermal and mineral springs, which attracted thousands of rising middle class people as well as the nobility and important persons of political and cultural life [SLL, 2009].

Ideas of clean body and soul were interlinked with relaxation and needs for cultural development. Nature and culture were in close connection, which was highly preferred in the time of emerging industries and growing tensions in the urbanized areas.

The most important spa regions were in the western Bohemia – Františkovy Lázně (Franzbad), Mariánské lázně (Marienbad), Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad) and Teplice (Teplitz-Schönau). These cities quickly became international, cultural and intellectual meeting places. Spas were often visited by famous people – J. W. Goethe, L. van Beethoven, but also by the nobility - Russian Tsar Peter and various European state rulers. Well known artists have visited them frequently. These people were primarily seeking medical treatment, but the cultural life was also essential [Sdružení lázeňských míst, 2012].

The first orchestra in Mariánské lázně was established in 1821 [Orchestra History, 2012] - only three years after the city gained the status of "Spa-City" (lázeňské město). Closely following were orchestras in Karlovy Vary – 1835 [Dohnalová, 2005] and in Teplice – 1838 [Příbylová, Dietz, 2008] (Figure 1).

The main purpose of the orchestras was to perform during the summer days on the colonnade – a roofed walking area where guests could drink a cup of mineral water or undergo spa procedures in nearby houses. Also, orchestras produced numerous concerts during the season in the local theaters, spa houses and cultural halls. The quality is presumed to be high compared to the standards of that time. Regular Marienbad guests, among others, were famous musicians such as Frederic Chopin and Richard

Czech Spa Triangle and Teplice

Czech Republic



FIGURE 1. THE CZECH SPA TRIANGLE (THE REGION OF HOT SPRINGS) WHERE THE FIRST CZECH ORCHESTRAS APPEARED.

Wagner. At those times, about 20,000 visitors (mostly wealthy) came every year.

There were also interesting developments in Karlovy Vary spa. Among the top performances was the European premiere of Antonín Dvořák's Symphony No. 9 in E Minor "From the New World" [Dohnalová, 2005].

Also, the Teplice orchestra rendered regular cycles of symphonic music under the interpretation of the most famous conductors and soloists at the end of the 19th century. The most important personalities of the world music scene gave concerts in Teplice, like conductors Eugen d'Albert and Richard Strauss; pianists Ferruccio Busoni, Conrad Ansoerge, Emil Sauer, Ernő Dohnányi and Frederic Lamond; violinists Pablo de Sarasate, Eugene Ysaye, Bronislav Huberman, Fritz Kreisler, Alexander Pecnikov and Henri Marteau; cellists David Popper, Julius Klengel, Hugo Becker and Anton Hekking; singers Lili Lehmann, Ernestine Heineke-Schumann and many others. During the summer, the orchestra performed in 150 colonnade and 18 symphonic concerts and in winter, cycles of symphonic concerts [Příbylová, Dietz, 2008].

The orchestra in its current form appeared later (i.e. institutions providing public services available to the broad masses of the population). Orchestral development is associated with the development of

classical music in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and is also associated with the achievements of the famous composers Mahler, Strauss and Wagner, whose works could not be presented any more by amateur orchestras. Their huge compositions needed a high level of professionalism from the musicians. The development of the musical language and dramaturgy of the orchestra were closely connected.

The formation of the Czech Philharmonic was an unprecedented and long awaited step in Czech culture. The empire capital Vienna had maintained a royal orchestra for a long time, and Prague couldn't produce anything comparable. Local musicians and composers were eager to have a national body that would represent the Bohemian personality and cultural independence. This could not be realized by the spa orchestras due to their regionalism – they were in an area of Bohemia inhabited mainly by a German speaking audience, both folk and nobility. In contrast to other similar organizations in Europe or the USA, the orchestral growth in Bohemia was not generously supported by wealthy entrepreneurs, or by the Royal Court. In Prague, the orchestra was partially formed by opera musicians themselves and partially by influential composers such as Bedřich Smetana and Antonín Dvořák. The establishment of the orchestra occurred as a result of the motivation of musicians.

The orchestra's first years were highly

Historical Development of orchestral ensembles in the Czech Republic	
List of key orchestras	Year
Mariánské lázně Orchestra (today West Bohemian Symphony Orchestra of Mariánské Lázně)	1821
Karlovy Vary Orchestra (today Karlovy Vary Symphony Orchestra)	1835
Teplice Orchestra (today North Czech Philharmonic)	1838
Czech Philharmonic	1896
The Prague Radio Symphony Orchestra	1926
Prague Symphony Orchestra FOK (film, opera, concerts)	1934
FISYO (originally Barrandov film studios orchestra)	1943
Moravian Philharmonic Orchestra	1945
Symphony Orchestra of the Baťa Concern (today Bohuslav Martinů Philharmonic Orchestra)	1946
Pilsen Philharmonic Orchestra	1946
Janáček Philharmonic Orchestra Ostrava (originally a radio orchestra)	1954
Brno Radio Orchestra (today Brno Philharmonic)	1956
Czech Chamber Philharmonic Orchestra Pardubice	1969
Philharmonic Orchestra Hradec Králové	1977
Chamber Philharmonic Orchestra of South Bohemia	1981

TABLE 1. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ORCHESTRAL BODIES IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC, LIST OF KEY ORCHESTRAS

complicated due to the lack of funds and also lack of state support. The first official concert was held on 4 January 1896 when Antonín Dvořák conducted his own compositions. The orchestra was running on low budget until the new Czechoslovakia was formed in 1918, after that many world famous conductors worked there in the following years [Zapletal, 2009].

Essential for the next development of symphonic orchestras was technical progress – music for radio and cinema. The first official national radio broadcasting took place in 1923. It was connected with the new need for live music broadcast on the first radio station in Czechoslovakia - Radiojournal. [Dohnalová, 2005]. It was three years after the first broadcasting when The Prague Radio Symphony Orchestra (1926) was established. The world famous movie studio Barrandov also provided an opportunity to establish another new orchestra in 1936. World War II and the advent of the communist regime had a fundamental impact on the evolution of these bodies. Communism was interested in an art available to common people and the concept of public service was described as the main mission of public art organizations.

The foundation of regional orchestras took place after 1950 when regional radio stations were also often broadcasting music on the air. Culture was supported as food for the masses and flourished in

industrial areas where it resulted in new orchestras - Brno Philharmonic (1956) and Janáček Philharmonic Ostrava (1954).

Many aspects of everyday life were different during socialism, but not all were detrimental to the music culture. While television was still in development, a wide orchestral network was established and became renowned. Due to the political circumstances, the repertoire remained unchanged for many years – classical music was not dangerous for the regime. As a result there was little change or development inside the orchestras during this period. Dohnalová (2005, p. 6) explicitly states: "Socialist Czechoslovakia had a policy of developing and maintaining the network of so-called "state orchestras" in such a way that every region would have at least one professional philharmonic. This cultural network, financed by the state, operated for the whole period of the socialist regime up to 1989."

After 1989 state ownership was over and the orchestras had to find new ways to continue their existence. This opportunity was often taken up by municipalities, but also Český rozhlas (the Czech radio) is still the owner of one of the orchestras. The orchestras have mostly been transformed into municipally subsidized organizations. Also some nonprofit and commercial organizations have emerged, but they are unable up to this point to form

an equal counterpart to the existing orchestras in terms of benefits for musicians.

The fifteen orchestras remaining today are gathered into The Association of Symphony Orchestras and Choirs of the Czech Republic – ASOPS. Nine of them are listed as municipality subsidized organizations, four were transformed into non-profit public organizations (o. p. s.), one is a vocal choir. The Czech radio orchestra has its own special status granted by law. Many private orchestras have been founded since 1990, but only a few of them are fully financially self-supporting.

Analysis of the situation in the 21st century in Czech Republic

The development of orchestral ensembles influenced an important study of Baumol and Bowen (1966). "Whereas the amount of labor necessary to produce a typical manufactured product has constantly declined since the beginning of the industrial revolution, it requires about as many minutes for Richard II to tell his "sad stories of the death of kings" as it did on the stage of the Globe Theatre. Human ingenuity has devised ways to reduce the labor necessary to produce an automobile, but no one has yet succeeded in decreasing the human effort expended at a live performance of a 45-minute Schubert quartet much below a total of three man-hours." Flanagan (2012) further explains: "The relevance of the cost disease to the performing arts is readily apparent. Activities in which the relationship between labor inputs and outputs cannot be extensively altered by technical changes have the highest potential for cost disease. Symphony orchestras and other performing arts provide prime examples. Composers of classical music and the authors of plays largely determine the number of musicians or actors required for their works, and that number rarely changes over time."

The long-term European trend for orchestras is manifested in everyday situations and activities. They face a serious reduction of financial subsidies primarily used for everyday operations. Sometimes the situation is solved by merging the orchestras or by changing their status, or a combination of both. The results are obvious. The number of orchestras is declining heavily, e.g. in Germany (after unification) they have been reduced by 40 since 1989 [Jacobshagen, 2006]. Similar trends can be observed in the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy, Poland, Great Britain and France [Rauhe, 1997].

Another negative factor is the increasing number of possible activities in the free time of the general public [Rosen, 2012].

The factor of economical influence is getting more importance over the cultural factors as described by Albert and Whetten (1985): In the symphony orchestra, for instance, musicians enact the normative identity and administrators (managers and board members) enact the utilitarian identity, which is "governed by values of economic rationality, the maximization of profit, and the minimization of cost".

This situation is further described by Ann Glynn, where she is looking for the cause of tension between administrators and performers in orchestras in a multi-professional environment within these ensembles. The concept is based on the American experience, but it can be related to the Central European (CE) context. In the CE geographical area the decision process is not determined by the board of directors, but rather by the municipality and management of the orchestra. They usually work with public funds.

Glynn states (2000): The multifaceted, complex nature of the symphony's identity is further elaborated in, and reinforced by, the existence of different professional groups within the orchestra. Musicians have a professional identity as performance artists and union members (The American Federation of Musicians, AFM); orchestra executives are somewhat under professionalized, lacking certification (but seeking it), and trying to combine both business skills and artistic training, since many are former musicians. For board members, the symphony board is largely a secondary affiliate, following after their primary occupation (e. g., law, business, medicine).

Another important argument mentioned by Rauhe is the fact that the orchestras function like museums - maintaining and reviving old masterpieces (eg. just as no one would ever destroy the Mona Lisa, so we need orchestras to keep our musical treasures alive). Seeing a living performance is the most valuable experience of all. There is also need for orchestral ensembles because of debuts and premieres of new compositions.

The situation in the Czech Republic is not adequately monitored and tracked. The factual situation is being only partially disclosed and considered by many orchestral directors to be a special proprietary "know how", which makes the overview of the area more complicated. Despite the obstacles, some of the subsidized organizations or public entities have converted to civil associations or

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WHICH NEED CONTINUOUS INVESTMENTS.”

non-profit organizations. It is said that this process helps to make up for the stagnating or decreased funding from the original founders. In some regions growing political pressure has been observed. It is possible in the future that symphonic orchestras will need to fuse with opera orchestras as result of some political determination. But culture is still considered to be an important part of life, despite the tough economic conditions and the focus on preventing increasing public subsidies to the budgets of symphonic ensembles. Culture remains a vital part of social programs. [MCCR, 2006].

The current economic situation does not allow for full scale public financing of orchestras. Financial mechanisms have to be changed, especially for cultural organizations with huge buildings which need continuous investments. Also management of human resources inside the orchestras is not efficient and an update of marketing, promotional and personnel processes is essential. The contemporary demand of audiences for quality has to be met at the same time as financial sustainability and effective competition for limited leisure time activities.

Insights about the legal environment in the Czech Republic

It is essential to mention the fundamental legal concepts that affect the very existence of the orchestral ensembles researched for this paper. Most of the orchestral ensembles function as organizations subsidized by municipalities (also called “contributory organizations” or “subsidiary organizations” or “subscription organizations” [Dohnalová, 2005]).

In the Czech Republic the legal status of the state and municipally funded organizations is regulated and they are fully dependent on budgetary rules and state laws concerning the regional budgetary regulations. These organizations require a separate legal entity to be established for activities in

their jurisdiction - usually a non-profit one. The founder (zřizovatel) has to issue the founding document for its organization. The founder also is entitled to appoint or dismiss the director, decide on the remunerations, investigate complaints against the ensemble and even to check the economic performance of the contributing organization. [Telec, 1998].

In the Czech Republic it is recognized that the founders could be the Ministry of Culture, a city municipality or a regional government. The Czech Philharmonic has been established directly by the Ministry of Culture; most other regional orchestras are operated by municipalities.

One important benefit sought for by professional Czech orchestras is to obtain financial support from the Ministry of Culture. The Ministry offers regular grant programs for professional orchestras called “The state support of professional theatres and permanent professional symphonic orchestras and choirs”. The organizations have to meet certain criteria to be allowed to participate in them.

These programs are designed for the benefit of subsidized organizations, nongovernmental organizations, other entities or individuals, and permanent professional symphonic orchestras that have to meet the following obligations:

- Size – a minimum number of 35 employed musicians
- Professionalism - at least 75% of the musicians to be included in the main employment contract, or similar legal relationship
- Brass and wind sections - at least 12 players on wind and brass instruments as permanent employees of the orchestra.

Other criteria required for enrollment in the program of subsidies are:

1. Self-sufficiency in 2010 of at least:

- 13% self-sufficiency for subsidized organizations with a total of more than 150 employees (eg. a theatre in which there are at least 80 artists),
- 15% self-sufficiency for subsidized organizations, charitable organizations, civic associations, with a minimum number of 20 employees (theatre, orchestra – with not less than 10 artists, symphony orchestras, choirs),
- 80%: self-sufficiency for other ensembles established under commercial law (Private theatre, symphony orchestras, choirs).

2. Minimum number of performances or concerts in 2010:

- 130 performances by the applicant (opera and dance / ballet 50),
- 60 orchestral concerts (the promenade concerts in spas are counted as 1/2),
- 50 choral concerts.

3. Financing by other bodies has to be insured and documented.

4. Permanent artistic work has to be proven for at least 3 consecutive years.

Orchestral representatives use the criteria generally as an expression of the specific position and definition of the orchestras, unlike music agencies, which hire musicians only for individual concerts or projects.

There are many further differences between subsidized orchestras and other (private) ensembles. Some of them need to be understood in a wider context, since the subsidized organizations have to employ a number of musicians and provide them with musical instruments. Also the organization is to take care of the regular replacement and maintenance of the instruments. Musicians get benefits such as support for concert clothing. Musicians also have an employment contract, not only for individual events, but for the whole year or an indefinite time period (not seasonal).

The Ministry of Culture allocates a sum of less than 100 million CZK each year to the program. Given the fact that the program applies to theatres, choirs and orchestras, the average support amount for orchestras outside of Prague is about 5 million CZK. Compared to the amount of employees in these organizations, the contribution of the Ministry becomes a nearly marginal part in their budgets.

In some of the examined bodies (Ostrava, Karlovy Vary) the calculation of the coefficient of self-sufficiency is closely linked to this of kind support. The coefficient is being calculated from the total gross sales and revenues which create a huge financial difference for orchestras performing in their own buildings and/or at rented premises.

Public cultural service is not yet defined in the Czech law system. The definition of this concept is important for orchestral ensembles. The Ministry of Culture published a study entitled: "The status of conceptual material culture in regions of the Czech Republic" [MCCR, 2012] in which the term is defined as follows:

Public cultural services are services consisting of:

- the making of cultural goods, open to the public (i.e., protection, processing, interpretation, presentation and animation in the form of the results of artistic and cultural heritage)
- the acquisition, processing, protection, preservation and accessibility of media serving to satisfy the cultural needs of the public, (i.e., distribution, rental and lending)
- arranging opportunities for improvement and expansion of cultural competence in the public through active participation in creative cultural activities.

Common properties of public cultural services are to meet the following obligations:

- universality (i.e. available to all members of the public)
- continuity (consistently provided)
- quality (professional and responsible collection and mediation of cultural property with a view to presenting their authentic inner quality and addressing genuine needs of the differentiated public)
- economic availability (sometimes in combination with availability of spatial and social facilities)
- plurality of contents (in justified cases; may be disregarded).

The scope of public cultural services is set down by public authorities and governments funding these services. The main obligation of the public service is to "provide" the culture to the public "free of charge" or for adequate compensation. Clear legal and economic status of public institutions providing direct cultural services is essential.

2. Subject of the research, process and research methods used

The initial task was to map the current situation of professional orchestral ensembles in the Czech Republic. There were many press references about their transformations or aims of merging.

Most often the subsidized organization changed into a form of nongovernmental non-commercial

organization – an “obecně prospěšná společnost” (general beneficial company¹). These created the basic aims and questions for the research.

Basic aims and research questions:

- Size – a minimum number of 35 employed musicians
- To describe the current situation and the historical context for orchestral ensembles. To specify their position of in/dependence.
- Why there is a reduction of orchestral budgets and which types?
- Under which form of legal entity are the key Czech orchestras established?
- Which are the main public interests in and requirements for the Czech orchestras? Are they specialized?
- Can professional symphony orchestras be financially self-sufficient?

Other main points:

- Possibilities of organizational structure of the orchestral elements – using the “advantages” of the financial crisis by merging elements. Are there some foreign institutions using the unique operation principles that could be instituted in the Czech Republic?
- Analyses of suitable organizational structures for Czech orchestras in difficult economic conditions.
- International trends in the quantitative development of orchestras
- Examine the widening gap between the number of music graduates and their use as orchestral players or at the orchestra management level.

The general objectives of the work

The objectives and results of the work are focused on the situation in the Czech context of 21st century. The work is aimed at finding answers to many questions, but still more it desires to establish a platform, which might give further insight in this very complicated situation.

The research targets how context and critical milestones must be taken into account.

The research methods

Case studies: we conducted several case studies using appropriate tools, such as controlled interviews with professionals in leading positions, and carried out basic financial analyses and analyses of official documents representing the organizational structure. All the methods used fit in the frame of qualitative research principles [Švaříček, 2007].

The initial research relied on freely available materials. Information from the websites of orchestras, search terms, research codes, freely available documents of orchestras were all important. A crucial role was played by checklists for semi-structured interviews, based on a set of research questions and findings from the basic information. The next step was the gradual selection of the respondents. All interviews were conducted on the basis of personal meetings, often repeated. The individual interviews were carried out by gradually asking questions, but leaving space to the respondents. Interviews were conducted with both the senior-level executives of orchestras (e.g. director, deputy inspector orchestra, head of marketing department) and the artistic staff (concert master, conductor). Also very useful were interviews with officials and other researchers (e. g. Arts Institute Prague).

The research involved the Janáček Philharmonic Ostrava, Karlovy Vary Symphony orchestra, North Czech Philharmonic Teplice, West-Bohemian Symphony Orchestra Marienbad and the opera orchestra of the Moravia Theatre in Olomouc. Also representatives of the Association of Orchestras and Choirs took part in the research, starting at first with the Brno Philharmonic Orchestra, Moravian Philharmonic Orchestra Olomouc and the private Berg orchestra.

Among other questions the study dealt with the following matters: personnel politics, communication channels inside the organization, sources of financing, software support, staff training and focus on concerts from the viewpoint of the audience (non regular visitors versus prepaid subscribers).

The actual research was preceded by the study of publicly available secondary resources. To gain primary resources, a qualitative research was conducted with the use of a set of informal interviews in selected cultural organizations with an orchestra. The method used was face-to-face interviewing both individually and in a group of two respondents. For the questioning the techniques of direct and indirect questions were selected. The interviews were recorded by taking notes, as well as creation of an actual audio recording, where allowed. [Kozel, 2006] The respondents were selected according to their scope of responsibilities and knowledge of the

¹ Translated by the author.

organization among low and top-level management. Interview responses were kept anonymous.

Research of the historical context

It involves the research and studying of anterior documents provided by orchestral archives and libraries. Gradually a huge amount of specialized literature was examined, among others the very interesting and motivating documents of American Symphony Orchestra League (ASOL). Also papers were used that focus on modern general management, organizational structure, etc.

Evaluation and comparison

Theoretical knowledge of management principles provides for the development of organizations, optimization of the organizational structures (schemes), and improvement of communication processes. All this is combined with hands-on experience gathered during the years of working with orchestras. The author follows the fundamentals of qualitative research, collection of theoretical data and analysis provided by the ASOL. Americans had already succeeded in applying many of the principles in the world of orchestral arts but in the European context it is not possible to use all of them. Gradual implementation of new interviews proceeded with the emergence of new trends and discussion topics. Discussions also revealed some of the themes still unnamed and relevant.

3. Findings

Findings from the case study in the ASOPS (The Association of Symphony Orchestras and Choirs of the Czech Republic)

The purpose of this association is in "improving activities of member orchestras and choirs through meetings and communication of managing directors of these bodies" [ASOPS, 2010]. The association formally is the continuation of the former Association of Directors of Symphonic Orchestras of the Czech Republic (before 1989). As of today the Association incorporates the former state orchestras (with exceptions) to "enhance their authority in communication with the Ministry of Culture, municipalities and the labor union of Czech musicians (Odborový svaz orchestrálních hudebníků ČR). The Association was formed in 1996 and its members are required to meet some criteria when seeking membership. The member organizations should be professional in accordance with the employment of their musicians (the musician should have regular employment) and provide regular concert cycles for

subscription audiences. New members are welcomed after in-house polls.

Regular meetings are called twice a year. Directors come together for mutual exchange of experience as employers, sharing know how about the structures and needs of orchestras (by sharing various kind of documents). The Association is a member of the union of employers, which gives stronger position to the directors in disputes with the labor union of musicians. ASOPS also initiates meetings with a representative of the Ministry of Culture on a non-regular basis. Finally ASOPS formulates amendments to new political decisions.

During the year 2010/2011 the Association participated in a project financed with EU funds and entitled: "Increasing adaptability of worker organizations in the culture section".

This educational project funded by the European Social Fund under the Operational Program for Human Resources is intended to be used by members of labor unions. It is the Union of Employers (Unie zaměstnavatelů ČR) which serves as an umbrella organization of employers' associations from the industry, insurance, healthcare, education, culture and social services.

The project reflects the current development of the national economy, particularly in the field of culture. The project is aimed at an increase in the adaptability of cultural facilities.

The disadvantage of the project, as identified according to the research results and interviewed orchestral representatives, is that there is a very low chance for finding some money to send one person per orchestra off to some small educational meeting, when that person is usually the only one in the administrative force for the whole orchestral body. Also, the project can be used by institutions outside of Prague (owing to the exclusion of Prague from the support provided by some of the developing EU projects).

Educational activities are viewed very positively. Especially in the context of work processes, and the development of administrative jobs. Any commuting to a training seminar is not that easy. Educational activities take place directly at the seat of the orchestra but continuous education is provided for only two or three workers, at a maximum.

ASOPS should extend these activities using smaller pilot projects, which should be inspired by the activities of similar bodies abroad (e.g. ASOL). Expansion of the number of new ASOPS members is not in the interest of the organization. The Association acts as a guarantee of quality in the field of large symphonic ensembles and orchestras, and potentially in the tourist industry. The conductors communicate freely with each other today, but the directors could arrange also meetings for other types of employees, especially from the administrative staff. Meetings associated with certain educational activities may also be important when working with talented young conductors, or the constitution of new small work teams working on specified projects. On the other

Members of the Association	Type of entity	Comment
Bohuslav Martinů Philharmonic Orchestra	Public service company	
Brno Philharmonic	Subscription organization	
Hradec Králové Philharmonic Orchestra	Subscription organization	
Janáček Philharmonic Ostrava	Subscription organization	
Chamber Philharmonic Orchestra of South Bohemia	Subscription organization	
Karlovy Vary Symphony orchestra	Subscription organization	
Czech Chamber Philharmonic Orchestra Pardubice	Subscription organization	
Moravian Philharmonic Orchestra Olomouc	Subscription organization	
Pilsen Philharmonic Orchestra	Public service company	
Prague Philharmonia	Public service company	
North Czech Philharmonic Teplice	Subscription organization	
Prague Radio Symphony Orchestra	Czech Radio (by law)	
Prague Symphony Orchestra	Subscription organization	
West-Bohemian Symphony Orchestra Marienbad	Public service company	
Czech Philharmonic Choir of Brno	Public service company	Not an orchestra
Czech Philharmonic	Subscription organization	Not current member

TABLE 2. MEMBERS OF THE ASOPS AS OF SEPTEMBER 2011

[ASOPS, 2011]

hand, permanent employees are dependent on so called subscription cycles for regular audiences. A defined number of concerts is arranged over the course of the year, which ensures basic work for the musicians who can then be employed on a permanent, non-project basis. Reference to these cycles will be made later in the text.

Findings from case studies in the orchestras

One of the most important needs of Czech orchestras is independence for the institution, especially in the area of arts and culture. This is usually of very high importance for small, emerging organizations at the stage of planning the cultural direction, dramaturgy, or the program. Institutions intend to be original, by responding to the current problems of society. Czech government grant applications give new opportunities for their work; however access to the public funds comes through competition. The organization is required to meet specific conditions for the application. This requires a certain level of self-directing and losing some of the independence of the organization at the same time. Hardships are brought with short-term subsidies. They

are often granted on an unpredictable basis, which causes deep cuts in strategic planning and brings insignificant benefit from a small project. Typically, the duration of a small project extends over a period of one year, rarely two or three years. This fact requires the strong involvement of informal communication elements. Informal communication, although officially established, has the tendency to take recourse in personal contacts and relationships. This causes a quite confusing situation especially in the delegation of responsibilities.

Two separate lines in directing organizations were observed. The economical-technical line has different names from office to office. This line has strong involvement in operational and production segments, tends to have priority in marketing, public relations, concert tours, plan of season dramaturgy. The musician line tends to improve the personnel situation, interest in human resources and personal growth of the musicians. It generates pressure on the economy, through the trade unions, but also on a personal contact level, by appointing musicians into administrative positions.

Both lines are interdependent, but cannot operate separately. The head of the economic-technical line is usually the economic secretary (tajemník), the head of the musician line is the artistic

director or/and principal conductor (umělecký ředitel, dirigent). The director of the organization remains in charge of both lines.

There is a generally observed growing belief among orchestral members that the director should be a person educated in arts and music. At the same time, director has to encompass not only music organization, but also theory and management. The music director should not be "just" an artist, as was emphasized earlier [Pokora, 2011]. This belief results from the increasing pressures on the financial autonomy of the organizations; it brings no benefit to employ a director who does not possess the necessary skills in management, marketing, public relations, or economics. The director has usually some administrative apparatus at his/her own disposal, but these people cannot replace his/her crucial decisions and strategic planning. The regular nature of the

materials and is responsible for the artistic growth of the body.

Orchestral players numerically dominate other employees. Individual players are divided into two basic groups, group of strings and winds. Orchestras have different sets of leading instrumental groups. An important position is the koncertní mistr (concert master) - the first violinist, who usually participates in the artistic training of the orchestra and leads in some split rehearsals.

The orchestral supervisor (inspektor orchestru) is responsible for the attendance of the orchestra players. He regularly creates a rehearsal schedule (ferman) and coordinates technical staging. A few of the orchestra players are usually involved in the advisory art board (umělecká rada), consisting of 5 to 15 members. The number varies among the orchestras. The advisory art board holds regular

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concert schedule is an advantage compared to an opera orchestra. It extends usually over the period of one week. The whole concert setting is then generally repeated twice, after which players start to study a new piece of work.

The principal conductor is considered often as the musical leader of the ensemble. Other conductors are leased routinely for conducting of particular concerts, as well as specific guest and honorary conductors. Key administrative activities are performed in individual departments led by the Economic Secretary (ekonomický náměstek). Following are general departments such as the accounting and customer service departments. There are also elements unique for the orchestra such as the concert department (which organizes concerts at the home stage and performances abroad), or the music archives (which provides music services for continuous musical operation).

The unique and exceptional feature of the principal conductor is his/her continuous working with the orchestra. He/she takes responsibility for the concert season, is the person who studies most of the

meetings and discusses artistic themes (previous concerts, dramaturgy, etc.). There are different approaches within the structure of the art advisory board. Traditionally, the board is composed of leaders of the instrumental groups, concert master, orchestral supervisor, and conductor. However, there is a tendency to start innovative approaches for the board, such as voting (e.g. Orchestra of Moravian Theatre Olomouc). The main role in such a case is given to the popularity and personality of the player. In other cases, the board can also have external members (Carlsbad Symphony Orchestra). The idea is to improve the communication with public representatives and persons from the whole political spectrum.

The administrative section is usually occupied by a quite small number of employees. The team usually consists of five to ten people (larger teams can be seen only with the Czech Philharmonic). At the same time, an accumulation of positions and functions is observed. The major risk connected with an accumulation of positions is the work overload. The responsible staff is often not able to embrace all the

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activities of the administrative and musical department in the same time. Especially hard is setting up two lists of priorities and merging these priorities for a particular position. This leads to overall fatigue and loss of motivation, with the result that the staff members only “extinguish” a burning issue and do not solve tasks in detail. Also only a short time is devoted to innovative ideas; there is no opportunity for innovation and presenting ideas to the organizational management and the public. A heavy danger is the burnout of employees, which can occur due to the large workload and a lack of feedback.

Orchestras, as subjects to this analysis, experienced many different problems and were analyzed separately. The case studies will not be published in full, due to the restrictions set down as ethical and personal requirements of the research. Each organization received individual analysis and subsequent guidelines. The organizations cannot be in detail publicly compared one-to-one with the other organizations. Privacy restrictions are strictly followed. Czech orchestras feature many different structures (often inflexible). Orchestras have different priorities, even when they are comparable in size. In order to give accurate and “private” assistance, information about orchestras was compared with recommendations for similar organizations in business and the non-profit sector. The comparisons among the orchestras resulted in the main body of conclusions for this paper, but their discussion is not carried out in a way which would be focused on the disclosure of an organization and its problematic areas.

Conclusions

Key identified problems of Czech symphony orchestras

- Communication between musicians and the

administration. Issues are often caused by the strong position of an individual player in the labor unions.

- Personality of the orchestral leaders. In organizations led by one of the musicians his/her self-confidence is often inadequate. Main problems consist in a lack of economic education and inadequate management skills.
- Insufficient financing. Its origin resides in the inadequate communication and often suboptimal relations with the responsible municipality or other state administrative bodies. Culture is not understood as a priority by state representatives.
- Insufficient exchange of “good practices” and “know how.” Many experts suggest that inspiration and constant benchmarking is a way to keep an organization on the top.

Recurrent problems are turning around in a vicious circle. It is very hard to identify the correct place to start with improvements.

Findings and answers in the wider context of the research aims and questions

The beginning of the paper briefly described the historical development of orchestral ensembles in the Czech region. Later the text named key current factors influencing the situation and position of Czech orchestral ensembles. The financial subsidies provided by municipalities, regions and/or the Ministry of Culture create a tension especially in the area of the human resources, which use the biggest part of the provided subsidies. On the other hand, the employees are financed in a fixed way – there are given categories of wages (varied based on educational level and years in the ensemble), which are mostly lower than the average wage in the Czech

Republic. That means the gap in the context of the "cost disease" does not rise too rapidly.

Czech symphony orchestras are mostly not specialized – their purpose is to give concerts of classical music with repertoire based especially in the romantic style, classicism and the first half of the 20th century. There are only a few orchestral ensembles – mainly private, which are specialized in the interpretation of the baroque music (Collegium 1704, Musica Florea or Collegium Marianum) or new and experimental music (The Berg Orchestra, Brno Contemporary Orchestra).

Professional symphony orchestras that fulfill the criteria for "professionalism" (number of artistic employees, types of contracts, etc.) are not fully self-sufficient. The self-sufficiency level is around 20-30 % (regional orchestras) and up to 50% (in Prague). Czech Philharmonic creates a new fresh and creative direction and can be named as an example of good practice in the Czech region (new marketing and branding).

Suggestions for improvement

Orchestras have to set up systematic long-term education and training for the staff. Good administrative practices are a common topic in today's world. National orchestras may help to organize lectures and seminars for students and also for current executives. International cooperation with similar organizations and academic institutions may be beneficial as well. Continuous education is essential, especially when there are so many technical innovations and new practices available. It is essential to set individual definitions of the player/employee ratio (regular employees versus players hired only for a single concert). This would give musicians and also conductors more freedom to participate in various cultural projects. This was often seen as a disadvantage by musicians who have to work harder to ensure a good income.

With more funds coming through grant applications, there is a growing importance to the administrative part of the project structure (hiring more administrative support for set projects and financing these people by cultural projects).

The role of partnerships and international connections also seems to be of importance. Students could follow "in the shadow" of the leading ensemble members who could greatly help them in their development and in the more efficient use of their capabilities. Orchestras may be more involved in partnerships with academies (universities). Internships (work/study) for students is popular among Czech and foreign universities (especially ERASMUS Mundus program). Sadly systematic volunteering is developing at a slow rate in the Czech Republic, but orchestras have to attract volunteers and/or create firm base of such people.

New approaches to the structures of the art advisory board are needed (with some of them mentioned above). Interchange between

musicians and systematic preparation for concerts has to be increased. Also the concert plan and dramaturgy has to attract a young audience and various age groups.

Careful management and strategic planning have to be considered as must-dos, as public funds will not be sufficient forever and orchestras have to step fully into the current economic situation in creative ways.

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Cultural Education towards Creative Entrepreneurship among Marginalized People

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines cultural education towards creative entrepreneurship among marginalized peoples. It explores values relating to sustainability of indigenous cultures and economic autonomy through entrepreneurial initiatives for developing benefit from creative cultural expression. The specific case is the Hopi people of Northern Arizona. Like marginalized peoples worldwide the Hopi experience under or non-employment, poverty, lack of education, and other socio-economic ills. There is a need to develop structures for transfer of cultural knowledge among tribal members, between generations, and between tribal members and tourist/visitors. Sustainable entrepreneurship (DeVereaux and Swanson 2011), cultural sustainability (Mowforth and Munt, 2003), cultural citizenship (Mercer 2002; Delanty 2003), contextualize cultural tourism and creative entrepreneurship to consider cultural impacts, the integrated nature of these impacts on the Hopi tribe, and the role of cultural knowledge in facilitating development of creative entrepreneurial initiatives.

Keywords:

Marginalized peoples
Cultural knowledge
Cultural education
Cultural sustainability
Cultural citizenship

Introduction

Entrepreneurship has been offered as a solution to a wide range of economic (and in some cases, political and social) problems in both wealthy and developing nations beginning at least in the 1990s. Applied to the problems faced by marginalized and indigenous peoples it is seen as a means for rectifying economic inequalities and empowering both groups and individuals for life betterment. Challenges to economic empowerment for marginalized and indigenous peoples result from many factors. Among them are unemployment, poverty, health conditions, political disenfranchisement, and educational disadvantage. Many of these have been linked to globalization and the compromise of cultural traditions through incursion of western traditions and values. The irony of developing western-style entrepreneurial initiatives and providing training and education in entrepreneurial methods as a remedy for these conditions should not be ignored. Indeed, entrepreneurial training and methods may result in further compromise of marginalized and indigenous cultures. Despite the 'diverse nature of entrepreneurship and the miscellany of gender, ethnic, demographic and cultural differences that influence', the construction of entrepreneurial identity, some scholars argue that entrepreneurs nevertheless 'project a range of culturally specific, socially constructed identities' (Smith and Anderson 2003, p. 1). Specifically, the commonly held image of 'entrepreneur' is a white male who exhibits contemporary western-style badges of success in attire and other trappings of wealth (Ibid).

Joost Smiers (2000), points to the dangers to social and cultural practices from the western system of copyright and other types of 'commercialization of [...] intellectual and creative commons' (p. 392) and others have found a significant disconnection between the values of western entrepreneurship and indigenous cultural values. The 'adjustment to the market economy from a sharing culture or a gift economy has been neither gentle nor fair' (Wood 1999). An important challenge therefore, is to seek methods for economic empowerment that sustain and maintain traditional values rather than disrupt them. Cultural education for researchers and cultural management/policy practitioners is necessary for protection of these values. In some cases, however, cultural education for members of marginalized cultural groups is also needed for political and economic empowerment within the dominant culture as well as to preserve cultural citizenship rights against further incursion. The development of creative enterprises has promise for ensuring all of these aims.

This paper examines some of the conditions of disempowerment among a particular marginalized group, the Hopi of Northern Arizona, and explores how cultural education may serve the integrated aims of entrepreneurship, cultural sustainability, and economic well-being. While this study focuses on the Hopi tribe, the theories, methods, and results provided here have

potential for wider application to other indigenous and marginalized groups in other geographic locations.

The paper draws on data from case study research conducted in conjunction with development of a tourism policy for the Hopi people (Swanson and DeVereaux, 2011). Sustainable entrepreneurship (Ibid), cultural sustainability (Mowforth and Munt, 2003) and cultural citizenship (Mercer 2002; Delanty 2003) are used as theoretical frameworks to comprehend capacities for cultural tourism and creative entrepreneurship that consider social, economic, and cultural impacts, the integrated nature of these impacts on the Hopi tribe, and the role of cultural knowledge in facilitating or impeding development of creative entrepreneurial initiatives. It begins with an overview of Hopi history and culture as it pertains to the present study with special emphasis on cultural education and transfer of cultural knowledge. It argues for the importance of cultural education in service to economic and political empowerment while also demonstrating that traditions relating to transfer of cultural knowledge among the Hopi may also impede these aims. Survey data used to operationalize the above concepts is examined in order to demonstrate the importance of cultural sustainability and cultural citizenship as core values. This is contrasted with values championed by the entrepreneurial paradigm. The article concludes with recommendations for integration of cultural education and sustainable entrepreneurship within the creative sector that can serve as a model for marginalized peoples elsewhere seeking similar economic aims.

1. The Hopi People

The US Government recognizes 564 Native American tribal entities, including the Hopi, whose ancestral heritage begins in the American Southwest with the ancient cliff-dwelling people, *Hisatsinom*, who have lived in the Four Corners region since prehistoric Basket Maker times (Koyiyumptewa, Davis, & Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, 2009). Four Corners is a region of the United States consisting of the adjacent corners of Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah. The presence of the Hopi in the region is the result of northern migration from present-day Mexico through the present-day United States over the course of many generations. The Hopi village of Oraibi is the longest continually inhabited village in North America dating to 1150 AD. Hopi culture is unique and distinct from both American white culture and from that of other Native American tribes.

To refer to Hopi culture as non-western appears to ignore the presence of the tribe in their current location long before European settlers arrived in the Southwest in the early 1600s. The commonly accepted term 'western' to refer to the dominant white culture of the US, however, is used here to refer to the values and traditions of European-derived societies including beliefs relating to entrepreneurship paradigms. These paradigms are alien to the

traditional Hopi way of life but have been embraced by some Hopi as a means for individual economic betterment. Notably in current usage, many Hopi and other Native Americans commonly refer to non-Indians (non-native Americans) as 'European'.

The Hopi are a sovereign people whose territory consists of 1.5 million acres (approx. 650,000 hectares) of isolated arid land, most of it within the jurisdictional boundaries of Arizona, and comprised of 12 autonomous villages with approximately 10,000 tribal residents. The tribe's population varies little from numbers reported in the 16th century by Spanish explorers who recorded 12,000 Hopi living in five villages (Whitely, 1988; James, 1974).

They are 'so different in so many ways from most of the Indian tribes of the Americas' (James, 1974, p. xi) that Hopi culture is often both misunderstood and misrepresented. Their unique religion permeates both the social and political life of tribal members and has a significant influence on choices relating to economic activity as well. Their system of beliefs places the Hopi in a special relationship with the earth as its stewards. Accounts of the tribe's origin begin with the emergence of humankind into the present world (the Fourth World) from the Underworld where humans and other beings were first created. Their religion is place-dependent (Griffin-Pierce, 2000); Hopi history identifies the location of their emergence into this world at Sipapuni, a limestone cone at a juncture of the Little Colorado River near Grand Canyon. Their spiritual pact with the deity responsible for their emergence included placing 'footprints' in the form of potsherds and other physical evidence such as ritual springs, sacred trails, shrines, and petroglyphs to show that they had fulfilled their pact by vesting the area with their stewardship. Archaeological sites thus verify clan history and give potency to their religious beliefs (Ibid). The importance of this in the present context is that protection of artefacts and historic/religious sites were primary motivators for creating Hopi's first tourism policy in 1989. Since that time, destruction of sacred sites and removal of artefacts has been an on-going problem. Many of these sites are officially closed to outsiders and some Hopi derive part of their income from conducting tribal-approved tours of these sites. The priority right of these individuals is diminished as the result of non-sanctioned visitors and site desecration.

Principles of the Hopi way of life (the Hopi Way) also include adherence to prescriptions of peace and hospitality. These values are embodied in cultural practices and rituals as well as in the very name 'Hopi' which means 'behaving one, one who is mannered, civilized, peaceable, polite, who adheres to the Hopi Way' (Hopi Dictionary Project, 1998). The more formal name 'Hopitu-Shinumu' is translated as 'all people peaceful' or 'little people of peace' (James, p. xii). This recognizes a core value of their religion, though Hopi history also includes instances of aggression against other peoples. A year-long calendar of religious rituals and events guides nearly every aspect of Hopi life.

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2. Economic Development and History of Hopi Tourism

An acute need for economic development at Hopi is the result of high unemployment, underemployment, and other socio-economic and political factors. Some sources report unemployment figures in excess of 80% (Arizona Department of Commerce, 2008). US and Hopi Tribal governments are the top employers for the 45% of Hopi who are employed. Coal production, cattle production, arts and crafts shops, and the few restaurants, service shops and other small private-sector enterprises on Hopi lands or nearby provide additional options (DeVereaux, 2011). Median per capita income in 2009 was \$10,647 (€ 7883.00), an increase of approximately 36% from the median per capita income in 2000

(City-Data, 2011).

Tourism is seen as a viable economic option for life betterment for the Hopi given the factors noted above. Opening tribal lands to tourist visitors is met with trepidation, however, by many Hopi because of negative past experiences especially relating to removal of artefacts from sacred sites. Hopi are often reluctant to share tribal customs and are concerned about the potential for compromise to personal privacy. Hopi informants tell of tourists peeking through windows of homes or intruding upon family gatherings to take photos. Hopi are also concerned that tourism will have a Disney effect on tribal life or that their village will become a living museum diorama to satisfy tourist voyeurism. Some Hopi informants express negative views about tourists' desires to take

pictures of Hopi ceremonies, Hopi individuals, or of the landscape of Hopi lands. They do not see a contradiction between this and their own interest in taking pictures as tourists traveling to other locations.

An extant tourism policy administered by the Hopi Office of Revenue Commission (HORC) is out dated according to agency staff and lacks many substantive features for preventing removal of objects, for compliance with the policy, for sanctions in the case of non-compliance, and for effective policing of tribal lands to prevent un-authorized visits. A single provision of the existing tourism policy addresses protection of culture stipulating that the policy is:

To assist the villages to protect and preserve the arts, crafts, traditions and ceremonies of the Hopi culture, including the health, safety, welfare and economic security of the Hopi community (Hopi Tourism Policy, 1989, p. 1).

Currently HORC's primary function is to collect fees from licensed tour operators and to provide guidance in policy directives to both operators and visitors.

To assist with development of a new tourism policy, HORC partnered with two researchers from Northern Arizona University to test assumptions about the role and value of a tourism policy, to determine the degree of buy-in from the Hopi community regarding changes, and to test attitudes regarding policy revisions. The researchers concluded that the current policy must incorporate new realities to address the complexities of contemporary tourism not accounted for in the original policy.

3. Rationale

Hopi lands have no protected borders. Hopi is a geographically remote area of Northern Arizona; its location discourages many visitors from entering Hopi lands without a tour guide but others find their way there. Of particular concern are visitors who enter forbidden, sacred areas either inadvertently or intentionally. Lack of signage and physical barriers contribute to this problem. In addition, Hopi governance, social structure, religion and culture impose inherent difficulties for adopting and implementing a tribal wide policy.

The tribe has an autonomous government independent of the US Government within whose jurisdiction its lands lie. Unlike other recognized tribes, Hopi have never signed a treaty with the United States. A system of constitutional government is relatively new. A recent tribal-wide election to amend the Constitution attracted only 30% of eligible Hopi voters; effectively 10% (approx.) of the current population.

Prior to creation of a central Tribal Council required by the US Government in 1936, each Hopi village operated autonomously; 'comparable to a city-

state' (Griffin-Pierce, p. 98), each with its own set of individual rules. Quasi-political alliances based on familial and clan relations govern relationships between the villages. Some Hopi informants report feeling uncomfortable or reluctant to enter other villages without permission from resident villagers. Despite political autonomy, however, the Hopi are dependent economically and politically upon both the US and Arizona governments in a number of ways.

The 12 Hopi villages are located on or below three high desert mesas. They include Hano/Tewa, Sichomovi, Walpi, and Polacca on First Mesa to the east; Moshongovi, Sipaulovi, and Shungopavi on Second Mesa; and Oraibi, Hotevilla, Bacavi, and Kykotsmobi on Third Mesa. An additional settlement which includes the village of Moenkopi is approximately 50 miles to the west in a more populated area that is separate from the main Hopi lands and entirely enclosed within the Navajo Nation, the result of a land dispute with the United States and the Navajo that is formally resolved but still controversial.

Some villages adhere to traditional rules of governance under a *kikmongwi*; a village father or chief. Villages each choose whether or not to participate in central tribal governance. Those that elect a representative to the Tribal Council have some say in central governance. Others do not participate. Some villages preserve strict traditional ways including maintaining homes without modern conveniences (i.e. indoor plumbing and heating). This preference for tradition often excludes visitors or any participation in touristic activities. Other villages embrace tourism and related enterprises; restaurants, guide services, artisan shops and galleries. Visitors to these villages may sometimes view dances and other religious ceremonies under strict rules regarding their conduct and access to village areas. Photography, illustration, or other recording of Hopi religion or daily life is forbidden on all Hopi lands except in rare cases where prior approval is obtained. The prohibition extends even to tribal members for some ceremonies and sacred places. The Hopi also prohibit photographic and other recording as a way to control the image or story of their people from disinformation and misinterpretation by others.

These strict rules have caused some problems between Hopi and tourists. Some tourists have deliberately violated the prohibitions. This may result, in the case of photography, in confiscation of film, erasing of digital photos on a camera, or in rare but extreme cases, destruction of a camera. Other tourists may be unaware of the rules but may also be subject to the above sanctions. According to informants, it is typically a Hopi resident, rather than a tribal official, who metes out the sanction. There are also prohibitions against picking up any item from the ground. It may be difficult, for the outsider, to differentiate between trash or a discarded item, and a sacred object. Tourists who have not been informed of such rules may inadvertently violate them. For this

“CULTURAL TRAVEL IN THE UNITED STATES ACCOUNTS FOR 92.7 MILLION TRAVELLERS. A NATIONAL SURVEY CONDUCTED IN 2001 SHOWED THAT 65% OF US ADULT TRAVELLERS WHO VISIT CULTURAL, ARTS, HERITAGE, OR HISTORIC EVENTS OR ACTIVITIES EACH YEAR HAVE TRAVELLED MORE THAN 50 MILES.”

reason, tourist education should be an important component of any tourist project at Hopi.

The village of Sipaulovi has the only formal tourism policy at the village level. The policy covers only visitors to this village and is not enforceable outside of its limits except through the customs that govern village relationships. It was adopted specifically to address cultural citizenship rights and to attempt to regulate tourist visits and visitor behaviour. The village owns a tract of land below the mesa near the junction of two highways where it will develop a tourist service centre with restaurant, hotel, petrol station and museum. First Mesa has a restaurant, a guide service and attracts visitors to its centrally-located local artisans who sell directly to interested visitors. The visitor-oriented Hopi Cultural Center is located on Second Mesa. Second Mesa is one of the most accessible to non-Hopi visitors. The Cultural Center includes a museum, restaurant and motel facilities. A convenience store and the Tribal Council agency offices are located in Kykotsmovi. The settlement of Moenkopi has a Hopi-owned resort motel, travel centre and restaurant. The village is dependent upon Oraibi for the purposes of ritual ceremonies and celebrations.

The closest communities to Hopi are approximately 45, 60, or 90 miles (approx. 64, 97, or 145 kilometres) to the south or west. Flagstaff, Arizona is the closest urban centre with a population of approximately 65,800. For Hopi living on tribal lands, it is a destination for many goods and services.

Visitors are attracted to Hopi for its remote and unique desert landscape. Motivations for visitors to travel to Hopi include: to see how Indians live and to personally meet American Indians, develop deeper understanding of American Indian culture, attend an American Indian religious ceremony, and shop for American Indian arts and crafts (Lew, 1999). Hopi appear to be motivated in welcoming tourist/visitors by a desire to share their culture with outsiders and to benefit economically from tourism (Swanson & DeVereaux, 2011).

4. Tourism as Cultural Education and Creative Enterprise

Cultural travel in the United States accounts for 92.7 million travellers. A national survey conducted in 2001 showed that 65% of US adult travellers who visit cultural, arts, heritage, or historic events or activities each year have travelled more than 50 miles. Historic sites are the most popular destination for travellers to and in the US (National Travel Survey, 2001). Further, tourism may be regarded as a win-win opportunity for both governments and affluent tourists:

Tourism perceived as both less demanding in terms of infrastructural start-up requirements and as a ‘clean’ industry, has become one of national and local governments’ favorite tools for developing economically depressed regions. Consequently, the ‘exotic’ holiday spent in less-traveled parts of the world has become the vacation of choice within the conventional mass tourist market (Apostolopoulos, Sönmez, and Timothy, 2001, p. 4).

For these reasons, culturally specific tourism has good potential as an economic opportunity for the Hopi people. Indeed, Hopis have welcomed tourists to their lands from their earliest existence in their present location. The demands of contemporary tourism, however, require development of an effective tourism policy and the entrepreneurial skills that can enhance economic activity for the Hopi’s benefit. Smith (2003), for example, notes:

[...] cultural tourism can offer something of a boon to developing world economies, as well as making a positive contribution to social and cultural development. It can provide a means of raising the profile of lesser-

known destinations and enhancing the standard of living for local people (p. 45).

At the same time, tourism has many drawbacks. Smith, among others, also notes that 'Loss of authenticity and exploitation are often inevitable consequences of mass tourism development' (Ibid. p. 47). This is precisely what the Hopi fear. Tourism clearly has the potential for both harm and good. Deitch (1989) significantly notes that tourism, in some cases, is responsible for the protection of cultural heritage rather than its destruction:

It was fortuitous that the early twentieth-century settlers and health-seekers became interested in the indigenous cultures and historic traditions of the Southwest, and that the prime entrepreneur recognized their marketability as a tourist attraction. Otherwise, the decline of Indian arts and crafts would have paralleled other elements of their culture [...] (Deitch, p. 227).

Nonetheless, exploitation of Native American culture for economic gain by non-natives is a significant feature of US history. Balancing both positive and negative consequences is not solely a matter for entrepreneurship, however. Indeed at the level of the individual entrepreneur it is unlikely that such a balance would occur. Policies are needed to secure this balance in a way that provides benefit to all Hopi.

Tourism should be seen to benefit the host communities, and to provide a means and motivation for them to care for and maintain their heritage and cultural practices. The sustainable development of tourism is clearly dependent on the involvement and empowerment of local communities (Smith, p. 111).

Education can serve the purpose of producing entrepreneurs with both the knowledge and skills to work within such a balance in order to ensure economic well-being and sustainability of cultural rights. Economic development in rural and remote locations often depends on the initiatives of local enterprise in the form of production of local and indigenous creative goods. The skills for producing these goods are typically handed down through generations. The most desirable, for tourists, are often those goods that are handmade and unique to a particular artist or artisan.

As is the case for many producers of creative goods in any economic setting, however, entrepreneurial skills relating to effective marketing, merchandising, and distribution are often lacking. Though some Hopi business owners thrive in a contemporary entrepreneurial climate, many others

lack the formal skills required for creating and managing a creative enterprise. Most shop owners specialize in traditional arts and crafts so are a source for developing and stimulating artistic production within the tribe. Thus they enhance (or create an incentive for) local tourism, promote local service industries and attract other businesses that support these sectors. A challenge for the tribe and its individual members is to translate these skills into opportunities that are more widely available. Another key challenge relates to the expectations of visitors against the rights of the tribe to defend the integrity of their own culture in the face of tourism and entrepreneurial demands. As noted above, many tourists are unfamiliar with restrictions on viewing or participating in ceremonial activities, photography, or other activities that they might expect to experience in other tourist settings. For many tourists, these activities may be the precise reason they selected Hopi as a tourist destination. A tourism project must find ways to provide for positive tourist experiences without compromising key Hopi traditions and values.

5. Theoretical Framework

The conceptual framework for this study takes into account core values of Hopi culture. The benefits of a globalized world have come at a high price for many cultures, especially those already marginalized by other historical factors. Despite their promise for economic benefit, Western-style business methods and entrepreneurship which reinforce neo-liberal values are implicated in the compromise or eradication of traditional cultural values of many peoples (Swanson and DeVereaux, 2011). Walle (1998) notes, 'The business school paradigm views tourism, first and foremost, as a business; proponents embracing this perspective assert that business perspectives should be presented first as an overarching model or paradigm [...]' (p. 96).

A satisfying definition of entrepreneurship is difficult to find. Some authors unhelpfully trace its history to the French *entreprendre* meaning 'to undertake'. In its most simplistic meaning, an entrepreneur is someone who starts a business; the term is thus used as a synonym for 'small business owner' or a person who derives her primary income from a business she owns. A more developed definition understands entrepreneurship as a means for wealth creation, typically using capital secured from an outside source. Key to understanding the concept, however, seems to be that entrepreneurs operate to maximize individual benefit at the cost of other values.

Licht (2007) suggests that entrepreneurs rate power and achievement above traditional cultural values, religion, and universalism (characterized, for example, by traits of social justice, unity with nature, and protecting the environment) and notes that many facets of entrepreneurship apply especially to Western industrialized nations (p. 43). 'The underlying

behavioral concept of entrepreneurship includes assumptions about capitalism and the Protestant work ethic, which are not easily transferable to non-Western [contexts]' (Noseleit, 2010, p. 42). Some researchers have defined entrepreneurs as predators rather than risk takers (Villette, Vuillermot, and Holoch, 2009). Risk taking and innovation appear as frequent themes in many definitions of the term (Knight, 1967; Drucker, 1970). J.S. Mill (1848) believed that risk was a distinguishing feature between entrepreneurs and managers. A later definition (Schumpeter, 1950) understands the entrepreneur as the driving force behind economic growth and change.

It is clear that these many definitions emphasize individual over communal action, including the following which states, 'Entrepreneurship is a process by which individuals – either on their own or inside organizations – pursue opportunities without regard to the resources they currently control' (Stevenson, Roberts, and Grousbeck, 1989). In other words,

development. The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) defines it as 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (1987, p. 43).

Sustainable entrepreneurship values the use of entrepreneurial methods and economic means to sustain a particular way of life. It may be used, more commonly, to speak about environmental preservation or ecological sustainability, for example that seeks to preserve clean water resources used for food production or the biodiversity of tribal forest land used for hunting and harvest. It is also used, as in the present article, to include preservation and sustainability of cultural traditions and values. For example, prohibiting artificial snow on sacred mountain peaks may be important to preserve the continuity and sanctity of ceremonial rituals that ensure spiritual well-being of the tribe. Sustainable entrepreneurship methods would seek entrepreneurial

“AN ADDITIONAL CONCERN FOR THIS STUDY IS THE POTENTIAL FOR SUBVERSION OF THE HOPI WAY FROM INCREASED MARKET AND OTHER ECONOMIC PRESSURES STEMMING FROM CONTEMPORARY, GLOBALIZED SYSTEMS THAT INTERACT WITH THE HOPI TRIBE AND ITS MEMBERS.”

entrepreneurial activities typically aim at wealth production as a primary goal rather than the goals of sustaining, maintaining or preserving resources – cultural or otherwise.

For the Hopi, work is not a secular activity distinct from spiritual life (Griffin-Pierce, p 94). The work ethic it embodies is strongly linked to Hopi religious beliefs. Systems of barter still exist and a significant number of artisan and craft items made by some individuals are intended solely for gift-giving or household use rather than for economic gain, according to Hopi informants. The above-noted characteristics of entrepreneurship therefore clearly conflict with many core Hopi values. Likewise, commercialization of traditional culture is a factor that risks undermining and changing traditional cultures in ways that challenge tribal rights to determine appropriate use of heritage and to limit and prevent use of cultural goods whose spiritual value may be otherwise diminished. 'Loss of authenticity and exploitation are often inevitable consequences of mass tourism development' (Smith, p. 47). For these reasons the use of entrepreneurial methods incorporating cultural sustainability are important. Application of sustainable entrepreneurship has grown rapidly from its earliest use as sensitivity to environmental and ecological concerns in economic

solutions that ensure the time, resources, internal and external tolerance and social and political environment for enhancement and exercise of cultural citizenship rights. Given Hopi's integration of religious practices into everyday living, sustainable entrepreneurship models would maximize economic benefit while ensuring appropriate autonomy to maintain religious obligations. A Hopi-owned business, for example, may be more likely to grant time away from work for exercise of religious rights even if they resulted in a lengthy absence. The present state of Hopi economy and its over-reliance on outside funding (U.S. federal grants, state grants and non-profit foundations) to support essential services make attaining such goals difficult. Informants note that some ceremonies have been shortened or are performed over weekends instead of weekdays. Likewise, introduction of contemporary western entrepreneurial models have privileged the authority of these models over other possibilities. The concept of sustainable entrepreneurship, in contrast, encapsulates key development and sustainability values relating to Hopi culture and artistic expression, and autonomy through individual and communal entrepreneurial initiatives.

Cultural sustainability focuses on the preservation of cultural heritage and identity. An additional concern for this study is the potential for

subversion of the Hopi Way from increased market and other economic pressures stemming from contemporary, globalized systems that interact with the Hopi tribe and its members. Market-based entrepreneurial practices typically position economic utility and material self-interest as intrinsic to any economic activity. The influx of tourism and its potential negative effects is also a concern. The concept of cultural sustainability has been recognized in the area of tourism where it is defined as 'the ability of people to retain or adapt elements of their culture which distinguish them from other people' (Mowforth & Munt, 2003, p. 99). The negative effects of tourism on the cultures of developing countries have been recognized, despite tourism's promises for economic benefit.

Societies may be able to continue functioning in social harmony despite the effects of changes brought about by a new input such as tourists. But the relationships within that society, the mores of interaction, the styles of life, the customs and traditions are all subject to change through the introduction of visitors with different habits, styles, customs and means of exchange [...] Cultural influences from even a small influx of tourists are inevitable and may be insidious [...] (Ibid).

Additional threats to Hopi cultural identity are the result of the settlement of displaced Native Americans, such as members of the Navajo Nation, on Hopi land, US government-sanctioned efforts to sell Hopi communal land to private owners, land development and shared land use. One controversy alluded to in this article concerns use of reclaimed water by a ski-resort company to make artificial snow on the San Francisco Peaks above the city of Flagstaff. The Hopi believe this will violate the sacredness of the peaks as the home of the spirit beings – *katsinam* – that provide for the well-being of the tribe. The controversy pits the integrity of their cultural practices against the economic desires of private enterprise and the leisure rights of skiers.

The principle of *cultural citizenship* also encompasses the values of cultural identity rights. It is 'a framework created around a communal idea; that of a multicultural society where the rights of cultural groups to maintain their distinct identity separate from the dominant or majority cultural groups is guaranteed' (DeVereaux 2008, p14). As a policy concept it seeks recognition and empowerment of cultural groups, especially regarding inclusion (Delanty, 2003).

Cultural uniqueness is empowering in that it allows for politically, economically, and socially unencumbered expression of the fullest range of cultural representations such as religious and spiritual practices, native language, native costume, educational practices, and other articulations of

cultural integrity. Exerting these rights establishes cultural groups as the primary definers of their own identity. 'The power to name, create meaning, construct personal biographies and narratives by gaining control over the flow of information, goods and cultural processes is an important dimension of citizenship as an active process' (Delanty, 2003, p 6). Hopi rights to cultural integrity and the full exercise of cultural expression were undermined historically by policy and practice due to interventions by US and state governments.

These included prohibitions against engaging in ceremonial dances and dressing in native costumes, removal of children from their homes to receive Christian instruction, and many humiliating practices such as forced cutting of male tribal members' hair. Photographic records and written accounts were often used to document violations of rules against Hopi cultural practices, hence the continued disallowance of photography and other record-keeping on Hopi lands.

Cultural citizenship is therefore an appropriate framework in the case of the Hopi whose claims to define and express their unique culture have been undermined since their occupation of their present location. The concept recognizes the centrality of culture to human development (Mercer 2002) and the compromise of these rights as detracting from this aim. Cultural citizenship is recognized, therefore, as an essential right for individuals of any cultural group.

6. The Research Process

A necessity for engaging in a research process with the Hopi people was developing a relationship of trust and commitment with tribal members. To this end, a committee of volunteers was formed under the loose direction of HORC. The Hopi members of the committee were active participants in providing background information to the researchers, in legitimizing the process to the larger Hopi community and in facilitating processes that might otherwise have impeded the study.

The main objective guiding this research was to determine if there was common ground between the Hopi people and tourists with regard to what both populations desired from tourism that could be reflected within a tourism policy. Critical points included effectively communicating the ideas of the Hopi culture without diminishing its sacred nature, identifying and ensuring that Hopi offers tourists something they are genuinely interested in, creating tourism policies which do not disrupt cultural activity, and ensuring that tourism policies will provide cultural and economic sustainability for the Hopi People.

An important component was the cultural learning that took place. The study was part of a semester long university course in which students learned methods of case study research and actively participated in the research. The researchers provided the Hopi tribe with expert advice in designing the

research, data collection, and eventual interpretation of data. In addition, they provided advice and facilitation relating to the policy process. Hopi participants were the liaison to the Hopi community and served as informants. Recurring themes in these interactions were the balance between secular western ways and the Hopi Way, between village autonomy and central tribal governance and unity, and the social and political positioning that occurs regularly in the conduct of Hopi life but that is virtually hidden to outsiders. Informant testimony and secondary research established that this latter barrier might impede goals of some individual entrepreneurs as well as some intended outcomes from tourism as an effective economic option.

It should be noted that a potential limitation for researchers in conducting this research was their lack of expert knowledge about Hopi culture and traditions. Given that the underlying conceptual framework for the project focused on cultural citizenship and rights and protection of Hopi cultural ways, it could be argued that researchers studying these issues must possess expertise regarding the target culture. In this case, however, researchers determined that lack of expert cultural knowledge did not impede the study because of strong involvement of individual Hopi tribal members and village and Tribal Council representatives. The expertise of these individuals and agencies constituted a satisfactory knowledge framework for the study.

Prior to commencing the research project, researchers and students conducted specific research into Hopi culture and traditions. One steering committee member provided lectures in-class and on-site in her village of Sipaulovi as an introduction to the Hopi tribe and to her village. Key reading texts and other information were consulted as needed. Other relevant documents, e.g. the existing, out-dated Hopi Tourism Policy, the Hopi Constitution, visitor research data and tour operator licensing procedures were also available. Researchers used the process outlined above to design the research project. Opportunities for informal data collection as the result of interaction with these individuals comprise some of the data and findings reported here.

7. Empirical Findings (adapted from DeVereaux & Swanson, 2011)

Researchers used both quantitative and qualitative means to evaluate the interests and needs of the Hopi tribe regarding tourism for economic development and its benefits or disadvantages. A thirteen question survey instrument tested assumptions and attitudes relating to core issues and important cultural values and aims. The survey instrument was intentionally brief to get at core issues relating to Hopi tourism. Prior to administering the survey, predictions from HORC staff and committee members suggested that the survey process was most likely to result in very few responses. Reasons given were: distrust of

outsiders, apathy or distrust regarding the policy process, and unwillingness to participate in any activity associated with the central tribal policy. Nonetheless, 195 surveys were collected from residents representing all 12 Hopi villages over the course of a single day.

The first question was open-ended and was used to determine what, if anything, respondents knew about the existing tourism policy. In coding, any response that indicated some awareness counted as 'aware'. A sampling of answers included 'visitors should check in', 'it is old, not sure if it's enforced' and 'complicated for outside [tour] companies'.

Of the respondents, 17.5% were aware of the existing tourism policy; in contrast 82.5% were unaware of the policy. The next question asked Hopi residents to express as positive, neutral, or negative, their past experiences with non-Hopi visitors. Over half, 55.2% had positive experiences; surprisingly, only 4.6% responded in the negative, with the remaining 40.2% neutral in their experiences with non-Hopi visitors. These responses indicate the need for education regarding any future policy as well as for buy-in from Hopi for a policy that would stimulate tourism enterprises.

The next series of questions asked respondents to agree or disagree with four non-mutually exclusive statements representing opinions regarding the purpose of a tourism policy. The highest percentage of 'agree' answers was in response to the statement 'the purpose of a tourism policy is to ensure minimal intrusion of the living communities at Hopi'. Of the respondents, 94.2% agreed with this statement. The next greatest percentage of 'agree' answers was in response to the statement, 'the purpose of a tourism policy is to protect the safety and well-being of Hopi tribal members', with 90.1% responding in agreement to this statement. Only 86.5% of respondents agreed with the third purpose statement, 'the purpose of a tourism policy is to preserve Hopi tradition,' while the fourth statement, 'the purpose of a tourism policy is to provide employment for Hopi tribal members' had an 80.9 'agree' percentage. Table 1 shows these results. The data show that protection of way of life has high importance for Hopi. While respondents value privacy and protection of personal well-being, protection of the Hopi Way was also rated highly.

Two independent but related questions asked respondents their opinion about policy at the tribal versus the village level. This was intended to address concerns of many Hopi relating to the importance of village autonomy over central tribal authority. Overwhelmingly, 94.3% of respondents answered, 'it was in the interest of the Hopi Tribe to have a well-defined tourism policy'. Similarly, 91.1% of respondents answered, 'it is in the interest of the village to have a well-defined tourism policy'. This indicates that Hopi respondents recognize the value of centralized policy but also find it important to maintain authority over policy issues at the village level.

Survey respondents were also probed about opinions relating to the results of tourism on Hopi.

Purpose statement	Frequency	Percentage*
To protect the safety and well-being of Hopi tribal members	173	90.1
To provide employment for Hopi tribal members	152	80.9
To preserve Hopi tradition	166	86.5
To ensure minimal intrusion into the living communities at Hopi	179	94.2

*Non-mutually exclusive, percentages will not equal 100%

TABLE 1. PURPOSE OF TOURISM ON HOPI

Four non-mutually exclusive statements asked respondents to mark 'yes' or 'no' pertaining to their opinions on the results of a tourism policy. The highest percentage of 'yes' responses, 92.1%, agreed with the statement, 'the result of tourism on Hopi is educating visitors about Hopi traditions and culture'. 88.4% of respondents answered yes to the statement, 'the result of tourism on Hopi is an increase in revenue for Hopi businesses'. Two statements that represented possible problems from tourism were also probed. 45% of respondents indicated that 'the result of tourism on Hopi is an excess in traffic on Hopi lands'. The last statement, also seeking answers to a negative aspect of tourism garnered a 16.9% 'yes' response to the statement, 'the result of tourism on Hopi is more pollution and litter from visitors'.

The importance of these findings is that a predominance of survey respondents finds it important for the Hopi to develop a well-defined tourism policy to protect Hopi culture and economic prosperity. Anticipation of positive outcomes from tourism exceed expectations of negative outcomes, which suggests that respondents see value for development of a tourism initiative for the Hopi tribe. An important component for securing cultural preservation however is establishing separate, though inter-linking policies at both the village and tribal level.

8. The Need for Cultural Education

The survey included only one question probing respondents about beliefs or attitudes relating to education of visitors. As indicated above, 92% of respondents felt this was an important aspect of tourism. Informal and qualitative data support this finding. Future studies may focus more attention on this aspect of Hopi tourism and the ways that existing structures both support and weaken cultural education as a component of tourism.

Among the many poorly or variously understood concepts that present themselves in the field of cultural policy, cultural education is not unique and therefore begs clarification. Concrete definitions,

however, are not easily discovered. In broad strokes, definitions may fall into a few select categories. Some definitions seem to place particular emphasis on the arts and other creative and intellectual accomplishments as central components of the term. In this sense, cultural education would include any form of education 'in which culture or art is the goal or an instrument' (Research Group of Art in Cultural Education, 2011). Other definitions emphasize, instead, the cultural, social, and intellectual heritage of a people in addition to artistic heritage, and count cultural education as concerned with coming to understand and respect cultural values, traditions, and the processes of cultural change of different peoples. This latter understanding of the term more closely adheres to the manner in which the term is used in this article. Cultural education, however, need not be limited to in-group transfer of knowledge. Hopi aims to transfer knowledge of their culture to others can be counted as another goal of cultural education.

Necessary to 'cultural education' in the context of the present article is a support structure to carry out its aims. In the case of the Hopi people, several structural barriers impede effective cultural education that may, in turn, determine the success of policy and the outlook for creative enterprise. These barriers include those that impede in-group knowledge transfer as well as cultural education directed at tourist/visitors.

Cultural education has important implications in the case of the Hopi. In an informal survey, Hopi tour operators and staff also cited educating visitors about Hopi history and sharing Hopi culture as primary reasons for engaging in the tourism enterprise. One informant noted that his clients were exclusively people who visited Hopi to learn more about the tribe, its history, and culture. 'The people I deal with', he said, 'aren't regular tourists. They come here because they really want to learn'. The Hopi prefer the word 'visitor' to the word 'tourist'. They believe it better conveys the type of relationship they wish to have. Indeed, given the high value placed on hospitality as part of the Hopi Way, such a preference makes sense. In addition, expectations of visitors – recipients of hospitality – may be different than those of tourists. As

Result statement	Frequency	Percentage*
Is an increase of revenue for Hopi businesses	167	88.4
Is an excess in traffic on Hopi lands	85	45.0
Is educating visitors about Hopi traditions and culture	174	92.1
Is more pollution and litter from visitors	32	16.9

*Non-mutually exclusive, percentages will not equal 100%

TABLE 2. RESULT OF TOURISM ON HOPI

noted earlier in this article, the latter emphasises commercialism and consumerism. Though in either case, there is an exchange of value, the idea of visitor may place more emphasis on educational, aesthetic, spiritual, or other experiential gains, which may be profoundly different from the traditional concept of tourist. 'If cultural products are sold or consumed' the relationship may be limited to 'the transactional sphere [...] where nothing is due or expected' (DeVereaux 2012). The issue of cultural rights and citizenship of the host culture may be thereby diminished.

It is also worth noting that Hopi believe that obligations for earth stewardship are done on behalf of all people, not the Hopi alone. This means that educating non-Hopi about Hopi values and the Hopi Way need not interfere with religious obligations or cultural values but can, instead, be a means of fulfilling these obligations within the context of a tourism project.

9. Cultural Education and the Hopi People

Similar to other minority cultural groups, Hopi religion, dress, customs, and language have been threatened by dominant western white culture. Though Hopi were not targeted for eradication and did not suffer displacement from homelands as did other Native American tribes, aggressive efforts to instil western values have threatened the Hopi Way.

Whites... have for the most part perceived the Hopi as "primitive," as somewhat less than human, and have attempted to forcibly change the Hopi Way of being in terms of their own "civilized" cultural patterns (Loftin, 2003, p. 65).

The first off-reservation school for native Americans funded by the United States Government was organized and founded by Richard Henry Pratt in 1879 (Slivka, 2011, p. 1). While far from the

contemporary ideals embodied in the concept 'cross-cultural education', the aim was to instruct native American children in English and to provide a means of employment through manual training – a practice devised by Pratt to discourage migration to cities and to 'provide jobs for rural folk'.

Policies and practices such as these have had the effect of diminishing or erasing cultural knowledge, especially knowledge traditionally passed down from one generation to the next. As an oral culture, the Hopi have maintained few written records of their history. Much available research is conducted by non-Hopi. Prohibitions preventing exercise of cultural rights such as described above meant that many Hopi were not schooled in Hopi language and customs thereby preventing the passing down of knowledge. One informant in the present study noted that her four-year old son was one of only two children of his age in the entire tribe that could speak Hopi. Because many Hopi families do not speak the language regularly at home, children must learn Hopi in school as a second language.

Likewise, not all Hopi tribal members participate in Hopi culture. In earlier centuries, many Hopi were converted to Christianity. Of those who continue to identify with Hopi spirituality some do not participate in religious ceremonies especially given that tribal ceremonies are time-consuming; some take place over the course of many days. These factors have an impact on cultural knowledge. As in any culture, knowledge of traditional values, customs, practices, and histories may be both fragmented and diluted. Given the small population of the Hopi, however, the problem may have additional implications in terms of the integrity and authenticity of tribal customs and traditions, though these have economic potential for attracting cultural tourists.

Cultural knowledge is evidently important in developing relationships between members of differing cultures and can therefore encourage preservation of culture. At the same time it provides opportunities for economic gain through tourism as many visitors seek experiences where education about another culture is featured. From the tourist point of view, cultural

education may occur from exposure to an environment different from one's own. Graburn (1989) explains that travel is a quest for meaning and renewal. Less obvious, however, are the ways in which indigenous cultural tradition can impede these aims. Hopi entrepreneurs and governmental bodies interested in promoting tourism should address these barriers as an important component of the cultural education mix.

While it is clear that the historical past is a construction of human memory, for marginalized groups whose cultural past has often been commandeered by dominant cultures for the latter's ends, this truism poses significant problems. As noted above, the conditions of knowledge transfer for Hopi and other Native Americans have resulted in such things as loss of language, customs, and history. The Hopi are acutely aware of what they have lost and that much claimed knowledge is pieced together from the remnants of imprecise oral and written records.

Recapturing and owning their past is an important step in political and economic empowerment of the Hopi. This is true on both the macro level – the tribe in relation to the dominant US culture – as well as on the micro level, i.e., the individual Hopi who may seek empowerment for individual benefit within the tribe or for economic self-betterment. Notably, Hopi place great importance on who is permitted to tell the story of their culture and what story is told. Hopi report acute sensitivity to misrepresentations of their culture and history. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, for example, US Government policies directed toward Native Americans made exercise of cultural rights not only difficult, but often illegal, and documentation was used to catch individuals in the act of performing the so-called illegal activities. As a result, the Hopi place great importance on accurate representations of their culture both for reasons of security and for reasons of cultural integrity. Hopi are as concerned with the potential for misrepresentation of their culture by other Hopi as by non-Hopi.

Hopi society and its complex social relations, lineage, and clan groupings impose additional restrictions on cultural knowledge transfer. Clemmer notes that 'clan and lineage each denotes a degree of inclusion or exclusion' (1995, p. 314). In the past, Hopi have sought to protect tribal cultural expression and ritual knowledge from outsiders. But, there is also a tradition of keeping secrets as a means of protecting political power within the tribe. Several members of the research steering committee noted that regarding relationships among Hopi of differing villages and clans, 'we don't trust each other'. One informant stated, 'We have to get along because my daughter might marry his son'. Behind-the-scenes, or away from the researchers' observation, however, much positioning and bargaining occurred. While this is typical for any cultural group, it must be stated again that the small number of Hopi and the relatively small geographical area covered by each individual village heightens the effects of divisiveness in a way that may impact economic aims. The researchers also noted a reluctance to offer or receive advice between villages.

Researchers wondered why one informant, who had been instrumental in designing an effective structure for handling tourism in her village, could not organize a system for providing training to other villages interested in duplicating her success. In a traditional entrepreneurial model, she could be expected to advertise her skills and provide workshops to other Hopi, for a fee, as a means of expanding her income. The informant stated that rather than approach residents of other villages, she would have to wait until they requested her assistance. A more forward approach would be regarded as an encroachment on their autonomy.

Notably, it was not clear to researchers how permission was granted that allowed some activities and not others. The researchers were sometimes allowed to take photos of apparently restricted areas but not of others. Some photos were allowed for personal use only while others had no apparent limitations. Secondary research indicates that as clans exert differing levels of power within the tribe, factors relating to clan affiliation may be at work. Whitely (1999) also notes, 'The primary source of power in Hopi society lies in esoteric ritual knowledge' (p. 311).

Additional challenges relating to cultural education concern clan affiliation and the matrilineal and patrilineal patterns in transferring cultural and ritual knowledge. While the overall structure of Hopi inheritance is matrilineal, some types of knowledge are alternately controlled. Whitely (1986) notes the 'significance of patrilineal relationships for social integration' (p. 69). In addition, instruction of males and females regarding traditions, customs, and histories differs significantly as do practices that relate to ritual. For example, one informant upon seeing a feather on the ground noted that she wasn't allowed to pick it up because of prohibitions relating to ritual practices. Only males may pick them up, though they may give them to a female.

Understanding these practices in the context of both tourism and preservation of culture suggests that reliance on oral tradition, gender limitations on transferring culture knowledge, and socio-political realities relating to village and clan divisions may strongly impact the body of knowledge available to the tribe for its own use or for its use in the tourism context. An additional limitation is secrecy as an institutionalized aspect of Hopi religious practice. In many cases, a single person is the sole surviving possessor of secret knowledge. Understandably there is reluctance, for religious reasons, to divulge the secret. Nonetheless, another female informant told researchers she regretted that she and her sisters had not insisted that family elders divulge these secrets. Since the deaths of these elders, valuable cultural knowledge has been lost.

Finally, there is the case of clan and village ownership of cultural and ritual knowledge as well as ownership of cultural forms. 'Through secrecy, knowledge takes on the character of property' (Whiteley, 1999, p. 311). An example of this

in practice may be the negative case, cited by Whiteley (1986) of rituals at Third Mesa. He notes:

In the twentieth century, ceremonial activity declined at Third Mesa outside of third-order societies so that the most important ceremonial associations are now part of historical tradition "rather than a nexus of social action" (p. 71).

This may explain, in part, the openness of Third Mesa to tourism activities such that economic enterprises may have developed for want of political power and prestige. Entrepreneurship at Third Mesa villages is in fact, highly developed compared to other villages. The point illustrates, however, that ritual knowledge understood as property is a factor to consider when contemplating tribal-wide tourism initiatives and policies.

Also worth noting is that some entrepreneurs have used cultural knowledge as a commodity for personal entrepreneurial gain. Tour operators provide visits to historical and sacred sites. Complaints about unlicensed guides focus on the fragility of sites and their possible destruction by uninformed guides as well as on whether information given about tribal history and culture is accurate. A common complaint from authorized tour operators engaged in licensed tourism activities is that no one can verify that unauthorized individuals are 'telling the right story'. One informant states, 'We don't know what they are telling [visitors]'. An underlying factor, however, may also be competition for tourist trade between licensed and unlicensed tour operators. One means to resolve these issues may be for villages providing tours to also provide training workshops for guides. In the case of Sipaulovi, a training course, test and certification are required. This also suggests a need to standardize the Hopi story. This can be a benefit to tourism interests for the reason that competing stories among villages and clans may have a negative impact on visitors' experiences of Hopi as contested versions may be perceived as a lack of authenticity. Standardization of message also facilitates the training process and may aid in quality control.

Given the data, above, regarding the political dimensions of cultural knowledge and knowledge transfer, however, one may legitimately question whether the standard version gives preference to more powerful clans, which may then compromise authenticity in another direction and may contribute to continued disempowerment of other clans. One might legitimately object, as well, that alternate accounts could serve to enhance rather than diminish the visitor experience. Due to the relatively small size of occupied Hopi land and population, however, multiple competing accounts of Hopi history and tradition may, indeed, have the negative effect suggested above. Because cultural knowledge is already diluted within the tribe these issues have implications for cultural knowledge of tribal members and transfer of

knowledge to future generations and thus merit further investigation.

Conclusion

Cultural tourism professionals must come to understand that their profession is a policy science 'whose primary allegiance is to host cultures' (Walle, p. 86) rather than simply a profession concerned with entrepreneurship and commercial gain. Economic, educational and political realities pose challenges to indigenous and marginalized peoples. While the potential for exploitation exists (and has occurred) there is also the opportunity for creative enterprises, especially in conjunction with tourism, to develop as viable options for economic betterment. Among barriers are also those relating to cultural education for tribal members, visitors, and entrepreneurs. Culturally sustainable models for creative enterprise must consider the impact on cultural groups where economic gain may not be the sole or primary value. Entrepreneurial models must allow for adaptation to cultural realities of the host culture. Collaboration is imperative and must include the means for empowerment of the cultural group in making decisions about cultural values as part of the overall entrepreneurial aims. Cultural education is also important for achieving economic and political goals. Structures within the culture community however may challenge political and economic empowerment of the group within the wider dominant culture.

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Projects as the Institutional Context for Cultural Managers

A critical approach

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the differences between normative and narrative project interpretations. The aim is to reinterpret characteristic features of project management as narrative constructions. The narrative project approach represents a combination of the socio-semiotic theory of organising (Cooren, 2000) and critical project perspectives (Cicmil & Williams & Thomas & Hodgson 2006; Pollack 2007) which are applied to a narrative interpretation of projects. The narrative approach to projects is illustrated with the examples of two cases: an EU funded development project in the field of event management and an artistic project for the European capital of Culture 2011. The paper suggests how the narrative project interpretation could be applied to the cultural management practices, R&D activities and education.

Keywords:

Cultural management

Event management

Projects

Organisational discourse

Analysis

Narrative analysis

Introduction

This paper discusses the role of project management from the cultural manager's viewpoint. Projects are an important part of cultural management (e.g. Klein 2008). Event production and many development activities, for example, in the field of culture are carried out by projects. Projects are used for organisational changes and to achieve innovative outputs. For cultural managers and for R&D activities, the local institutional context is - at least to some extent - a series of projects. This is why project management appears to be an important part of curricula in cultural management studies.

Projects seem to be institutionalised in the practices of cultural management. Therefore it is useful to try to understand the effects of the projects on cultural management. To better understand the project reality, it is not enough to just try to manage projects as effectively as possible. The project itself is becoming a contradictory phenomenon. Many organisational and project researchers are becoming more critical about the ontological assumptions of contemporary project management.

My aim in this conceptual article is to re-describe the project, suggest new vocabularies to be used when interpreting projects and stimulate the debate on the impact of different interpretations of project ontologies. This paper develops a theoretical framework for interpreting project practices. This method is borrowed from Rorty (1989) and it has been applied to an organisational context for example by Hatch (1999). I apply narrative vocabulary which is mainly based on the ideas of Cooren (2000), Taylor (1993), Taylor and van Every (2000) and Boje and Rosile (2003) to two projects executed in the field of cultural management. The material presented below consists of the previous writings in the fields of project management, organisational discourse analysis and event management. The illustrative case studies are derived from my experience as a participating researcher in two projects. There are two important sources that make the experience visible. First, the reports, interviews and other documents produced during the projects are documented traces of the actual experience. Second, the instructions, brochures and software are part of the daily experience of every project manager.

This paper first discusses the discursive approach to institutions and outlines two different interpretations of projects: the normative and the critical approach to projects. The second section focuses on one critical project interpretation i.e. the narrative interpretation of projects. In the next sections, I illustrate general aspects of the narrative interpretation in two cases. In the first case, I show how nonhuman agents control and make humans do certain things during the project process. The institutional context in this case is the European Capital of Culture. In the second case, I show how the projects manage to be creative despite strict control. The institutional context in this case is an EU funded

development project. I conclude by proposing how the narrative project interpretation could be applied to the practices of cultural management, R&D activities and education.

1. Projects as the institutional context of cultural management

In this paper, I understand institutions as the "products of the discursive activity that influence actions" (Phillips & Lawrence & Hardy, 2004). In this view, texts play a significant role in institutions. Texts that are common in certain contexts make some ways of thinking and acting possible and others impossible. For cultural productions, project management constitutes that kind of institutional context where texts have an important role. Texts in the institutional context are understood not only as written documents. Conversations and computer software are also in this view "texts". They are all embedded in discourses that produce or call into question institutions. Not all texts have the same possibility to support the dominating discourse or produce competing discourses. Texts that are produced by actors who have the legitimate position to speak in a field, for example, have more influence on the discourse that produces institutions. Another feature which makes a text influential in the construction of an institution is the type of text. Texts which are "recognisable, interpretable, and usable in other organisations are more likely to become embedded in a discourse than texts that do not" (Phillips & Lawrence & Hardy, 2004: 643). This means that genres that are easy to recognise provide a template for texts to influence the discourse. Furthermore, texts referring to other texts that are widely known in other contexts and other well-established discourses have better possibilities to have influence on the discourse and institutions. In this way, projects could be understood as institutions which are produced in texts that are embedded in discourses concerning project management. The use of the institutionalised tool "project management" in the context of cultural production means that the values, the assumptions and practices of the project management ideals are applied in cultural management as well.

I call the institutionalised way of speaking about them and executing projects normative project management. This normative, mainstream way to study and manage projects is based on the scientific and positivist assumptions of project ontology (see Pollack, 2007). This means that project organisations are understood as neutral tools that can be clearly defined and applied to projects of all kinds. The project tool is used to achieve something that is well known beforehand. The planning of a project is a crucial part of the project management. The outcome of this planning is considered as a perfect future which should be achieved by the implementation of the well-planned tasks of the project. The resources, tasks and outcomes of a project are transformed countable units and a project is managed by the extensive use of

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project management tools. This makes project management deterministic, inflexible and control oriented. There is a strong tendency to define the project as a universal standard. These features of a project are institutionalised by a wide series of handbooks, standards and project management education.

Project management is a common practice in many professional fields, including cultural and event management. In event and festival management, project management is the main production tool. Event management and project management are actually merging. Project management has many benefits. For example, it enables one to produce a workable plan for the whole event production (Bowdin & Allen & O'Toole & Harris & McDonnell, 2011). Many other activities in the field of culture resemble the management practices of project management such as theatre production or art exhibitions to name a couple. Project management is not used only for simple one time endeavours but as a general tool for development and innovation as well. Lindgren and Packendorf (2006) argue that "in several sectors of society (such as cultural life, European Union programmes, research and so on) the project is the only work form available, which means that there is a severe risk that the division into different temporary projects makes it impossible to implement long-term strategies".

The critical approach questions the universal and standardised model of the project. There is a growing body of literature which criticises the assumptions of normative, mainstream project management (e.g. Cicmil & Williams & Thomas & Hodgson, 2006; Johansson, Löfström & Ohlsson 2007; Pollack, 2007). According to the critical view, the normative model of the project removes some questions, concerning ethics and politics for example, from the agenda of managing projects. The normative approach leads to a loss of reflexive and alternative thinking about projects. The critical approach emphasises the importance of looking at projects as social phenomena which are not neutral tools, but socially constructed in the interaction among people.

According to the critics there is a need for empirical analysis to understand human action in projects as well as a theoretical shift from the normative approaches towards a more developed one which focuses on practical action and lived experience.

In event and festival management the limitations of project management have been realised for example in connection with innovation and creativity. The project management standards enhance planning as a crucial part of project management. For festivals to be successful there is a constant need for improving and renewing (Getz, 2002). However, the innovation process is difficult to plan or understand only as a part of one single, independent project (Larson, 2009). Another limitation is that project management can become an end in itself and this might make creativity disappear (Bowdin & co 2011). Thus, there seems to be a need to reconsider the project management institution in general and in the field of cultural management specifically.

2. Narrative approach to projects

The critical approach to project management has made evident the weaknesses of project management, but there are still a few competing ideas for interpreting the processes and the practices of project reality. The normative project management uses expressions that are common in natural sciences. The project organisation is interpreted as a machine which refines raw material in a well-designed process into high quality, innovative products. The machine as a metaphor is very useful and easy to adapt to many industries where project management is applied. In cultural management, however, this kind of interpretation doesn't make sense. The experienced reality during creative production could be better described by using other sources of root metaphors.

Metaphors are widely used in organisational studies in theory building and redefining organisational phenomena (e.g. Hatch & Yanow 2008, Corneliessen 2004, Cooren 2012, Alvesson & Kärreman 2007). One

of the perspectives on project management meeting the needs of the critical approach is the narrative interpretation of projects. Metaphorical thinking about project organisations reflects changes in the social construction of projects. I use the narrative interpretation as a metaphor for the purpose of re-describing the ontology of projects.

The narrative approach focuses on the idea that, because the reality in organisations is so fuzzy and full of contradictory signals, the only way to make sense of what is going on, is to construct stories (Weick, 1995). People are narrating all the time and they have a common understanding of how things might proceed under certain conditions. This narrative rationality is the way people make decisions and communicate. (Fisher, 2009.) In real life situations people make decisions based on good reasons and not only on careful analysis of cause and effect. The normative project management is based on natural sciences and projects are managed by traditional rationality, which “implies some sort of hierarchical system, a community in which some persons are qualified to judge and to lead and some other persons to follow” (Fisher, 2009, 66). The world is seen as a rational puzzle which can be (and should be) managed by logical analysis. This mechanistic way to interpret the project reality may be problematic in some situations. Therefore, the use of alternative interpretations like narrativity could make better sense.

The difference between normative and narrative approaches is evident e.g. when reporting the project outcomes. Reporting does not reflect the narrative and flexible practices that are part of the daily work especially in creative cultural production. When creating new artistic productions or developing new organisational models there is a need for improvisational space. This is in contradiction to the normative project approach where the project activities are evaluated in terms of the fictional plan, but not to the experiences and decisions made during the real activities. This may lead to double fiction where the plan is consistent with the report but both are fictional. The changes made during the artistic production might be considered suspicious and changes in the budget can be difficult to accomplish in administration. The institutional and political context and its bureaucratic control seem to be in conflict with the creative activities of project implementation.

The use of narrative vocabulary offers an interpretative framework to understand project

practices. The narrative constructions of projects create tragic and epic story lines. These story lines are narrative sense-making forms that Aristotle described in Poetics. In organisational studies these narrative interpretations are used to analyse the communicative constitution of organisations (e.g. Boje & Rosile, 2003; Cooren 2000). Epic refers to the multiversity of ongoing, ending and starting tragic narratives that are from some viewpoint significant to the project reality. To understand the project reality in a narrative manner, we need to construct the larger epic context of tragic projects. The tragic narration has a clear beginning, certain phases that follow each other and a definitive ending. A tragic narration has clear main figures and it is quite easy to communicate and reproduce in written or spoken stories. The epic reality of projects is an entity of many different and even contradictory tragic project narratives. The narrative interpretation of projects emphasises the role of power, conflicts and communication more clearly than does the normative project approach. Furthermore, the narrative interpretation of projects takes into consideration people's actions, their personal experience, personal networks, communication and interpretations. This is how the narrative interpretation of projects significantly explains the social impact of projects.

In organisational life, the narrative viewpoints are expressed in many ways and by actors of a different kind. Especially the nonhuman agents are important when they are doing something on behalf of an actor. In an institutional context, for example, this agency can be made visible and active by the use of documents, brochures and forms. These nonhuman agents make things happen and they really have influence in the daily activities, even though they are not conscious beings (Cooren, 2004). In this way, the nonhuman agents have an important role in organisations and they tell a very significant story in each project. Thus, the nonhuman agents are crucial in maintaining the project institution, when the written documents, software and other nonhuman actors are interpreted in a narrative way. The main features of the normative and narrative interpretation are summed up in Table 1. These features are meant to be impulses to interpret projects from different viewpoints, not excluding descriptions.

“THE
USE OF NARRATIVE
VOCABULARY
OFFERS AN
INTERPRETATIVE
FRAMEWORK TO
UNDERSTAND
PROJECT
PRACTICES.”

NORMATIVE	NARRATIVE
The project is a limited entity which can be managed externally	The project is an independent, nonhuman actor and an epic narration with many actors
The project tools represent the project reality	The project tools are interpretations of the project reality
The change to be achieved in a project is known in advance	The change to be achieved in a project is constructed during the project activities
The change to be achieved in a project is based on verified needs	The change to be achieved in a project is based on many different inspirers
The conflicts in the project organisation are problems to be solved	The conflicts in the project constitute a surprising turn of events
The project is a tragic narration with a clear beginning and ending	The project is an epic narration with multiple and unclear origins with no clear ending
The project is a neutral tool	The project is an exercise of power
The management of project focuses on control	The management of a project focuses on experiences, choices and legitimisation

TABLE 1. THE FEATURES OF THE NORMATIVE AND NARRATIVE PROJECT INTERPRETATIONS

3. Project management tools as controlling agents

One of the best-known brands in the field of cultural events is the European Capitals of Culture. According to the European Commission (2009) this initiative of the European Union is meant to make Europeans aware of what they have in common. The purpose of the European Capitals of Culture initiative is to show that culture, art and creativity are as important as technology, commerce and the economy. The initiative has been very successful and the impacts of the events of the Capital of Culture have been intensively documented in many studies (e.g. Impacts 08, 2010).

The brochure called European Capitals of Culture: the Road to Success From 1985 to 2010 (2009) characterises “the balance between political support and artistic freedom” as “one of the main challenges most capitals face”. This challenge certainly offers a common experience for all those who have been producing an event for a European Capitals of Culture. This common challenge is best experienced in the practice of production. The European Capitals of Culture is organised as a project consisting of several events, exhibitions etc. which are managed by the standards of project management. Project management has its roots in technology and one of its benefits is to enable the control of the inputs and outputs efficiently. This control guarantees that the goals of a project will be implemented as planned. This makes it possible to establish programmes that have overall objectives. These objectives are then achieved with separate projects that serve the same objectives. This kind of system is reminiscent of well-planned machinery.

The project as a machine is an independent organisation which has its own identity. This identity is made visible by written documents and software applications – project management tools. These

management tools and documents are a crucial part of project management, because only the written traces of the action can be measured and used as a means of control and steering. In this sense, projects are hybrids of human action and nonhuman agents. In this section, my purpose is to illustrate the hybridity of human beings and project management tools. First, I list the different software applications that were used during one project that was executed as part of the European Capital of Culture in Turku 2011. Second, I discuss how these important tools of project management influenced daily practices. Before I present the software, I also briefly describe the background of the project.

One of the themes of Turku 2011 were “memories and truths” (Turku 2011 Programme 2010). A network of artistic actors and some universities of applied sciences planned and made an application, because they had some prior experience in producing events which obviously fit the programme. The parent organisation of the project was a university of applied sciences. The idea was to collect narrow-film material from the local residents, to digitise the material and to create a performance combining film material and music performed with strings. For the students of the universities of applied sciences, the project was aimed at offering possibilities to learn in a real life, high level artistic project. The project plan was written in 2007 and the application was submitted in May 2008. The outcome of the project was a concert that took place in April 2011 as part of the European Capitals of Culture programme.

Because the balance between the political level and the artistic execution seems to be problematic in European Capitals of Culture projects, I focus on project management tools. I believe that these nonhuman agents and the traces they leave can highlight some characteristic features of producing the project institution. The nonhuman actors such as machines, documents, policies, signs and procedures

Project management tools provided by Turku 2011 Foundation	Project management tools provided by the parent organisation	Office software
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Application form - Reporting tool - Material data bank - Final reporting tool - Open website for the project 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Working time monitoring - Billing - Travelling - Project documents - General ledger - Evaluation application 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Spreadsheet - Word processing - Email

TABLE 2. THE PROJECT MANAGEMENT TOOLS USED DURING THE PROJECT EXECUTION

(Castor & Cooren, 2006) are a crucial part in organising. They participate in the daily organisational life. In project management these nonhuman agents play an important role when the normative project institution is produced. As an illustrative example, I list the software used during the project (Table 2). In this context, I consider as “software” all the computer applications I used during the planning, implementation and reporting of the project. The applications that were directly designed for the project management were provided by the Turku 2011 Foundation. The parent organisation of the project had its own tools for project management, and common office software applications were also used for the actual work.

These tools were all necessary during all the phases of the project cycle. The tools provided by the Turku 2011 Foundation were specifically designed for the projects of the European Capitals of Culture programme. The data produced for reporting was generated by the applications provided by the university of applied sciences (parent organisation). These applications are used in all projects and daily activities of the parent organisation. The office software applications cover the most general and globally known multi-purpose office applications which were mainly used to produce texts that were later copied to the project management tools.

Project applications have their own manuals and instructions that make the users choose expressions of a certain kind and to report certain aspects of the project. The project applications are typically electronic forms. These texts invite humans to follow specific organisational pathways (Cooren, 2004) which could be interpreted as narratives. The organisational texts in all forms: in print or as electronic forms are nonhuman agents that are working on behalf of some agency with their own agendas. In general, forms have two writers, the designer of the form – the first writer – and the user of the form – the second writer (McLean & Hoskin, 1998). The writers are both working on behalf of their given agency, and they are not actually expressing themselves, but giving a voice to many different actors. The first writer is giving a voice to the organisational standards that are part of the European Capitals of Culture in general and the Turku 2011 Foundation especially. The second writer is filling out the form on the behalf of many actors who were

participating in the actual production. The second writer is constructing a narrative that can be filled in on the form. This narrative is a result of observations, documents and many informal and formal conversations, which cannot be reproduced directly in the context of the form. This kind of writing is necessary to get comparable narratives and some measurable figures of the project practices but on the other hand the use of forms simplifies the experienced reality. The software applications and the texts written with the applications are agents that are supposed to tell narratives that are in concert with the ideals of the first writer, who act for the normative project rationality and the objectives of the programme. The system for the project management tools (Figure 1) includes the idea of a normative project. In this system of text based project management tools the project managers write their narratives about the projects.

The project is an independent actor with its own identity proved by an application number and an account number. This identity is made visible and manageable by documents that are written by using the electronic forms. These documents are the final traces that are left of the production. Of course the products – the video or audio recordings of the artistic output for example – could be archived as well, but the actual management and production are made durable by the documents. Therefore, these documents are also independent actors which act on behalf of the independent project organisation. These documents tell a narrative of the project organisation. This narrative is then evaluated and sanctioned by the sponsors and parent organisations. This is how the project organisation and its actions are constructed in advance in the application form and later in the evaluation form.

In an institutional context where artistic production is managed by the standards of project management some problems might appear that I consider as a symptom of the tension between artistic freedom and the political support. The intensive use of computer-based project management tools makes it possible to choose projects that are supposed to support the overall objectives of a larger programme – such as The European Capitals of Culture in general – and the specific objectives of the cultural capitals especially. According to the project logic the plan is made before the actual artistic production starts. Still, there may be remarkable changes during the project

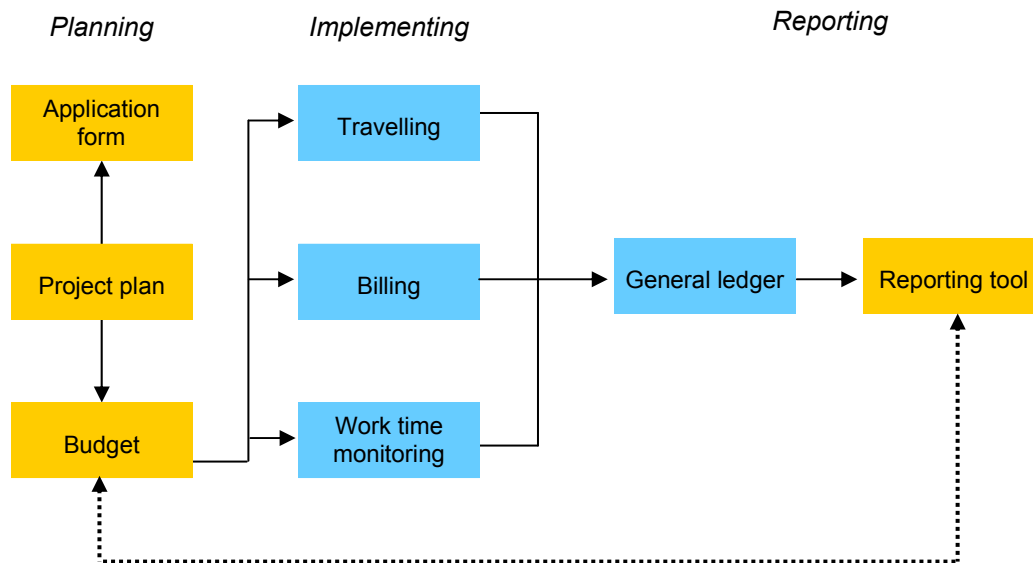


FIGURE 1. THE SYSTEM OF THE PROJECT MANAGEMENT TOOLS.

implementation. The project progress is evaluated in regards to the plan, not the actual experience. This encourages the project managers to write reports in regard to the plan first and secondly in regard to the actual practice during the implementation of the project.

From the viewpoint of project management the most challenging task during the project was to translate the fuzzy reality of working practices to measurable task units with plausible explanations. One of the characteristics of project management is to measure and control the process, not only the outcome. This makes it possible to follow the progress of the project. On the other hand, this kind of approach emphasises the role of the plan and controlling tools at the cost of the actual experience. If the project team members are working in larger organisations which have their own project management tools, the members of the project team are supposed to report to both (or even more) organisations: the parent organisation(s) and the project organisation(s). This kind of situation is not uncommon. For example, in Turku 2011 (2008) some 20% of the applicants were public sector actors, and many of the projects were produced by associations of several organisations. Following the reporting practices of different organisations may lead to contradictory expectations. I noticed expectations of this kind while producing the project. The software for monitoring working time of the parent organisation didn't accept more than a certain amount of working hours weekly. If the hours exceeded the monthly amount of working hours, the wages paid by the hour decreased. This would have led to changes in the budget and the project plan. The changes in the plan may have involved negotiations and extra reporting. Therefore, the reporting tools led to reporting only the working hours that didn't exceed

the standard working hours. The extra working hours were then reported next month, when the actual work was already done. The number of the working hours was the same, but the moment was not.

This practice means that project workers and the project managers have to be flexible because the project management tools are not. The example above illustrates the problems the advanced project management tools might cause. The project reality is not always reported as it is experienced. The intensive use of project management tools prefers reports that remind the narrative written in the project plan, not reports that are based on the experienced reality. Because the plan is always a fiction about a "perfect future" (Clegg & Pitsis & Marosszeky & Rura-Polley, 2006), the report which is written to meet the actions, resources and results described in the project plan, is also – at least to some extent – a fiction. The emphasis on reporting that is convergent with planning might have some influence on qualitative reporting as well. This convergence might express itself in project reports in a way that results in actions described in the project plan that are emphasised in the report, but the unplanned actions and unintended results are undervalued. The very idea of a normative project is a simple and sound narrative that proceeds without unexpected aberrations.

4. Unintended outcomes and improvisation

Another important institutional context for cultural management is provided by the European Union-based funding. The self-evident tool achieving the goals of the EU programmes is project management.

Projects are considered as important tools enhancing expertise, new innovations and continuous development in working life including cultural management. Projects are tools for development. In many regions the European Union-based funding is a significant part of the development of new initiatives in the field of cultural production.

Projects are planned to achieve the objectives that are prioritised in the documents of the EU programmes. This means that project applications and project plans are written so that the actions described in the project plan can be said to work for the programme. In practice this is achieved by using expressions and vocabulary that are used in programme documents. The vocabulary of the application forms, programme brochures and other publications are imperatives that have to be taken into account when project managers give their reports. This way, the daily practices are reported in order to fit the narrative of the EU programme. The reported data is a product of a filtering process in a hierarchical situation. Projects as part of EU programmes are similar to the hierarchical organisation structure. The applicant and later the project manager might try to be consistent with the narrative of the programme. The attempt to standardise the goals, methods and results of the projects might lead to a lack of innovation (Taylor 1993, 140).

This doesn't mean that project management would have a negative impact on innovativeness. Nevertheless, the intensive exploitation of formal, normative project management doesn't necessarily lead to innovativeness. In fact, some nations that have a very high number of certificated project managers are showing decreasing levels of innovation performance (Kavanagh & Naughton, 2009). Still, the project practices can be very innovative and projects sometimes produce surprising outcomes. If projects are defined as temporary organisations to achieve a planned objective, there is no room for surprises or unintended outcomes. Therefore, the surprising outcomes are by definition not achieved because of the project management practice but despite it.

Improvisation and unintended outcomes are sometimes spin-offs of the actual activities that have been mentioned in the project plan. Projects are experienced and executed by several people who incorporate the single events of their own experience in private life and in many other projects into a coherent personal narrative. This personal narrative is the outcome of the sense making process. Only some of these personal events are part of the project narrative. Therefore, the project itself can be a tool for achieving objectives that are by no means consistent with the objectives of the project. Some events just happen to merge for a while to be part of several narratives. One event during a project could be, for example, a part of the personal narrative of a temporary team member. The project manager translates the same event to be a part of the well-planned project narrative. The temporary team member experiences the events not as a part of the project and overall objectives of an EU programme,

but as a part of some personal purpose. For the project and for the project manager, the same event is an outcome of project planning.

When reporting on an EU project, for example, I realised that the narrative the project manager was writing was not very consistent with the narratives I heard from the production team members I interviewed. The project was designed to find new solutions for using the local fibre network in the media productions of the local cultural and sports events. This project goal was a part of the Objective 1 Programme for Eastern Finland. The strategic goal of the Objective 1 programme was to "encourage business operations based on the strengths of the regional economies and new opportunities for global competitiveness and strong economic growth". The selection criteria consisted of 16 criteria. All projects had to meet some of the criteria and others were considered as guidelines. Further, the project was to meet the expected activities of Measure 2.1 which was titled Development of Training and Education Systems and Improvement of the Quality and Effectiveness of Training and Education. The project guide supports the assumptions of the normative project institution when it sketches some general features of projects. Normative projects are produced by stating that: "A well-prepared project draws on existing knowledge and past experiences and involves a detailed analysis of the target areas". This and other instructions concerning projects constrain the actions during the project planning, implementation and evaluation.

Even though I did not expect the production staff to be well informed about the goals of the Objective 1 Programme for Eastern Finland, nor the selection criteria, I was surprised how little I heard narratives that were consistent with the official, normative narrative of the EU programme and project plan and vice versa. The production managers spoke about their own productions, difficulties they had faced, how they found improvised solutions to the problems they had had, and how they felt about the outcomes. One of the main activities turned out to be collecting and digitalising old narrow-films. These actions could be defined as collecting private cultural heritage, not as a new solution for the use of the fibre network and hardly as the encouragement of business operations. The outcomes were a documentary film, a portrait of a self-educated 85-year-old multimedia producer and an illustrated concert of the local string orchestra. Both outcomes were successful and the concept of collecting narrow-films for a live concert was used later in the project for the European Capitals of Culture.

These actions were in no way planned, based on detailed analysis nor described in the project plan. The collecting of narrow-films was started, because there was a new device available in the parent organisation. The device was actually meant for another project. Through collecting the narrow-films, the project team met dozens of people who had many stories to tell about the films and the filmmakers. Accidentally, the project manager met a person who told him about a man who had made narrow-films,

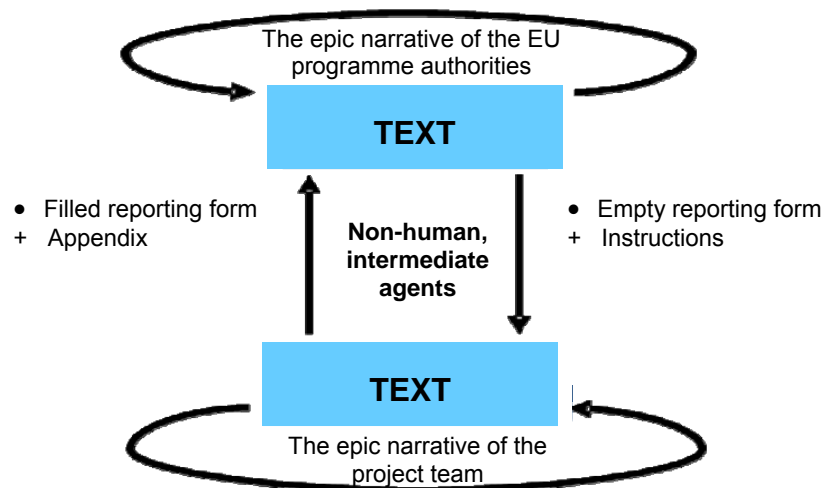


FIGURE 2. THE INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT OF THE PROJECTS AS AN AUTHORITY SYSTEM

voice recordings and animation with homemade devices back in the 40s. The project manager got interested in this story and then he heard that a local journalist had made a manuscript for the documentary film of this man. Therefore the project team decided to include this story in the project.

These actions were not based on a well-defined need or preliminary studies. In fact, this kind of practice doesn't take into account the well-defined project organisation. Accidental initiatives led to situations where the intentions of the new actors were improvised to be part of the original project narrative. This kind of activity could be better described for example as "jazz" not as a "machine". Hatch (1999) describes organisations with the jazz metaphor as "activity to be entered into, participated in and experienced". After all, these outcomes should be described as unintended and the process resembles more improvisation than the implementation of a plan. The outcomes and the improvised processes are certainly good examples of bad project management in the sense that these outcomes were neither consistent with the programme objectives nor were they based on careful planning.

Of course, the project team was able to report these activities in a way that they were actually serving the higher level objectives. Equally, the representatives of the EU programme interpreted that the objectives and selection criteria were included in the narrative of the project. This way the narrative of the project was accepted as a part of the epic narrative of "encouraging business operations based on the strengths of the regional economies and new opportunities for global competitiveness and strong economic growth". This process illustrates how the production of the epic narrative of the regional development operates. The experienced reality of the planning authorities, who were in this case agents working on behalf of the Objective 1 Programme for

Eastern Finland, was made understandable by narratives which were made visible by documents – the nonhuman agents such as instructions, brochures, electronic forms etc. The Objective 1 Programme for Eastern Finland needed several nonhuman, intermediate agents to be able to mobilise actions that were later reported as the outputs and effects of the programme. The existence of these two separate narratives resembles the organisation as an authority system presented by Taylor (1993). Figure 2 below illustrates the modified authority system and the role of intermediate agents in the case of reporting. The experienced project reality with improvisational processes and unintended outcomes will be translated with the help of intermediate agents such as completed reporting forms and spreadsheets into the conversation of the EU programme authorities. This conversation is embedded in the discourse concerning the project management which, in turn, supports the normative project management ideals. The epic narrative of the experienced project execution and the epic narrative of the EU programme authorities constitute the institutional context of cultural project management.

It seems that the unintended outcomes and improvisation of the projects are accepted as part of the normative project narration, if the projects are reported and translated to meet the normative ideals of project management. The experienced reality is based on narrative rationality, but the expected outcomes are based on traditional, scientific rationality. Project managers have to translate this narrative experience into the rational, measurable units of normative project management. Projects can offer an institutional context for surprising and creative activities. However, these creative outputs might not be achieved by the active creative work of the project machine. From the narrative viewpoint projects are part of an epic narration with multiple narratives and

protagonists. Project managers translate these epic narratives to meet the criteria of the tragic narration of normative projects. Therefore, project reports tell stories of cause and effect, effective use of resources and flawless closing of the books.

5. Conclusion

The use of project management is widely spread in the field of cultural management. Therefore, there is a need to find new ways to understand and interpret project management practices. Project management is not a neutral tool and certainly not the only possibility to innovate, be creative and develop. The normative project management approach is based on assumptions that are common in natural sciences. Many practices used in normative project management are used in construction industries, information technologies, mining, etc. The universal nature of project management is not definite. To find new ways to approach the management of temporary organisations and the practices to achieve with a temporary organisation novel, surprising and creative outcomes, there should be alternative ways to understand the project ontology. One possibility to try to change institutionalised practices is to seek a new root metaphor for the temporary organisation as I did in this paper. Instead of considering the project as a machine producing change, the alternative metaphor could be narration. Especially for cultural managers, administrators, educators and researchers this kind of approach to project management could be useful and refreshing. Organisation researchers use wide ranges of metaphors that are rooted in literature, arts and music when they describe organisational phenomena (e.g. Hatch, 1999; Boje & Rosile, 2003; Corneliessen, 2004). Cultural managers, administrators and educators should be in the position to apply these approaches as well when they study projects.

Normative project management produces continuously new applications and management tools that support the normative project management institution. The practices of cultural project execution are still based on surprises, unintended outcomes and improvisation. The less there is space for free interpretation, the more the project managers and the authorities representing EU programmes or other authorities have to be creative to make the activities fit the specific demands of the controlling applications.

This tension raises ethical questions at the ground level of project management. On the political level, this tension might lead to the development of even more detailed controlling devices. This, in turn, is expensive, time consuming and might prevent innovative outcomes.

The practices of project management especially in the field of cultural management are more about the narratives and interpretations of manmade constructions than measurable facts. This is why project management is more about storytelling than natural science. Therefore, the practices of cultural projects should be studied and managed as communicative constructions. At least the following themes on the critical and narrative approaches of project management are relevant to cultural management:

- The planning, implementation and evaluation of cultural projects should be studied by more experiential ways.
- The political and ethical aspect of projects should have a more extensive role while studying projects.
- There should be special funding and administrative mechanisms with flexible planning, implementation and evaluation tools for projects that are aimed at creative outcomes.

For these purposes the narrative interpretation of projects offers a good starting point and a constructive alternative and supplement to the contemporary,

normative project management in the field of cultural management. As with any conceptual paper, my framework lacks empirical evidence despite the illustrative cases presented in this paper. More focused empirical analysis to understand human action in projects is requested. Future research can build upon narrative conceptualisation and attempt to interpret project management as social phenomena. A narrative approach is significant in calling attention to how different project ontologies affect interpretations of projects. The narrative approach enables one to rethink the role of the project institution in the field of cultural management.

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ENCATC is an nongovernmental organization supported by the European Commission and has associate status to UNESCO.

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